





MEMORIAL

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OF -

THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

TOWNE MEMORIAL FUND

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INTRODUCTION

THE Introduction to the first volume of this series of Memorial Biographies contains the history of the Towne Memorial Fund, at whose charge the several volumes are published, together with a full statement of the nature and scope of the work. Hence it is unnecessary to repeat the same at this time.

The first volume contains biographies of all the members of the Society who died during the first eight years of its existence, — that is to say, from 1845 to 1852; the second includes biographies of all who died during the next three years. The present volume covers the necrology of the Society for the years 1856 to 1859, inclusive. The reader will see that here, as in the previous issues, not the so-called learned professions alone, but almost all the vocations, are represented. Here will be found the names of men who, in their respective spheres of activity, achieved the distinction of world-wide and enduring fame; and likewise the names of other men who, in narrower and perhaps humbler fields of labor, served their fellow-men in many useful ways and in all fidelity. Each one of these, for his expressed recognition of the aims and purposes of the Society or for his active

participation in its laudable work, — on either ground, is fully entitled to a memorial in these pages.

It is the aim of the Committee to obtain from the best possible sources such memoirs or biographical sketches as shall present, and preserve in this desirable form, all that is important—at least, all that is characteristic and essential—in every case, expressed in concise, truthful, and sober language. Facts, portraitures of character, illustrative incidents, and the records of valuable experience are wanted,—not mere eulogies or one-sided statements, which often are no better than caricatures. The faithful biographer, like the faithful painter, represents his subject as he is or was, and not as partial friendship, vanity or prejudice might suggest. In these respects the efforts of the Committee have met with gratifying results.

The conscientious and intelligent writer of biography does not need to be told that great caution and sound judgment are required in dealing with the materials, new or old, that may come into his hands. He must verify alleged facts, reconcile discordant statements, and separate what is demonstrably true from the myths which inevitably grow up and become interwoven with the popular account of the lives of conspicuous men. The difficulty of doing this is, of course, greatly increased in those cases where the subject was less widely known, or where no authentic written memorial is at hand, and perhaps not a single relative survives to give information. Recognizing all this, no pains has been spared to make these narratives entirely trustworthy.

It remains only that, on behalf of the Society, we should make our hearty acknowledgments to the several

writers—or to those who have not already passed beyond the reach of these inadequate words—for their prompt and cordial co-operation. They paused in the midst of their own exacting labors, in order to comply with our request for their aid. How much of time and pains, expended in careful research, even sometimes in matters that attract the least notice from the casual reader, this compliance cost them, will be best appreciated by those persons who have undertaken similar work.

JOHN WARD DEAN.
HENRY A. HAZEN.
J. GARDNER WHITE.
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ARTHUR M. ALGER.
ALBERT H. HOYT.



STEPHEN DODD

STEPHEN DODD, the son of Moses and Lois (Crane) Dodd, was born in Bloomfield, Essex County, New Jersey, March 8, 1777. He was of New England origin, his paternal ancestor being one of a colony which, dissatisfied with the union of the three Connecticut Colonies in 1663, took their church organization, and, under the lead of their pastor, the Rev. Abraham Pierson, settled in the same year the town of Newark, New Jersey, now the largest and most flourishing city in that State. The subject of this sketch manifested through life some of the best traits of the Puritan character, and the name he bore has been distinguished for more than two hundred years in the annals of the Puritan ministry. It is an interesting fact, and not an unusual one in Christian families, and in reference to the ministry, that from his birth he was consecrated to it by the devotion and prayers of a pious mother. This act of maternal faith and piety received a deeper significance and interest when the writer learned from his own lips, just before his death, that he was unable to specify any particular point in his life as that at which his conversion occurred. Similar instances of the bestowment of regenerating grace in childhood are sometimes, though rarely, met with in the experience of the people of God.

From this it appears that Mr. Dodd was the subject of divine grace from his earliest childhood. He could not

remember the time when the love of his Saviour was not the pervading sentiment of his heart. His character and habits were in accordance with this experience, and gave early indications of his fitness for and destination to the sacred office. His moral and spiritual tastes and character, united with an ardent love of reading and study which he never lost, characterized him through all the years of his childhood and youth.

The academy in his native place was one of great excellence for the times, and he availed himself of its advantages. After completing his preparatory studies he entered Union College, at Schenectady, New York, in September, 1796; but in consequence of the failure of his health he was compelled, very reluctantly, to abandon the effort to complete his collegiate course. This was a severe disappointment and source of deep regret through all his subsequent life. The precise date of his leaving college cannot now be ascertained; but, from the scanty information at hand, it was some time during the year 1798. Upon closing his connection with the college, he returned to his native place, and as soon as his health permitted engaged in teaching, at the same time pursuing his theological studies under the direction of the Presbyterian minister in the place where he taught. Although he did not consider himself fully qualified to enter on the work of the ministry, yet, yielding to the judgment of those in whom he had confidence, he presented himself as a candidate to the Presbytery of Morris County, New Jersey, and was by them examined and licensed to preach the Gospel, September 27, 1801. Soon afterwards he received a call to settle as pastor of the Presbyterian church at Bloomington in his native county, which he declined in consequence of his desire to pursue his studies still longer in order to equip himself more thoroughly before undertaking a pastoral charge.

He commenced preaching, July 24, 1803, on alternate

Sabbaths, for a Congregational church in Carmel, Putnam County, New York, and another of the same denomination in the immediate vicinity. These churches have since adopted the Presbyterian form of government. He received and accepted a call to settle with them as their pastor, and was ordained, September 27, in the same year. Here he spent the first seven years of his ministry, performing pastoral labor for two congregations, but receiving a very insufficient support, although, in addition to what was paid him by the people to whom he ministered, he received a small appropriation from the Domestic Missionary Society of Connecticut, which was the first organization in the United States having for its object the aid of feeble churches. It was for the reason of his inadequate salary that he resigned his charge and was dismissed in October, 1810. There are no existing data upon which to base an estimate of the results of his labor in Carmel. But it is evident from the whole tenor of his life that his pastoral duties there, or elsewhere, were earnestly, faithfully, and ably discharged. He always cherished a warm attachment to the people of his earliest charge. After his retirement from the ministry, and when the infirmities of age were gathering heavily upon him, he made them a special visit, and was afterwards accustomed to dwell with peculiar satisfaction on the associations and memories recalled by this pilgrimage to the scenes of his first ministerial labors and trials.

The same month in which he was dismissed from the church in Carmel, Mr. Dodd commenced preaching for the church at Salem Bridge, now Naugatuck, Connecticut, and was installed as its pastor, June 26, 1811. In consequence of the distance of time, and for want of authentic and specific information, the same remarks concerning the character and results of his ministry here that were made above respecting his labor in his former field must be applied. It was while at Salem Bridge that

he was called, in the providence of God, to suffer the greatest of earthly afflictions, by the death of his wife, Phebe Pierson. She was the daughter of Elihu Pierson, of Orange, Essex County, New Jersey, — born August 25, 1776, married November 28, 1799, and died February 27, 1815. They had no children. This event together with his limited means of support, determined Mr. Dodd to resign his charge. His dismission took place, April 30, 1817.

In June following he commenced his labors with the Congregational church in East Haven, New Haven County, Connecticut, and having received and accepted a unanimous call, he was installed pastor, December 11, 1817. Here was passed the remainder of his ministerial and natural life. For the succeeding twenty-nine years he was the laborious, prayerful, and faithful servant of the church. He entered upon the duties of its pastor at a time of great trial and difficulty, owing to the stormy scenes which marked the close of his predecessor's ministry. He realized the difficulties of his position, and by his prudent and conciliatory course poured oil upon the troubled waters, allayed the elements of strife, and assuaged the bitterness of party feeling. By a wise and judicious conduct towards them he brought the church and people into that harmony of sentiment and unity of effort for which they were distinguished during the succeeding half-century. He was "in season and out of season" in his labor, until age impaired his physical energies and mental faculties. During his pastorate in East Haven, which extended over a period of twenty-nine years, he was permitted to see "the work of the Lord prospering in his hands," in several successive outpourings of the Spirit and revivals of religion. That of 1831, which was general throughout the country, was especially powerful, resulting in many conversions, and in large additions to the church. Notwithstanding the large number, composed of some of the best families in the parish, which was dismissed to unite in organizing a church in the neighboring village of Fair Haven; yet, when Mr. Dodd's ministry closed, the church was unimpaired in numbers, efficiency, and moral power. The long period during which he continued the pastor of this ancient church, the circumstances of his settlement, the reason for his resignation of the pastoral office, the condition of the church and society at the close of his ministry, the strong affection which continued to be cherished for him by the people among whom he had labored for so many years, especially the more aged portion of them, who could remember him as he was in the full maturity of his years, in the full vigor of his physical and intellectual powers, all attest the ability with which he performed his pastoral duties, and the estimation in which he was held as a minister and a man. when warned by the increasing infirmities of age that the term of his active usefulness was drawing to a close, he voluntarily resigned his charge, and retired from the ministry, December 10, 1846.

During his long and uninterrupted ministry, and having no children, Mr. Dodd, by a rigid economy, had accumulated the ample means for providing for the comfort of his declining years. He was, happily, unlike many ministers when laid aside from active service by reason of age or ill-health, not compelled to depend upon his relatives and former parishioners for his support, either wholly or in part. It was not, therefore, for any such reason that he chose to spend his remaining years among the people where the larger portion of his ministerial life had been passed. Possessed of strong domestic affections and a fondness for reading which age could not quench, and furnished with a large and valuable library, carefully selected by himself during a period of fifty years, and each book thoroughly read before another was purchased, he had anticipated for himself a large amount

of enjoyment from companionship with his favorite authors, after his release from the cares and duties of the pastoral office. But Providence had ordered otherwise. In less than a year from the time of his dismission death again bereaved him of his wife. Previous to his leaving Salem Bridge, he was united in marriage with Abigail Ann Law, daughter of William and Sarah Law, of the neighboring town of Cheshire, February 7, 1816. She was born September 30, 1773, and died October 17, 1847. He was again married, July 12, 1848, to Miss Eliza Andrews, eldest daughter of Jared and Dorothy (Phelps) Andrews, of East Haven, born May 22, 1793. She survived him, and died September 21, 1868. It was not long after this marriage that he was affected with partial blindness, which deprived him of his chief source of enjoyment, that of reading. To one of his literary, theological, and historical tastes, and insatiable thirst for reading, this was indeed a great affliction. When feeling along the shelves of his library he seemed to recognize a book by the touch · of his hand, and sometimes allowed it to linger upon a favorite author, and said, while the tears rolled down his furrowed cheeks, "O, how I should like to read that book once more! but I shall never read again." This affliction never produced any change in his wonted cheerfulness of manner or conversation, nor diminished in the least his interest in the events which were transpiring around him. This interest continued in all its force until the time of his last sickness, and even during its sure and steady progress to the fatal end. His disease was of such a nature - hydrothorax, or dropsy of the chest — as to partially deprive him of reason, and prevent his carrying on connected conversation. the intervals of intense suffering to which he was subjected, he manifested a cheerful submission to the will of his Heavenly Father, a willingness to "depart and be with Christ," a humble but firm reliance on the atoning work of Christ for salvation, and an unwavering faith in the reality and power of the great Evangelical doctrines which it had been his life work to investigate, expound, and inculcate. On one occasion, near the termination of his sickness, his shattered memory endeavored to recall that beautiful stanza of Watts's version of the seventeenth Psalm,—

"What sinners value, I resign;
Lord, 't is enough that thou art mine;
I shall behold thy blissful face,
And stand complete in righteousness."

But the effort was in vain, and he asked those around him to assist his recollection. The incident was to those who were present pleasing evidence of what were the subjects upon which his thoughts were engaged, of the ground and nature of his trust, and of his spiritual anticipations. For nearly six weeks he lingered in great distress of body and feebleness of mind, till the morning of Wednesday, February 5, 1856, when he gradually and peacefully fell asleep in Jesus, and passed away from earth, to receive from the lips of that Saviour whom he had so long and so faithfully served the commendation and reward of "Good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." The funeral services were performed on the Friday following, when, by his own request, an obituary discourse was delivered by his old and valued friend, the Rev. Timothy P. Gillette, of Branford, from 2 Kings ii. 12, "My Father, my Father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof." His remains were laid to rest among the generations to whom he had broken the bread of life, and amid the tears and benedictions of their children.

Such is the brief outline of the life of this honored servant of God. It is a task of no ordinary difficulty to delineate the character of such a man and Christian minister, in such a manner as to place him before the mind of the reader as he was when living. Those biographies which possess the greatest interest are such as present only a few prominent characteristics of persons who were remarkable for idiosyncrasies, or whose lives have been passed more constantly in the public view, and are marked by stirring incidents and strongly contrasted experiences. But when the entire character is so strongly marked, and the life has been retired and uneventful, as they were in the case of Mr. Dodd, it requires great care and discrimination to fix upon those traits alone which possess a general interest, and at the same time avoid the charge of incompleteness in respect to the entire character. The writer of this sketch does not claim that he has succeeded in surmounting this difficulty. He has simply selected a few general topics, with the hope that they will be recognized by those who were familiar with the subject of this memoir as a concise, yet truthful, portraiture of him as he appeared when living.

As a preacher Mr. Dodd was solemn, earnest, and not unfrequently eloquent and effective. His tastes being more historical and literary than metaphysical, his discourses generally partook of these characteristics. though sometimes he ventured upon doctrinal preaching, his discourse was mainly hortatory and ethical, and was profusely illustrated with historical references and incidents, both sacred and profane. Possessing a portly and commanding person, and a voice of unusual power, together with a clear and distinct enunciation, and cherishing a deep sense of the sacredness of his office, and his heart vividly impressed with the importance and power of the truths he endeavored to enforce, his preaching was always interesting, and throughout his long ministry it was eminently successful in impressing the minds and moving the hearts of his hearers.

The system of Christian doctrine which from first to last was firmly held by Mr. Dodd, is that generally known as New England Theology. Although his parents were

members of the Presbyterian Church, and he originally united with it, and was licensed to preach by Presbytery, he was a thorough Congregationalist, and his ministry was passed entirely in churches of that denomination. He loved this form of ecclesiastical polity because of its apostolic simplicity and the free scope it gives to the individual Christian activities. But at the same time he was far from regarding Congregationalism as a denomination or polity merely. He believed it to be founded on those great Evangelical doctrines which are set forth so clearly and comprehensively in the Westminster Confession of Faith, and of which the two Edwardses, father and son, Bellamy, and Hopkins were the latest and most distinguished expounders. He was too independent a thinker, and too thoroughly versed in a knowledge of the Bible, to regard these able theologians, with all their learning and marvellous power of reasoning, as giving any positive weight to Christian doctrines, but accepted their expositions because they appeared to him to be most fully in accord with the word of God. These doctrines he loved, preached them, and contended for them when assailed, with all his energies and abilities. And if, at times, he appeared to others to manifest an undue rigidness in his adherence to what he considered sound doctrine, and to be over scrupulous in admitting to the ministry candidates concerning whose doctrinal views he had serious doubts it was because he deemed the maintenance of sound doctrine in all its purity essential to the promotion of the cause of Christ, and to the effective power of that branch of his Church of which he was a minister. It was from his love for the doctrines of Evangelical religion, and in consequence of the power with which they had taken hold of his Christian consciousness, that in the great theological controversy which occurred in Connecticut, from 1828 to 1833, he took strong ground in defence of these doctrines, and was one of the original founders of the Theological Institute of Connecticut, at East Windsor, — since removed to Hartford, — and for several years was one of its Board of Trustees. For this institution he never lost his regard and sympathy, and for its welfare he never wearied in his efforts. From the first it received repeated and generous testimonials of his liberality, and his interest in its object continued unabated, and was not forgotten in his dying bequests. After his blindness became incurable, and a few years previous to his death, he made a donation of his entire valuable library to this institution, which by direction of the Trustees, was assigned special alcoves in the institute library room, and always to be kept separate from the general library under the designation of the "Dodd Library."

The clearness, discrimination, and power with which he inculcated the doctrines of Christianity, and made them instinct with spiritual life, was amply evidenced by the intelligence and firmness with which they continued to be held by the church of which he was pastor for so long a term of years. Those converted and admitted to the church under his ministrations were remarkable for their clear understanding of the doctrines of religion and their faithfulness in the practice of its duties, furnishing living illustrations of the necessary connection that exists between sound doctrine and a holy life, a connection which stands out so prominently in all the writings of the Apostle Paul.

Mr. Dodd was a fearless, as well as a faithful preacher. This was a prominent characteristic of his preaching. If he considered it his duty to present a subject either in Christian theology or ethics, he was the last man in the world to shrink from it because it would bring him in conflict with the opinions and prejudices of his hearers. He was as much a stranger to the fear of man as was Paul, or Luther, or John Knox. He gave forth no "uncertain sound," but spoke out boldly, clearly, and pointedly what-

ever conscience told him ought to be spoken, influenced solely by his conceptions of his duty to God and his truth, and to the souls committed to his charge. This characteristic had a notable illustration in the part he took in the cause of Temperance at the very outset of the efforts put forth for its promotion. In a more limited sphere he performed an equally effective work for the cause with Hewit and Beecher in their wider fields of operation. The exact year cannot now be ascertained, but it was in 1829 or 1830 he gave notice that on a specified Sabbath he would preach on the subject of Temperance. The day arrived, and a crowded congregation, composed of his own people and large numbers from the neighboring towns, listened to two sermons on the subject, which were characterized by great clearness, plainness, and power. The impression made by these discourses continued through a whole generation. In the minds of the few more aged persons now living in the town, the recollection of them still remains, clear and distinct, as when they listened to them half a century ago. He was subsequently invited to repeat them in various towns in the vicinity, and wherever they were delivered, they invariably made the same deep and lasting impression.

In regard to Mr. Dodd's estimation and efficiency as a pastor, it might be sufficient to say that his protracted ministry among the same people, and the veneration and affection with which he continued to be regarded after his retirement, serve to evince the faithfulness with which the sacred and tender relation of pastor was sustained. He was not endowed by nature with those warm sensibilities which are conferred upon some in such large measure; but he could deeply sympathize with his people on all occasions when sympathy was needed. In the performance of the ordinary routine duties of the pastoral office he was conscientious, constant, and punctual, until he was incapacitated for it by the infirmities of age. In his inter-

course with the sick and dying, at the funeral, and with those in affliction, he was always sympathetic and tender, bearing them on the wings of fervent prayer to the throne of grace, with an appropriateness of expression, an earnestness of feeling, and a facility of language rarely equalled. He was endowed with the gift of prayer in a remarkable degree. It was a privilege to listen to his supplication, expressed in a great measure in Scripture phraseology, and mark the comprehensiveness of his petitions at the throne of grace. Nothing seemed to escape his memory. All classes of persons, and all interests and conditions, however peculiar or insignificant, found a place in his The young, especially the children of the netitions. church, were objects of his warm solicitude, and themes of his constant prayers.

Mr. Dodd was especially interested in historical and genealogical studies and researches. For these particular fields of investigation he had a natural adaptation and determination. Born amid the scenes of the great battlefield of the war of the Revolution, his intellect began to develop and strengthen just as the country was emerging from the long contest. His childhood caught the spirit of those around him, and who had themselves made a part of the stirring events which resulted in the independence of the nation. Continually listening to the story of their toils, and hardships, and sufferings, it was the natural result that he should form a strong taste for the study of history. He was thoroughly versed in the history of his own country, and few persons have a more accurate knowledge of general profane history. Ecclesiastical history was his favorite study. Here he was entirely at home, and his strong theological affinities, so far as they depended on external causes, may doubtless be traced to his thorough knowledge of the history of the doctrines of Christianity. He had a memory so retentive that a fact once impressed upon it was never lost. His mind was stored with anecdotes of eminent men of every profession, with reminiscences of events in every department of history. The readiness of his memory was still more remarkable, and in his ordinary conversation he was accustomed to pour out in copious effusion the riches of his treasured knowledge, historical, biographical, genealogical, and statistical, which always awakened interest in, and imparted instruction to, all who had the privilege of listening to him.

A few years before Mr. Dodd's death, when the pastor of the Presbyterian church in his native place was gathering materials for an historical discourse, he was largely indebted to him for facts and incidents connected with the early history of that church, which but for him would have passed into oblivion. This was emphatically true of the church and town of East Haven. Soon after his settlement as pastor of that church he commenced the compilation of a brief history of the town, and a genealogical and statistical record of its families. By reason of the imperfect condition of the village records for the first century and a half of its history, this was a work of great difficulty. With characteristic energy, patience, and perseverance, he began to gather up the oral traditions of the past, as they lay in the memories of the most aged persons in the community, and spent much time in the ancient buryingground, where he gleaned many important items of information by deciphering the nearly obliterated inscriptions on its memorial stones. The results of his investigations and labors were published in 1824 under the title of "The East Haven Register." The later copies of this work were embellished with an excellent portrait of the author, engraved on steel, when he was seventy-seven years old. Although not a compendious or complete history, it contains an amount of information concerning the town and its ancient families, which, but for his painstaking labors, would now be forever lost. The book has long been out of print, and those who are fortunate enough to possess a copy place a high value upon it, for the permanent local interest it possesses. It is a model work of its kind, for which he is entitled to the lasting gratitude of all whose families he has placed on record. In 1839 he published "A Family Record of Daniel Dodd," in which he gave the descendants of his emigrant ancestor.

It was in consequence of his labors in this field that Mr. Dodd was drawn into an extensive correspondence with persons in various parts of the country, who were engaged in similar pursuits, and with several State Historical Societies. The New Jersey Historical Society he ever regarded with peculiar interest. A few years prior to his death he made a large donation of valuable books to its library. In acknowledgment of the value of his contributions to the history of Connecticut, Yale College, in 1845, conferred on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts. He was admitted a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, June 13, 1850.

Had he chosen some other profession than that of the Christian ministry, or been more favorably situated for pursuing his favorite studies, Mr. Dodd possessed every qualification for attaining distinction in that special field of literature to which he might have devoted himself. he was too conscientious, and had too exalted an opinion of his sacred vocation to allow his personal tastes and ambition to interfere with the performance of his duties as a minister of the Gospel and pastor of a church. idea never gained admission to his mind, that he could better promote the cause of God by directing his energies and abilities to objects other than those which he covenanted to pursue when he took the solemn ordination vows upon him. The departments of history and genealogy have, perhaps, lost something by his conscientious adherence to his sense of duty; but may it not be that

the revelations of the great day will show that Christ and his cause in the world have gained more?

It is among his ministerial brethren that a minister's character and abilities are most fully recognized and appreciated. It is not more true that water will always find its level, than that the true measure of a minister, intellectually and socially, will be accurately taken by those with whom he is associated in the ministry. Mr. Dodd's intercourse with his brethren was always fraternal, pleasant, and profitable. Endowed by nature with a strong practical sense, a trait which strongly marked the Puritan character, he was always a safe and valuable counsellor. advice was frequently sought by the neighboring churches in their difficulties. He was especially acceptable and useful in all ministerial meetings and ecclesiastical councils. His solid judgment, his rapid and correct estimate of the tendency of events and principles, both in the Church and in the world, and the outpouring of the rich and comprehensive stores of his mind, never failed to awaken interest, and give weight to his opinions upon all subjects in whose discussion he engaged. These remarks are more particularly applicable to Mr. Dodd when in middle life, in the full vigor of his physical and mental powers. From September, 1839, to June, 1847, he was Registrar of New Haven East Association of ministers, and also of New Haven East Consociation of churches. After his resignation of the pastoral office, and on account of the increasing infirmities of age, he rarely attended the meetings of these bodies. But when he did attend, which sometimes occurred when questions of more than ordinary importance were brought before them for discussion, his presence and participation in their proceedings were greatly appreciated by the members.

Mr. Dodd was deeply interested in the great benevolent organizations of the age, all of which originated during the period embraced in his ministry. He witnessed the earliest development of that spirit of Christian benevolence in which they had their origin, in a power and to an extent unequalled since the Apostolic era. He sustained them heartily and liberally from the first. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the American Bible Society, the American Tract Society, and the American and Foreign Christian Union, particularly enlisted his sympathies, his prayers, and his benefactions. The liberal bequests made to each of these societies during his last sickness attested his continued interest in them and their objects, and that his confidence in their management and faith in their final success were unabated.

Were it not for extending this sketch beyond reasonable and assigned limits, other and scarcely less prominent traits of the character of its subject, both ministerial and pastoral, might be enlarged upon. Some of these may be readily inferred from those which have been more particularly delineated above. To group them all in a single expression, it will be sufficient to say, that faithfulness and success in the Christian ministry are the invariable and necessary results of the individual Christian character and experience. Measured by this standard, the Rev. Stephen Dodd must have possessed these qualifications in an eminent degree.

The author of the present sketch, who succeeded Mr. Dodd as pastor of the church in East Haven, and continued in that relation thirty years, would deem it an important omission in the delineation and estimation of the character and life of his venerable friend, did he fail to speak of him in their relation of pastor and parishioner, which they sustained to each other during the remainder of Mr. Dodd's life, after his retirement from the ministry. In order to understand and appreciate fully the difficulty and delicacy of his position, it should be considered that he continued to dwell among the

people whose pastor he had been for an entire generation, while one in youth and inexperienced occupied his former place of influence and moral power. Educated in different schools, and trained in far different circumstances and at widely separated periods of time, it could not be otherwise than that there would be many things in the character, and acts, and habits of thought, both of pastor and parishioner, calculated to produce differences of opinion. And when there is taken into the account the well-known tenacity of the aged to their accustomed habits and practices and sentiments, it would not perhaps have been strange if misunderstandings and differences had sprung up between them. Unhappily for religion, such results are not of rare occurrence, and it has almost become an axiom that "an ex-pastor makes a poor parishioner"

But it is among the writer's most cherished and pleasant recollections of this departed servant of God, that he was a living, constant contradiction to this popular saying. He can recall no time or occasion when he did not receive from his aged predecessor the warmest sympathy and most cordial friendship. During all the nine years in which he sustained the relation of parishioner, nothing occurred to interrupt the genial flow of good feeling and kindly words and acts on the one part, or to lessen sincere affection and veneration on the other. Even in the physical prostration and mental feebleness produced by his last sickness, his pastor, when visiting him, never failed to receive a ready recognition and tender wel-And although nearly a quarter of a century has passed away since his mortal remains were consigned to the grave, the writer regards it a privilege, and a task at once pleasant and profitable, to weave this new wreath of precious memories and grateful affection, and lay it upon the tomb of the honored and sainted dead.

JOHN COLLINS WARREN

JOHN COLLINS WARREN, one of the most distinguished American surgeons, was born in Boston, on the first day of August, 1778, at the house then occupied by his parents on the corner of Avon Place and Central Court. He was the son of Dr. John Warren, and Abigail, daughter of John Collins, who resided at Newport, Rhode Island, and was Governor of that State from 1786 to 1789. Of their seventeen children he was the eldest, and he was destined to outlive them all with the exception of three, nine having died young. In 1779, his father changed his residence to Washington Street, adjoining Sheafe's Lane, afterwards called Avery Street; and a few years later removed to Sudbury Street, which he quitted in 1785 to take possession of an estate he had then rented, and which he subsequently bought, on School Street, where he continued to dwell till his death.

The subject of this memoir came into the world at a time of confusion, sorrow, and pecuniary trouble before unknown. A people in arms was affirming its right to self-government, and it is not strange that the trials and sacrifices everywhere visible impressed themselves in a marked degree even upon his infancy, and cast the shadow of a hard and sombre reality over his future. Having acquired some few rudiments of education from a Mr. Vinal, who taught in West Street, he entered the Public Latin School during the fall of 1786. It was then kept on

School Street close to his father's door, and here he remained under the instruction of Master Samuel Hunt for nearly seven years, till his admission to Harvard College.

Having entered College as a Freshman in the summer of 1793, he displayed the same moral qualities that had already distinguished him, and from the high standard he had thus set up for himself he never swerved.

The Commencement Day at which young Warren took his degree as Bachelor of Arts occurred on the 19th of July, 1797, and the reporter detailed to do justice to the ceremonial informs us that "this anniversary was celebrated in the style of splendid festivity suited to the importance of that pre-eminent seat of science." The graduates numbered fifty-four. No class-rank lists so far back as 1797 are now preserved, and young Warren's exact position cannot therefore be defined; but in the matter of scholarship, though he was chosen into the Phi Beta Kappa, he did not probably extend the reputation he had achieved at the Latin School.

Having finally decided to begin the study of medicine under his father's care, by the end of the first year of his medical novitiate Dr. Warren was aware of many motives prompting him to improve his prospects by studying abroad, and availing himself of the advantages offered by foreign hospitals, advantages which, it is hardly necessary to observe, far surpassed anything to be found at home. To one of his powers and ambition these motives seemed irresistible, and, in truth, there was no reason why they should be resisted. His father having given a willing consent, he sailed for Europe on the 16th of June, 1799, during the first days of a short and ignominious war between the United States and the French republic, which had been brought on by the insolence of the latter. On reaching London he at once devoted himself to his studies. Everything proved most favorable to the object he had in view. It was a golden age in surgery, both in England and on the

Continent. The genius of John Hunter had just given a new impulse to the profession, and on every hand could be seen the clearest signs of improvement. The great names of Cooper, Cline, Abernethy, "the prince and king of all oral instructors," and other luminaries, were rapidly mounting to the zenith of that skill and dexterity which they ultimately attained. Their examples might well have inspired even a less ambitious student than Dr. Warren "to scorn delights and live laborious days," and it can be said with perfect truth that they were by no means wasted on him. He learned what he could from them all, and at length became the pupil, at Guy's Hospital, of Mr. Cooper, afterwards Sir Astley, who gradually came to repose such confidence in him as to place forty patients entirely under his charge. At this time was laid the foundation of their lifelong friendship.

Dr. Warren's correspondence well sets forth his surroundings during his stay in Europe. During all his absence his letters to his parents were long and frequent. Written in a hand both clear and firm, they were dignified in style and expression, and abounded in sentiments every way worthy of his culture as a scholar, of his manly character, and of his grand objects in life. The entertaining facts that pervaded them bore witness to the minuteness of his observation, while every page gave proof of that family affection which always characterized him. Manifestly, the writer was to be trusted for any length of time, and to any distance, however remote. He writes:—

"I was impressed with a kind of pleasing solemnity when I touched the land of our forefathers, while I recollected how many important events had been transacted here; how many heroes, statesmen, and philosophers had here displayed their greatness; and how important a part in the theatre of the world was at this moment filled by this little island."

To the foreign and altogether un-American virtue of

thrift Dr. Warren's letters reveal a remarkable and consistent devotion, as of one thoroughly convinced of its claims upon mankind. This was by no means the least striking of his youthful traits, and the practice thereof he regarded during his whole life as the display of a cardinal and significant principle. Very soon after his arrival in London he writes:—

"A great degree of circumspection is absolutely necessary, particularly in money matters. A man must be very prudent, or money will glide from him in a most astonishing and unaccountable manner. There are, in truth, many temptations which it requires a high degree of caution to avoid."

A few days later he observes: —

"There are good lectures on almost all branches distinct from the hospitals. Every moment of time which can be spared from surgery and dissections I shall devote to them, and if I can acquire a satisfactory degree of medical knowledge from them I shall not choose to incur the expense of going to Edinburgh; if not, a question will arise which is to be decided in future. It will be necessary when I have entered the hospitals to give up every form of amusement and company, for a student who is tolerably disposed to be industrious will find every moment of his time fully occupied."

In a letter dated January 24, 1800; we read: —

"I am tolerably closely employed. I neither eat, drink, nor sleep much, for one sound is ringing in my ears,—keeps me waking at night and rouses me in the morning,—'There is no time to lose.' My anxiety to return home is very great, but my anxiety to return with proper improvements, with such acquisitions as shall make me respectable in my own and in the eyes of others, and shall raise me a little above the common herd, is much greater than that."

Towards the close of that year, under the pressure of increasing resolve, he wrote:—

"If it please God to preserve my health I will endeavor to do honor to my country and to my family. I will attempt to repay

in some degree the obligations I feel for being what I am. Talk no more of nature, dear mother, it is to you I owe every improvement I possess."

This last was from Edinburgh, whither he had thought it wise to go. Leaving London in the fall of 1800, he travelled slowly to Scotland, seeing much of the country on the way, as the journey occupied a month. He began his studies with his usual promptness, and continued them with industry and thrift.

"My course at Edinburgh was to rise at eight in the morning, and, having breakfasted, to go to Dr. Gregory's lecture at nine; Dr. Hope's chemistry at ten; John and Charles Bell at eleven; Infirmary at twelve; Monro's anatomy and surgery at one. I got home about three, and dined; then passed the afternoon and evening in writing off lectures. My room was in the sixth story, or flat, as they called it. It was a very large room, containing a niche with a bed at one end. Here I lived very comfortably on a quartern loaf of bread, a mutton chop and potato cooked in the Scotch way, which is very good; tea with bread and butter morning and night. The quartern loaf lasted a fortnight."

These somewhat numerous extracts from Dr. Warren's letters are presented as expressing the sincere and unbiased feelings of his heart at the outstart of his career, while they reveal the solidity with which he sought to lay the foundations of his future eminence.

In June, 1801, Dr. Warren left Edinburgh for Paris, being obliged to pass through Holland on his way, by reason of the war then raging between England and France. Soon after his arrival he was enabled, with the help of his banker, to obtain a place in the household of Dubois, the famous surgeon, an admirable operator, and the intimate friend of Napoleon, who lived close to the School of Medicine. This was in every respect fortunate, not only from a professional point of view, but from the fact that he thus quickly came into near relations with many distinguished persons in every branch of science. This positinguished persons in every branch of science.

tion he was not likely to undervalue. As was his habit, he let no opportunity slip, attending all the best professors, such as Bichat, Dupuytren, Chaussier, and others, with especial devotion to anatomy and chemistry. still practised his customary economies, for which none thought the less of him. In amusements he indulged sparingly, and that with a characteristic method and discrimination. There were no English students and very The French pupils he found, "for the few Americans. most part, a rude and vulgar set of people." When these hobbledehoys sought to be bullying and aggressive, as was not seldom the case, the young doctor, being no coward, stood up for his rights with ancestral pluck, and when too greatly outnumbered fell back upon the aid and countenance of the Germans and other foreigners. His stay in Paris was but short, which was much to his regret, as the city "was then distinguished by a number of the most brilliant lights in various branches of our profession." In August, 1801, he returned to London, whence, after spending six weeks chiefly in the collection of books and preparations, he sailed for New York, on the 17th of October, in a West India sugar ship, the only means he found available. "The accommodations were excessively bad, and the passengers, who were but ten or twelve in number, very much crowded. The voyage was fifty days long, dark and disagreeable; the ship very dirty; the fare very poor; the passengers very dull and frightened."

He was received with an eager joy. "The next day was a jubilee in the family." His father had scarcely recovered from an attack of paralysis, and was in sad need of help. Soon he was again in harness, shirking no work, needing no impulse but his own sense of duty and the approval of those most dear to him. At first from want of experience his course was a hard one, and he was often weighed down by great responsibility, all the more that nearly the whole of his father's practice was gradually

intrusted to him. In the autumn of 1802 he began to undertake the dissections for the lectures at Cambridge. This was no small matter of itself, while the College was far less accessible than now, and the tedious trip seriously encroached on both time and patience. Of labor there was thus no lack, and as to leisure he knew not the word. Nevertheless, being conscious of that vacuum which nature abhors, he contrived at some odd moment to fall in love, and by making the most of a succession of such odd moments he was enabled to win the heart of Miss Susan Powell Mason, the daughter of the Hon. Jonathan Mason. After a discreet engagement of six months they were married, on the 17th of November, 1803, at Mr. Mason's Under his roof were spent the first six weeks of their union, after which they moved to Tremont Street, having taken a house belonging to Mr. Samuel Eliot, situated where the Pavilion now stands. "At that period I made sometimes fifty visits a day."

Politically those were times of extraordinary turbulence, and the whole country was pervaded by a bitterness of feeling of which we can now have but a faint idea. penetrated to the very hearthstone, and affected the most intimate relations. "The father was divided against the son, and the son against the father, and a man's foes were they of his own household." Upon Dr. Warren, however, it had comparatively little effect, as he held himself aloof from the excitement as far as possible, and devoted his energies with calmness to the ever-increasing demands of his profession. This was not always easy, as he was a good citizen and full of the old leaven of patriotic enthusiasm which always inspired him to head an assault rather than to defend the camp; but he mostly limited the expression of his political interest to the offer of his vote, and now and then a little money for the support of that which he considered "good government and an onward movement for the happiness of the people and the prosperity

of the country." As to his opinions he was a Federalist of the Federalists, a follower of Washington and Hamilton, and such at heart he always continued to be, clinging with characteristic pertinacity to their principles after many had fallen away. Despite his retirement from public concerns, Dr. Warren was ever quick to yield to any call for his services when law and order were in peril. When a mob had gathered in Howard Street with the design of hanging his classmate, Thomas O. Selfridge, for the murder of Charles Austin, he showed singular coolness and courage. The high sheriff being too timid to interfere, Dr. Warren moved resolutely to the front, and, with the help of a few other gentlemen, decapitated the mob by arresting its leader, thus quelling the outbreak. In another affair, which caused vast agitation and ended in a duel on the borders of Rhode Island between William Austin and a son of General Eliot, he went so far as to act as surgeon at the meeting, dressing the wounds of Mr. Austin, who was twice hit. "I was blamed by a few persons," he writes, "for taking any part in such an affair; but the great mass of people — at least those whom I was accustomed to associate with -seemed to consider it right and necessary under the circumstances."

Soon after Dr. Warren's return from Europe he was invited to join a small society for the study of natural philosophy, which had lately been formed among the admirers of that science, such as Dr. James Jackson, Josiah Quincy, John Lowell, John Quincy Adams, and others. This he gladly did, being not only fond of that pursuit, but social by nature and fully convinced of the benefits arising from united labors and the action of mind upon mind. Before this select and appreciative audience he agreed to deliver ten lectures on "that branch of natural history composed of human and comparative anatomy and physiology." This was the first of a long series of societies, founded for the permanent good of

a larger or smaller portion of the community, with which Dr. Warren was connected, and of which he was an able and diligent member.

In 1804 Dr. Warren united with several other young men of taste and education to establish the Anthology Club. It was their desire in this way to reanimate the neglected culture of the community, and give it a healthy impulse. With this object they undertook to lend the aid of their talents and energy to a publication already begun, upon which they bestowed the title of "The Monthly Anthology and Boston Review." In October of the following year, fourteen of the Club, of whom Dr. Warren was one, formed a regular organization and adopted a constitution under the name of the Anthology Society. A library was soon started, and a reading-room connected therewith. Gradually these were placed on a sound basis, and from them finally emerged the present Atheneum.

About this date Dr. Warren and his life-long friend, Dr. James Jackson, also exerted themselves to bring together a number of their professional brethren at weekly meetings for their mutual gain. From these reunions resulted numerous articles, both read and printed, and many discussions as well, which were of decided benefit both to the members and their patients. If to this and the other plans for the common weal heretofore described be added the Friday Evening Society, partly scientific, partly social; the regular gatherings of some of the most eminent physicians, to compare or examine contributions to the New England Medical Journal; and the innumerable engagements and projects that would necessarily flow from these in every direction, - one can form some vague idea of the character and variety of Dr. Warren's occupations for the first years of his professional life.

Admitted into the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1803, he lost no time in evincing the strength of its hold upon him. He labored himself; he stimulated oth-

ers; his iron will served as "a spur to prick the sides of his intent." With the aid of Dr. Jackson he prepared a pharmacopæia for the use of the Society. He wrote out a report of fifty pages, closely printed, on "the prophylactic power of the cow-pock." With equal zeal and a thoroughness that ignored fatigue, he sat himself down before every other subject that appeared to deserve his attention, gladly surrendering thereto many hours wrested from sleep or amusement. To the Boston Medical Association he brought the same qualities. founded in 1808 to promote among the practitioners of the city "good feeling, honorable conduct, and a high sense of moral feeling, and to prevent all unfair constructions and interferences among the members." A code of regulations was adopted to which a very general adherence was given by the faculty, and this with such happy results that these are yet noticeable in the concord and affability of the whole brotherhood. At the beginning of this century such a code was much wanted as a guide to the younger, and an authoritative reference for the older members. There were then many empirics with little education or standing in the community, and the assumptions of ignorance, crude and irresponsible, were often thrust upon their patients with the further drawback of ill-breeding. Towards an improvement so greatly to be desired, the aid of such a man as Dr. Warren was invaluable, since his social position and gentlemanly bearing lent increased weight to the prestige arising from order, talents, a pure moral tone, and foreign cultivation. In all these things Dr. Warren was mindful of the future progress of his profession, laying stone upon stone, and carefully strengthening the foundations that the superstructure might preserve his memory to all time.

In 1806 the authorities of Harvard University showed their appreciation of Dr. Warren by electing him to the position of Adjunct Professor of Anatomy and Surgery,

which he retained as the assistant of his father until the latter's decease in 1815, when he became his successor. The duties of this office he performed with his customary completeness, omitting no chance that could be seized upon to quicken the prosperity of the Medical School. his inaugural lecture he uttered a sentiment that was the key-note to all his professional acts both then and after. "Improvement," he said, "should be the guide, and publie utility the object, of the whole life of the physician. It is not sufficient to acquire this kind of knowledge, we must also be zealous in communicating it to others." 1810 he and his coadjutor, Dr. James Jackson, deeming that the best interests of the Medical School required its removal to a large and growing town, proposed its transfer to Boston. In this plan they were successful, and after exhausting all available means and influence in their power they also prevailed upon the Legislature to vote a sum of ten thousand dollars annually for ten years, that the institution might be placed on a sound basis of prosperity. To this they were able shortly after to add the further amount of twenty thousand dollars, as the result of a subscription among their friends; and with this help they erected a building on Mason Street, where ample accommodations for the School were provided, and new arrangements made for its progress.

Another project still more important than this also called for immediate attention in the shape of a hospital. Nothing could be more absolutely indispensable than such an establishment, both to the welfare of the Medical School and to that of the community, and Dr. Warren's mind had long dwelt upon it. As far back as July 9, 1800, he wrote to his father from London: "I have heard nothing of the hospital which was to be established in Boston. Does it progress?" In those days the almshouse was the sole resort of the poor who happened to fall ill, and thither under certain conditions the medical aspirants had been

allowed to go, giving advice to the patients and learning what they could from studying their cases. An appeal in behalf of this object was drawn up by Dr. Warren and Dr. Jackson, in which its claims were presented in forcible language. "This circular letter," says Mr. N. I. Bowditch in his History of the Massachusetts General Hospital, "may be regarded as the corner-stone of our institution." The response of all classes was unexpectedly prompt and liberal. The contributions flowed in to the extent of over a hundred thousand dollars, a sum augmented by the sale of the Province House, given by the Commonwealth for this purpose, which produced one half of that amount. This sufficed to begin the undertaking under most promising conditions. During the next few decades legacies and donations continued to be received from every quarter, until the structure stood complete and well endowed, a splendid testimony both to the liberal and judicious charity of the donors and to the welldirected zeal of those who had given the best that was in them of mental effort and bodily toil for its promotion.

Dr. Warren was appointed surgeon of the new hospital on the 6th of August, 1817, when its fortunes were yet in an embryo state. The first inmate was admitted on the 3d of September, 1821, and from this time till the 8th of February, 1853, when he paid his last official visit, he was its moving and guiding spirit.

This watchful care of the Hospital ended only with his life, and was proof against every obstacle that might have been caused by sickness, the temptation of other pursuits, or the approach of age. He frequently visited the wards as consulting surgeon until within a few days before his death, and in fact whenever his health was equal to the effort. To the end he enriched it with the latest discoveries in surgical or medical science, and with all the improvements that came to his knowledge, or were suggested by his own experience and invention.

Of the Temperance reform Dr. Warren was an active adherent. The views he held came from an acute moral sense, from natural preference, and as the result of his own observation. He had always been struck with the searching wisdom of Galen in this matter, whose ethical precepts, though of pagan origin, could hardly have gleaned an added grace from Christianity itself. "Ex quo efficitur ut, si quis verus medicus est, idem sit ut veritatis, sic etiam temperantiæ amicus." To these incentives the powerful weight of filial reverence likewise lent its force. At a time when the use of alcoholic drinks was almost universal, and abstention exposed him to much abuse, Dr. John Warren saw clearly the right, and his lips gave forth no uncertain sound. His example shines even to this day, a glowing lamp amid the murky darkness of his generation. He was a pioneer in the cause, and when the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance was formed, he became one of its Vice-Presidents, and held the position till his death. The son, as usual, was faithful to the father's convictions, and advocated them on every occasion with his usual decision and impetuousness. In 1827 he was chosen President of the above Society, and the close of life found him still in the harness. He had emphatically the courage of his opinions, all the more that they represented his own unwavering and conscientious belief, and when he had once made up his mind on any matter that concerned the public good, nothing earthly could move him to change it or to regret the consequences thereof.

At the age of seventy-five Dr. Warren subscribed ten thousand dollars to the "Massachusetts Million Fund" for the promotion of temperance, and as a fitting crown to the assiduity of a lifetime he finally bequeathed two thousand dollars, "the same to be safely invested and the income thereof devoted to the dissemination of temperance publications."

One does not exaggerate in saying that no more eager, persistent, and uncompromising foe to the use of alcoholic liquors as a beverage ever existed than Dr. John C. Warren. The myriad evils resulting from this custom were never out of his mind, and he urged them upon the world on every possible occasion as having acquired the clearest and most irresistible evidence of the deadly injury thus wrought.

In a brief and inadequate memoir like the present it would be impossible to award more than an honorable mention to the manifold plans of a benevolent nature in which Dr. Warren interested himself, and upon which he bestowed his fruitful aid with a sincerity which none could for a moment question. Suffice it to say, that no measure designed for the real benefit of the public ever had reason to complain of neglect at his hands. He did much for the Washington Benevolent Society, which was organized in 1812, with the laudable motive of preserving the principles of true patriotism as well as of providing for the sick and destitute. Of the society which publishes this memoir he became an honorary member, March 28, 1855, and did what he could to advance the objects for which it was instituted, thus naturally displaying his interest in both the public and private life of the New England past. The Bunker Hill Monument from the moment of its inception secured in him a friend full of vital action and of prolific plans for its completion. tributes generously paid to him by Edward Everett on several occasions were well deserved. "I think it is but justice to say," he wrote, "that to him, more than to any other individual, the Bunker Hill Monument owes its He never allowed the obstacles which retarded the progress of the work — and they were numerous and great — to discourage him; and he devoted his time and thoughts to it when it stood one fourth only built, burdened with a debt which there were no visible means

to pay, — a premature ruin rather than a structure hopefully advancing to its completion, — as cheerfully as he did in the freshness of its early popularity." To these words it is no more than just to add the further praise from Everett's pen: — "Intimately as I was associated with him in the early part of the undertaking as a member of the Executive Committee, I never saw him in the slightest degree attempt to make the Monument in any way minister to family feeling. I am sure that he was the member of the committee by whom the name of General Warren was least frequently mentioned. He ever appeared to me, in this respect, to be influenced by the most scrupulous delicacy."

For years Dr. Warren was chairman of the Building Committee, consisting likewise of Colonel Perkins, Richard Sullivan, and Amos Lawrence, and each of them borrowed \$8,000 for this object on his own responsibility, thus incurring a debt which "hung over us for years." In 1849, six years after he saw the capstone of the structure mount slowly into its position, he caused three blocks of granite to be sunk into the ground near its base, one on the spot where his great relative met his death, the others at either end of all that was left of the old breastwork. As the noble shaft with stern simplicity and grandeur towers above the scene of that fierce contest for inborn right,

"Erect and tall, Godlike erect, with native honor clad, In naked majesty,"

it serves to commemorate not only the indomitable valor and pluck of our fathers, but the spirit, the tenacity of purpose, the worshipful appreciation, of those who reared it.

Dr. Warren early saw the need of some publication which should appear at regular intervals, and serve as a medium for the exchange of ideas and suggestions among

the faculty. Representing their best interests, this would unite the members in a common cause, give them early information of professional progress, and tend in every way to their improvement. With these objects he took an active part in bringing out the New England Medical Journal, and its first number; issued in January, 1812, contained an article from his pen entitled "Remarks on Angina Pectoris." This was followed by others from time to time, and the work made its regular appearance till 1828, when it was merged in the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal.

Another favorite project of Dr. Warren's was a gymnasium for popular use, which he considered both an excellent means of physical education and a remedy for many existing evils. This, though finally commenced in deference to his strenuous appeals, proved a comparative failure, its ephemeral life showing it to be far in advance of the general opinion as to its necessity. His own convictions, as was ordinarily the case, were not, however, in the least affected by this result. He had already passed through various similar experiences, and was content to bide his time, feeling sure that in certain matters study and reflection had made him wiser than his generation. In 1830, when at the height of his fame and in the midst of unequalled labors, he prepared an address on physical education, which he delivered before an assemblage of teachers. This was afterwards enlarged into a little book on the "Preservation of Health," which came out in 1846, and later still was rewritten and with various additions was published in 1854. It proved to be very popular, and several thousand copies were printed before the demand was supplied. Of this work and of others from his hand, Dr. Warren wrote: -

"These books have been praised by my friends; but what my enemies have said of them I know not, happily. My great object has been to make men wiser and better; to give them a taste for science and mental cultivation; and to inform them how to cultivate, preserve, and improve the bodily faculties."

Dr. Warren ever acknowledged the wisdom of that favorite maxim of Augustus, Festina lente, "Hasten slowly," -and to this principle he paid willing deference both in mind and body. Bunyan's besetting sin, "the lust of finishing," was not one of his infirmities. "In getting up considerable works," he observed, "we must not be in too much haste. Begin well, and let posterity finish." his surgical career cool deliberation, masterly self-control, methodical elegance, and completeness characterized every movement. When performing an operation Celsus would have discerned in him a surgeon after his own heart. For the time being he was certainly "immisericors." Neither cries nor groans were allowed to unnerve him. In himself collected he saw nothing but the work before him, and even those patients who thought him pitiless could draw a certain encouragement from the touch of an undisturbed hand, and the survey of an eye which, though apparently void of feeling, took in every detail of the situation, and penetrated it with an acute insight. In a long résumé of his professional life Dr. Warren says: -

"Feeling always a great anxiety when I had a difficult operation to do, I made a practice of first studying the surgical opinions of authors; second, of investigating the anatomy concerning it; third, of writing down the exact mode I meant to adopt; and fourth, of noting all the probable and even possible accidents which might arise, and the means of remedying them. By adopting this plan I generally succeeded in my object; and, always preferring security to dexterity or rapidity, I have lost as few patients, so far as I can judge, as any surgeon who has had so many difficult operations. I have never affected to decide suddenly; a species of pride which some persons rejoice in, but which sometimes leads them into great difficulties."

To his son, Mason, he wrote: -

"There is no good surgery but what results from experiences of the most laborious nature on the living and dead body. Every operation should be preceded by a written plan of the operation in which every possible circumstance should be adverted to, and after all it would be found that not half the actual occurrences have been thought of."

In 1824, Dr. Warren was appointed one of the consulting physicians of Boston, and in that situation for many years exercised a general superintendence of the health of its citizens. This was a responsible office, at times one of arduous labor, but he bestowed upon its duties a conscientious attention and in a manner which brought him fame, though little emolument. In union with Dr. James Jackson, he guided the authorities through several crises, more particularly during the outbreak of cholera or small-pox. On these occasions the intelligent counsel and cool bearing of such men did much to allay the popular terror, and to promote that degree of confidence which might naturally have been inspired by those who could command their own faculties when panic pervaded all around them.

In the spring of 1835, Dr. Warren was much gratified at the return from the Old World of Dr. J. Mason Warren, who had been abroad for nearly three years, perfecting the acquirements he had made under his father's instruction. During the whole period of Mason Warren's absence his father wrote him letters abounding in sound advice, in plans for his progress, and in every suggestion, in short, that could emanate from a good judgment, wise observation, and an ample share of worldly wisdom, all quickened by fervent longing for his prosperity. Earnestly he strove to raise his son to his own lofty height, and no detail that concerned his mental, moral, or social advancement was too slight to be neglected.

There is not space here to quote even one of the letters in which Dr. Warren commends to his son his best interests, and urges upon him with terse and vigorous emphasis the part which he could most profitably take in advancing them. It may, however, be observed, that they are models of wise counsel, and would form an excellent code for the study of any one who desired to learn the qualities that should distinguish a Christian gentleman, or to keep before him a model of worldly prudence, or of professional attainment. As an example of these paternal monitions, it may not be amiss here to give a few paragraphs from a small volume handsomely bound, and written in Dr. Warren's own firm hand, which he presented to his son in 1832, when about to depart for Europe:—

- "I. Let no day pass without an act of devotion to the Supreme Being, to thank him for his mercies; to beg his forgiveness; and to ask his aid in all you do.
- "II. At evening think of what you have done and learned in the day. Write every new fact down in a book. Make this an unfailing habit; and you will find great reason to be glad you have done it.
- "III. Never omit to attend public worship, in whatever country you may be, once at least on a Sunday, particularly in France.
- "IV. The importance of a regular study of the Bible is too well known to you to need a memorandum. Never omit it on account of the presence of others. You will find a respect for it the best letter of recommendation in every Christian country.
- "V. Give a part of every day to the retaining your knowledge of Latin, Greek, and natural philosophy.
- "VI. When you fall in company with persons better acquainted with any branch of science than yourself, encourage them by questions to communicate their knowledge."

These extracts will show the tone of this little compendium of wisdom, which thus continues for many pages. Characteristically, it concludes with the noble collect in the Latin tongue, which from the earliest ages of the Church multitudes of Christian souls have used to express their yearnings for that peace which passeth all understanding.

Of the care and vigilance thus displayed Dr. Warren was about to reap the reward. Inheriting a large share of his father's talent and possessing not a little of his own, the young doctor was at once able to relieve him of many of the multifarious calls that pressed upon him from every side. With this help he was able gradually to retire from the more wearing, irksome duties of his profession, and to indulge his taste for other pursuits less exhausting, of which there was an abundance. He had been for some years preparing a work on Tumors, a sort of magnum opus, and this he now proceeded to publish. It was a success from the first, and added much to the prestige which he already enjoyed. Eventually, it made him the chief authority on these diseases both at home and abroad. Soon after its appearance Dr. Warren decided to make a journey to Europe, and sailed from New York in the packet George Washington, on the 12th of June, 1837.

Very soon after Dr. Warren's arrival in the Old World it was evident that, though he had come abroad partly for well-earned recreation, the habit of toil was still upon him with an irresistible pressure. During the voyage he studied and wrote, and, once again on land, gave himself up with unabated zeal to his ordinary pursuits. The British Association was holding a session in Liverpool, and he was invited to present a paper, which he willingly did. It consisted of "Some Remarks on the Crania of the Mound Indians of the Interior of North America, as compared with the Crania of the South American Indians of Peru," a subject upon which he had already bestowed much time and ingenuity. After a rapid inspection of the hospitals of Liverpool, Dr. Warren hurried to London, where he was awarded a welcome most flattering to his personal qualities, and significant of the repute he had acquired in other countries than his own. Nothing could have been more gratifying than the courteous attentions offered on every hand by the élile of the profession, attentions the more

willingly rendered from the gentlemanly address, dignity of manner, and elegance of exterior, for which Dr. Warren was always noted. His early comrade and fellowstudent, afterwards his instructor, Sir Astley Cooper, was full of every kindness that could suggest itself to friendship, or flow from an esteem which had steadily increased from the beginning of their acquaintance. He received him into his house, and invited the most talented members of their fraternity to meet him. They spent hours together at Guy's Hospital, or at St. Bartholomew's, performing or watching operations, and exchanging congenial thought. Sir Astley wrote to Dr. Boott, "My old friend, Dr. Warren, carries in his excellent head all the knowledge of the Old World and of the New." His example was soon followed by many others, and Brodie, Liston, Tyrrel, Lawrence, Clark, Holland, - in short, nearly all the more famous surgeons and physicians of London, were eager to testify their esteem through their own lips, and by the tender of any help in their power towards the furtherance of Dr. Warren's plans.

Nor could it be denied that these advantages had been fairly earned. Dr. Warren had certainly done more than any other in his profession to remove the reproach cast upon it by the Edinburgh Review in 1820, when it inquired, "What does the world yet owe to American physicians or surgeons?" and his abilities had been already fully admitted. Of this period Dr. Warren wrote in his journal at a later date:—

"Velpeau, and other surgeons as well, expressed surprise at the operations performed in this country, and, after questioning in regard to the authenticity of various accounts, he requested a written statement of those I had performed certified by signature. Just before I left London I received a note from Mr. Guthrie, formerly an army surgeon, now one of the most distinguished in London, in which he says, 'I know not how it is, but our surgeons do not seem inclined to undertake these formidable operations.'"

Under date of London, 25th July, 1837, Dr. Warren writes to his son, Mason:—

"Since our arrival I have been incessantly and laboriously occupied in trying to accomplish the objects for which I came. Sights I have seen but few, but the family have made up for my deficiencies. The principal thing I have killed in that way is the opera, which came near to killing me, for of all the ennuis I ever experienced it was the most finished; though I remained only three hours, while our party were there six. Catch me there again!"

For diversions as such Dr. Warren always manifested a sovereign distaste, which was the outcome partly of his naturally sedate temperament, partly of an absorbing interest in more serious concerns. If not pernicious, they were in his opinion at least unprofitable. He was what Talleyrand termed Napoleon, - "inamusable"; and he would not only have failed to take in the wit of Schahabaham's declaration that "the first one who did not amuse himself should be impaled forthwith," but would have regarded it as merely the exercise of refined cruelty by an arbitrary despot. His real pleasure came from labor, intense and unbounded; and enforced leisure, however entertaining to others, he generally found supremely tiresome. Even the contagious and exciting gayeties of Paris failed to awaken any response in his mind, and in his journal kept while in that city one often meets with such entries as these: -

As he has left on record, his "most agreeable relaxation from professional pursuits" was the preparation of anatomical specimens. "The idea of nicely inject-

[&]quot;April 13th, 1838. Passed the evening eracking stones with Civiale's instrument."

[&]quot;May 6th, Dies perdita. Went to Versailles to see the annual play of the water-works."

ing a delicate piece of anatomy, of macerating it to a snow-like whiteness, and of enclosing it in an elegant glass vessel of perfectly transparent liquid, had more charms for me than games, or plays, or parties." This was an indulgence which his worst enemy would certainly not have begrudged him, and it could not be expected that such a stern devotee would be greatly impressed even by the chefs d'œuvre of the great masters, like Meyerbeer or Rossini. None of these, in fact, gave him an iota of the delight which he derived from a promising tumor that he saw while in London at St. Bartholomew's Hospital,—"A singular tumor of the back, something like Mrs. Dorr's, but black, - I thought it a melanosis, and Mr. Stanley agreed to call it so," - as he lovingly described it to his son at this time. Compared with this, the melodious warbling of Grisi, the ut de poitrine of Lablache, or the graceful gymnastics of Elssler, as she pirouetted before him in a pink muslin saucer, were but dust and ashes.

From London, abruptly quitting these endless manifestations of welcome, Dr. Warren betook himself to Paris, there to prolong his search for all that might prove new and valuable. In the French capital he was received with civilities not less marked than those which had been bestowed upon him in London, and quite as copious. The most widely known savants in his own profession, and in others as well, were more than ordinarily hospitable, and he had no reason whatever to impute to them that want of sincerity with which their nation has so often been branded. The haunts of his student days he revisited with lively pleasure.

"November 8th. I went to the Hospital of the School of Medicine and found the building the same as formerly, the old convent of Cordeliers. I was recognized by Pierre Girard as a former student of Dubois, though he had not seen me for thirty-five years. This hospital is much improved."

Wasting no time in reflection, Dr. Warren at once gave himself up to the delights that were invariably most dear to him. With his stirring desire for improvement the opportunities on every side appeared illimitable. We learn that he "attended the hospitals constantly, and pretty soon found himself with a regular set of patients requiring daily attendance, of course among the Americans. He dissected a good deal, and began a course of this nature with M. Chassaignac. He practised operations with the French surgeons, especially that of lithotrity with Civiale.* On all days except Sundays his time was employed, like that of the most diligent student, in passing from hospital to hospital and thence to lecture; thence to the dissecting-room, and in the intervening time visiting instrument-makers, embalmers, M. Martin the orthopedist and inventor of bandages and apparatus for club-feet and distortions, artists who made wax preparations, and others. The evenings, till a late hour, were spent in cultivating the acquaintance of physicians and surgeons of the country." For Civiale and Louis, Dr. Warren soon developed a particular esteem, and studied their methods with sympathetic approval. They were, in truth, almost as diligent and devoted as himself. Sensible of the interest he displayed, they were not slow to give him many proofs thereof, by entertaining him at their homes, takin works to the meetings of the Academy and other learn majest cieties, and introducing him to their confrères. Thus he became more or less intimate with Roux, Velpeau, Amussat, Breschet, and numerous other leaders of the profession, who, whatever might be their own opinions or differences, took a unanimous pleasure in responding to that genuine desire for progress which disdained not

OF THE CHURCH XE JESUS CHRIST OF LATTEX DAY SAINTS

^{*} Dr. Warren's extraordinary activity drew forth emphatic comment even from those who were themselves thought to be by no means voil of application. Sixteen years after this time, Dr. J. Mason Warren, then in Paris, wrote to his father: "Civiale has asked me much about you, and says that you are a wonder; that he never saw so active a person."

the smallest substantial addition to the sum of knowledge, and cordially did justice to that catholic spirit of research which was content to winnow much chaff provided choice grain might here and there be gathered. The voluminous journals kept by Dr. Warren at this time are still preserved, and hundreds of closely written pages bear testimony to the assiduity of his studies, and the minuteness and accuracy of his observations.

From Paris, which he left on the 30th of December, Dr. Warren journeyed south to Italy, by way of Lyons and Marseilles. At the former city he spent two days, on the second of which his journal records that he "Rose at six in darkness. After dressing went to the Hôtel Dieu and met M. Bonnet." From Marseilles he went to Naples, and thence to Rome, which he entered on the 5th of February, leaving it on the 1st of March for Florence, where he passed over five weeks and found much to entertain him.

Quitting Florence on the 14th of March, Dr. Warren made his way gradually across the Alps to Munich. route he found dull and fatiguing, and for him the grandeur of the scenery helped but little to lessen its tedium. On a similar tour, likewise professional, over Alpine passes and through the most sublime aspects of nature that the g him affords, we are told that Julius Cæsar, oblivious of the y about him, gave himself up to the composition of a grammatical treatise, "De Analogia." Dr. Warren availed himself of this compulsory rest to note down such reforms and improvements, for the benefit of himself and others, as he thought would be desirable after his return home. Never was there a more patent contradiction than that which his example offered to the saying of Montaigne, "Qu'on voyage moins pour s'instruire que pour se désillusionner."

From Munich Dr. Warren went slowly north through Germany and Belgium, lingering wherever there appeared

to be a prospect of solid gain. On the 10th of April he returned to Paris, only to dally with the all-absorbing passion that had possessed him when previously there. The 28th of May saw him again in London, where he began a fresh series of professional and other occupations, though he now employed a greater portion of his time than before in objects of purely scientific interest. He was made an honorary member of the Athenaum Club, and there met many prominent literary and scientific men, though he remarks in a regretful tone that "Conversation rarely occurs at these clubs. People are afraid of what are called Bores, and to avoid these gentlemen all conversation is discouraged." He attended the sessions of the great societies, the Royal Society and others, and made the acquaintance of Owen, Faraday, and many scientists equally renowned. The lectures of the former he frequented continually, and on the 16th of June was much interested to hear Faraday on Electricity. "He showed the way of working the telegraph by electricity."

On the 22d of July Dr. Warren sailed from Portsmouth to New York in the ship Mediator. He reached his destination in safety, after a passage of about four weeks. On landing he was informed of his election as Professor of Anatomy and Dean of the Faculty in the University of New York, an honor which, after some deliberation, he declined, as he had done in the case of two previous efforts to induce him to leave Boston, once for New York and once for Philadelphia, though the latter of these offers, made in 1818, had for the moment tempted him greatly, as it was coupled with a very large salary and would have given him at the time much additional distinction.

In 1838 nothing could have induced Dr. Warren to quit the scene of his professional labors and progress. Having heard while in Paris a report of the offer to be made him on his return to America, he wrote to his son:—

[&]quot;In Boston was I planted and grew up, in Boston I have

acquired what reputation I possess, and to Boston, and particularly to the dear friends who have so long stood by me, do I owe the fruits of my labors, and by the permission of Providence will pay them to the uttermost."

High among these friends ranked Daniel Webster, who not only spoke from the depths of his own heart, but expressed the cordial feelings of many others towards Dr. Warren when he wrote him at this period the following note.

"MY DEAR SIR, - I must not leave home without thanking you for your letter of the 8th. Not only have I the profoundest regard for your professional knowledge and ability, but we have almost always agreed so well in almost all things; I have liked your conversation and company so much, and you now express yourself with so much kindness towards me, that I must give myself the gratification of expressing to you my most grateful feelings, and of assuring you that I reciprocate all your regard and good wishes. You greatly overrate my importance to anybody except my family; but that is owing to the warmth of your friendship. I wish I was as sure of doing good for the rest of my life as you are. The efforts and labors of political men, however well intended, are uncertain, as well in their effects as in their rewards. But your labors cannot fail of either. While you relieve distress, heal the sick, and disseminate widely that knowledge which years of study and practice have given you, you are sure that you are doing good, and rewards of all kinds will not fail you. May you long live, my dear sir, as useful, as happy, as much beloved by your friends, as you now are. I can wish you nothing better in this world.

"Yours as ever,

"DANIEL WEBSTER."

While at sea Dr. Warren availed himself of the inevitable leisure of a monotonous month by writing out a careful synopsis of Müller's Physiology, which was done with great minuteness, and by making a general résumé of the results of his European travels. This he did with that calm and methodical retrospect which might have been inferred from his philosophic mind.

"The greatest benefit which we can notice of a tour in Europe," he observes, "is the lifting us, as it were, from the ordinary course of events, so that we obtain a more extended and independent view of our profession, and of the general course of things.

"On returning home, it is necessary to avoid any apparent assumption of superiority, and to be rather backward in communicating opinions and discoveries, and in proposing changes. All this must be done, however, in a gradual way; always taking grounds that are sound, tenable, and practical.

"Above all, the interests of religion and morals should claim a primary consideration, and a proper share of time and attention.

Our ancient feelings should be put out of view."

Once arrived at his own door Dr. Warren naturally joined forthwith in the old whirl of occupations that had surrounded him before his departure, though he found himself unable to make as many professional visits as before. In addition to the other projects that had drawn forth the display of his most active sympathy, and many similar to these, he inaugurated with Judge Story and Mr. Everett a plan for an "American Association for the Promotion of Science"; he lectured to the students; he became a working member of the Agricultural Society, for which subject he felt the deepest attraction; he bought an estate in Waltham, and carried it on amidst many experiments, more or less successful; he lectured on the horse, an animal which had always drawn from him an almost personal friendship. He was wont to write and speak of the horse con amore, one might say, and lost no opportunity of expressing the full measure of his attachment.

On the 3d day of June, 1841, Mrs. Warren died,—to her husband a blow under which he tottered, though few tokens of sorrow came from either eye or tongue. Naturally undemonstrative, he bore his woes in silence, and pressed to his heart a grief so sacred that none might share it. On his next birthday he wrote:—

"This day I have lived sixty-three years, - a period much

longer than I could have had reason to expect. My father died about six months short of this time, and Mrs. Warren, with a constitution apparently much better, more than four years earlier in age. These are solemn facts for me."

"The question occurs whether, during the short period remaining to me, I can lead a better life than I have done. Of this there is no doubt; and it must be my object to discover in what respects I can improve and endeavor to make up for past deficiencies, numerous as they are."

January 1st, 1843, Dr. Warren writes: -

"In the year past I have on the whole abundant reason to be grateful and contented. The health of my family, my own, the reasonable success of what I have undertaken, the happy settlement of my daughters, are subjects of high gratitude. I am indeed a lonely being, but the sense of this leads me to look higher than earth."

Thoughts which, springing unbidden from his heart of hearts, were quick with that influence which was the motive power of his life. They betray his keen-loving affectionateness, his humility before God, and that steady outlook which he ever kept towards another and a better state of existence. With this feeling of solitude at his home, and his natural eraving for companionship, it is not remarkable that he married again. In October of this year he was united to Miss Anne Winthrop, daughter of Lieut.-Governor Thomas L. Winthrop, a connection which was a source of comfort and happiness to Dr. Warren while it lasted, though the lapse of eight years again saw his house desolate.

On the 16th of October, 1846, this entry appears in Dr. Warren's journal:—

"Did an interesting operation at the Hospital this morning, while the patient was under the influence of Dr. Morton's preparation to prevent pain. The substance employed was sulphuric ether."

Thus is recorded the first surgical operation of this

nature that had yet been performed. Its success was complete enough to reveal the magnitude of the discovery, though the subject of the operation was not made entirely unconscious. As to the blessings thence arising to mankind this is not the place to speak, nor yet as to the bitter and voluminous discussion that soon followed concerning their real author. Dr. Warren in his biographical notes says:—

"The introduction of ether into surgical operations was done by my hands. Mr. W. T. G. Morton, a dentist of Boston, called on me to say that he had found the means of preventing pain in surgical operations; and he was so sanguine in regard to his new application, that I agreed to employ it on the first opportunity. The use of ether, after a few trials, became quite satisfactory, and from that time few surgical operations were performed in Boston without it. Many hundred operations have been done by Dr. Mason Warren and myself with ether, and, considering the great power of this agent, it is wonderful we are able to say that no important ill-consequence at any time has occurred."

"In the latter part of 1847, I published 'Etherization, with Surgical Remarks,' and in the year after, 'Objections to Chloroform (effects of chloroform and strong chloric ether, as narcotic agents).' I should also mention that as much as forty years ago I recommended and employed sulphuric ether in alleviating the last pains, particularly from pulmonary diseases."

"It was not until some time after I had used ether that, in a conversation between Dr. Charles T. Jackson, Dr. Gould, and myself, I learned that it was on the suggestion of Dr. Jackson that Mr. Morton was first led to use ether to prevent pain. A violent controversy subsequently took place between Doctors Jackson and Morton, and I was frequently appealed to for evidence on the subject. The amount of what I know may be comprised in few words. Dr. Jackson suggested the use of ether to Morton, and Dr. Morton first employed it to prevent pain in the extraction of teeth, and at his request I first used it in a surgical operation. Dr. Jackson has also stated to me that he advised Dr. Morton to apply to me to use it in a surgical operation."

These extracts are given in Dr. Warren's own clear and unprejudiced words, that they may show his exact relation to the introduction of ether as an anæsthetic, a godsend with which his name will be indissolubly linked to all time. Asserting no claims on his own behoof, he calmly contemplated its future possibilities, and employed it with the caution that naturally belonged to him, as wont to "hasten slowly." It is, in truth, a powerful agent, and he never gave an unqualified approval of its use, considering chloric ether more innocent in its effects, and quite as thorough in producing unconsciousness. That Dr. Warren should have been the medium through which the value of this discovery was first demonstrated to the world, was eminently fitting. It was the bright, consummate recompense due to a life of devotion to every best interest of humanity, a life broad and unsullied, a life which always swayed level with the needs of its day and generation.

About this time Dr. Warren gave farther expression to his approval of social entertainments as favorable to new ideas and general progress, by founding the "Thursday Evening Club," a title which was selected at his request in place of that of the "Warren Club," originally conferred upon it in his honor. Planned by him in 1844, it became a fixed fact on the 27th of October, 1846, when the first meeting took place at his house. It is still flourishing in its pristine vigor, having amply justified the views which led to its establishment, and which were fully set forth in the eloquent homage paid to the memory of its author at the meeting held next after his death, by Edward Everett:—

"Dr. Warren had, as long ago as the year 1844, been deeply impressed with the importance of bringing together persons of different professions and pursuits, to converse and communicate with each other on the scientific improvements of the day, and other topics connected with social culture and progress. He had been of opinion that there was a want of intercourse be-

tween the active and the professional, the scientific and business classes of the community; and that, if they could be regularly brought together in a friendly circle, it would not only promote social enjoyment, but mutual improvement. He believed that there was no city on the continent where ampler materials exist for an enlightened and intelligent society, and they needed only to be brought statedly together."

These sentiments he had professed from the beginning of his career, and he proceeded to act upon them, as has heretofore been described, soon after his return from Europe, in 1802.

On the 15th of February, 1847, Dr. Warren sent in his resignation as Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in Harvard College, and on the 2d of the ensuing March he gave his last lecture in the presence of a numerous audience. His great reputation, his forty years of honorable service in the School, the impressive style of his delivery, his solemn and earnest phrases, weighty with long observation of the past, and abounding in prophetic revelations and sanguine encouragement for the future, made this an occasion never to be forgotten by those who took part in Before ther stood in all the dignity of its threescore years and ten. rowned with the brightness of deserved triumph, the sturdy embodiment of that iron will which had pressed steadily on where others had failed; of that devotion which, conscious of one sole aim, had daffed the world aside and bid it pass; of that purity, faith, and high endeavor which now in the matured richness of a wellspent life clothed it as with a garment, adding majesty to age, the fulness of fruition to patient continuance, and still animating with the fervid assurance of youth a spirit which already contemplated the approach of eternity. From a spectacle like this life took on a deeper meaning, and the real conquests of the world seemed far better worth the struggle necessary for their attainment than ever before. The glories of the promised land shone with a

stronger light as set forth in the momentous utterances of one who himself had led the chosen people through the wilderness and more than shared the mighty perils of the way.

"The only king and sovereign, by God's grace, Is he who melts all wills into his own."

In that day the recognition of Dr. Warren's labors flowed freely from the lips of his contemporaries. President and Fellows of Harvard College, at their meeting on February 27th, 1847, passed resolutions expressing their deep sense and grateful recollection of the importance and length of his services. Dr. Holmes, his successor in the chair of anatomy, paid him, at the opening lecture of his new course, a tribute every way worthy of his own graceful pen, of his learning, and of that poetic insight which gave him so keen a perception of Dr. Warren's real character and acquirements, and thus enabled him without reproach of flattery to gild the refined gold of his predecessor's virtues with his own genial praise and unstinted admiration. Dr. Warren's career deserved no less. Up to the time of his resignation, he had performed five thousand surgical operations, and had delivered three thousand lectures at the Medical School in Boston, and one thousand in Cambridge.

As a proof of his continued interest in his life's labors, and of his desire to still further propitiate the good will so liberally expressed towards him, Dr. Warren gave his anatomical collections, of immense value and unequalled in many respects, and the sum of \$5,000, to the University.

The comparative leisure that had now accrued to Dr. Warren was employed by him in the way that might have been foreseen. His love of his profession was still a powerful force, and led him almost daily to the hospital; but he was able to give up a larger part of his time than heretofore to objects nearly as attractive, which he had

always had in view. Of these he found natural history one of the most inviting. He delighted in geology, and his vivid imagination repeopled the earth with those uncouth forms which once animated its marvellous solitudes. Their fossil remains crowded his house from basement to attic. Said Professor Wyman in his eulogy:—

"At home or abroad they were uppermost in his thoughts. To procure additional knowledge for their elucidation he visited personally the more important collections in this country, and even made a voyage across the ocean."

The mastodon begot in him an all-absorbing attention. Of one that had just been found in New Jersey he bought the bones and set them up in his own museum on Chestnut Street, at great expense and with infinite care. Finally he wrote and published a volume embodying his researches on the Mastodon Giganteus, which gained him much repute abroad and at home, and which Owen placed "in the first rank of original treatises on paleontological science." In 1847, Dr. Warren was chosen President of the Boston Society of Natural History, an acknowledgment of his merits as a savant no less complimentary than unexpected. This office he held till his death, and no obstacle that could possibly be overcome was allowed to interfere with his performance of its duties. In his seventy-seventh year one observes this entry in his journal:—

"February 7th. Thermometer fifteen and a half degrees below zero. In the evening, a meeting of the Natural History Society. A very heavy snow-storm. There was, however, a pretty good attendance, and I occupied a greater part of the meeting in giving an account of a supernumerary mastodon tooth."

In a report submitted to this Society by Dr. Storer it is stated that Dr. Warren "just previous to his decease had prepared a paper on the animal of the Argonauta, all

the available species of which genus he had collected, described, and figured. This memoir he had completed, the last page of manuscript having been corrected by him within a week of his death. This was his last labor,—his

dying legacy to science."

Dr. Warren never suffered his patriotic sympathies for one moment to slacken, and their frequent display enlivened and invigorated his whole life. At the annual dinner of the Cincinnati, he was always present up to his seventy-eighth year. He was the first person to whom had been accorded the distinction of honorary membership, and no more eloquent, dignified, or spontaneous offering was made to his memory than that which his former associates entered on their records after his death. They thought it simple justice to declare him "no degenerate offspring of the race that had gone before him." Certainly in this regard his deeds might well deserve the meed of their words, for his broadly catholic nature found expression in brightening and strengthening every link that bound his generation to the past. To the union of the States, cemented as it had been by so many sacrifices, which he had not only witnessed, but shared, Dr. Warren was loyal with a loyalty that admitted no compromise. He was the presiding officer of the great Union Meeting at Fancuil Hall in 1850, and his few though stirring words thrilled all present as he said: —

"I go for the whole Constitution and the whole Union, as the best security for the liberties of the people. For these I stand here; and if I am not ready to exert every faculty which I possess to uphold and maintain them, I am false to the blood which runs in my veins, false to the ancestors from whom I am descended, and false to every sentiment of my own heart. I stand, then, at all hazards, for the Constitution and the Union, one and indissoluble, now and forever."

Shortly after this speech was delivered, Dr. Warren received a letter from Daniel Webster expressing his thanks for the position he had taken.

"Your speech," he wrote, "will be read all over the country. It is short, full of sense and matter, and touching and pathetic. I was at Mr. Seaton's two days after the speech arrived, and he said he had read it four times already, and, rising from his chair, he read it again with evident emotion. It is truly an important thing for the country and for yourself."

It was Dr. Warren who originated the plan for a monument to Franklin in his native city, while he carried into successful execution another for the erection of a permanent memorial over the remains of the great philosopher's parents in the Granary Burying-Ground, around which he set a plantation of shrubs and trees, "which was the first admitted into any burying-ground in this or perhaps any part of the country." In a similar spirit of congenial reverence and admiration, he took under his peculiar care the Old Elm on Boston Common, and wrote in its honor a small volume, in which he fondly sought to endow the venerable and majestic tree with "an almost immemorial antiquity." This same attachment for the past, however remote, led him to subscribe one hundred dollars, about a month before his death, "for placing the Assyrian marbles in the new Boston City Library."

In 1850, Dr. Warren went as far as Cincinnati to attend the annual reunion of the American Medical Association, on which occasion he delivered a valedictory speech, and retired from the office of President. In December of that year he was much distressed by the loss of his second wife, Mrs. Anne Warren, a misfortune which not only caused him great mental distress, but made serious inroads upon his bodily health, so serious, in truth, that he never entirely recovered the usual tone of his system. In the ensuing March he took a violent cold, followed by grave symptoms. By the advice of Dr. Jackson he went south in search of a milder climate. Returning from Richmond still in a state of suffering, he decided to make another voyage to Europe with his daughter and her family. On

the 5th of July he landed at Liverpool, and, to judge from the fatigues he at once proceeded to undergo, a vigorous reaction must have set in during his transit. The subjects he followed up, the ceaseless labors he undertook, the places he visited, the attention he received it would be superfluous here to narrate. They were but repetitions of his former visit. He had been old at seventeen, at seventy-three he was still young. "His eye was not dim nor his natural force abated." He dined with Sir Benjamin Brodie, he attended the Royal Agricultural Show at Windsor, feasting his eyes on the Alderney cows and other famous breeds; dining at Bartholomew Hospital, he made a speech; at King's College Hospital he saw Mr. Fergusson about to operate for a tumor below the jaw. Much to his gratification, that distinguished surgeon observed: "This tumor is stated by Dr. Warren, of Boston, who is here present, and who is the best living authority for what relates to tumors, to have a resemblance to a tumor which was the subject of the first surgical operation under ether, which was performed by him."

In Paris Dr. Warren was taken by Civiale to the Institute; he met Velpeau, Roux, Ricord, and many other old professional friends whose names shone like stars in the firmament of science. Day followed day in quick succession, nimbly winged with a hundred engrossing pursuits. The mastodon, whose dry bones he had galvanized into an impressive resurrection, he kept ever in view. Returning to London, he visited the famous Exhibition of that year, in itself an exhausting labor. And still he managed to extract sufficient time for long and entertaining letters to his children. At Guy's Hospital, the scene of his earliest professional work, he found but one person who had been there at that remote period. He enjoyed most agreeable interviews with Sir Charles Lyell, Professor Owen, and other geologists. He made an especial journey "to Lewes, to the seats of our ancient

ancestors," where in Southover Church he saw "a small chapel, very beautifully made, in which were deposited the remains of William, the first Earl of Warren, and Gundreda, his wife."

September 30th, this well-preserved veteran was again in Boston. On leaving the train he was welcomed by Dr. Mason Warren and his son, and by Mr. Sullivan Warren, "the most agreeable spectacle which has met my eyes for the last three months."

Dr. Warren was now in his seventy-fourth year, and had certainly earned the privilege of rest for the remainder of his days, but to a man of his activity this prospect offered little that was pleasing. To "wallow in the lilybeds proposed for the deserving" never suggested itself to him as an ultimate aim in life. He still continued to follow his old pursuits, in all their varied round, with unfailing interest and a vitality that seemed inexhaustible. He wrote and read unceasingly; he made repeated visits to the hospital; his punctual attendance at the societies and clubs where he belonged was equalled by that of hardly any other member, however young or vigorous; he published his work on the Old Elm, and also an elegant volume containing the results of his elaborate researches into the genealogy of his family. He still gathered about him the fossil relies of preadamite ages, and even took a journey to Amherst and beyond, that he might examine some lately discovered impressions made by the feet of birds in the sandstone. At this period the "otozonm" and the "labyrinthodon" were familiar in his mouth as beliemoth or leviathan, and even the "tetracaulodon" praised of Owen, stepped forth at his beck in its former fleshly tabernacle, and passed from a mysterious myth to a veritable and uncouth certainty. His fertile brain sought to reanimate every portion of the broad domain of Nature, loving her always as he did, and to unite by new and increasing ties the prolific present to the teeming past.

Even the sea-serpent claimed and secured his interest, and he published an article to prove by analogy that the prodigy thus styled "was not a humbug," but an actual existence with a genealogy almost as unbroken as his own.

In February, 1856, Dr. Warren's health first manifested serious signs of failure, and from that time till the ensuing May his attenuated body had frequent struggles with slowly approaching but inevitable death. From each successive contest he rallied with a feebler reaction, until the 4th of that month, when "he failed gradually, breathing lighter and lighter, till three o'clock Sunday morning, when with a slight sigh the spirit softly departed." ing all this interval it was only now and again that he was confined to his room, or even to the house. Doubtless he suffered more in mind than in body, and the disheartening news from a son so unspeakably dear as Mason slowly drained the very sources of his life. Even against this he strove with a characteristic pluck that would almost have extorted victory from death itself. He called on some patients in these last days; he went to the hospital; he was present at the regular meetings of the Club and of the Society of Natural History; he drove to Brookline; he invited the Cambridge Natural History Society to his house on the 2d of May.

"April 12, 1856. Visited the Hospital this morning at the request of Dr. Cabot to attend an operation of lithotomy. This was successfully performed on a boy six years old, and is the first operation in lithotomy I ever saw done in this country by any but my father, my son, and myself."

At the Club, April 17th, -

"I made some remarks on the propagation of fish, its great usefulness, and also directed their attention to the many benefits which had risen from this association."

As strength gradually left his limbs it appeared to collect with redoubled force about his tremendous will.

His brain was unclouded till shortly before his decease. He looked upon the approach of death with a calm confidence that was equally far removed from apathy and from defiance. When unable to walk, he requested to be placed upon his feet and taken to the window that he might look once more on the spring greenness of the Common, the Old Elm, and the setting sun, the radiant semblance of that light in which he was so soon to see light. He finally breathed his last lying on a sofa and surrounded by his family;—and thus he joined

"The choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence."

The cause of Dr. Warren's death was uncertain; at least an examination by the most prominent of his professional brethren failed to detect any obvious reason therefor. There was no trace of mortal disease. His friend, Dr. James Jackson, stated that "he believed that distress of mind, added to the bad state of his health previously, had exhausted his vital powers. The death of his first wife preyed on his feelings for a long time. When older and more feeble, he was affected in like manner more powerfully by the loss of his second wife. Just so, during the past few months, he had been overcome by sad tidings respecting the health of his son, who is abroad."

On the Wednesday after his death his funeral took place from St. Paul's Church, of which he had been the senior warden since the year 1820, when it was first established, and its most zealous friend as well. His faith in the tenets there professed had never wavered, and no secular concerns had ever been suffered to weaken the warmth of his devotion in its behalf. It was eminently fit that the edifice which had so long witnessed the expression of his unfaltering trust in man's redemption through the Son of God, and of his resolution, as himself had said, "to

see nothing and believe nothing but the pure and simple doctrine of Christ crucified for our sins," should be the scene of those last rites which, amid general mourning, confided his spirit to "the blessed company of all faithful

people."

"He speaks from the Christian's grave and from the upper skies; showing us, by his own recorded experience, how in the one we may gain a victory and in the other a rest with God." Thus did Dr. Vinton, his friend and pastor for fourteen years, commend Dr. Warren's example to those who had survived him.

Profoundly mindful of the elevation of his profession, and disdaining with innate independence the crude prejudices of society, Dr. Warren bequeathed his body for dissection, and his bones for public exhibition in the hall of the Medical College. There they may now be seen at the side of the bust set up by the Trustees in his honor, cogent witnesses, eloquent though mute, to the consistent issue of a consistent life, which in his death was perfect. His fleshly remains were reverently placed in the family tomb beneath the church of St. Paul, whence they were afterwards removed to the cemetery at Forest Hills. There they now rest, with the ashes of his father and of his uncle, Joseph. A Latin epitaph records the imperfect sepulture, veiling it from the world at large, but clearly intimating the truth to "those who know."

JOHANNES COLLINS WARREN,

NATUS AUG. I. MDCCLXXVIII.
OBIIT MAII IV. MDCCCLVI.

Animæ vestis carnéa Hoc tumulo conditur.

In conclusion, it may be said of him, as of another strong and gifted nature, "For all men it is appointed once to die. To this man the full measure of a man's

life had been granted, and a course and task such as to only a few in the whole generations of the world: what else could he hope or require but that now he should be called hence and have leave to depart, having finished the work that was given him to do?"

To Dr. John Collins Warren and his wife Susan Powell Mason were born the following children:—

John, born Sept. 16th, 1804, died in infaney.

Susan Powell, born July 23d, 1806, married to Charles Lyman, Esq., April 4th, 1827, died July 4th, 1856.

John, born April 19, 1808, died Dec. 4, 1875.

Jonathan Mason, born Feb. 5th, 1811, married Anna Crowninshield, daughter of the Hon. Benjamin W. Crowninshield, April 30th, 1839, died August 19th, 1867.

James Sullivan, born Nov. 21st, 1812, married Elizabeth Linzee Greene, Aug. 27th, 1846, died Feb. 6th, 1867.

Mary Collins, born Jan. 19th, 1816, married Thomas Dwight, Esq., Oct. 26th, 1842.

Emily, born May 10th, 1818, married Joseph Warren Appleton, whose name was afterwards changed to William, son of Hon. William Appleton, Oct. 9th, 1845.

ANDREW RANDALL

Andrew Randall was born, December 8, 1819, probably in or near Providence, in the State of Rhode Island. His parents were Samuel and Mercy (Thornton) Randall.

When a young man he went West, and assisted David Dale Owen in his Geological Survey for three years. He made Cincinnati, Ohio, his home, but in 1849 joined the great throng of emigrants attracted to California by the discovery of gold. A year or two after his arrival he was elected a member of the Assembly from Monterey. In 1851, and perhaps earlier, he held the office of Postmaster at Monterey. Soon he engaged in real estate speculations, ranching, and stock-raising, and in the course of a few years accumulated a great deal of property. He also, at one time, carried on a mercantile business in San Francisco. At his death he is said to have been one of the largest landholders, if not the largest, in California. He was a man of energy and well informed. He was a member of the Society of California Pioneers, and also of the California Academy of Sciences, and had been President of the latter association. He was generally called "Doctor" Randall, although it does not appear that he was ever graduated in medicine. In his personal appearance he was somewhat remarkable. Samuel Adams Drake, the author, who knew him, writes:-

"I could not easily forget the personal appearance of Doctor Andrew Randall, so peculiar was it even among the striking physiques and costumes of all nations which you were sure to see on the streets of San Francisco in 1853.

"The Doctor was of ordinary height, say five feet nine, and was not more regardful of his personal appearance than the thousands who then thronged the city with no wardrobe except what they stood in. He always were the broad-brimmed Mexican sombrero, which generally distinguished the gentleman from the miner or laborer.

"I doubt if any one in California ever saw the Doctor's face, except perhaps when he was laid in his coffin after his violent death at the hands of Hetherington. His whole countenance was enshrouded in hair, which gave him a more grotesque appearance than any one I can now recall. His hair, worn long like his beard, was quite thin, and he was accustomed to tie it in a hard knot at the back of his head. Both hair and beard were of a tawny, reddish-yellow color, the latter falling upon his breast. His moustache was simply prodigious, - you heard a voice, but saw not whence it proceeded, so that I am unable to describe this expressive feature. When I asked him how he managed his food, he showed me that he could dispose of his moustache like his hair, that is, by tying it behind his ears. I think he had blue eyes and a complexion a little florid, but such a seanty fraction of his face was uncovered by hair that I do not trust to my recollection on these points. The Doctor was very quiet, and appeared to me rather reserved, when men's tongues ran freely upon every topic. I never saw him angry or excited: on the contrary, he appeared to me a man of excellent equipoise."

Mr. Randall's end was a tragic one. He resided with his family at Corte Madera, in Marin County, about thirty miles north of San Francisco, but often visited that city on business. While there on the 24th of July, 1856, he was waylaid in the afternoon at about half-past three, as he was coming out of the St. Nicholas Hotel, by Joseph Hetherington, a native of Carlisle, England, with whom he had had some difficulty about pecuniary matters.

Hetherington seized him by his beard and fired several shots at him, the last of which entered his brain. He lingered till nine o'clock on the morning of July 26th, when he died. His wife came to San Francisco on the 25th, and was at his deathbed. On the 27th he was buried in Lone Mountain Cemetery, the Right Rev. William Ingraham Kip, D. D., officiating at the funeral. The Hon. Frank Soulé of the "Alta California," and other prominent citizens, acted as pall-bearers.

"The Evening Bulletin," a San Francisco paper, in an obituary notice said of him: "He had made many friends in the country, and was well and favorably known in this city, where he has always been regarded as a peaceable and honorable man."

Hetherington was immediately arrested by the Vigilance Committee, then in existence, and on the 29th of July the murderer was hung, the homicide being fully proved.

Mr. Randall became a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, February 9th, 1846, and in January, 1856, was chosen Honorary Vice-President for the State of California, which office he held at his death.

He was married at New Harmony, Indiana, May 29th, 1844, to Elizabeth Todd, daughter of Robert and Mary (Schnee) Todd, and granddaughter of Robert Todd, who resided near Leesburg, Va. Her parents removed from Virginia to Kentucky, and thence to Indiana, where she was born. Mr. and Mrs. Randall made their home at Cincinnati, Ohio. They had the following children:—

1. Adelia, born Sept. 8, 1848; married J. C. Stebbins, attorney at law, San Francisco. 2. Alden, born Feb. 8, 1849.

3. Amory, born February, 1853.

4. Arthur, born Jan. 30, 1854; died young.

5. Andrew Todd, born Feb. 9, 1857.

Mrs. Randall did not remove to California till April 17th,

1853, when she and her children joined her husband. She survived him, and in 1881 was living at San Francisco, where her daughter, Mrs. Stebbins, also resided. Her sons, Alden, Amory, and Andrew T., were then living in Arizona Territory.

ANDREW FERDINANDO WARNER

Andrew Ferdinando Warner was descended from old Puritan stock, and was always very much interested in the genealogy of his family. He devoted much time to the collecting of materials in regard to it, and from the result of his researches we are enabled to place upon record the following facts. It would appear that his first ancestor in America was Andrew Warner, who is first seen at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1632, and was admitted a freeman two years after. With the Rev. Mr. Hooker he left Cambridge, and, journeying through the then unbroken wilderness, after much trial and suffering reached Hartford in Connecticut. From this place he removed to Hadley, in Massachusetts, where he died at an advanced age in the year 1684. His son Daniel removed with his father to Hadley, and died in 1692, leaving a son Andrew, born June 24, 1667, who removed to the town of Saybrook in 1696, where to him in 1703 a son was born, to whom he gave his own name, who resided in this town until 1756. His son Jonathan was the great-grandfather of the subject of this biographical sketch. He was born in 1727. From his native town he removed to Hadlyme in the same State, where he died in 1810. Selden his son was born in the above-mentioned town in the year 1760, and here he lived until his death which occurred in 1843.

Andrew Ferdinando, son of this Selden, was born at Hadlyme in 1790. He entered Yale College, and, after pursu-

ing the usual classical course, graduated in 1812. After leaving college he adopted the profession of medicine, and settled in the town of Haddam, where he soon obtained a lucrative practice. He married Lucinthia, daughter of Cephas Cone, of Westchester, Connecticut, and died on the twenty-fifth of June, 1825.

Andrew Ferdinando Warner, son of Andrew F. and Lucinthia Warner, and the subject of this memoir, was born in Haddam on December the twenty-sixth, 1820. The boy was at a tender age deprived of a father's care and protection, and for the three following years remained at home with his mother. She married again. Her second husband was Ira Hutchinson, M. D., of Cromwell. Andrew then removed to the house of his uncle Richard Warner, M. D., residing at Cromwell, with whom he lived until the decease of that uncle in 1853. He next lived with his stepfather Dr. Hutchinson, and died at his house.

Mr. Warner was never a strong man. From a malformation of the heart he had been an invalid from his birth; and this superinduced dropsy, which shortened his life, and was the immediate cause of his death at the early age of thirty-five years.

He was educated in the common schools of Cromwell, and received such benefits as a country town in those days afforded. He was industrious and studious, and availed himself of all opportunities to increase his stock of information. He at various times assumed to attend to business, and entered at one time into the sale of dry goods; at another he opened a variety store, and on still another occasion became a manufacturer of iron. He was from physical reasons unsuccessful, and for several months previous to his death gave up all attempts to attend to business matters.

Mr. Warner was a man deeply interested in all matters tending to the public welfare. The cause of education

was dear to him, and the political affairs of the country attracted his attention and drew forth, especially during the antislavery contest, his warmest interest. He was ready to save any item in relation to old times which might be of use. He became a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, March 4, 1856, and died only four months subsequently, on the twenty-sixth of July.

He was a sincere believer in the truths of religion, and was for many years a member of the Congregational Church of Cromwell. He entered into the next world with calmness and resignation, in the firm belief of a Christian hope of a blessed hereafter.

THOMAS ROBBINS

THOMAS ROBBINS was born in the town of Norfolk, Litchfield County, Connecticut, August 11, 1777.

This township lies in the northwestern portion of the State, touching Massachusetts on its northern line, and separated from New York only by the towns of Canaan and Salisbury. For more than a hundred years after the first English settlements in Connecticut, this section of the State remained comparatively unoccupied. The whole region is elevated and rough, partaking in this respect of the character of the Eastern Berkshire towns in Massachusetts. But the soil has a good natural strength, and is especially fitted for grazing. Norfolk was not incorporated as a town until 1758. The Congregational Church was organized in 1760, and in 1761 the Rev. Ammi Ruhamah Robbins, the father of Thomas, was ordained as the first minister of the town. He remained in this office for fifty-two years, until his death. He was twenty-one years old at his settlement, and there were at that time about sixty scattered families that had planted themselves on the hills and in the valleys of this large township.

The young minister, thus introduced to his life-work, was himself the son of a minister, and he was prepared for his sacred office by good native abilities, by choice and careful culture, and by a special urbanity and refinement of manners. He had been graduated the year before at Yale College, and meanwhile had studied theology in the

family of the famous Dr. Joseph Bellamy, of Bethlem, Connecticut. The year after his settlement he was united in marriage to Elizabeth Le Baron, of Plymouth, Massachusetts, she being then in her seventeenth year. The acquaintance was formed while he was teaching school in Plymouth, where his brother Chandler had just been settled in the ministry. When he brought his young wife to Norfolk, in the autumn of 1762, over the rough roads of that half-primitive region, he established a household which, in its immediate as well as in its remoter influences, was destined to be one of great importance to that town and to all the region round about. A civilizing and refining power was at once to go from it into those scattered dwellings among the hills, and by various and successive links of connection was to reach on into the generations to come. The young pastor was indebted for the singular name he bore to the intensely Biblical character of the age in which he was born. The groundwork of this name may be found in the book of the prophet Hosea, second chapter and first verse: "Say ye unto your brethren, Ammi; and to your sisters, Ruhamah;" these two proper names meaning, "Thy people have obtained mercy."

Into this household were born thirteen children, five of whom died in infancy, and eight — six sons and two daughters — lived to mature life, and some of them to a ripe old age.

Going back now to the earlier generations and briefly tracing the family lines meeting in Thomas Robbins, we find them as follows. On the paternal side the earliest ancestor in this country was Richard Robbins, who had his home in Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1639. He and his wife Rebecca were admitted to the Charlestown church, May 24. 1640, and on the following Sunday, May 31, their son John was baptized. The family soon removed to Cambridge. We have the record of a son

Samuel, who was born in Cambridge, May 22, 1643. Two other children, Nathaniel and Rebecca, were baptized at Cambridge, though the dates of their baptism are lost. But we know by the records that this son Nathaniel died in 1719, at the age of seventy, so that the year of his birth seems to have been 1649. The family made Cambridge its home for generations. Richard Robbins shared in the division of the church lands in 1652, receiving as his portion eighty acres. In 1678 Richard gave deeds of land to his sons, — to Samuel thirty-six acres, to Nathaniel thirty-four acres, and a year or two later to Rebecca and her husband, John Woodward, thirty acres. The names of the family through the early generations are found in Harris's Cambridge Epitaphs.

Nathaniel, the son of Richard, married, August 4, 1669, Mary Brazier, and had eight children, of whom one bore his father's name.

This second Nathaniel, born February 28, 1677-8, married, first, Hannah Chandler, probably in 1695, and upon her death, in 1718, he married Mrs. Mary Prentice. Hannah Chandler was the mother of his nine children, unless the youngest daughter, Sarah, be an exception. The date of her birth is not given. He died January 26, 1761-2.

Among his sons was Philemon, born September 19, 1709. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1729, and afterwards studied theology with Dr. Nathaniel Appleton, of Cambridge. On the 7th of February, 1732, he was ordained pastor at Branford, Connecticut, where he continued in the ministry forty-nine years, till his death, August 13, 1781. Of his nine children three were sons, all of whom were set upon a course of public education. One of them died while in college, and the other two were the Rev. Dr. Chandler Robbins of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and the Rev. Ammi Ruhamah, the Norfolk pastor, already spoken of.

On the maternal side Dr. Robbins was descended from

the illustrious William Bradford, Governor of Plymouth Colony, by his second wife, Mrs. Alice Southworth, whose

maiden name was Carpenter.

Their son, William Bradford, was born June 17th, 1624. He was three times married, his last wife being Mrs. Mary Holmes, widow of the Rev. John Holmes, minister of Duxbury. Her maiden name was Atwood.

David Bradford, their son, was born when his father was well advanced in life, making the interval longer between the birth of the father and the son than is usual. He was the fourteenth child in the family. He married,

in 1714, Elizabeth Finney.

Lydia Bradford, daughter of David and Elizabeth, was born December 23, 1719. She was first married, in 1740, to Elkanah Cushman, who soon died. In 1743 she was again married to Dr. Lazarus Le Baron, of Plymouth. He was the son of Francis Le Baron, a surgeon on board a French privateer, which was wrecked in Buzzard's Bay. Thrown thus upon a strange shore, he settled as a physician in Plymouth in 1696.

Elizabeth, daughter of Lazarus and Lydia Le Baron, was born December 21, 1745, and became the wife of the Norfolk minister, as already mentioned.

Thus we find Dr. Robbins, alike on the paternal and maternal lines of descent, in the sixth generation from the first settlers in this country.

He was born in the time of the Revolutionary struggle. In 1776, the year before his birth, his father went as chaplain in the Northern army to Canada. He was with this army when the small-pox made such ravages in it.

As years passed on, the boy Thomas was fitted for college in his father's house, having for his companions in study other young scholars, who came to the parsonage at Norfolk for their college preparation. This house was like a little academy for that northwestern portion of Connecticut. In the tribute which the son, in later years,

prepared for Sprague's Annals, he says of his father: "With his ministerial labors he connected those of a teacher, having almost always a greater or less number of students with him fitting for college." At the age of fifteen, in 1792, he entered the Freshman class in Yale College, and was there during the last years of President Stiles's administration. At the end of his Junior year he left Yale and entered the Senior class at Williams College, where he was graduated with honor in 1796. Williams College was then in its very infancy. Only one class had been graduated at the time Mr. Robbins entered the institution. This new College was so located as naturally to attract the interest and sympathy of Northwestern Connecticut. It was not, therefore, from any dissatisfaction with Yale, or from any trouble which arose there, that young Robbins went thence to Williams, but rather to testify, on the part of himself and family, an interest in the new enterprise. His father had already become one of the Trustees of the institution, elected in 1794.

There were but six members in his class at Williams His graduating day was September 7, 1796. The commencement at Yale was one week later, September 14. After finishing his course at Williams, and receiving his diploma, he went back to New Haven, and was also graduated with his class at that institution. His name stands on the Triennial Catalogues both of Yale and Williams for the year 1796. His class at Yale numbered thirty-four, and was the first class graduated under President Dwight, who had been inaugurated at the Commencement the Some of the more conspicuous of Mr. Robyear before. bins's classmates at Yale were Professor Benjamin Silliman, LL. D., the Rev. Henry Davis, D. D., President of Hamilton College, and Professor Bancroft Fowler, of Bangor Theological Seminary. One member of his class, noted for his longevity, was the venerable Timothy Bishop of New Haven, who died in 1873, seventy-seven years after his graduation. 6

For several years after leaving college, Mr. Robbins was chiefly employed as a teacher, at the same time pursuing theological studies. He went in June, 1797, to reside in the family of Dr. Stephen West, of Stockbridge, Massachusetts. He was licensed to preach by the Litchfield North Association, September 25, 1798. He still continued to teach and also to supply vacant pulpits. had charge of the academy at Danbury, Connecticut, from 1799 to 1802. Meanwhile he had declined invitations from several parishes. In 1803, he accepted an appointment from the Missionary Society of Connecticut to labor among the new settlements in Ohio. That society, organized in 1798, was supporting some twelve or fifteen missionaries among the new settlements in Vermont, New York, Michigan, and Ohio. From the report of this society for the year 1803 we take the following item.

"Mr. Thomas Robbins, of Norfolk, was appointed a missionary, in May last, to supply the place of Mr. Chapman in New Connecticut. On the 20th of July following, he was ordained by the North Consociation of Litchfield County, as preparatory to his entering upon his mission. He set out from Norfolk for New Connecticut on the 25th of August. A letter has been received from him dated Carlisle (Penn.), October 10th, about forty days from the time he left Norfolk, in which he writes, 'Rode 470 miles,— preached 39 times,— attended two conferences, administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper once,— visited sick persons,— catechised children, and endeavored to give much instruction.'

"Mr. Robbins will labor in concert with Mr. Badger, and with a third missionary who is soon to be sent there."

He labored in this field three years, and in co-operation with his fellow-workers organized several of the early churches of Ohio. It was while here that he preached the ordination sermon of his cousin, the Rev. Samuel Prince Robbins, son of Dr. Chandler Robbins of Plymouth. A

brief notice of this service is found in the sixth volume of the Connecticut Evangelical Magazine, as follows:—

"Ordained on Wednesday, the 8th day of January last (1805), over the first religious Congregational Society in Marietta, Ohio, the Rev. Samuel Prince Robbins. The public services of the occasion were performed in a solemn and impressive manner. The Rev. Jacob Lindsly made the introductory prayer. The Rev. Thomas Robbins, of Connecticut, preached the sermon."

He returned from this missionary life in 1806, with his health considerably impaired, by reason of the hardships and exposures of such a work. Preaching for three years in various places, in 1809 he accepted a call from the First Ecclesiastical Parish in East Windsor. This was the parish where Timothy Edwards commenced preaching as the first minister, in 1694, continuing sixty-four years, till his death in 1758. Here the celebrated Jonathan Edwards was born, in 1703, and was fitted for college in his father's house, as were also a large number of young men from the surrounding towns. The memories of the past clustered about the parish at the time Mr. Robbins began his labors. Here Roger Wolcott had lived, one of the distinguished Colonial Governors of Connecticut, and from his family men were raised up from generation to generation for distinguished public service in state affairs and in national affairs, as well as in the Church of Christ.

The writer, born in East Windsor, in the North (or Second) Parish, where the Rev. Shubael Bartlett was minister for fifty years, well remembers Dr. Robbins, as he used to appear in the pulpit from 1820 to 1827. At that time, his brother, the Rev. Francis L. Robbins, was the pastor in the adjoining town of Enfield, on the north, so that these two brothers were more convenient for exchanges than almost any other of the neighboring ministers. They were both very frequently in Mr. Bartlett's pulpit. One sermon preached by the Rev. Thomas Robbins, about the

year 1825, from Romans ii. 4, for some reason, made a peculiar impression upon the childish mind. There was a tenderness in the train of thought and in the manner of the preacher that awakened the emotions and drew a half tearful attention to the sermon.

From early life Dr. Robbins was a lover of books. a young man, he discovered an antiquarian taste far more rare in his generation than at the present time. He was in some sense a pioneer in a class of studies and researches now shared by many persons. It was about the time of his settlement at East Windsor that the plan of forming a large and carefully selected library began to take a practical shape in his mind. It was this turn of his life that led Mr. Bartlett, his brother minister in the North Parish, to say, with his Christian gentleness and patriarchal simplicity, "Brother Robbins thought he could have either a wife or a library, and he very unwisely chose the latter, - very unwisely." The Hon. Henry Barnard was President of the Connecticut Historical Society at the time of Dr. Robbins's death. The obitnary notice which he prepared, and which was published in the eighth number of the third volume of the American Journal of Education, gives a brief history of the growth of this library.

"He commenced his collection while in college, by preserving his text-books, and in 1809 made a formal beginning of a permanent library, by making a catalogue of his entire stock, consisting of one hundred and thirty volumes, with a determination that he would add at least one hundred volumes a year as long as he should live. He consecrated his design by invoking the blessing of God upon it. . . . From this small and pious beginning, in 1809, by denying himself all superfluities out of a modest income, Dr. Robbins persevered, adding year by year at least one hundred volumes to his collection, till, instead of a few shelves in a single case, we now see this spacious hall filled with many thousands of choice and valuable books."

Mr. Robbins was, at his own request, in 1827, dis-

missed from his parish in East Windsor. After three years of miscellaneous preaching, he was installed pastor of the First Church in Stratford, Connecticut, in 1830. He remained here but one year. In 1831, he accepted a call from the Congregational Church at Mattapoisett, a parish in the town of Rochester, Massachusetts, where he remained thirteen years.

It was in 1844 that the process began by which his valuable collection of books and pamphlets eventually became the property of the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford. Some movement had been made in the Rhode Island Legislature toward the purchase of the collection as a foundation for a State Library. Mr. Barnard, from whom we have quoted, was at that time Commissioner of the Public Schools of Rhode Island. He was thoroughly in the plan for purchasing the library for that State, and wrought earnestly to bring about that result. But the scheme proving unsuccessful before the Legislature, he, being a native of Hartford, and interested in its public institutions, now felt himself at liberty to try and secure the treasure for the Connecticut Historical Society. We quote from a note appended to the obituary notice to which we have already made reference.

"On the same day Mr. Barnard drove over to Mattapoisett, and after an interview of an hour, finding that Dr. Robbins's health required a cessation of pastoral duties, gave his personal obligation for a salary for five years, equal to that which he was then receiving as pastor, if he would remove to Hartford with his library, and become librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society. In the course of the week following, he visited Hartford, raised among the members of the Society and the personal friends of Dr. Robbins the sum required, and presented the matter to the sanction of the Society, which was promptly and cordially given. The annual payment for five years was subsequently converted into an annuity, in consideration of which Dr. Robbins, of his own accord, transferred his library to the Society."

It may be added, that he also gave the Society the sum of \$3,000, to aid in the care of the books and enlargement of the resources of the institution. This library is rich in old and choice pamphlets, in a large collection of Bibles, and in many fine editions of the works of the early Christian Fathers.

He greatly enjoyed the new life upon which he had now entered. His library was deposited in the Wadsworth Atheneum, at Hartford. He was already sixtyseven years old, and it was a great pleasure thus to find a secure home and resting-place in his old age. He lived with his books, which for so many years he had been laboriously gathering, and which had now been promoted to a place of honor and dignity. He took delight in the society of students and scholars, and nothing gave him greater satisfaction than to unfold to them the choice riches of his collection. Dr. Barnard says of him, in this connection: "Here, for ten years, with gradually failing strength, he might be seen at our monthly meetings, and day by day welcoming, with courteous attentions, the citizen and stranger to these rooms, and explaining, with almost the personal interest of an eyewitness to the reality, these memorials of a past age, - himself an object of no less interest to the visitor."

Dr. Robbins inherited from his father and mother an uncommon gentleness and courtesy of manner. He was patient and free from all irritability, so that the stranger was at once at ease in his presence.

He received his title of D. D. from Harvard College in 1838. He was, from 1842 to 1853, one of the Trustees of Williams College.

He was in some sense, perhaps, the originator of the Connecticut Historical Society, as he seems to have made the first suggestion of such an institution in an address given at Hartford, in 1822. Three years later the Society was formed, and he was among the first incorporators,

with such men as John Trumbull and the Hon. Thomas Day as associates. He was also a member of the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, and of the New England Historic Genealogical Society of Boston, to which the was admitted a corresponding member, February 18, 1847. He was deeply interested in the charitable institutions of Hartford, — the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, and the Retreat for the Insane, and others.

Dr. Robbins was not known as a public writer, to any large extent, but in the course of his long life he furnished much miscellaneous matter for the press. The following may not be a complete list of his publications, though it is as nearly so as we have been able to make it, and embraces certainly the chief of his works.

1. An Oration occasioned by the Death of General Washington, delivered at Danbury, Connecticut, Jan. 2, 1800, with a Sketch of his Life. Danbury. pp. 16.

Two or three editions were published. This was four years after leaving college, and while he was Principal of the Danbury Academy.

- 2. A Century Sermon, 1801. Danbury.
- 3. Fast Sermon. Middletown, 1815. pp. 21.
- 4. Sermon at the Interment of the Rev. Nehemiah Prudden. Hartford, 1816. pp. 19.
- 5. Sermons on the Divinity of Christ. Preached at East Windsor. Hartford, 1820.
 - 6. Sermon at Installation of the Rev. E. L. Clark, 1820.
 - 7. Sermon to the Military at Hartford, 1822.
 - 8. Sermon on the Death of E. B. Cook, 1823.
 - 9. View of all Religions. 3d edition, 1824. 12mo.
- 10. The Dying Believer committing his Soul to Christ. Sermon on the Death of Mrs. Cynthia Fairchild. Hartford, 1824.
 - 11. Sermon at Installation of the Rev. E. Burt, 1825.
 - 12. Sermon at the Funeral of the Rev. Lemuel Le Baron. w Bedford, 1837. pp. 20.
 - '. Historical View of the First Planters of New England.
 ' 1st edition, 1815; 2d edition, 1843, pp. 300.

and first published in twenty successive numbers

of the Connecticut Evangelical Magazine. They were written at the suggestion of Dr. Nathan Strong, of Hartford, the editor of the Magazine, and were commenced in the eleventh volume of that work.

14. Dr. Robbins was also the editor of the first (1820) and second (1853) American editions of Mather's Magnalia. He wrote the prefaces and explanatory notes. Before the American edition of 1820 was published, we had no copy of this work except the large English edition of 1702, which was becoming rare and costly.

15. He furnished the articles upon his father, Ammi Ruhamah, and his grandfather, Philemon Robbins, in Dr. Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit. In addition, he assisted Dr. Sprague, by original letters, in illustrating the lives of the Rev. Cotton Mather Smith, Dr. Chandler Robbins, Rev. Nathaniel Taylor, Dr. David McClure, and Dr. Nathan Strong.

16. He also revised and continued Tytler's Elements of

General History, 1815.

With regard to published writings illustrating his life, we know of nothing so complete as the obituary article of Dr. Barnard, already freely referred to. The Connecticut Evangelical Magazine contains frequent references to him, as well as articles from his pen. There are many paragraphs to be found there illustrating his earlier public services.

With his library at Hartford may be found a set of interleaved ahmanaes, now bound in twelve handsome volumes, in which he kept a record of his life for fifty-eight years. This work was begun just as he was ready to graduate from Williams College. The first entry is September 1, 1796, and is as follows: "Engaged in committing my pieces for Commencement." The last entry was March 6, 1854, when, at the age of seventy-six, the infirmities of years were fast settling upon him. The recor is as follows: "Received a dividend from the Phot Bank of \$60. I have been a member of that bod its beginning. They do poorly at Congress."

very. The South generally prevail." For a minute study of his life there is nothing, of course, which can compare with this diary. Moreover, the record will be found exceedingly useful for any historian who is threading his way through the events of the first half of the present century.

There are two pictures of Dr. Robbins at the rooms of the Connecticut Historical Society; one, of moderate merit, taken in his early manhood; the other, a superb painting, which the Society had taken while he was in a vigorous old age.

We have already had glimpses of his tastes and peculiarities. In addition, a few sentences from a letter, written by one of his nieces, will suffice. She says:—

"My Uncle Thomas always dressed in the old-time black-satin tights, silk stockings, knee and shoe buckles, or with white-topped boots. These he always wished to have brushed with particular care, lest the white leather should become soiled. His courtesy of manner, prompted by the kindness of his nature, was such, that all who came in contact with him took great pleasure in serving him. Those who had personal relations with him could not fail to love him. He watched the educational progress of his nephews and nieces with great interest."

It has been implied throughout this article, though not perhaps definitely stated, that Dr. Robbins was never married. Whether wisely or unwisely, he deliberately gave up the pleasures of domestic life, that he might follow out his favorite scheme of a great library. He well knew that the small salary of a country minister would not suffice to cover the expenses of both, and he chose the library.

But in this connection it is proper to say, that a delightful home in his native town was always ready for him until the day of his death. Whatever his outward fortunes might be, he was sure of a hearty welcome from

his kindred. His sister Sarah, two years younger than himself, had married early in life Joseph Battell, Esq., of Norfolk, and in this home of wealth and culture, where nephews and nieces abounded, a generous hospitality was ever extended to him. One of the nieces became the wife of the Rev. Joseph Eldridge, D.D., another life-long minister of Norfolk, (1832–1874,) and the cheerful parsonage-house of Norfolk stood invitingly open. Had he been more of a stranger and outcast in the earth, he would doubtless have suffered more from the absence of domestic joys, for his nature was one craving sympathy and companionship.

He faded away, at last, in a calm and serene old age. There was no sharp crisis of disease. For four or five years, the powers of his mind and body gradually weakened and decayed. He died in the town of Colebrook, adjoining Norfolk, at the house of his niece, Mrs. Elizabeth Robbins Allen, September 13, 1856, at the age of seventy-nine.

JAMES WARD

The subject of this sketch traced his lineage to Thomas Ward, of Homersfield, in the county of Suffolk, England, who married a daughter of John Hare, of Homersfield, Doctor of Civil Law. Their son, Richard Ward, of Homersfield, lord of the manor of Bacony in Gorleston, county of Suffolk, (in right of his wife, Anne, the daughter of Richard Granville,) in his will, dated September 7, 1597, left £333 to his son, Andrew Ward of Gorleston, who was twice married, the name of his first wife being Margaret, and that of his second, Susan.

A manuscript account of a journey through Suffolk, in the year 1657, by a Mr. Leverland, states that descendants of this Andrew Ward were then in New England.

One of his children, Andrew Ward, came to New England with the Suffolk emigration, in company with Governor Winthrop, and, after remaining a short time at Watertown, in Massachusetts, removed to Connecticut, where he became distinguished and filled several important offices. In 1659 he was in Fairfield, Connecticut, where he made his will and died the same year; his wife, Hester, or Esther, being named in the will. She died a few years after him; her will, dated December 17, 1665, having been proved in 1665 or 1666.

Their third son, the second Andrew Ward, born in Fairfield, in the year 1647, was admitted a freeman in Killingworth, in 1668, and married Tryal, the daughter of John

Meigs, of Guilford. He was a conspicuous citizen of the town, and held office until 1688. He died in the year 1690, aged forty-three years; and his widow, with her four sons and two daughters, returned to Guilford, her early home, where she subsequently kept a school on the green or common, near a pond, which was called Dame's Pond.

Their fourth son was William Ward, who was born in Killingworth, October 18, 1678, and married Lettis, the daughter of John Beach, the granddaughter of Samuel Royce, or Rice, of Wallingford (Meriden Society). He was a large landholder in Wallingford and other towns. He was usually called "Captain" Ward. He died in Wallingford, December 19, 1768, aged 90 years.

Their son, William Ward, was born January 7, 1705, probably at Wallingford, and married a daughter of John Crampton, of East Guilford (now Meriden), January 31, 1726. She died in Guilford, 1757, aged fifty-three years; and he died, 1760, in the same place where his grandmother, Tryal Meigs, had been born, and where, as a widow, she had kept the village school, on the green, and reared her children, including his father.

Their son, Billious Ward, was born in Wallingford July 10, 1729, and came with his father to Guilford about 1733. He was, by occupation, a gold and silver smith and jeweller. On the 4th of January, 1753, Billious Ward and Beulah Hall were united in wedlock. They were the first couple ever married in the Episcopal Church in Guilford, where a parish had been formed ten years previously, in which the famous Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson, formerly a tutor of Yale College, had frequently administered the rite of baptism; and, at the marriage service, the novelty of the occasion brought together a multitude which filled the house, the windows even being occupied by outside spectators, to see a marriage "church fashion," as they termed it. The bride on this occasion,

who was born at Guilford, April 2, 1733, was the daughter of Nathaniel Hall of Guilford, who was the grandson of William Hall, one of the Rev. Mr. Whitfield's company of twenty-two, who signed a plantation covenant before they left Boston for Connecticut.

William Hall was the son of Gilbert Hall, a citizen of London, who owned property on London Bridge; and at his death, this son, then of Guilford, inherited a large portion of his estate, according to the will. He died in Guilford in 1669. Nathaniel Hall was a rigid Puritan and reared his family in the strictest manner.

In the year 1775 Billious Ward removed to Wallingford, where he spent the remainder of his life. a Loyalist and a zealous Episcopalian, and removed to Wallingford to enjoy the church and personal society of the Rev. Samuel Andrews, whom he esteemed most highly. He was in the battle of Lake George, when Baron Dieskau was defeated and wounded. He was sociable, intelligent, and much given to hospitality, often entertaining elergymen of the church, among whom was the Rev. Abraham Jarvis, afterward the Bishop of Connecticut. His death occurred on Monday morning, March 24, 1777, at the age of fortyeight years. At this time the small-pox was epidemic in the village, and he was one of the victims. His widow died at the residence of her son James, in Hartford, November 1, 1823, and was buried beside the grave of her husband, in Wallingford.

Their second son, James Ward, the subject of this memoir, was born in Guilford, February 2, 1768. He mentions as among his earliest recollections that in the year 1774 or 1775, at the time when the Boston troubles commenced, he, being then about six or seven years of age, was astonished to see persons standing about in groups on Sunday, as though it were a week-day, which he had never seen before. In the month of January, 1777, a number of persons were brought before a court, charged

with Torvism, the Rev. Mr. Andrews and his father being among the number. They were confined in a chamber of · the tavern, where, however, they had a social time. Each had a separate trial, and all were put under bonds not to have intercourse with those opposed to the Continental War. He was confined to his home lot, not to leave without a permit. His father. Billious Ward, stated to the Court on his trial that he was a friend to his country, that he had done nothing, and should do no act opposed to her interest, but that having some acquaintance with the British army he did not believe it would be in the power of the colonists to contend successfully with it; and that if the country should succeed in what it appeared to aim at, namely, to establish a republic, such a form of government could not sustain itself, but would end in anarchy and confusion. He was the only one of those tried who was released without bonds.

In the month of May following his father's death the family returned to Guilford, and occupied the old homestead, James being then nine years of age. He records that the great gun of the town was fired on the rock in Guilford, in the evening, thirteen times, on account of the capture of Burgoyne, the flash and report being distinctly observed at Long Island. His oldest brother, about twelve years older than himself, had left the State, and resided in New York during the war.

There was a strong political dislike to the family, who continued to attend the Episcopal Church, which became so unpopular that most of the young people went to other meetings, though his mother and one or two other families kept their children at that church. In coming out of the building, at the close of the services, on one occasion, he heard a woman say to another: "There are as many of us here as there were in the Ark."

While in Guilford he attended the public school, in which were so many pupils, that when convened for

prayers in the morning they could not all be seated, and, to make room, one class was sent out to play; when another class had read it was sent out and the other called in, and so in rotation until all were called in for correction, prayers, and dismissal. The books of instruction were the New England Primer and Dilworth's Spelling Book. There was another district that was thought to have a better school, at which, as a favor, he was permitted to attend when he was about twelve years of age. He recorded that on the dark day of Friday, May 19, 1780, the schoolmaster and pupils left the school to view the green-yellowish appearance of surrounding objects. In the fall and winter of 1778-9, he had lived with Mr. William Atwater, a cousin of his father, in Wallingford. A common occupation was clamming. In this pursuit, on one occasion, to take advantage of the early tide, he had gone with a young friend, little older than himself, to the flats west of the harbor, before sunrise. The day was July 5, 1779. While occupied they heard the distinct signal of three guns. His companion exclaimed that they were alarm guns, and that the British had come. They hastened to the town, a mile and a half distant, which they found in commotion, the British having landed in New Haven. One villager, a successful lieutenant of a privateer, insisted that the Churchmen and other suspected Tories should be shut up in the town house, lest they should do mischief while the soldiers and Whig male inhabitants were gone to fight the British at New Haven. The project so agitated Colonel Andrew Ward, then eighty-four years old, that he died in about three days, from the excitement. To allay this ferment, his son, General Andrew Ward, remained until nearly the last of those departing, and agreed that, if they would collect the Tories and send them up to his house (about two miles) at Nut Plains, he would be responsible for his wife's care of them. Upon this, those who were to be

left to guard the Tories, with the privateer lieutenant, went to New Haven, but agreed that they should be dealt with on their return. The lieutenant was killed by a four-pound shot, and brought home dead, which allayed the bitter feeling, and everything was quiet.

In the winter of 1779-80, he went to Walpole with a Mr. Graves, whose house was located about three miles south of the meeting-house. He recollects the Rev. Mr. Fessenden as a short man with a wig and a great cocked A frequent expression in his prayer was: "That these things may be written on our hearts with a pen of iron and a point of a diamond." Here it was mentioned as an extraordinary circumstance, that Major Bellows, of that town, had a room in his house that was lathed and plastered, the only one in the place, though there were many there who were called rich or forehanded. On his return from Walpole, in 1781, to Guilford, he sometimes coasted along shore to New London and other places, frequently carrying freight of privateer prize goods; while doing this he was several times chased on shore; and, to prevent this occurrence, he sometimes escaped into small inlets, such as Rope Ferry or Four-mile River. At one time a privateer whale-boat fired a ball through the mainsail, and the passengers, including a Frenchman, jumped overboard at night, and swam and waded to the shore. The long row-boat, or whale-boat, as it was called, that chased them proved to be a Connecticut privateer-boat, and was rowed by the crew that killed D. Williams, of Hartford, conveying goods from Long Island. He then took passage in a two-masted half-deck boat that had a permit from Governor Trumbull to convey a family and furniture to Long Island from Middletown "upper houses." Under cover of this permit, the vessel conveyed grain and other articles not proper to be carried to the enemy's lines. When she arrived at Middletown, she was under the protection of a small privateer sloop at the wharf,

which prevented some persons from inspecting her loading. She sailed in company with and under the protection of the sloop on Christmas Day. The river closed that night, or was impassable. Captain Joseph Griffin was on board, and, perhaps, was the commander; before night she was at Sag Harbor, and when within a mile of the shore, the crew ran their boat on a timber of a sunken vessel, several feet under water; the tide falling, Captain Griffin, an uncommonly strong man, with a club foot, got overboard nearly up to his waist in water, stood on a timber of the same sunken wreck, and lifting the boat off, sprang into it. This was spoken of as a hazardous act, which no other one could or would have done. The crew went on shore and put up at a tavern kept by a Mr. Duval or Deal (they pronounced it Devil). There they met an English privateer, with goods from New York. After a mutual exchange of wares, they played cards together all night, had a noisy time and created much disturbance, so that there was not much sleep in the house. From Sag Harbor he walked to East Hampton, eight miles, and there met his brother, Billious, twelve years older than himself, who was keeping school in that town, having left New York. With the assistance of his brother, he procured a new suit of clothes. He took passage in a sloop from Sag Harbor to Saybrook, and the vessel being short of hands, he offered his assistance, and took charge of the helm for some time. men on board expressed themselves surprised that such a youth should show so much sailor skill, and gave him a free passage. He was then about fourteen years old (1782). From Saybrook he came on foot to Guilford.

About this time, 1782, he was engaged in salt works, and he determined to go to sea, but was told if he did he must learn navigation. There was some conversation about his being bound to a Captain Parish, of Branford, and that, when qualified, he should sail as his mate, be-

fore his time was out. His mind was then set upon being a ship officer, and walking the quarter-deek of a squarerigged vessel. He, with several others older than himself, was then sent to a mariner to learn navigation; this man had been one voyage as cook to the West Indies, and one or two voyages as a common sailor, expecting soon to sail as mate. He attempted to teach them what he called plain sailing, and told them that circular sailing navigation was of no use unless they were going to sail round the world. James Ward's knowledge of figures was about equal to that of the teacher, which did not exceed the Rule of Three, and imperfectly understanding that. They learned to raise a perpendicular in various ways, and to "take a departure on a straight line, by a sweep of 60," as he called it, "on a line of chords of 90 degrees, to set off the departure." He was inquisitive to know what a "line of chords" was, and the meaning of "a sweep of 60." In reply, he was told that he was an inquisitive little fool to trouble himself about it, as there were Captains Fairehild, Landon, Collins, and other old and experienced captains who did not trouble themselves about it; upon which they named him "sweep of 60," which his younger associates repeated from the older boys, and in consequence he soon after left the school. This answered his mother's intended purpose, she knowing that at this time the practice was to sail for the West Indies in the fall, to return in the spring; and this farce of a school, continued into December, until every vessel from New London to Norwalk had sailed, was to amuse him until it was too late to go to sea.

After the peace with Great Britain, 1783, and while the British were yet in New York, he went to see his older brother in New York, who was a clerk in one of the army offices. He saw there the British and Hessian army parade daily, and some instances of cruel army flogging. He at one time visited the Dutch Church with another

person, who went there on business. It was then occupied by British soldiers as a barrack. They called on the sergeant at his quarters, - a room curtained off at the end of the gallery. The conversation among the soldiers was in a low tone, just above a whisper. He was then about fifteen years old. He represented the Hessians as a rather inferior race. On his return he went to work with Captain Samuel Parmelee to learn the trade of gold and silver smith (as it was then called), and learned to take a watch to pieces and put it together again, meanwhile living with his mother. When about seventeen years of age he removed to Wallingford, accompanied by his mother. Here he hired a house, about half way from the corner near the meeting-house and the old church, built a shed and forge, and was befriended by the families of his deceased father's former acquaintances. Not heing satisfied with his mechanical information, he removed to Hartford, where he was a bound apprentice to Beach & Sanford, to learn the trades of clock and watch maker, jeweller, engraver, and gold and silver smith. The senior partner, Colonel Miles Beach, had been an apprentice to his great uncle, Macock Ward, and had lived a short time with his father to learn the art of a gold and silver smith and jeweller. James Ward was then in his eighteenth year. He once said to the writer, speaking of this experience, that he knew almost as much concerning the business as his employers did.

He commenced business as a partner with Colonel Beach, under the firm name of Beach & Ward, in 1798. Before they dissolved partnership they had commenced the coppersmith business, principally in the manufacture of stills, employing an Englishman who understood the business. During the first year after the dissolution of this partnership there was a great demand for stills, which, therefore, enlarged his business in that direction, while at the same time he carried on his regular manufac-

ture and trade in other things, so that he had a number of men in his employ of all ages and countries. In the following spring, with the assistance of his friend Colonel J. Wadsworth, he purchased the house now 98 Main Street, in that city, which he occupied until his death, in October, 1856. At this time, in addition to his other business, he manufactured guns and pistols, carried on the copper, brass, and bell-foundry business, and was largely engaged in the sale of military goods. Mr. Ward had been married to Miss Ruth Butler in 1803. She was a daughter of Jonathan Butler, of Hartford, a direct descendant of Deacon Richard Butler, one of the first settlers of that town. They had seven children, all born in the same house in which he died, two of whom died in infancy. He occupied several offices of trust and importance in the town, among them was that of Chief Engineer in the Fire Department, and he was also a member of the Common Council, which offices he held until the political revolution which occurred about the year 1818. At the time when he was Engineer there was no paid Fire Department, but every citizen was a fireman, and obliged by law to attend fires, and, when there, was subject to the orders of the fire-wardens, who were invested with all the powers of our police force, and were selected from the most respectable citizens, the Secretary of the Treasury and the State's Attorney having been of them. Ministers, professional men, and all classes were ordered into the ranks promiscuously to pass buckets, and no one was allowed to leave the ground until the fire was extinguished. At that time the officials of the city were in reality the city fathers, for they exercised a paternal control over the city as if it were their own, and without salary.

He was fond of relating an incident showing the difference between times as they were and times as they are. He said that after a fire in the city he called on the Mayor (Lieutenant-Governor Goodrich), and request-

ed that the Department might be furnished with a few more feet of hose. His Honor replied, "Don't say a word: the city owes \$700. When they have paid that, we will attend to you." The reader must bear in mind that at that time the city officials, as well as those of the State, were invested with more power and importance than in these democratic times. The incumbent was Governor de facto as well as de jure: he presided in person in the Council or Upper House as the Governor and Council; and there was where he delivered his annual official message, the House of Representatives being invited to be present at the reading. It was more allied to royalty. The Legislature, for the time being, was absolute, unrestrained by any constitution, and acting under the original charter of King Charles as it was preserved in the Charter Oak Tree; and those laws were certainly not more absurd or arbitrary than some that have been enacted since under the Constitution.

On the death of Governor Griswold, the Lieutenant Governor, John Cotton Smith, succeeded him as Governor of the State. He resided with Mr. Ward when in Hartford, and this house was his head-quarters there during the war of 1812, as he was occupied in Hartford much of his time. Early in the war some ammunition and provisions were on their way to New London, and, as there was no one appointed to take charge of them, Governor Smith requested Mr. Ward to perform that duty; and, having done so to the satisfaction of all parties, he was appointed Commissary-General of the State, receiving his commission from the Governor and Council, dated May, 1813, which office he held during the war, and, with the exception of one year in the latter part of his life, until his death; for such was the pressure of public sentiment that he was reinstated the following year, and during the long "era of good feeling" inaugurated by President Monroe the office was a mere sinecure. During the war,

while the State troops were called out, he was much of his time on the seaboard, travelling from New London to New Haven, Bridgeport, and other places on the coast, attending to the public business, for he devoted himself to the honor of the State and the country; and at one time, in a case of emergency, he advanced money, which the Legislature was unable to refund, as there was no appropriation. At the close of the war he went to Washington to settle his account with the Government, and on the journey he was told that his efforts would be unavailing, for the officials would not settle any accounts. On his arrival there he went to the proper department and informed the authorities of his business. At an appointed time his account was promptly paid. He then related to the officials the refusal of the department to settle any accounts, and was told in answer that many such accounts as were brought in they could not settle; "but," they said, "your bill is so just that there can be no question about it."

In 1817 the Deaf and Dumb Asylum in Hartford was commenced, for the education of deafmutes, in which he was chosen director, and so continued during his lifetime, so that at the close of his life he found himself among the next generation, and some of them "gray with years." He was for many successive years a director in the Hartford Bank, when at first it was the only bank in the city. From the opening of the Retreat for the Insane, and for many years after, he was connected with that institution as treasurer, and otherwise, besides holding office in other institutions, in all of which he took an intense personal interest, as was his nature with regard to any subject in which he was engaged.

He was eminently a social man. He was also interested in mathematics and other scientific works, so that at fifty years of age he enjoyed the study of algebra. He would work over a sum until midnight, think of it over-

night after he had retired, and finish it next morning while waiting for breakfast, he said, as an amusement, for such was the activity of his mind that it required something to feed upon. He could not comprehend why some men of means enjoyed retirement from active pursuits; and he used to say, "While I am in the world, I want to live in the world."

His wife died in 1844. She was the sister of Frederick Butler, of Wethersfield, historian, and like him was possessed of that affability and suavity of manner and decorum peculiar to the old or Washington school.

He was admitted a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, December 26, 1845. He regularly attended the meetings of the Connecticut Historical Society, and thus passed the close of his life in corresponding with the absent members of his family, or in collecting genealogical information, and chiefly interested in historical matters connected with the State, on which he was often consulted. He was informed in the peculiar doctrines of the different sects of religion, and familiar with the Scriptures, and also thoroughly cognizant of the history and doctrines of the political parties. He took little interest in the politics of his later years, calling himself a Federalist of the old school. He always voted for the existing incumbent for Governor, to whatever party he might belong, or for his personal friends. Whenever the Whig party obtained a victory, he regarded it as only temporary, obtained by a spasmodic effort and an extravagant use of money. When the late Governor Trumbull once called on him to take an interest in an election, he refused to have anything to do with it, but said, "I shall vote for you, at all events," they having been friends and political associates in the days of Governor Smith, when Governor Trumbull was aid to Governor Smith.

He died October 25, 1856, in his eighty-eighth year.

His funeral was attended by the different societies of which he had been a member, and also by the military, and by the Masonic Lodge of which he was a regular attendant, and of a high degree. The funeral was from Christ Church, of which he was a member from its commencement in the latter part of the last century, when he had participated in its early struggles in obtaining a habitation and a name. After the Church service at the grave there was a Masonic service, conducted by the Rev. Charles R. Fisher, the Rector of St. Paul's Church.

SAMUEL HOAR

Samuel Hoar, the oldest son of Samuel and Susanna (Peirce) Hoar, was born in Lincoln, Massachusetts, May 18, 1778. His pedigree, in all the lines of ascent, will be found in Bond's History of Watertown, traced, with few exceptions, from the ancestors who came over from England between 1635 and 1650. All his American ancestors dwelt in Concord, Lincoln, Lexington, Waltham, or Watertown, within a circle of six miles' radius.

He was seventh in descent from Charles Hoare, of Gloucester, England, who died in 1636. Charles Hoare, Jr., was Sheriff of Gloucester in 1634. He and other persons of his name are frequently mentioned in the municipal records. He was a man of large wealth, and died in 1638. Joanna (Hinksman*), the widow of Charles Hoare, Jr., came to this country with his five youngest children, probably in 1640; certainly between the end of 1638 and the autumn of 1641.

Thomas, the eldest son of Charles Hoare, Jr., remained in England. The second son, John, settled in Scituate, afterward in Concord, and was the ancestor of the subject of this memoir. His daughter Elizabeth married Jonathan, son of John Prescott, of Lancaster. The third son,

^{*} This name is spelled in early records Henchman or Hinksman indifferently. Charles Hoare, Jr. mentions his wife's brother, Thomas Hinksman, in his will, dated September 25, 1638, and proved at Doctors' Commons, December 21, 1638. Whether this is the same person as Thomas Henchman of Chelmsford is not certain.

Daniel, returned to England, and engaged extensively in trade with the Colony. The youngest son, Leonard, was graduated at Harvard College in 1650, and was the first President of the College who was a graduate.

Of the two daughters, Joanna married Colonel Edmund Quincy. Margery married a Matthew in England, and after coming to this country married the Rev. Henry Flint, of Braintree. Joanna Hoare, widow of Charles, died in Braintree, December 23, 1661. She was the ancestress of Governor Roger S. Baldwin, of Connecticut; of William M. Evarts, Secretary of State; of John Quincy Adams; of Josiah Quincy, the Revolutionary patriot, and of President Quincy; and of General Terry, the hero of Fort Fisher.

Samuel Hoar married Sarah, daughter of Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, October 13, 1812. She died August 30, 1866. Their children were:—

Elizabeth, born July 14, 1814, died April 7, 1878.
Ebenezer Rockwood, born February 21, 1816.
Sarah Sherman, born November 9, 1817.
Samuel Johnson, born February 4, 1820, died January 18, 1821.
Edward Sherman, born December 22, 1823.
George Frisbie, born August 29, 1826.

The father of Samuel Hoar, both grandfat iers, and one uncle by blood and one by marriage, were at Concord Bridge on the 19th of April, 1775, in the Lincoln company. The father, Hon. Samuel Hoar, of Lincoln, was a lieutenant in the Revolutionary war, took part in the battle of Saratoga, was many years a magistrate of Middlesex County, representative from Lincoln in the Legislature, State Senator, and member of the Constitutional Convention in 1820.

Samuel was brought up on his father's farm, fitted for college by the Rev. Charles Stearns, D. D., of Lincoln, (II. C. 1773,) and graduated at Harvard in 1802. His class was famous for the number of distinguished men it

contained, and for the strong attachment of its members to each other. Two of his three sons were named for classmates. After graduating he spent two years as private tutor in the family of Colonel Tayloe, of Mount Airy, Virginia. He studied law under the Hon. Artemas Ward, in Charlestown, and was admitted to the bar in September, 1805.

Harvard College in 1806. The writer cannot learn that he had then, or ever, any considerable mathematical attainments. Mr. Emerson says, "It was rather his reputation for severe method in his intellect, than any special direction in his studies," that caused this offer. But he had already won some considerable successes in his profession, and the offer, though attractive, was declined.

Mr. Hoar rose rapidly to the position of leader of the Middlesex bar, which he held until his retirement from practice. His name is found as of counsel in three quarters of the cases reported in Middlesex for many years, and in many in other counties. Mr. Justice Ames says: "Among my earliest recollections of the administration of justice in the county of Middlesex was the fact that Mr. Hoar appeared to be in every case, so that apparently the only obstacle to his having a complete monopoly of the business lay in the impossibility of being on both sides at once."

For thirty years his life was devoted to his profession. He had a simple, clear, and vigorous style, which conveyed his meaning with almost mathematical precision. The chief characteristic of his intellect, as of his moral nature, was directness. He addressed and confined himself to the business in hand, doing nothing for display or ornament. "So eminently practical and useful, and so much to the point did he always aim to make himself, that one would not speak of Mr. Hoar as especially learned, or sagacious, or eloquent, save when the

precise condition of his cause needed the exercise of sagacity, of persuasive speech, or the support of learning. He threw away no exertion by misplaced efforts, but what his cause demanded he was usually able to furnish, and few men could judge so well as he by what means his object would be best accomplished. No man was more safe than he as an adviser; none more fully prepared to meet the varying exigencies of the forum; no one, whatever his gifts of speech, more favorably impressed or convincingly addressed a jury. His style as a speaker was calm, dignified, simple, direct, and unimpassioned, but he spoke as one who was first convinced, before he attempted to convince his tribunal. While he never went below the proper dignity of time, place, and occasion, at the same time he would never fail to receive from all the juries and bystanders at a Middlesex nisi prius term the general award that he was the most sincere and sensible man that ever argued cases at that bar. Nor was this all. To the measure also of a greatness even to the surprise of his friends could he raise his efforts as an advocate, when the occasion called for a full exhibition of his clear and strong logical faculty, or excited those genuine emotions from which spring the fountains of eloquence." *

He understood thoroughly the temper and opinions of the farmers who made up the bulk of the juries in his day, and thoroughly possessed their confidence. His influence with them was almost unbounded. A story was current fifty years ago which appeared in the National Intelligencer, that, in a criminal trial where he conducted the defence, the jury came into court and reported that they were unable to agree. The presiding judge asked whether their difficulty was with the law or the evidence. The foreman replied that it was not in either, but in the plea; that the law and the evidence seemed to show that the man was guilty, but that Squire Hoar had said in his plea

^{*} John A. Andrew, in Boston Daily Atlas, November 10, 1856.

that he believed his client was innocent, and as Squire Hoar always told the truth, most of the jury did not see how they were to get over it.

The trials of the widest celebrity in which he was concerned were the impeachment of Judge Prescott, in which he was associated with Mr. Webster for the defendant; the defence of George Crowninshield, on the indictment for the murder of Captain Joseph White, in Salem, in 1830; and two trials of Sanborn vs. Tufts's Executors, in which he was opposed by Choate, Jeremiah Mason, and Webster, and which resulted in a disagreement of the jury and a compromise. He was extensively consulted by clergymen of all denominations and by parishes on matters involving parochial law, and was perhaps regarded as the highest authority in Massachusetts upon the law pertaining to mills and water-power.

His law library was never a large one, though excellent in quality, and adequate to the usual requirements of his profession. But though not especially learned, in the sense of the knowledge and memory of a large number of adjudged cases, his mind was thoroughly stored with legal principles, and he had in a remarkable degree the power, characteristic of the greatest legal minds, of starting from a simple and fundamental proposition of law or morals, and showing how a sound and just result could be reached through the most complicated array of facts, by keeping it steadily in view, and disregarding all irrelevant considerations. It was this quality of his mind, with the sincerity, directness, and strong good sense which marked his character, which insured him the attention of every tribunal that he addressed, and gave him a rightful place among the leaders of his profession. Always serious, dignified, and simple, there was nothing about him of affectation or pretence.

Between 1810 and 1820, Mr. Hoar was much interested in the attempt to enforce the laws against unnecessary

travelling on Sunday, and astonished some of his less puritanical neighbors by the vigor and efficiency of his efforts in that direction.

It is said that an old farmer in one of the northern towns of Middlesex County was looking in melancholy mood at the devastation in his woodland, made by the great September gale of 1815, when he suddenly exclaimed, "I wish this tornado had come last Sunday." "Why so?" was asked. "Because I should have liked to see, as it came along up through Concord, whether Sam Hoar would have tried to stop it."

After his retirement from professional employment, Mr. Hoar devoted much of his time to reading, choosing chiefly books relating to American history, of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods. In his early life he had little opportunity to become acquainted with works of fiction, the tendency of which he believed to be so injurious that he did not permit them to be read by his family. For many years his library was without a single novel. But about the year 1827 he happened to be blocked up by a snowstorm in a country tavern, and found the only book accessible to be the first volume of Redgauntlet, which he read with so much delight that, on his return home, he immediately sent to the village library for the second volume, and soon after subscribed for a complete edition of the Waverley Novels, then in course of publication, and read them with as much avidity and satisfaction as the most devoted admirer of Scott could have demanded. It was obviously a new revelation.

Until he took his seat in Congress in 1835, Mr. Hoar rarely held office. He was a Federalist, and afterward a Whig. He was a member of the State Senate in 1826, 1832, and 1833, and represented Concord in the Convention for Revising the Constitution, in 1820. When he first rose to speak in that body, John Adams said, "That young man reminds me of my old friend, Roger Sher-

man." He took a leading part in the debates of the Convention.

He was elected in 1834 to succeed Edward Everett as the Representative from the Middlesex District in the Twenty-fourth Congress. He served but one term, being defeated by a Democrat at the next election. He made, during that term, a very powerful but temperate argument in support of the constitutional power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. He also earnestly opposed the acknowledgment of the independence of Texas.

Soon after his service in Congress Mr. Hoar withdrew from the practice of law and devoted himself "to the service of the temperance and other philanthropic societies, the Sunday schools, the cause of education, and specially of the University, and to such political activities as a strong sense of duty and the love of order and freedom urged him to forward." He was a member of the Harrisburg Convention, which nominated General Harrison for the Presidency in 1839. He became a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, January 23, 1847.

South Carolina, deeming the presence of free persons of color among her slaves dangerous to the institution of slavery, passed laws prohibiting such persons from coming or being brought into the State. These laws were pronounced unconstitutional by Attorney-General Wirt. Judge Johnson, himself a native and citizen of South Carolina, declared that they trampled on the Constitution, and implied a direct attack on the sovereignty of the United States. They were, however, re-enacted with more comprehensive provisions and more stringent penalties. The act of December 19, 1835, provided that any free negro, or person of color, coming voluntarily into the State, should be warned to depart, and failing so to depart, or returning after such warning, should be publicly sold as a slave. Colored persons brought in as steward,

cook, or in other employment on board a vessel, were to be instantly seized and put in jail on the arrival of the ship, and kept imprisoned till her departure. Failing to depart when the ship left, or returning again, they were to be likewise sold. A bond to pay the jail fees was required of the captain. In default of payment of these fees, under the operation of these laws, the negro was sold.

Louisiana passed similar laws. Under these statutes many Massachusetts seamen had been taken from vessels, cast into jail, and in some instances sold into slavery. After several ineffectual remonstrances, the Legislature of Massachusetts, in March, 1843, passed resolves authorizing the Governor to employ agents in the ports of Charleston and New Orleans,—

"For the purpose of collecting and transmitting accurate information respecting the number and names of citizens of Massachusetts, who have heretofore been, or may be during the period of his engagement, imprisoned without the allegation of any crime. The said agent shall also be enabled to bring and prosecute, with the aid of counsel, one or more suits in behalf of any citizens that may be so imprisoned, at the expense of Massachusetts, for the purpose of having the legality of such imprisonment tried and determined upon in the Supreme Court of the United States."

The Governor requested several gentlemen of professional distinction dwelling in these ports to undertake the agency. They declined. It was apparent that public opinion would not permit any citizen of South Carolina or Louisiana to perform the duty. Thereupon Massachusetts, March 16, 1844, passed an additional resolve, authorizing the Governor to employ an agent for the port of Charleston, and an agent for the port of New Orleans, whose duty it should be to reside in those ports for a term not exceeding one year, for the purposes specified in the resolves of 1843. After a new attempt to obtain agents

living in those cities, Governor Briggs appointed Mr. Hoar, on the 11th of October, 1844.

The trust was accepted without any anticipation of personal danger. Mr. Hoar went to Charleston accompanied by his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, arriving about six o'clock on the morning of Thursday, November 28th. In the forenoon of that day he addressed a letter to Governor Hammond, at Columbia, containing an extract of so much of the resolve of Massachusetts as defined his authority, and stating his appointment, and his arrival for the purpose of executing his agency.

The prosecution of Mr. Hoar's mission was delayed till the following Monday by the absence of the Mayor. By that time South Carolina was in a state of intense excite-Saturday, November 30th, Governor Hammond communicated Mr. Hoar's letter to the Legislature by special message, which was referred to the Committee on Federal Relations, and raised great commotion. Monday evening the Sheriff of Charleston called, accompanied by the acting Mayor and one of the Aldermen, and examined Mr. Hoar's commission, and the resolve on which it was founded. He then said: "It is considered a great insult on South Carolina by Massachusetts to send an agent here on such business. This city is highly incensed. You are in great danger, and you had better leave the city as soon as possible." He then produced a letter from the Attorney-General of the State, in which the writer urged the avoidance of a resort to lynching, saying it would disgrace the city. The Sheriff added, that he should endeavor at the hazard of his life to defend Mr. Hoar, but doubted whether he could do it, and urged him as the only means of safety to leave the city as soon as possible. Mr. Hoar answered "that he had been sent there on lawful business, and could not leave the city until he had at least attempted to perform that business."

During the three following days, the Sheriff and many

of the leading citizens of Charleston called on Mr. Hoar at different times, urging his departure, and representing the impossibility of restraining the citizens from personal violence if he stayed. He repeated his refusal, saying in one instance that "he would rather his broken skull should be carried home to Massachusetts than to return there alive having run away from his duty."

On Monday afternoon, Dr. Whittredge, a man of pure and high character, the head of the medical profession of Charleston, who had served in the army nearly the whole of the last war with England, came to the hotel in great agitation and distress. He said that "he felt unutterable mortification in making the communication which he felt bound to make; that a state of things existed which he had not thought possible in Charleston; that he had been round in different parts of the city, and had just then come from the City Council; that the danger was not only great, but imminent; that the people were assembled and assembling in groups; that nothing seemed wanting but for some one to say, 'Now is your time,' to bring on the attack." He offered to procure a carriage, in which he thought it still probable that Mr. Hoar might make his escape, and proceed to a plantation owned by the Doctor, about twenty miles from the city, and stay in safety until he could fix on further measures.

Mr. Hoar replied that, if he should then leave the city, he could not afterward return to it; that he should not know where to go from Dr. Whittredge's house, for he should be ashamed to return to Massachusetts if he should run away from duty, and whatever happened he must abide the result.

He expected the attack during the following night, but the leaders of public opinion in Charleston exerted themselves to quiet the mob, and gave assurances that Mr. Hoar should be removed from the city.

About noon on Thursday, Mr. Rose, president of one of

the Charleston banks, with two members of the bar, called, stating that they had come to see if they could induce Mr. Hoar to leave the city. They argued that the state of things made it his duty to go. He replied, stating the lawful nature of his business, and the necessity he was under of attempting to perform it. They then indicated to him their determined purpose to remove him, and informed him that at two o'clock a number of gentlemen would call to conduct or escort him to the boat. He answered that fighting on his part would be foolish, that he was too old to run, and that they would find him there to be disposed of as they thought proper.

The boat was prevented by an accident from arriving at the usual hour, and Mr. Hoar remained unmolested till the next day. In the evening the Sheriff informed him that the city had become quiet, and that he should leave it the next morning. Meantime the keeper of the hotel presented to the city government a petition that they would remove Mr. Hoar from his house to preserve it from impending danger. Mr. Hoar was informed of this on Friday about noon. Just afterward he was summoned into the hall, where he found Mr. Rose and his associates, with some seventy other persons, and an assembly about the door, on the piazza, and in the street. There were also a number of carriages. Mr. Rose announced the purpose for which he had come. Mr. Hoar stated to him that if he left the city it was because he must, not because he would. Some of the other gentlemen then addressed him, saying he had done all he could, and that it was impossible for him to remain. There was then but one alternative, to walk to a carriage or to be placed in it by an overwhelming force. Mr. Hoar could perceive no service to anybody in the latter alternative, and then for the first time said he would go. One of the men present pointed out the carriage he was to enter, and he was driven to the boat without further molestation.

The day before, the Legislature at Columbia passed the following resolutions:—

"Resolved, That the right to exclude from their territories seditious persons, or others whose presence may be dangerous to their peace, is essential to every independent state.

"Resolved, That free negroes and persons of color are not citizens of the United States within the meaning of the Constitution, which confers upon the eitizens of one State the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

"Resolved, That the emissary sent by the State of Massachusetts to the State of South Carolina, with the avowed purpose of interfering with her institutions and disturbing her peace, is to be regarded in the character he has assumed, and to be treated accordingly.

"Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor be requested to expel from our territory the said agent, after due notice to depart; and that the Legislature will sustain the executive authority in any measures it may adopt for the purpose aforesaid."

Just after Mr. Hoar's departure, on the same afternoon, an agent appointed by the Governor of South Carolina to carry into effect the last resolution arrived in Charleston to execute his mission.

It is often stated that Mr. Hoar was driven from Charleston by a mob. This is in one sense true, but not true in the ordinary sense. Mr. Hoar remained in Charleston until all danger to himself from unlawful violence was over. The assembly of leading gentlemen threatened no other force than was necessary to place him on a steamboat and keep him there until the boat departed. This assembly, whether acting on their own authority or under the resolve of the Legislature of South Carolina directing the removal of the agent of the State of Massachusetts from the State, passed the day before, but not received in Charleston until a few hours after Mr. Hoar's departure, was in every legal sense a mob. The right to bring a suit in the courts of the United States, and to remain in South Carolina for that purpose, was a right under the

Constitution and laws of the United States, and a combination of persons interfering with it by violence, whether with or without pretended authority from a State legislature, constituted a mob. The alternative finally offered was not between flight and death, or personal insult and violence, for between those he had already resolutely made his election, but between stepping into a carriage and being put into it with no other force than was needed for that purpose.

Mr. Hoar reported the circumstances of this attempt to execute his mission to the Massachusetts delegation at Washington, and to the Governor.

Governor Briggs in a special message to the Legislature says, "The conduct of Mr. Hoar under the circumstances seems to me to have been marked by that prudence, firmness, and wisdom which have distinguished his character through his life." John Quincy Adams says in his diary, "I approved the whole of his conduct."

At the organization of the State government in the beginning of the following January, Mr. Hoar was chosen by the Legislature a member of the Executive Council, in which office he served two years.

Soon after Mr. Hoar's return from South Carolina, the annexation of Texas was consumnated. This was followed by the war with Mexico, the acquisition of New Mexico and California by the treaty of peace, and the struggle between the slave power and its opponents for the control of the institutions of the new territories. These events divided the Whig party of the North. Some were for maintaining their political association with the Southern Whigs, without insisting on the prohibition of slavery in the territories by law. Others determined to make this prohibition paramount to all other political doctrines, and to support no candidate who did not agree with them on this vital question. This difference came to an open rupture in 1848.

Mr. Hoar deemed the nomination of General Taylor a final abandonment by the Whig party of its opposition to the spread of slavery. From that time he exerted himself to bring about a union of men of all parties upon this ground. As soon as Taylor was nominated a call was issued, written by his son, E. R. Hoar, summoning all persons opposed to the nomination of Cass and Taylor to meet in Convention at Worcester, June 28th, 1848. A large assemblage, among whom were Charles Allen, Charles Sumner, Charles F. Adams, Stephen C. Phillips, John A. Andrew, and E. R. Hoar, responded to the call. Samuel Hoar presided. A national convention afterward met at Buffalo, and nominated candidates for President and Vice-President. Mr. Hoar supported these nominations, and his name was at the head of the electoral ticket of the Free Soil party.

He, however, agreed generally with the Whigs in matters of State policy, and disapproved the coalition of 1851 and 1852.

Mr. Hoar represented Concord in the Legislature of 1850. He was chosen by a union of all parties in the town, to resist an attempt to remove the courts. resistance was successful. He had, during the winter, the opportunity to render a very important service to Harvard College. There was a vigorous and dangerous attempt to abolish the existing Corporation, and transfer the property and control of the College to a board of fifteen persons, to be chosen by the Legislature by joint ballot, one third to go out of office every second year. This measure was recommended in an elaborate report by Mr. Boutwell, an influential member of the House, chosen Governor at the next election, and advocated by Henry Wilson, afterward Senator and Vice-President, and by other gentlemen of great influence. All the members of the corporation were Unitarians, a sect containing a very small proportion of the people of the State, and Whigs in

politics. The project to take the College from their control was very popular in many quarters. The House listened willingly to the able arguments with which the measure was introduced, and before Mr. Hoar spoke its opinion was unmistakably for the bill. He argued that the measure was in conflict with the Constitution of the United States, and defended the College with great earnestness from the charge that it had "failed to answer the just expectations of the public." The Boston Daily Atlas, edited by General Schouler, then a member of the House, said the next day of this speech: "The argument of Mr. Hoar was of transcendent excellence, and had a most overpowering effect upon the House. We regret that no report was made of it. It is a pity that so much learning, argument, and eloquence should be lost."

This speech caused a revolution in the opinion of the body, and the measure was referred to the next General Court. The next year Mr. Hoar was employed by the Corporation as its counsel to appear before the Legislature in opposition to the measure; but the scheme was abandoned. A bill passed, to which no opposition was made, for the election of Overseers by the Legislature. This remained in force till 1866, when the present plan of electing Overseers by the alumni was adopted.

One of the measures of the coalition was the call of a convention to revise the Constitution of the Commonwealth.

The Legislature of 1851 submitted to the people the question of calling such a convention, and the project was rejected by a large majority. The proposal was renewed in the Legislature of 1852. In that year the coalition had a very small majority in the House. They were enabled to carry the act only by the assurance made in the report of the special committee on the subject, that it was not proposed to interfere with the tenure of the judicial office. This Convention was held in 1853, and

proposed very important changes, including the limitation to ten years of the term of office of the judges of the Supreme Court, a provision for electing Judges of Probate by the people for terms of three years, making juries judges of the law in criminal cases, and the increase of existing inequalities in representation. Mr. Hoar disapproved of the changes, and earnestly opposed the new Constitution; in this respect agreeing with Governor Morton, John G. Palfrey, Charles Francis Adams, and other eminent members of the Free Soil party. The influence of these gentlemen contributed largely to the defeat of the scheme.

But Mr. Hoar's earnest desire was for a union of all parties in the North in opposition to the further encroachment of the slave power. In accomplishing this end, his age, the regard in which he was held by all classes of people, his known disinterestedness and independence, fitted him to exert a large influence. The Free Soil movement had led to the formation of a party in Massachusetts, small in numbers, but zealous, active, in earnest, containing many able leaders, eloquent orators, and vigorous writers. They had sent Charles Allen to the lower house of Congress, and Sumner and Rantoul to the Senate. But they had apparently made little impression on the national strength of either of the old parties.

In 1854, the passage of the measure known as the Kansas-Nebraska bill afforded a new opportunity. A meeting of citizens of Concord appointed a committee, of which Mr. Hoar was Chairman, and A. G. Fay, Secretary, who called a meeting of prominent persons from different parts of the State to meet at the American House, in Boston, to take measures for forming a new party and calling a State Convention. This convention was held at Worcester, on the 7th of September, and formed a party under the name of Republican, and nominated candidates for State officers. Its meeting has been claimed to be the

foundation of the Republican party of Massachusetts, and its twenty-fifth anniversary was celebrated accordingly in 1879; but it effected little more than to change the name of the Free Soil party. Few Whigs or Democrats united in the movement. A secret organization called Americans, or Know-Nothings, swept the Commonwealth like a wave, electing all the State officers, and, with scarcely an exception, the entire Legislature.

The candidate for Governor nominated by the Republicans at Worcester himself joined the Know-Nothings, and labored to defeat his own election.

The next year the attempt was more successful. On. the 10th of August, 1855, a meeting without distinction of party was held at Chapman Hall, in Boston, which was addressed by Mr. Hoar, George Bliss, Franklin Dexter, William Brigham, Lyman Beecher, Richard H. Dana, Jr., Charles F. Adams, Henry Wilson, Stephen C. Phillips, and others. On the 30th of the same month, a meeting of conference committees was held, representing the American party, the Know-Somethings, an antislavery organization which had held a national convention at Cleveland in June, and the Chapman Hall Convention. ference appointed a committee of twenty-six to call a State Convention, at the head of which they placed Mr. This State Convention was held at Worcester, nominated Julius Rockwell for Governor, and the organization which it created has constituted the Republican party of Massachusetts to the present day.

The part taken in calling this Convention, and in promoting the union which gave it birth, was Mr. Hoar's last important political service. His failing health prevented his taking an active share in the Presidential campaign of 1856.

He preserved his vigor of body until he entered his seventy-seventh year, taking walks of five or six miles without fatigue. About that time he took a severe cold

at a neighbor's funeral. An illness followed which seriously impaired his strength. He died, November 2, 1856, two days before the Presidential Election.

He was six feet three inches in height, erect, with fine gray hair, blue eyes, of graceful and dignified deportment, and of great courtesy, especially to women and children. "His head," says Mr. Emerson, "with singular grace in its lines, had a resemblance to the bust of Dante. He retained to the last the erectness of his tall but slender form, and not less the full strength of his mind. Such was, in old age, the beauty of his person and carriage, as if his mind radiated, and made the same impression of probity on all beholders."

He held a few simple beliefs with undoubting faith. He submitted himself to the rule of life which followed from these, and rigorously exacted obedience to it from all for whom he was responsible. He accepted the exposition of Christian doctrine given by Dr. Channing. The Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 seemed to him a nearly perfect system of government. He earnestly resisted, in the Convention of 1820, the abolition of the property qualification for voters, and of the obligation of all citizens to be taxed for the support of religious worship. He took early and deep interest in the temperance reform, and gave much time, labor, and money to promote it. "The strength and beauty of the man," says Mr. Emerson, "lay in the natural goodness and justice of his mind, which in manhood and in old age, after dealing all his life with weighty private and public interests, left an infantile innocence of which we have no second or third example, the strength of a chief united to the modesty of a child. He returned from courts and Congresses to sit down with unaltered humility, in the church, or in the town-house, on the plain wooden bench, where honor came and sat down beside him. He was a man in whom so rare a spirit of justice visibly dwelt, that, if one had met him in a cabin

or in a court, he must still seem a public man answering as sovereign state to sovereign state; and might easily suggest Milton's picture of John Bradshaw,—'that he was a consul from whom the fasces did not depart with the year, but in private seemed ever sitting in judgment on kings.'"

The following are the principal biographical accounts of Mr. Hoar:—

A Funeral Sermon preached in the First Church in Concord, November 9, 1856, by Rev. Barzillai Frost.

Article in Putnam's Monthly for December, 1856, by Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Article in the Monthly Religious Magazine for January, 1857, by Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Article in the Christian Examiner for January, 1857, by George E. Ellis, D. D.

Article in the Monthly Law Reporter for December, 1856, by Emory Washburn.

Memoir prepared agreeably to a Resolution of the Massachusetts Historical Society, by William Minot, Boston, 1862.

Article in the Boston Daily Atlas, November 10, 1856, by John A. Andrew.

Article in Detroit Daily Advertiser, by Rufus Hosmer, Mayor of Detroit.

Numerous societies and public bodies passed resolutions of respect to his memory. Among these may be specially mentioned those of the Middlesex Bar, accompanied with remarks by the Honorable Seth Ames and Mr. Justice Merrick; and of the Massachusetts Historical Society, with remarks by the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, Honorable James Savage, and the Honorable Daniel A. White.

It is believed that the life thus imperfectly recorded was useful in its generation. To have been among the foremost advocates and jurists of the very able bar of Massachusetts, a leader in the temperance reform, one of the founders of the great party that abolished slavery, contributing largely to preserve the judiciary as established by the founders of the Constitution, a successful defender

of the College in its season of extreme peril, are certainly titles to honorable remembrance. But if natural affection has not wholly blinded the judgment of the writer, Mr. Hoar's chief service to his generation was in the deep impression made on all persons who came within the influence of his lofty and spotless character. It is curious to observe from what a variety of persons came the tributes to his excellence. Many men in different parts of the country, who spent their youth in Concord, have borne emphatic witness to the debt they owed to his beneficent influence.

A few years before his death, a little boy, son of a widow who was almost the poorest and humblest person in town, was drowned in Concord River. "The evening before the accident," says Mr. Frost, in the sermon preached the Sunday after Mr. Hoar's death, "as he sat in his humble home, as if touched by some angel influence to prepare him for heaven, he spoke tenderly to his poor widowed mother of her kindness, of what he meant to do for her when he was a man, of his noble plans of life, and then he turned to speak affectionately and reverently of Mr. Hoar, as if instinctively conscious of the source from whence he derived his holy thoughts. This illustrates the kind of influence he exerted."

President Walker closes his annual report of December 31, 1856, as follows: "The undersigned cannot conclude his report without allusion to the recent lamented death of the Honorable Samuel Hoar, a distinguished and justly influential member of this board, — venerable alike for his age and his virtues, — a devoted friend to the College, which he has been able to serve in a thousand ways by the wisdom of his counsels and the weight of his character."

In the early days of the Free Soil party, Franklin Dexter, the most fastidious of men, said, "If they will put up Samuel Hoar for Governor, I will vote with them."

Mr. A. Bronson Alcott said, the same year, "If they will nominate Samuel Hoar for Governor, I do not know but I will recognize the state so far as to vote for him." He is pleasantly remembered by the elders among the farmers of Middlesex and of the neighboring counties, who counted him as one of themselves, and who have many stories to tell of him.

Governor Emory Washburn and Governor Andrew each commemorated him in an extended and affectionate biographical sketch. George Allen said of him, "Samuel Hoar, a citizen of Massachusetts, as much respected as any among us for his virtues, his talents, and his services, — a personification of the highest intellectual and moral traits of the New England character." Starr King said of him that "he lived all the beatitudes daily." John G. Palfrey says, "He was a man of admirable probity, sobriety, experience, wisdom." Charles Sumner said, "Samuel Hoar, a name we all delight to praise." Mr. Winthrop has more than once, with great eloquence and carnestness, paid a like tribute. Dr. Lyman Beecher, the giant champion of the old orthodoxy, heard at Andover, Saturday evening, of the dangerous illness of Mr. Hoar. The old man of eighty-one started for Concord before sunrise Sunday morning. He arrived about an hour too late to find the object of his visit alive. He stood in the chamber, gazing carnestly on the face of his old friend, and exclaimed, "He has passed safe over. I have n't a doubt of it. He was an Israelite indeed, in whom there was no guile."

But the best memorial of Samuel Hoar will be found in the two sketches by Ralph Waldo Emerson, noble and faithful as faces of Vandyke. One of them ends with this verse:—

"With beams December planets dart,
His cold eye truth and conduct scanned;
July was in his sunny heart,
October in his liberal hand."

THOMAS SCOTT PEARSON

THOMAS SCOTT PEARSON, the oldest of several children of the Rev. Ora and Mrs. Mary Kimball Pearson, was born at Kingston, New Hampshire, where his father was pastor of the Congregational Church, September 14, 1828. The Rev. Ora Pearson was born in Chittenden, Vermont, October 6, 1797. He was graduated at Middlebury College in 1820 (having the Salutatory, while the Valedictory was assigned to President Stephen Olin, D. D., LL. D.), and at Andover, in 1824. He was pastor of several churches, and agent of the American Tract Society. He died at Peacham, Vermont, July 5, 1858. "He seemed to me," said one who knew him well from childhood, "a great man in goodness." Thomas Scott was prepared for college by his father, who was an excellent classical scholar, and at the academies in Sanbornton, New Hampshire, and in Orleans County, Vermont. "In the academy," says one of his associates, ex-Governor Redfield Proctor of Vermont, "he was distinguished for skill in debate, and for an unusual familiarity with the rules of parliamentary practice. He had a genius for the knowledge and use of conventional forms." "From childhood," writes his father, "he was thoughtful on personal religion, and studied the Bible with close attention. He thoroughly committed the Shorter Catechism and recited it with the family to the last. His decision, in becoming a Christian, turned apparently on the question of his anticipated choice of a

profession. He reasoned that if he became a lawyer first and then a Christian, it would be right; but that if he became a Christian first, he could never be a lawyer. This agitated his mind and delayed his decision for several years." The writer, who was a college classmate, has heard him say, later in life, that he knew he had not religion enough to withstand the temptations, for him, of the legal profession.

He became hopefully religious at the age of seventeen, and, though he had a very strong predilection for the legal profession, in which one or more of his maternal uncles had been successful, yet he thenceforward anticipated the Christian ministry as his ultimate calling. He began to teach at an early age, and became an expert and successful teacher.

He entered Middlebury College at the age of nineteen, in 1847 and was graduated in 1851. The class consisted of twenty members, two of whom have since been professors in the college, while others have been successful in the ministry, and in the legal and medical professions. Mr. Pearson always held a high position as a scholar, though he did not devote his entire strength to the regular course of study. Statistical and antiquarian pursuits occupied much of his attention. In such researches he had no rival. He was fond of music, and was a member of the college choir. He was a genial companion, fond of story-telling, with a racy vocabulary of his own, and a peculiar laugh, as hearty as that of Abraham Lincoln, which was compared to the neigh of the wild horse on the prairies. It resounded so frequently and so far through the college-building, that his humorous classmate Churchill used to say, you had only to listen at any time to know where Pearson was. He was tall, of dark complexion and dark-colored hair, had a long face with heavy brows, large and strong features, and a steady and penetrating eye. His gait was noticeable; he walked a

little bent, took long steps, - generally took them firmly and rapidly, - and was inclined to go in advance of his associate on the sidewalk. He wore his white hat turned back on his head; and its rising and falling movement, as the students filed down through the college grounds after prayers, was a conspicuous feature of the view from the steps of Painter Hall. He was of an eager, resolute, enterprising disposition, which was manifest on all occasions. He was an honest, reliable, faithful young man, who commanded the confidence of both faculty and students. His contributions to accurate statistics were begun while he was a student in college. From his entrance at Middlebury he had made a specialty of collecting exact information relating to the alumni; and the improved Triennial of 1850, which was a semicentennial issue, owed much of its value to his care. He was fond of important responsibilities.

From 1851 to 1852 he was Principal of Addison County Grammar School at Middlebury, an office previously filled by the late eminent Professor Edwin Hall, D.D., and by other distinguished men. From 1852 to 1855 he was Principal of the Caledonia County Grammar School at Peacham, Vermont. Among Mr. Pearson's pupils, as he taught at different times, were Professor Charles M. Mead of Andover Theological Seminary, Stephen A. Walker, Esq., of New York, and others who have since become prominent in various walks of life. Upon the failure of his father's eyesight in 1852, Mr. Pearson assumed in part, as the oldest child, the support of the family, and devoted himself nobly to this cherished object. Soon after he entered college the writer of this sketch asked him, "By what work do you expect to immortalize your name?" He answered "By a biographical dictionary, if by anything." immediate and serious answer was, "If you live, you can do it." Though he died so early, yet he will doubtless be remembered as long as the history of Middlebury College claims public attention.

In addition to the care of his school he prepared and in 1853 published an English "Catalogue of the Graduates of Middlebury College, embracing a Biographical Register and Directory." This work mentions the name of every graduate from the first class, that of 1802, to that which was graduated in 1853, and gives information, so far as could be ascertained, as to: "when and where born; where fitted for college; where and how long professionally employed; what offices held; what works published; what degrees received; also, concerning the dead, when and where they died." A pithy and characteristic "Note by the Editor" exhibits the pains-taking enthusiasm of Mr. Pearson in this work. In furnishing a list of publications by the Alumni, he says: "The list must be very defective, but we have done the best we could at making 'brick without straw.' In eases of misrepresentation of those to whom we have applied in vain for information, we can only say they must thank themselves." He was accurate in the use of materials. "References to the sources of information for every statement have been scrupulously made, and will be carefully preserved."

This was the first work published, at least in this country, which gave biographies of all the graduates of any college; and it was thirteen years before a second work of the kind, Chapman's "Sketches of the Alumni of Dartmouth College," published in 1867, appeared. Even now few colleges have biographical catalogues of all their graduates, though several theological seminaries and other institutions of learning have. Early in 1855 he published a volume of the sermons of the Rev. David Merrill, who was the author of that famous Temperance document, "The Ox Sermon," and the second pastor of the Congregational Church of Peacham,— accompanied with a carefully written biographical sketch. In the spring of 1855 Mr. Pearson was attacked with measles, which left

an affection upon his lungs from which he never recovered. In mind and body he had been overtasked. He spent the summer of 1855 in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, visiting during that time his college classmates and friends who were then students in Andover Theological Seminary. He also consulted the ample library of the seminary in the prosecution of his favorite.

In the fall of 1855 he was a candidate for the Legislature of Vermont. If elected he would doubtless have been eminently useful. He had qualities which might have carried him to high position in political life. There were three candidates but no election. In his own humorous way of stating it, in a letter dated November 17, 1855, he writes: "Unfortunately for my political renown, it did not appear to the majority of the legal voters of the town of Peacham that I was the 'man most noted for wisdom and virtue." In October, 1855, he spent three weeks at Middlebury, and afterward some time at home, in completing a "Catalogue of the Library of Middlebury College," which he had commenced in 1851. He prepared five hundred pages of foolscap for the press, which were not, however, printed. At this time he wrote: "My lungs are by no means sound: I do not work more than five or six hours a day." Though Mr. Pearson was very much devoted to matters of fact, he was by no means destitute of sentiment. In the same letter above referred to, recalling many touching incidents of college days, he mentions those "grand fellows" Kinney and Towner, and those "marked characters" Casey and Hand. On a chill, windy day, before the close of the first term of our Freshman year, the college bell tolled for the early death of Towner, who fell before that terrible scourge, ship-fever. It was a virulent type of typhoid fever, which followed the famine of 1847 in Ireland, and swept over the country, prostrating many of the college stu-

dents, removing by death Towner and Casey from the Freshman, and Charles Boardman from the Sophomore class. Casey had a unique and exhaustless wit. Kinney soon disappeared from the class. Hand, the youngest member, who awakened high expectations, is now the Hon. Samuel Hand of Albany, Judge of the Court of Appeals. He adds: "The question is frequently asked whether there is as much happiness in the reality as in the anticipation. Would it not be quite as pertinent if recollection were substituted for anticipation?" Mr. Pearson attended Commencement at Middlebury, for the last time, in 1855, and read the obituary records, to which it seemed, from his ominous cough and from his general appearance, that his own name must soon be added. He lived however to attend Commencement at Dartmouth College the following year. On one of his last visits to Middlebury he said: "My whole past life seems to me like a dream." In the fall of 1855 he was elected Principal of the Academy at Peacham, in which the eminent Jeremiah Evarts, father of the late Secretary of State, had been one of his predecessors, for the fourth time. He at first accepted the position, but was soon obliged to withdraw on account of the failure of his health. The winter of 1855-6 was spent largely in outdoor employments, with the hope of restoration. In the spring of 1856 he accepted a position as assistant teacher in Kimball Union Academy at Meriden, New Hampshire, then under the charge of Cyrus Richards, LL.D. A handsome present from his pupils evinced their appreciation of his skill as an instructor. Bleeding at the lungs early in the summer closed his work as a teacher. He edited the "Middlebury Triennial" issued in 1856. This was probably his last literary work. After spending a few weeks in visiting kindred and other friends and after "arranging all his affairs in the most careful and accurate manner," by the advice of his physician, Professor E. E. Phelps, LL.D., of Windsor, Vermont,

on the 19th of August, 1856, he started to the West, to engage in some employment which would require exercise in the open air, with the hope that a change of climate might be beneficial. It was of no avail. Before me lies a letter to a classmate, written in great depression of spirits, from Joliet, Illinois, dated September 24, 1856. He attempted several business ventures without much success. About October 20 he went to Indianapolis, to the house of a Mr. Merrill, a relative of the Rev. David Merrill, whose sermons he had edited, and there, after frequent hemorrhages with alternating hopes and fears, on Monday morning, November 10, 1856, he died. His remains were subsequently removed, and repose under a befitting monument in the village churchyard at Peacham, Vermont.

Frankness, sincerity, and straightforwardness were the distinguishing traits of Mr. Pearson's character. He required a sufficient reason for what he was required to believe or to do; but when he felt that the reason was good, he was satisfied, and his action was prompt. He would perform any service which clearly devolved upon him; but he was unyielding in his opinions and practices until convinced that he was wrong.

In his last illness there were touching illustrations of the argumentative turn of his mind. His reasoning raised him above the deceptive hopes of his final disease, consumption. A few days before he became delirious, he prepared a list of friends to be notified in case of his death. He said he was very weak, was never weaker, was not growing stronger, and it was the part of a rash man not to look that fact in the face. It could do no harm, and if he still failed he might soon be unable to do it. The pastor of Mr. Merrill, the Rev. Mr. Maxwell, called upon him repeatedly. After he became partially delirious he was asked if the pastor's words were not good.

He replied, "that it was all true; and anybody who maintained a contrary position, maintained what was false." The estimate in which Mr. Pearson was held may be seen from the public notices of his death at the time; and from private expressions by many of his friends, in letters addressed to his bereaved parents. His death was suitably noticed, with expressions of high respect for his talents and work, and of profound sorrow at his early death, by the "Vermont Chronicle," the "Congregational Journal," the "Caledonian," the "North Star," the "Vermont Journal," the "Middlebury Register," and other papers. The Rev. Pliny H. White, a man of kindred genius, who has followed him, wrote an obituary notice. An extended sketch of his life and character was, by request, prepared by the writer of this sketch for the meeting of the Alumni of Middlebury College, held at the ensuing Commencement, and is preserved in the archives of the college. He was elected a resident member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, March 6, 1854, and an honorary member of the Orleans County Natural and Civil History Society in 1853. He was, at the time of his death, president of the Caledonia Temperance Society. His death was noticed with resolutions of respect by these societies. The latter

"Resolved, That we deeply deplore the loss of one whose virtues, talents, and sociability were so well qualified to secure confidence, respect, and affection; and, while we mourn his untimely death, we will always cherish a grateful remembrance of his services to this society, as one of its most active members and officers."

The Rev. C. E. Ferrin, a former pastor of the family wrote:—

"We remember how nobly, self-denyingly, and vigorously he gave himself to the work of doing for you. He had well night established a character and reputation which take many men of less industry and enterprise a long life to attain."

The Rev. E. T. Rowe, an associate teacher at Meriden, wrote: —

"He seemed determined to work as long as he lived. He felt a great anxiety to do something for his parents and brothers and sisters. He seemed to hold on to life for that object. He has gone, and his work is done, but his influence does not cease."

His college classmate, Professor Solon Albee, perhaps the most intimate of Mr. Pearson's friends, prepared a letter containing a fine and discriminating estimate of Mr. Pearson's character, with a beautiful tribute of personal affection. Among other things he wrote:—

"He was a faithful friend, a prudent counsellor, and a Christian to whom his brethren never looked in vain for sympathy and co-operation in every good work. Besides the valuable services which he rendered as a teacher of youth, he had already accomplished literary labors that will cause his name to he held in grateful remembrance by the friends of his Alma Mater, and also by a numerous class of readers elsewhere. For him to live was Christ, and to die was gain. Though he was not permitted to enter upon that sphere of Christian labor which he had chosen as the main pursuit of life, yet he had lived long enough to exert an influence in favor of the Redeemer's cause which will be permanently felt. His example remains, and by it, he being dead yet speaketh."

The Rev. Henry Little, D.D., of Indianapolis, who visited him in his last sickness, wrote:—

"When I saw him, he was expecting to be up again in a few days. He was intelligent and cheerful, and showed much enterprise in anticipated business arrangements, and all the time kept up the idea that religion was the principal thing. He left the impression upon my mind that he was a devoted, consistent Christian, prepared either to live or to die. I was exceedingly glad that I had seen him. In his delirium he would get up in the bed and offer a short prayer. He seemed to know, and it troubled him to know, that he was not in his right mind.

On Sunday, eight days before he died, he suddenly asked his attendants what they supposed people did in heaven. He talked a great deal about Peacham people, about the family, and about his friends. Every member of the family was particularly mentioned, and with a great deal of feeling and interest. Those who were with him at the last bore witness to 'the patience, the cheerfulness, the sweetness with which he endured his sufferings.' 'He endeared himself to us. We rejoiced that he was here.'"

"After the failure of his health," wrote his father, who was soon to follow him, "and the disappointment and severe trial which he experienced, he appeared to grow more rapidly in grace. He continued cheerful to the last, and seemed to bow submissively to the will of our Father in Heaven." Thus died, at the early age of twenty-eight, one whose genius for statistical and historical research was, among his associates, unsurpassed. It seemed certain, if he had lived, that he would have accomplished a rare and useful work searcely possible to those lacking his peculiar endowments. Such are the appointments of Infinite Wisdom. There can be no doubt that Miltons and Shakesperes, Cæsars and Napoleons, have died in early manhood, in childhood, in infancy. Many a splendid promise has blossomed only for the tomb. Wisdom, too wonderful for us, directs all events. God is Love. Not our will but His be done. Not our plans, but what He orders is best. Many of Mr. Pearson's early associates have lived to endure trials similar to that of his parents in his early death. He was spared much which we endure. His eager mind revels in knowledge beyond our reach; his affections have purer employment. There is a sufficient reason why one is taken and another left. It is well. "Even so Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight."

HERMANN ERNST LUDEWIG

HERMANN ERNST LUDEWIG was the first to prepare and present to the world a general bibliography of our local history. Coming to this country in the maturity of his manhood, and immediately addressing himself to our literary wants, he appeared like a meteor in American literature, so suddenly did he attract our attention and as quickly did he disappear from our vision. He was a German by birth, born at the city of Dresden, in Saxony, on the 14th of October, 1809, of honorable parents. His father held the position there of Calculator, a small office of accounts. He was educated to the profession of the law, and received at Leipsig the degree of Juris Utriusque Doctor, and began the practice in his native city. He, however, travelled extensively in Germany and Italy, looking into the great libraries of those countries for historical and bibliographical research, thus evincing at an early age a taste for the studies which distinguished his short career. He was Secretary of the Historical Society of Dresden, and also of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons in Saxony. The minutes which he kept of the proceedings are said to have been keenly satirical, often making persons of distinction, who were concerned in them, appear more or less ridiculous, and consequently exciting their animosities against him. This appears to have been more the result of a humorous trait in his character, than of any positive purpose. His political views were extremely liberal, and hence he formed very favorable opinions of American institutions and freely expressed them.

He formed thus the design of visiting the United States, and, in company with the lady whom he had married at Dresden, came to this country in 1842, though not with the fixed intention at the time of making it his permanent abode. He travelled over a large portion of the States of the Union, going from New York, where he landed, as far west as the confines of Missouri and Arkansas, making the character of the people and our institutions the subject of minute observation, and offering a favorable comment upon them in comparison with those of his native These were communicated to the public at home, and attracted attention and unfavorable criticism, which led him to adopt America as his residence. He finally became a denizen of New York, domiciled at Brooklyn, and took the initiatory steps for citizenship of the United States in 1845. He began the practice of the law in the city of New York, devoting himself to the branch of it connected with the inheritances of German immigrants. He at once identified himself with our local literary societies, and pursued with ardor their objects. Among others he became secretary of the American Ethnological Society of New York, of which the Hon. Albert Gallatin was the first president. He was admitted a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, May 9, 1846.

He was eminently a social man, open-hearted and generous to those in distress, especially to men of letters, with a quick eye for the humorous, and accompanying his acts of kindness with a pleasantness of expression which warded off all demonstrations of gratitude with a joke. He was passionately fond of music, and a professor of the art, recalling and reproducing from memory the choicest classical compositions. He had also a great love of languages, and was master of many, but could never overcome his strong German accent and difficulty of acquiring the pronunciation of any other. He had great

aptitude in illustrating a point in argument by a little story.

Mr. Ludewig's efforts in literature were of a practical character, to inform and direct the scientific scholar to the sources of knowledge on the subject of his study. His first production was a small work in 1837, "Le Livret des Ana, essai de Catalogue Manual," Dresden, 12mo., giving a list of the books of Ana, doubling the number which had been previously collected; and in 1840 he gave, in his "Zur Bibliothekonomie," Dresden, Svo., pp. xxx. 41, a sample of the cataloguing of large public libraries.

In 1846 he published, privately, the work, "The Literature of American Local History," New York, 8vo., pp. 180, and at the same time printed, in the "Leipzig Serapeum," several articles on American literature. In 1848 he prepared a Supplement to the Local History, relating entirely to the State of New York, and published it in the New York "Literary World" on February 19. It was also struck off in a pamphlet form. It contained sixty-nine more articles than the original section.

In this collection of local histories he sought his materials from all the different accounts which had been published of the different localities in the country, including memoirs, addresses, sermons, and other publications containing any fact, and also references to the collections of different historical and other societies, and of individuals, and the journals of voyages and travels relating to this country from the earliest times. It was the first attempt of the kind which had been made, and it was well received, as it was carefully executed. In his compilation he was greatly assisted by the extensive collections of the late Peter Force, of Washington, and George Brinley, of Hartford, both of which were rich in books for his purpose. He had a more arduous task than might at first sight be supposed. He had to collect from the whole country at

distant points. This he was enabled to do by his great industry and Saxon patience. It was printed and distributed by him gratuitously. As a pioneer to later works of the same kind it has been of great service.

With his love of language it was natural that he should turn to the aborigines of America, and he accordingly communicated to the Society of Geography of Paris, in 1854, some views in relation to the Mexican tribes. But the work which he had most at heart was a bibliography of the American languages, to which he devoted much labor, and which he had committed to the press at the time of his sudden death. This volume, which he called "The Literature of American Aboriginal Languages," was published in 1858 in London, by Trübner & Co., with additions and corrections by Professor William W. Turner, and was edited by Nicholas Trübner, one of the publishers. It forms the first volume of Trübner's "Bibliotheca Glottica." It is a lexicon of lexicons, giving the fact of the existence of a dictionary, vocabulary, grammar, or collection of words of a tribe, without any attempt at classification or distinction. It is a rudis et indigesta moles of the sources of American philology, serving as a guide to that information and not the information itself.

It was while this work was being printed, and after he had completed his part of it, that he died at Brooklyn on the 12th of December, 1856.

Mr. Ludewig was of a vigorous frame, and his death caused a shock to all who knew him. He died of disappointment, both from a wasting away of a not inconsiderable fortune, and from a want of recognition of his claims to distinction. His wife survived him only a short time. She returned to her native country, and, with her husband gone and with no children, sunk into the grave in less than six months after him.*

^{*} Memoirs of Mr. Ludewig will be found in Duyckinck's Cyclopædia of American Literature (ed. 1875), vol. ii. p. 330; and the Historical Magazine, 1st series, vol. i. p. 33; 2d series, vol. ii. p. 145. — COMMITTEE.

JONATHAN FRENCH

THE Rev. Jonathan French, D. D., the subject of this sketch, was of the stock of the Pilgrims of the Mayflower, both his parents being of the lineage of John Alden, who for a large part of a long life filled with great acceptance some of the highest offices in the Plymouth Colony; a man no less distinguished for his exemplary Christian life, and his triumphant and happy death, than for his ability, fidelity, and usefulness as a magistrate.

His pedigree in the French family is traced from John French, an immigrant, born about 1609, and an early inhabitant of Dorchester, Massachusetts; admitted freeman in 1639. By his wife Grace he had eight children, — two born in Dorchester, the others in Braintree, whither the parents had removed before the birth of their third child in 1648. Grace French died on the first day of February, 1680; her husband on the sixth of August, 1693.

Thomas French, the seventh child of John and Grace French, was born in Braintree, March 10, 1657. By his wife Elizabeth he had ten children. He died September 22, 1717; his widow, December 23, 1718.

Moses French, the third child of Thomas and Elizabeth French, born in Braintree, February 16, 1700, married, December 24, 1730, Esther (born July 24, 1705), daughter of Ephraim and Sarah (Bass) Thayer, of the same town. They had six children: 1. Moses; 2. Elisha; 3. Esther; 4. Sarah; 5. Jonathan; and 6. Deliverance. Mr. Moses French died September 19, 1768, in his sixty-

ninth year; Esther, his widow, December 13, 1800, in her ninety-sixth year.

The Rev. Jonathan French, the third son and fifth child of Moses and Esther (Thayer) French, was born in Braintree, January 19, 1739-40 o. s.

In early life he became a soldier, having, when about seventeen years of age, enlisted into the army raised to be sent against the French and Indians, and in March, 1757, he repaired to Fort Edward on the left bank of the Hudson River, about forty-five miles above Albany. Having by sickness become too much enfeebled for active service he returned home the next fall.

He was afterward stationed at Castle William in Boston Harbor, with the rank of sergeant, the chief care of the garrison often devolving upon him. The duties of his station not necessarily demanding all his time, he devoted his leisure moments to the study of medical works, hoping at some time to engage in the practice of medicine or surgery; and he acquired so much knowledge of the science that he was permitted to have the management of and prescribe for cases of sickness in the garrison.

In the mean time, having become a Christian, he believed it his duty to preach the gospel. His course of study was then changed. He laid aside his medical books and began to prepare for college, still retaining his place in the garrison. He persevered in his preparatory studies till he was fitted for college. On his last day of service in the garrison he gave up his sergeant's warrant to the commanding officer for the day, and entered Harvard College, where he graduated with his class in 1771. On the twenty-third day of September, 1772, he was ordained pastor of the Congregational Church in the South Parish in Andover, Massachusetts.

[&]quot;As a minister, few men of his day enjoyed a wider and more desirable reputation. He was a warm patriot, and, when news

came of the battle of Bunker Hill, seized his surgical instruments, and, performing on horseback a journey of twenty miles, was on the ground in season to render efficient aid to the wounded soldiers. The literary institutions for which Andover has been long famous owe their origin in a great measure to his influence."

Mr. French married, August 26, 1773, Abigail, daughter of Dr. Benjamin and Abigail (Thayer) Richards, of Weymouth, Massachusetts. She was born November 17, 1742. Besides two children that died in infancy, they had:—

I. Abigail, born May 29, 1776; married May 9, 1797, the Rev. Samuel Stearns, of Bedford, Massachusetts, who died December 26, 1834, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and thirty-ninth of his ministry. She died December 2, 1858, aged eighty-two.

II. Jonathan, born August 16, 1778, the subject of this memorial.

III, Mary Holyoke, born August 6, 1781; married the Rev. Ebenezer Peck Sperry, pastor of a church in Dunstable, New Hampshire, (now Nashua); church in Wenham, Massachusetts; afterward preached in Ohio, where he died. She died in her brother's family in Northampton.

The Rev. Jonathan French continued in the ministry in Andover till he was suddenly stricken down with paralysis, and died July 28, 1809, in the seventieth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his ministry. Madame French, his widow, died August 28, 1822, in her eightieth year.

The Rev. Jonathan French, D. D., the only son of the Rev. Jonathan and Abigail (Richards) French, was born in Andover, Massachusetts, August 16, 1778, while his father was at church engaged in performing his usual Sabbath services; and in the afternoon of the same day, was taken to the church just across the street from the parsonage and baptized, in accordance with a custom then somewhat

prevalent — to baptize a child, when practicable, on the Sabbath of, or next after, its birth.

This son was told and often reminded of his consecration to God in baptism on the day of his birth, and of the responsibilities which his parents then assumed; and his own religious impressions date back to early childhood. Those impressions appear to have been deepened and strengthened during a long and tedious confinement occasioned by a distressing scald received in his fourth year, which nearly cost him his life, and from which he suffered, sometimes intensely, for many months.

In his half-century discourse, speaking of this confinement and the impressions that it occasioned, he says:—

"I pass over the details . . . only saying that I fully expected to recover, and that the purpose was then formed of becoming a preacher of the gospel and that this intention was never afterward relinquished."

He then adds: -

"The recollections of my early years, however, furnish many sad illustrations of the fact that 'childhood and youth are vanity.'"

In July, 1786, when about eight years old, he was placed in Phillips Academy to receive rudimentary instruction, and was kept there to begin at a suitable age, and to go on and complete the usual preparation for college. It was for him a fortunate circumstance that he could enjoy the privileges of an excellent school in his native village and near the residence of his parents, so that, his home being with them, he might receive the full benefit of their Christian example, parental watchfulness, and judicious counsels during all his preparatory course.

In 1794 he entered the freshman class in Harvard College, and not long afterward made a public profession of his faith in Christ. His own account of this transaction, given in the maturity of his age, is as follows:—

"It was not till the age of sixteen that I ventured to make a profession. Being then in my first year in college, and there being at that time very few youthful professors in our community, many fears were entertained that temptation to inconsistency, if not to apostasy, might prove too strong to be resisted. I do not, however, recollect a sneer or a word of ridicule from any fellow-student. On the other hand, a profession of religion did induce carefulness lest some erratic behavior should be an occasion of reproach."

Mr. French graduated at Harvard College in 1798, and took his degree of Master of Arts in course three years afterward. Among his classmates were William Ellery Channing, D. D., Stephen Longfellow, LL. D., Nathaniel Lord, A. M., Matthias Spalding, M. D., Joseph Story, LL. D., Joseph Tuckerman, D. D., John Varnum, A. M., and Professor Sidney Willard, A. M. What rank in his class he sustained is unknown to the writer; but that it was above mediocrity may be inferred from the fact that, of the forty-eight members of the class at the time of graduating, only eighteen received appointments for commencement, and Mr. French was one of that number. With three of his classmates he had a conference in English, on Logic, Criticism, Poetry, and Oratory, his thesis being Logic.

"The best advantages for education to be enjoyed in New England at the period of his youth were given him, and they were well improved. Thus with regard to his Puritan descent, his Christian parentage, his religious advantages, and his youthful opportunities for intellectual culture he was highly favored. He had five talents given him; and he was accustomed to acknowledge the circumstances of providential goodness towards him with devout gratitude to God."

After his graduation he was temporarily employed as an assistant teacher in Phillips Academy, where he had formerly been a pupil. This engagement, however, was not allowed to divert him from the course of study needed to prepare him for the work of the ministry, his early chosen profession. He accordingly entered upon the study of theology and pursued it under the direction of his father, a competent instructor, with whom other young men had studied for the ministry.

Mr. French, having received a license to preach, delivered his first sermon in his father's pulpit, to a congregation largely made up of people whom he had known from his boyhood, and their children who had known him from their early childhood. He was then about twenty-two years old, small of stature, and youthful in appearance. His parents were present, his father being with him in the pulpit. It was an occasion of unwonted interest to the whole congregation, of some anxiety to his parents, of considerable trepidation to himself. When he rose to speak the whole assembly was hushed; but when he announced as his text the words of Jesus in the Temple, "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" (Luke ii. 49), and with some timidity entered upon the delivery of his sermon, the sympathies of his auditors could no longer be concealed.

In the course of a year Mr. French preached in several places as opportunity offered, and from one of the churches in Massachusetts he received a call to be settled as their pastor. Some circumstances affecting the result he relates in his Half-century Sermon, and as, in consequence, his field of labor probably for his lifetime was changed, it seems proper to transfer his own statement to this memoir:—

"There are sometimes circumstances in a person's history, apparently unimportant when they occur, which give a new direction to his path of life, turn him at a short corner, carry him across the track he had marked out for himself, and lead him in a way which he knew not. Whoever else may eavil at the doctrine of a particular providence, I cannot, — having witnessed and experienced many things which I cannot doubt resulted

from the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, not however, excluding human voluntary agency. Two such incidents I have cause to record here. One of them prevented my settlement with a church from which I had received a unanimous invitation. It was the selection of a text on which a minister preached with whom I exchanged, and who, I have no doubt, sincerely desired my acceptance of the call. That circumstance, without any such design by the minister, led to surmisings which caused delay. In the mean time, having received invitations to preach in other places, I discouraged any further measures in regard to a settlement with that church. The other incident was an unexpected interview between the committee of this town (North Hampton) and myself, in which I received an invitation to this place, at the moment when I was mounting my carriage to go in a different direction. The difference of a minute or two might have prevented my being here."

Mr. French began his ministry in North Hampton on the third Sabbath in July, 1801, and a few months later the church, with the concurrence of the town, invited him to the pastorate. The country at that time was in a state of great political excitement, as the control of the government had recently, for the first time in the history of the nation, passed, after a severe and protracted struggle from one of the great political parties to the other; and in consequence alienations and divisions, occasioned by differences in political views and interests, were very common.

What rendered the state of things peculiarly calamitous in that town was that, in some instances, "families were divided, brother against brother, — entirely apart, — and influenced by directly opposite political interests. Often the religious and local affairs of the people were blended with their political excitements." Hence the call was not unanimous. There was, indeed, strong opposition to his settlement, though the opposers "declared that they were not dissatisfied with the preacher, but with the proceedings of the majority."

Under such circumstances Mr. French would probably

have declined the call, had not some other considerations given the matter a more cheerful aspect. The people in former days had always been favorably disposed toward the ministerial office; and he himself had personally been treated with respect, even by those who were opposed to his being settled. These and other considerations, together with his firm belief that God had led him to that town by special providences, induced him to accept the call, with the understanding that the whole subject should be calmly submitted to the consideration of a large and judicious council.

Such a council was convened on the eighteenth day of November, 1801. An opportunity was given by public notice to the parties, to make their several statements to the council as fully as they might desire. This having been done, the council, after due deliberation, voted that the objections and opposition that had appeared against the settlement were not sufficient to prevent the council from proceeding to ordination. The ordination accordingly took place in the afternoon of the same day.

The Rev. Jonathan French of Andover, the venerable father of the candidate, preached the sermon from II. Corinthians ii. 15, 16. The Rev. Joseph Buckminster, D. D., of Portsmouth, gave the charge; and the Rev. Samuel Stearns of Bedford, Massachusetts, the right-hand of fellowship.

Dr. French, fifty years afterward, in reference to his views and feelings at the time of his ordination, said: —

"In that solemn consecration the pastor hoped he gave himself to the service of Christ among that people, feeling willing to live and die with them should the Lord so will, although there seemed cause to fear, what some confidently predicted, that the relation must be speedily dissolved."

The ground of this prediction was the want of harmony among the people.

To go among a people so divided, to enter their homes and converse with their families, to be daily exposed to the criticism of persons known to be dissatisfied with the proceedings of the majority by whom the minister had been employed,—and who for that reason had been opposed to his settlement, even though they had declared that they had no dislike to him personally,—required the minister to be a man of great wisdom, as well as of ardent piety, to have an intimate acquaintance with human nature, sound common sense, and the power of self-control.

Such was the ordeal through which Mr. French passed in the prime of his manhood, — coming out of it not only unhurt, but more beloved by his friends, and standing higher than before in the estimation of those who had been opposed to his settlement.

"By a course of discretion and wisdom and forbearance and self-sacrifice, and single devotedness to his work as a minister of Christ, he secured universally the respect and confidence of the people and in a large degree their cordial affection. He employed for them the strength and energy, the persevering and untiring labor of his mature years, and the wise, ripe experience of old age."

His pastorship continued through life, though most of the active labors in the last four years were performed by a colleague. During the fifty-five years of his ministry there had been no occasion for any council except the one called for ordaining his colleague, November 18, 1852, just fifty-one years from the date of his own ordination; while in the first fifty years his church had been called by letters-missive from other churches to attend one hundred and seventy-three councils, and had actually been represented in one hundred and forty-four.

In the spring of 1802, a few months after his settlement, Mr. French joined the Piscataqua Association of Ministers, and retained his membership through life. He was its secretary from 1812 to 1826. This organization is a voluntary association of ministers living on either side of the river from which it received its name, — some in Maine, a larger number in New Hampshire. It is an old association, formed about a century ago.

When, in 1817, the Piscataqua Association joined the General Association, and sent its two first delegates to that body, Mr. French was one of them. In 1828 he was the Association preacher. Dr. Bouton, styling him "the laborious and beloved pastor of the church in North Hampton," says: "Four times was he the honored moderator of the General Association."

In the autumn of 1811 the pastor of the church in Brentwood died, leaving his widow with four young children in a destitute condition. This fact was made known to the ministers who were present at his funeral, and it was proposed to do something for her immediate support. It occurred to Mr. French that there would probably be other like cases in the future, and that some plan should be devised for meeting them promptly and affording relief. The idea of a permanent fund was suggested, and the whole matter left with the General Association. The result was the formation of the Widows' Charitable Fund, to be managed by a board of twelve trustees, to be appointed by the Association. The appointment of the first board was made in 1813. Mr. French was one of the twelve.

The scope of this organization has been enlarged so that relief may be afforded to clergymen in restricted circumstances, as well as to widows and orphan children of deceased ministers. It is incorporated and known as "The Trustees of the Ministers' and Widows' Charitable Fund."

Dr. Bouton says in his Historical Discourse: —

"It has always been understood that the Rev. Jonathan French of North Hampton, though not at that time connected with the General Association, had a principal agency in the origin and formation of the Widows' Charitable Fund. It was an object which always engaged his warmest sympathies and earnest labors to promote."

Mr. French was a regular contributor to the Fund while he lived; and in 1863, seven years after his death, he was made a memorial member by his children.

Mr. French was deeply interested in all matters pertaining to the education of the young, and largely through his instrumentality, the condition of the common schools was very much improved and the standard of education raised. Many other citizens labored for the same object and were helpful in the improvements made, and are entitled to much credit for the services rendered. Mr. French, however, from his position as the minister of the town, and for many years as school-committee, and from his frequent visits, had more favorable opportunities than others for judging of the real condition of the schools and the ways in which they might be improved.

His interest in the education of youth was not limited by town lines. When, eight or ten years after his settlement in the ministry, it was proposed to establish an academy in the adjoining town of Hampton, three or four miles from his residence, he entered heartily into the project, and with a few of his parishioners was very helpful to its friends in Hampton in making the enterprise successful. He was early elected a member of the board of trustees, and held the trust and was an active and useful member till he was prevented from attending the meetings of the board by the infirmities of age.

Mr. French was also interested in the moral and religious as well as the intellectual culture of the young people in his parish. At a much earlier period the Assembly's Shorter Catechism was in use for many years,

but before his settlement it had been laid aside. He succeeded in restoring it. In a letter to his father-in-law, dated August 8, 1817, he writes:—

"Our catechisings on the Sabbath continue to be interesting to the children and young people. Last Sabbath about thirty children attended the catechising at noon, and about twenty young people the Biblical Catechism after the afternoon meeting. Mrs. Gookin, an aged and worthy member of the church, and about a dozen others were present at the catechising at noon."

A social library was formed in the town as early as 1761, and a considerable number of books, some of them known to be of great value, selected, — it is supposed by the Rev. Nathaniel Gookin, the learned and worthy pastor of the church. It is evident from the records that some of the best books were often taken out and were in great demand. "That library," Dr. French remarks, "appears to have been one of the most efficient means of promoting intellectual culture and practical godliness enjoyed by former generations of this people."

But in the course of forty years a change had taken place; the library had almost ceased to be used, and many of the books had been lost or scattered.

Mr. French early undertook to reorganize the library, collecting such of the worn and scattered books as could be found, and replenishing it with new books. The library was located in the parsonage, in care of the pastor as librarian; and there it remained nearly to the close of his active ministry. New books, mainly of his own selection, were added from time to time, a good degree of interest was maintained, and the library had no inconsiderable influence in improving the intellectual and moral character of the community.

In the first quarter of the present century, intemperance throughout New England was one of the most formidable obstacles to the success of any efforts put forth for

the moral and religious improvement of the masses. It was so in North Hampton; an enormous quantity of ardent spirits was sold and consumed every year. The prospect was discouraging. Mr. French, however, did not relax his efforts to check its progress.

Going to one of the traders who was trafficking in alcoholic liquors, he said to him calmly but plainly: "Your business is counteracting the influence of mine. Serious thoughts instilled into the minds of our people on one Sabbath appear, with a considerable class of our men, to be dissipated at the store or tavern before another Sabbath comes."

He had a special place for his missionary corn, — a crop raised on ground set apart for that purpose, as an example to his people how to be able to give for the support of missions. His own children were early taught to give, at each monthly concert, money which was their own and which they had severally earned, even if each should give but a single cent. They were thus taught to give systematically.

The Rev. Mr. Tobey in his funeral discourse alludes to the important service done by Mr. French in raising funds to aid the people of Newmarket in an enterprise in which they were then engaged - the building of a meetinghouse. This was in a part of the town which had been but sparsely settled till a few years before, when the water of the river flowing through it began to be utilized for manufacturing purposes. The population then gathering there, made up largely of mechanics and laborers with their families, needed that the gospel should continue to be preached to them, as it had been for a considerable time; but the population had increased to such an extent that no hall or building could be obtained of sufficient capacity to accommodate all who wished for seats, and the building of a meeting-house had become a necessity, but it was found that funds enough could not be raised among

themselves. In aid of such an enterprise Mr. French volunteered his services to go at his own expense on a somewhat extensive collecting tour to solicit the contribution of one dollar from each of a large number of people, and he met with good success.

The Rev. Mr. Tobey, in his Funeral Sermon, says of Dr. French: "Wherever there was more than usual religious interest he was ready to go if he could, and do what he could to promote the salvation of men. In such labors he spared not himself. He counted not his own life dear to him if he might win souls to Christ. When some of his own flock feared he was doing too much abroad, he has gone (protected from observation by the shades of evening) from his home to Portsmouth, preached, attended an inquiry meeting, and returned the same night."

Another instance is disclosed in a letter now before me, from Mr. French to his brother-in-law, Deacon James Farrar of Lincoln, Massachusetts, soon after the occurrence.

NORTH HAMPTON, March 14, 1823.

Since I wrote last I have visited Chester and Candia, which have been and I hope still are blessed with a revival. places are between twenty and thirty miles from us. Having a supply for my people on the second Sabbath in February, I set out, on the cold Friday preceding, to assist my brethren in the places I have mentioned, and to see and hear for myself the wonderful work of God in their societies. The extreme cold prevented me from reaching Chester in season to attend a meeting in the afternoon, as I had expected to do. Hearing that there was to be an evening meeting in Candia, I pressed forward in hope of reaching it. I had proceeded about half way when I was informed that the meeting would be in a remote part of the town and I could not reach it. Much disappointed I requested the favor of passing the night at the house where I had stopped to inquire, although the family were entire strangers to me.

I soon found that God had led me into the neighborhood where the revival had been most powerful, and into the very family which had partaken most largely of the blessing. In seven houses in that neighborhood, within the distance of about three fourths of a mile, twenty-eight persons hope they have experienced religion in this revival. Six in those houses were professors before, and only six grown persons and a few children were left.

That neighborhood is between four and five miles from either Chester or Candia meeting-house. The family where I stopped consists of a man and his wife over sixty years of age, two daughters, a son and grandson grown up, a granddaughter of thirteen, and another between four and five years old. All of them were, before this revival, living without hope, but are all now, except the child, rejoicing in hope, and even the little girl before I left them was getting away alone on her knees, and praying to God to make her a good girl.

Without saying anything to me about it, the family sent out and invited their neighbors. A considerable number came in and we passed a happy evening in very interesting religious conversation, singing, and prayer. . . .

I preached at Chester on the Sabbath, and in Candia meeting-house Sabbath evening; returned to Chester on Monday and preached in the afternoon and evening.

Dr. French was not uninterested in genealogical and antiquarian researches, and he had the discriminating mind, the industry, patience, and perseverence that admirably fitted him for success, as is evinced in his investigation of the facts in the early history of churches in the county of Rockingham, New Hampshire, sketches of some of which were published in the first volume of the Historical and Genealogical Register. In the early part of his ministry he made inquiries of the elderly people in regard to the old families of the town and the location of their houses, and the owners or occupants in the successive generations, and made a record of the results.

He also acquainted himself with the leading facts in the history of the place, as fully as they could be learned from the records of the town and the church, from which he made copious extracts. The information collected from

these several sources he found very convenient in the preparation of several of his sermons some years afterward—particularly those delivered at the close of the twentieth and fiftieth years of his pastorate, and his sermon at the dedication of the present house of worship, in 1838.

His time, however, was so fully occupied with his preparation for the services of the sanctuary, and his pastoral, parochial, and other necessary labors, that he could not enter largely into such investigations; but it should be noted that whenever he was inquired of about some particular person or some specific facts, he obtained and furnished the needed information if attainable. He became a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, February 25, 1846.

In 1851 the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by Dartmouth College.

Mr. French remained unmarried for several years after his settlement in the ministry. During that time a new parsonage had been built and made ready for his occupancy, whenever he might need it. On the fourth day of December, 1804, he was married to Miss Rebecca Farrar, born on the 21st day of December, 1785, and then nearly nineteen years of age. She was the only daughter of Deacon Samuel and Mercy (Hoar) Farrar, of Lincoln, Massachusetts. Her father was not only a deacon of the church, but also captain of the militia in Lincoln, and much distinguished in active service during the Revolution. "He was a man of great energy of character and strength of mind." He died September 19, 1829, aged ninety-two years.

Mrs. French had three brothers, all very worthy men:

I. Samuel, born December 13, 1773; graduated at Harvard College, 1797; lawyer; was many years treasurer of the Theological Seminary, and president of the bank in Andover, till he resigned both offices a few years before his death.

II. James, born October 12, 1776; farmer; lived on the homestead, and held the same offices in the church and the militia that his father had held. He died October 9, 1867, aged ninety-one years.

III. John, born May 1, 1779; graduated at Harvard College, 1803; lived in Cambridge; many years Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Harvard College; died April 3, 1853, aged nearly seventy-four years.

When Mr. French was returning from Lincoln with his bride they were met at the State line by a cavalcade of his parishioners, who escorted them to the parsonage in North Hampton, where other friends were waiting to welcome them to their new home, everything being in readiness for their reception.

The parsonage to which they were then so cordially welcomed, and in which they commenced housekeeping, was their home nearly half a century, and was not vacated by them till their own house was ready, and the parsonage was to be renovated and prepared for the use of a colleague. In the parsonage all their children—a numerous family—were born and reared, no death occurring in the family during the long period of their residence there. Their children were:—

I. Jonathan, born December 13, 1805; graduated at Union College, 1829; was many years a school teacher; married Mrs. Charlotte (Gibson) Fogg, who died June 12, 1860.

II. Rebecca Mercy, born February 2, 1807; died unmarried, March 8, 1870.

III. Samuel Farrar, born January 11, 1809; married April 20, 1836, Ann R. Pickering.

IV. Abigail, born August 4, 1810; married April 14, 1835, Joseph Dow, A. M., graduated at Dartmouth College, 1833. She died January 28, 1870.

V. Mary Holyoke, born November 23, 1812; married April 16, 1833, Jonathan Hobbs, 3d, a farmer, who died May 2, 1872.

VI. James, born April 1, 1815; married Naney S. Tenney of Wilmot, New Hampshire; clergyman, now city missionary in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

/_VII. John Farrar, born February 10, 1818; married November 8, 1843, Lemira Leavitt, and is a farmer, resid-

ing in North Hampton.

VIII. Sarah, born May 25, 1820; married August 15, 1839, the Rev. Sereno T. Abbott, A. M., graduated at Amherst College, 1833; pastor of the Congregational Church of Seabrook and Hampton Falls; died March 23, 1855, aged fifty years. Mrs. Abbott, since 1858, has resided in Andover, Massachusetts.

IX. Sperry, born January 9, 1823; married October 31, 1853, Harriet N. Robinson of Exeter. He has been school-teacher in Exeter more than twenty years.

X. Lucy Ann, born September 5, 1825; resides in Andover, Massachusetts.

XI. Elizabeth Dorcas, born January 26, 1829; married October 25, 1848, John W. Farrar, a farmer of Lincoln, Massachusetts.

In portraying the domestic character of Dr. French it should be premised that in all his plans to make his home pleasant and dear to all his household he found a most efficient helper in his amiable and excellent wife, as well in planning the course to be pursued, as in carrying into effect any plans formed. Indeed her aid and influence were very effectual in making him what he was. he well understood and thankfully acknowledged. Her charming, unostentatious, but dignified manners, her economical habits, her unobtrusive and prudent advice, her exemplary and decidedly religious character, and her genial management of household affairs, all helped to elevate him to the place he occupied in the esteem of those who knew him. He was conscious of his own imperfections, being naturally quickly excited and irritable, and while he exhorted others to strive against their easily besetting sins, whatever they were, he confessed his own, and in a great measure conquered them.

From a mass of reminiscences of Dr. French, furnished by several of his children at my request, I have selected as large a portion as my limited space will permit me to use, which will be given substantially as it was furnished.

One of the sons prefaces his reminiscences with the following remark: "Pleasant recollections of my father extend from my earliest boyhood into my mature life. He was a faithful guardian while his children were under the parental roof, a kind and affectionate counsellor afterwards."

He expected his children to have childish ways, and encouraged their propensity for innocent amusements, after they had finished their regular study or work, thus making home attractive and sweet without fostering indolence. He would not allow play or sports of any kind that were of a doubtful tendency on the formation of character. Hence, some things not unlawful in themselves were prohibited on account of their connection with what was really evil. The influence of bad associations he warned them to shun as they would a poisonous atmosphere. The use of language bordering on the obscene or profane was absolutely forbidden. He was exceedingly careful of his children's reading. A book, from whatever source obtained, containing anything unsound in principle or pernicious in its tendency, was destroyed as soon as he saw it. "Pilgrim's Progress," Janeway's "Token for Children," and such story books as "Robinson Crusoe," together with books of history and biography, were his children's common readingbooks.

The children knew their father's government to be very strict and firm, while their mother's was mild, but no less firm. His consent to a requested privilege, if given from his study, was generally granted by saying,

"Go ask your ma." But when any of them asked for something that he thought would be hurtful, he neither threw off the responsibility of deciding by sending them to their mother, nor did he use many words in arguing the point. They were taught by both that they must submit to parental authority, even if they could not appreciate their parents' motives, as they must submit to God without questioning his wisdom; that rebellion against parents is rebellion against God, and that children who refuse submission to their parents will not be likely to submit to God. Loving, trusting submission to Christ, they were taught by both their parents, is the prominent trait in Christian character.

Mr. French's interest for the welfare of the children of the town was similar in kind, if not in degree, to that for his own family. This was manifested in his visits to the schools and his counsels to the children, and in his pulpit instruction concerning parental duties. He was emphatically the children's friend.

In the fiftieth year of his ministry Dr. French made known his intention to resign his pastorate at the close of the year, and expressed his desire that an effort should be made meanwhile to find a minister to be his successor in the pastoral office. The suggestion with regard to looking out a man to succeed him meeting the approbation of his people, they invited him to aid them in their Mr. John Dinsmore, then a member of the efforts. seminary in Bangor, Maine, having supplied the pulpit a few Sabbaths, found so much favor with the church and people that it was understood by the parties, though no formal contract had been made, that after spending another year at the seminary to complete his course of study, he was to come back and receive ordination. Mr. Dinsmore returned to Bangor to resume his studies, and Dr. French continued his ministry as before.

As the fiftieth anniversary of his settlement drew near,

it was generally known that the event would be celebrated by a public meeting with services appropriate to the occasion, including a Half-century Discourse by the aged pastor. All the needful preliminary steps were taken and committees appointed, and people were looking forward with a great deal of interest to the eighteenth day of November.

Dr. French's parishioners, however, and many other people of the town having expressed a wish for a social gathering at the parsonage on some day before the anniversary, the fifteenth day of October was selected as the day for a visit which would give them an opportunity to show their attachment to the venerable pastor and his amiable and beloved wife, and to leave with them some suitable mementoes of their own appreciation of their valuable and life-long services in the cause of their Divine Master, and for the welfare of that people.

A committee was chosen to make arrangements for the occasion, and the manner in which their duties were performed evinced their efficiency and their good taste. The fifteenth of October, 1851, was a beautiful autumnal day, "as pleasant as could have been desired."

Early in the afternoon the company began to assemble. One large room was nearly filled with those of silvered locks, but with countenances beaming with joy and gratitude that they had been permitted to enjoy an occasion like that. Others of all ages were dispersed in various apartments, and friendly greetings and salutations occupied the time till the chairman of the committee called the company to order; then, while perfect silence reigned through that large assemblage, the Pastor invoked the blessing of God upon all present and their proceedings.

Then followed the presentation of valuable gifts, accompanied by a brief presentation speech, and with an appropriate response by the pastor. One of the presents was

a splendid copy of the Holy Bible, on the cover of which was printed in gilt letters the following inscription:—

"Presented by the People of North Hampton, N. II., to Rev. Jonathan French, D. D., Oct. 15, 1851."

Various other presents were given, one of which was a purse containing one hundred and sixty-seven and a half dollars, chiefly in gold.

Dr. French then expressed with deep feeling the gratitude he felt for the generous gifts. In his thoughts he was carried back to the time of his first introduction to the place. He alluded to the uniform kindness of his people, and the exertions they had made to overcome all difficulties and discouragements which stood in the way of his continuance among them.

Addressing his beloved wife, he presented to her the purse, requesting that it might be kept on deposit towards the erection of a house for himself and family, where he might spend the small remnant of his days "among his own people." He said to her, "You have loved this people and they have loved you from your first acquaintance." He then delicately rendered to her full credit for the assistance she had given him throughout his ministry. He commended her untiring care, her affection and kindness, her prudence and her faithfulness. In his trials she had soothed and comforted him; and when clouds and thick darkness hung over him, her sympathy and kindness had cheered him on his way.

The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Dr. French, as pastor of the Congregational Church in North Hampton, took place on the eighteenth day of November, A. D. 1851, according to previous arrangement. The people of the town, by their committee, invited the Rev. Rufus W. Clark, of Portsmouth, to officiate as chairman of the meeting. The Rev. S. P. Fay, of Hampton, invoked the blessing of God upon the

exercises. The chairman read selections from the Bible, and also extracts of letters from distinguished elergymen. Prayer was offered by the Rev. I. W. Putnam of Middleborough, Massachusetts, formerly of Portsmouth. A hymn written for the occasion by Nathaniel Lord, Jr., A. M., of Ipswich, Mass., a college classmate of the Rev. Dr. French, was sung. Letters were read from the late Rev. John Pierce, D. D., of Brookline, Massachusetts, the Rev. James Kendall, D. D., of Plymouth, Massachusetts, the Rev. Micah Stone of Brookfield, Massachusetts, the Rev. Joshua Bates, D.D., of Dudley, Massachusetts. The Half-century Discourse delivered by the Pastor was from the text: "Behold I die; but God shall be with you," - Genesis, xlvi. 21. The closing prayer and the benediction were by the Rev. Alvan Tobey of Durham. The number of people in attendance was very large, and all the exercises were of an interesting character and very appropriate to the occasion. Dr. French had intended to close his pastoral labors with this anniversary, but, as has already been related, Mr. Dinsmore, who was expected to succeed him in the pastoral office, had not finished his theological course at the seminary, and in consequence Dr. French continued to discharge the duties of the pastoral office another year, and no other portion of his ministry had been more signally blest. There was a powerful revival during that year, and many were added to the church.

The ordination of Mr. Dinsmore took place on the eighteenth day of November, 1852, the fifty-first anniversary of his own ordination. Dr. French's usefulness, however, was not ended. In various ways his influence continued to be felt. As long as his health would permit he was ready, when called, to visit the sick and the afflicted, and commend them in prayer to the Saviour in whom he trusted for support in their sufferings and their sorrows.

When he himself grew feeble, and he felt that the time of his departure was drawing near, his hope did not fail him. He felt that he was going home. On the thirteenth day of December, 1856, he fell asleep in Jesus, at the age of seventy-eight years, three months, and twenty-seven days.

His funeral was attended on the sixteenth day of December at the church. The Rev. Alvan Tobey, pastor of the Congregational Church in Durham, preached the funeral sermon, from Matthew xxv. 21: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

The writings of Dr. French which have appeared in print are as follows:—

A Discourse delivered in the South Parish in Andover, December 1, 1803, on the Anniversary Thanksgiving in Massachusetts. By Jonathan French, Minister of the Church in North Hampton, New Hampshire. Newburyport: printed by E. M. Blunt, No. 6 State Street, 1804. 20 pp.

A Sermon, delivered September 28, 1808, at the Installation of the Rev. Isaac Briggs to the pastoral care of the First Church and Society in Boxford. By Jonathan French, Pastor of the Church in North Hampton, New Hampshire. Haverhill, Massachusetts: printed by William B. Allen, 1809. 13 + 7 pp.

"Ministers asking the Prayers of their Christian Brethren." A Sermon delivered in the South Parish in Portsmonth, May 23, 1810; it being one of the days of prayer for a revival of true religion, statedly observed by the ministers of the Piscataqua Association and their congregations. By Jonathan French, Pastor of the Church in North Hampton, New Hampshire. Printed at Portsmouth, by Samuel Whidden, June 1810. 16 pp.

Sermons delivered on the twentieth of August, 1812, the day recommended by the President of the United States for Public Humiliation and Prayer: to which are added, Observations on the Propriety of Preaching Occasionally on Political Subjects. By Jonathan French, Minister of the Church in North Hampton, New Hampshire. Exeter: printed at the Constitutionalist Press y E. C. Beals. 28 pp.

A Sermon delivered May 16, 1815, before the Exeter Society for the Reformation of Morals, and a few paragraphs being omitted, to the Congregational Assembly at Durham, August 20, 1815. By Jonathan French, Minister of the Church in North Hampton, New Hampshire. Exeter: Printed by C. Norris & Co. 1816. 20 pp.

A Sermon delivered at the Installation of the Rev. Ebenezer Peck Sperry to the pastoral care of the Church and Society in Wenham, March 29, 1820. By Jonathan French, Pastor of the Church in North Hampton, New Hampshire. Portsmouth: printed by Samuel Whidden, 1820. 28 pp.

A Discourse delivered at North Hampton, New Hampshire, November 18, 1821, being twenty years from the author's settlement in the Christian ministry in that place. By Jonathan French, A. M. Portsmouth: printed by T. II. Miller, 1822. 12 pp.

A Sermon preached at Concord, before his excellency Samuel Bell, Governor, the Honorable Council, Senate, and House of Representatives of the State of New Hampshire, June 6, 1822, being the Anniversary Election. By Jonathan French, A. M., Pastor of the Church in North Hampton, New Hampshire. Concord: printed by Hill & Moore, 1822. 28 pp.

A Sermon delivered at the Funeral of the Rev. Federal Burt, Pastor of the Congregational Church in Durham, New Hampshire, who died February 9, 1828, aged thirty-nine years. By Jonathan French, Pastor of the Church in North Hampton, New Hampshire. Portsmouth: printed by Miller & Brewster, 1828. 16 pp.

"Christ, the Believer's Life." A discourse at the Funeral of Mrs. Harriot Putnam, late consort of the Rev. Israel W. Putnam, Pastor of the North Church in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, June 14, 1832. By Jonathan French, Pastor of the Congregational Church in North Hampson, New Hampshire. Portsmouth: printed by Miller & Brewster, 1832. 20 pp.

A Sermon, delivered in Dover, New Hampshire, at the Re-interment of the Rev. Joseph W. Clary, December 19, 1835. By Jonathan French, Pastor of the Church in North Hampton, New Hampshire. Dover, New Hampshire: George Wadleigh, Washington Street, 1837. 20 pp.

"Reminiscences of a Fifty-years' Pastorate." A Half-century Discourse delivered in North Hampton, New Hampshire, November 18, 1851. By Jonathan French, D. D., Pastor of the Congregational Church. Portsmouth: C. W. Brewster & Son, printers, 1852. 46 pp.

An Address delivered before the Rockingham Sacred Music Society at Portsmonth, May 8, 1816. By Jonathan French, Minister at North Hampton, New Hampshire. Exeter: printed by C. Norris & Co., 1816. 16 pp.

"Historical Notices of the Piscataqua Association; with observations on an article published in the 'Christian Examiner' for May, 1848." By Jonathan French, Pastor of the Congregational Church in North Hampton, New Hampshire. Boston: Charles C. P. Moody, printer, Old Dickinson Office, No. 52 Washington Street, 1850. 24 pp.

A Discourse delivered at North Hampton, New Hampshire, December 22, 1820, a day religiously observed by many in commemoration of the landing of the first settlers of New England, two hundred years having elapsed since that event. By Jonathan French, Pastor of the Church in North Hampton, New Hampshire. Portsmouth: printed by John Melcher, 1821. 24 pp.

Dr. French prepared a complete list of Congregational Ministers in Brentwood, Deerfield, Epping, Exeter, Gosport, and Greenland, six towns in Rockingham County, New Hampshire, from their settlement till 1847; together with notes on the ministers and churches. This work was published in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Volume I. 20 pp.

He also contributed articles to newspapers, most of them to the Portsmouth Journal or religious papers.

CHARLES FREDERICK ADAMS, JR.

CHARLES FREDERICK ADAMS, Jr., was a son of Charles Frederick and Caroline Hesselrigge (Walter) Adams, and was born in Boston, February 3, 1824. He entered the Boston Latin School in 1834, and subsequently was fitted for college by a private tutor. In 1840 he entered the Sophomore Class of Harvard College, from which he was graduated in 1843. He then entered the Law School at Cambridge, where he remained one year, and completed his legal studies in the office of Charles Greely Loring of Boston. Having been admitted to the bar, he opened an office in Boston, giving his attention particularly to conveyancing. The profession, however, being crowded, afforded but little encouragement for one of so modest and retiring habits as Mr. Adams, and after a few years he determined to seek a new field for practice. In 1849 he sailed for California, via Cape Horn, but on the passage he was attacked with pleurisy fever, and he arrived at the end of his long voyage in a feeble state of health. remaining a few weeks in San Francisco, by the advice of friends he proceeded to the Sandwich Islands; but as he found on his arrival there the accommodations for invalids very scanty and undesirable, he shortly afterwards sailed This voyage, however, was of little benefit to him, and he returned home, after an absence of about thirteen months, and resumed the practice of his profession in his native city. He again left Boston in the pursuit of

health, and passed the winter of 1852-3 at St. Croix in the West Indies with temporary advantage. His health, however, was never fully restored, and that insidious disease, consumption, closed his mortal career in its prime. Exemplary in all the duties of private life, he showed a diligence, exactness, and fidelity in his profession which, had his life been prolonged, would have insured success, and the confidence and esteem of the community.

He took a great interest in military matters, and, as a commissioned officer in the First Corps of Cadets, he did much to elevate and sustain the bearing and drill of that useful organization.

He was admitted a resident member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, September 17, 1853. He had a taste for archæological and genealogical studies, and had made a considerable collection of materials illustrating the genealogy of the Adams family. The article on the "Descendants of Robert Adams of Newbury," in the Historical and Genealogical Register for January, 1857, was prepared by Joshua Coffin for him, Robert Adams being his paternal ancestor. An interesting paper on his maternal ancestry, entitled "Notices of the Walter Family," compiled by him, was published in the Historical and Genealogical Register for July, 1854. He was also interested in Bible history, to which he gave much of his leisure time.

Mr. Adams was never married. His death occurred in Boston, December 30, 1856, at the early age of thirty-two. He died full of Christian hope and resignation, leaving many devoted friends to mourn his early departure.

JOHN FREDERICK SCHROEDER

There are those of the clerical profession who are content, like Goldsmith's preacher, to allure to brighter worlds and lead the way, and there are others who, though fully developed on the spiritual side of their characters, feel it necessary to exercise the nervous power of their intellects in instructing and educating a larger constituency than their particular parochial cures afford, while not neglecting the duties of their spiritual office.

The subject of this sketch was one of the latter, and, though faithfully conducting important and influential parish activities, he will be remembered as an author and educator, as well as a faithful pastor and brilliant preacher.

John Frederick Schroeder was born in Baltimore, Maryland, April 8, 1800. He was the son of Henry Schroeder, of Hamburg, Germany, who was born December 7, 1764, and died July 24, 1839; and of Mary Schroeder, the daughter of Jacob Schley, of Frederick City, Maryland, who was born January 4, 1775, and died January 20, 1840.

As a child he had little fondness for boyish sports, but was devoted to reading and study. From his eleventh to his fifteenth year his favorite study was that of the ancient languages, in which his memory and command of words enabled him to excel.

He was fitted for college by Mr. Walker, a scholar from one of the English Universities. He was precocious in his mental development, and was able to enter the College of New Jersey at the early age of fifteen years, at which institution he was graduated Bachelor of Arts, with the highest honors, in 1819. Dr. Green, the President of the College, subsequently wrote of him that "he passed his whole course in the most reputable manner. His diligence in study was truly exemplary; and, as a scholar, he never had a superior in any class to which he belonged. His moral character was without a stain. His attention to all the religious instructions and exercises of the College was constant, respectful, and reverential. In a word, Mr. Schroeder, while with us, was considered as a pattern to his fellow students."

Soon after his graduation he pursued for a time the study of the Hebrew language under the tuition of the Rev. Dr. Banks of Philadelphia, a gentleman of reputation for his acquirements in the Oriental languages, whose opinion of his pupil, founded upon acquaintance, led him to say that he had every reason to believe he would be a distinguished ornament to the Church. In 1821 he entered the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, then at New Haven, Connecticut, but which, in the following year, was removed to New York City, where it has since remained.

While at the seminary he was distinguished for his brilliant recitations, his taste for music, his skill and fluency in debate, his accomplishments in the languages, and for the charm of his conversation. Bishop Brownell and the Rev. Professor Turner wrote in reference to his character at this time: "By his amiable deportment and exemplary conduct he acquired the esteem of the friends of religion, while by his diligence and proficiency in sacred learning he obtained the special approbation of his instructors. He was admitted by his fellow students to have the first place in their number."

He afterward, in Baltimore, pursued a course of study

suggested by the Rev. Professor Turner, and finished his studies under Bishop Kemp.

He was ordained to the ministry by the Right Rev. James Kemp, the Bishop of Maryland, at Baltimore, January 1, 1823, and to his second orders, April 22, 1824. The second week after his admission to holy orders he visited Washington, D. C., preached there in the House of Representatives, and received from several prominent members great marks of interest, especially from the Hon. John Randolph. He then visited and preached at Annapolis before the State Legislature.

At this time he was called to a small parish at Saint Michael's, on the eastern shore of Maryland, — near the residences of Mr. Lloyd and Robert Goldsborough, formerly Senators in Congress, and his warm friends, — where he revived a decayed congregation, taught the people from house to house, recovered their glebe lands, and preached with great frequency and assiduity.

In 1823 the authorities of Yale College honored him with the degree of Master of Arts, and his alma mater also conferred the same degree upon him.

Severe illness in August of this year compelled him to renew his health by mental rest and travel, and while thus engaged in journeying through the Northern States, he was urged by friends to take charge of Christ Church, Cambridge, Massachusetts. While in New York City, and considering this proposal, he was invited to assist temporarily at Trinity Church in that city, where his eloquence and personal qualities made such a favorable impression that he was unanimously called by the Vestry of that Church, in September, to assist for one year in the parochial duties of Bishop Hobart, the rector, who had been compelled to seek the restoration of health by a prolonged residence in Europe.

During this engagement the authorities of Washington (now Trinity) College, in Hartford, Connecticut, elected

Mr. Schroeder to the chair of Ancient Languages and Literature in that institution, but before his decision was made with regard to this honorable and attractive position. the Rev. Dr. William Berrian, the assistant rector of Trinity Church and in charge of the parish, nominated him, June 14, 1824, to be assistant minister of Trinity Church, and its associate chapels, St. Paul's and St. John's, a most desirable position, and especially flattering to a young man of but twenty-four years of age. He was elected, and continued his connection with that parish almost fifteen years. During his ministry here he became very popular, as a most agreeable man and as a useful and estimable elergyman. His fine presence favorably impressed those who met him. In person he was tall and well proportioned, strongly built, spare, and about six feet in height. His features might be called sharp and angular, his eyes were blue and very expressive, his mouth was rather small, his lips were thin, and his complexion was florid; his forehead was expansive, and his whole countenance displayed indications of intellectual force of no ordinary kind. He was suave, graceful, and courteous in manner, and hearty and cordial in his expression to acquaintances. His face was attractive, beaming, and genial. He was a choice companion, an unselfish friend, and a devout and zealous Christian. He was fond of society, especially of scholars, and those who loved literary pursuits. His conversational powers were fascinating, his kindness of heart was continually flowing, and he was generous to a fault. His laborious duties in connection with these large congregations were performed with remarkable assiduity. The younger members of his flock particularly engaged his attention, and many bore witness to his zeal and devotedness. He, however, found time for his favorite studies, frequently delivered public lectures, and wrote and translated for the New York and Boston periodicals, especially on subjects connected with the fine arts and

the classics. He also frequently contributed to the religious periodicals. He was familiar with the German, the French, and Italian languages, and therefore translated easily.

At the death of Adams and Jefferson, July 4, 1826, he was selected by the Corporation of New York to conduct the devotional services of the ceremonial, and promptly prepared the form which he used in public on that occasion.

When the news of Bishop Hobart's death reached this city, Mr. Webb, of the Courier and Enquirer, called upon Dr. Schroeder late in the evening to write an obituary. It was immediately written and appeared the next morning. In a few days an extended article by him appeared in the Mirror, and during the same week he prepared a long biographical discourse on the Bishop's character.

As a preacher his style was somewhat florid. He was peculiarly happy in narrative and descriptive forms of address, and illuminated his topics very frequently with apt historic references, and classical and poetical quotations. He was hence a very attractive preacher to many, and, in the early part of his ministry in Trinity Parish, throngs gathered to hear him. In delivery his manner suited his words, being impassioned and accompanied with gestures which were sometimes dramatic in appearance and effect. He was a man of cultivated taste, and a poetic turn of mind. He was scholarly, a good classical student, and of fair critical judgment in Oriental tongues. In debate in ecclesiastical assemblies he did not appear to as great advantage as in the pulpit, being inclined to a declamatory manner, and lacking in logical sharpness and condensation. He was exceedingly active in mind and body. He was never idle. He was ambitious to excel in everything he undertook, and was never content until he had mastered any subject which he encountered. His intellectual acquirements were many and various. His men-

tal habits were very methodical. In his literary labors he displayed the carefulness of research, and clearness and exactness of statements, as well as precision of arrangement, of a mathematician. The most conspicuous example of this may be found in his Index to the second edition of Lossing's "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," which occupies eighty-five imperial octavo pages in small types and double columns.

He was married soon after his appointment to the position in Trinity Church, May 22, 1825, to Caroline Maria Boardman, of New Milford, Connecticut, the daughter of Elijah Boardman, who had been a member of Colonel Charles Webb's regiment in the Continental service (one of the ten regiments first raised by authority of the Continental Congress) also one of the purchasers of the Western Reserve in Ohio, a member of the Connecticut Legislature in both houses, and United States Senator during the Twenty-second Congress. Her mother was Mary Anna, the daughter of William Whiting of Great Barrington, Massachusetts, and the cousin of the distinguished advocate, Jeremiah Mason.

Their children were: Caroline Maria, born June 11, 1826, died June 25, 1826; John Frederick, an Episcopal elergyman; George Boardman, born May 20, 1829, died May 22, 1829; Mary Anna Boardman, born October 2, 1830, died March 26, 1841; Cornelia Elizabeth, born 1831, married G. W. Wright, a distinguished lawyer of New York City; Elizabeth Margaretta, born February 8, 1833; William Henry, born December 8, 1840, died April 5, 1841; Henry Hermann, born June 8, 1845.

In the early years of his course he supervised the issue of editions of some theological works, one of which was the translation of the Epistles of the Apostolic Fathers, by the Rev. Temple Chevallier, B. D., of Catherine Hall, Cambridge. He varied the duties of his office by delivering a course of lectures in Oriental Literature before the New York Athenœum; and, in 1828, an address which he made before the New York Horticultural Society, at its annual celebration, was so favorably received that it was printed, and passed through several editions. In 1829 he edited a volume of Essays and Dissertations in Biblical Literature, original and translated, by himself and his associates, the Rev. Professor S. II. Turner, the Rev. W. R. Whittingham, afterward the learned Bishop of Maryland, and the Rev. Manton Eastburn, afterward the Bishop of Massachusetts, and yet remembered for his positive character and learning, - the Rev. Mr. Schroeder's contribution being on the authenticity and canonical authority of the Scripture of the Old Testament, also a Treatise on the use of the Syriac Language. In 1830 he delivered an address at the New York Dispensary on the occasion of the opening of the new edifice; and in the same year he delivered a sermon on the occasion of the death of the Right Rev. John Henry Hobart, the Bishop of New York, which was subsequently published by the Messrs. Swords in a memorial volume of similar discourses, to which he prefixed a memoir of that Bishop. He also published a Class Book of Astronomy, 12mo.; Bible Questions; Death, Judgment, and Eternity, 12mo.; and Religion and the State, or Christianity the Safeguard of Civil Liberty. At one time he edited the Churchman's Almanac, without any assistance, making all the astronomical calculations himself, and publishing the work in a beautiful style of printing. He wrote much for the Children's Magazine.

His conduct as a minister of Christ, his labors with the sick and poor, his deep interest in the charities of the city,—such as the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, and the City Mission, of which he was one of the chief founders,—and in his Bible classes, Sunday-school, and Catechetical classes was conspicuous. Especially worthy of notice were his indefatigable labors during the seasons of the cholera in

1832 and 1834, requiring as much courage as the field of war. At that time he daily visited two of the hospitals, and wrote to Dr. Rhinelander, offering to visit any patient by day, or at any hour of the night. He took the disease himself, having exhausted his strength in ministering to the sick and the afflicted. Among his philanthropic efforts he turned his attention, about 1831, to the ease of those who died from descending into wells filled with deadly gas, and invented an ingenious safety pump which the learned M. Barthelmy pronounced an invention that would one day rank him among the scientific benefactors of his species. It was known to have saved lives on several occasions.

His usefulness and learning were sufficiently conspicuous to cause the authorities of Washington (now Trinity) College, of Hartford, Connecticut, to honor him, in 1836, with the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology.

In the spring of 1838, his wife's state of health rendered it advisable that she should try the beneficial effect of a sea voyage and travel. They accordingly sailed for Europe, and for six months enjoyed the pleasure of visiting England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and France.

On his return from this absence he resigned his charge at Trinity Church, January 5, 1839, and established in Flushing, Long Island, a school for young ladies, which he named Saint Ann's Hall. He was connected with this institution from 1839 to 1846, conducting it with ability, and it was for a time very successful at Flushing; but he subsequently removed it to New York City in 1846, at which time he became rector of the Church of the Crucifixion in that city, and preached in the fine edifice formerly used by the great and eloquent Presbyterian champion, the Rev. Dr. John Mason. Having accepted a call to become rector of St. Thomas's church in Brooklyn, Long Island, he removed his school to that city in 1852.

In 1849 he published a Memoir of Mrs. Mary Ann

Boardman, the mother of his wife, containing considerable genealogical information of the Boardman, Whiting, Mason, and other families, which was well indexed.

He subsequently published a useful Chart of the Diocese of New York from 1830 to 1850; and in 1855 he published the Maxims of Washington: Political, Social, Moral, and Religious, arranged in topical order, a 12 mo. volume published by the Appletons. He wrote the life of the Right Rev. William White, the first Bishop of Pennsylvania, and Chaplain of Congress in 1777, which was published in the Philadelphia National Portrait Gallery.

His genealogical and other work had suggested him as a proper person for membership in the New England Historic Genealogical Society, to which he was elected in 1856, his acceptance of membership being dated November twelfth of that year.

His health was always remarkably good, his cheerfulness was inexhaustible, and his activity incessant. He always lived in a very abstemious manner, avoiding all habits and indulgencies inconsistent with the elevated objects of his life,—to benefit his fellow-men while living, and to be the means of blessing them beyond the grave. His physical strength, increased by cultivation, was very great. In overtaxing it by a test at Sharon Springs, New York, in the summer of 1856, he received an internal injury from which he suffered much and never recovered.

Five months previous to his death he resigned his pastoral charge, on which occasion he received a communication, signed by the Wardens and Vestry in which they say: "It is with the deepest regret that we have received your resignation of the rectorship of Saint Thomas's Church. Our chief consolation in that severance is the conviction that in some more influential position your distinguished talents, your blameless example, and your truly Christian zeal will find a wider sphere of usefulness." But he felt that his career of usefulness was drawing to a close. In his

last letter to his sister, written a fortnight previous to his death, he wrote: "I feel that the hand of time has touched me. I have, it is true, but a few gray hairs, and my natural buoyancy and cheerfulness of temper still enable me to contribute my share to the enjoyment of the social circles of my friends. My memory is as good as ever and my imagination is replenished with a good fund of poetic symbols and emblems, but I feel that I have been at the top of my hill of life, and that I am descending on the farther side. This thought does not discourage or dishearten me, I confess, for it is man's lot, and I begin to feel every day an increasing interest as I look toward my sunset. The sky is lighted up. I see a glorious vista, and I see in the far distance our loved and departed beekoning to me to come and join them."

In 1856 he began the publication of the Life and Times of Washington, published in a series of monthly parts, of which he lived to complete only four numbers, and the work was finished by others, as his death in Brooklyn, New York, Thursday, February 26, 1857, ended a busy and a useful life.

"The team is loosened from the wain,
The boat is drawn upon the shore;
Thou listenest to the closing door,
And life is darkened in the brain."

He was buried on Saturday, February 28, in the family vault at Greenwood Cemetery. The funeral services were held at the Church of the Holy Trinity in Brooklyn. This large edifice, including the galleries, was filled. The music was solemn and beautiful. The Rev. Drs. Berrian, Seabury, and Lewis took part in the services. An admirable address—eloquent, judicious, discriminating, and feeling—was delivered by the Rev. Doctor Haight, and at the grave Bishop Horatio Potter closed the solemn service, consigning the body to its last resting-place.

Subsequently resolutions were presented by the Rev. Francis Vinton, D. D., at the meeting of the Bishop and Clergy, from which the following extract expresses the views of those who best knew Dr. Schroeder and his work:—

Resolved, That we have a deep sense of the loss which not only the Church, but the community at large, has to deplore in the death of one who has so greatly contributed, by his learning and private worth, to the cause of education and sacred literature; and who, by his benevolent and sympathizing heart, his social and engaging qualities, and his general amenity and courtesy, endeared himself to all who have had the privilege of an acquaintance with him.

WILLIAM FISKE STONE

The subject of this memoir was the son of Josiah and Elizabeth (Fiske) Stone, and was born in Framingham, Massachusetts, on the 10th of April, 1784. He was a direct descendant of Deacon Gregory Stone, through his son John, who came from Old England with his father, then being sixteen years of age. He was one of the early settlers of Saxonville, and purchased from the aborigines his homestead. The old Indian deed, signed by six of the Natick tribe, is still preserved in the archives of the Public Library of Framingham.

Upon the Sudbury River, which winds round the village of Saxonville in the form of an oxbow, are the falls on which were situated the saw and grist mills of the early settlers, and it was at this place that William Fiske Stone once, during a freshet, met with a perilous adventure that came near causing his death. It was a favorite resort in his childhood days; and in his later life he looked with pleasant remembrance upon the meadow, the river, the woods, with the deepest fondness.

He was a delicate boy but grew stronger with increasing years, and it was decided that he was better adapted to be a doctor than anything else. He accordingly studied medicine, but even that profession was abandoned, and he was obliged to procure a situation where he would not be exposed to the vigor of our New England climate. In the

latter part of the year 1815 he entered the office of the Register of Deeds of Middlesex County at East Cambridge, where he continued until 1822, when he was elected Register, which office he filled acceptably until 1845, when advancing age and feeble health determined him to send in his resignation.

He was, notwithstanding his ill health, very much interested in genealogical research. He furnished many valuable papers to the Register, and accumulated a large mass of information in regard to the family of Stone,—also his maternal ancestors the Fiskes,—but he was unable to thoroughly prepare and arrange the material for publication. He became a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, August 23, 1847.

A writer in the "Cambridge Chronicle" in an obituary notice thus speaks of him:—

"Subject at times to depression, he was yet generally cheerful and social. Of a womanly tenderness of feeling, the death of his favorite sister, Mrs. Eliza F. Lathrop, who died in the Straits of Gibraltar on her return from Europe, for whom when a child he used to pluck lilies from Cochituate Brook, and whom he regarded with the fondest affection, was a blow which affected him sincerely and lastingly. His nature was exceedingly sensitive, and his sympathies ever ready for the sufferings of others. He often said he could never survive the death of one of his children. A few weeks since, his eldest son died after a long illness, and he from that time has walked steadily down to the grave. Though of a most kindly and gentle disposition, he would by no means brook wrong or oppression, but resented it with spirit. Upright in heart and honest of purpose, he was true to his friends."

Mr. Stone married, October 26, 1826, Harriet, daughter of Joseph and Lucy Warren Brigham of Westborough. Mrs. Stone died July 2, 1868. Mr. Stone died March 26, 1857. The following are the names of their children:

William Lowell, born June 24, 1829, was graduated at Harvard College in 1850, died January 9, 1857; Mary Warren, born April 30, 1833; Harriet Brigham, born August 11, 1835, died September 12, 1858; Olynthus Brigham, born April 3, 1838.

JOHN LAURIS BLAKE

JOHN LAURIS BLAKE was of the fifth generation, in lineal descent, from Jasper Blake and Deborah, his wife, of Hampton, New Hampshire.

The early history of Jasper is unknown; but it is said that he went to Hampton in or about 1650, and was married soon afterward. His wife was the sister of two famous men, Philemon and Timothy Dalton, the last-named being the first "teacher," and the second minister of that place.

The line of descent of the subject of this sketch was as follows:—

1. Jasper, who died December 19, 1678. 2. Timothy, who died in 1718. 3. Israel, born January 1, 1683; settled in Nottingham, New Hampshire; and died April, 1753. 4. Joseph, born February 2, 1711; settled in Epping, New Hampshire; and died in or about 1756. 5. Jonathan, born December 7, 1754, and died November 4, 1825. 6. John Lauris, born December 21, 1788, and died July 6, 1857.

Jonathan was born in Epping, and, at the age of sixteen, in company with two of his brothers, Sherburn and Asahel, settled in the new town of Northwood, New Hampshire, it being a part of the original town of Nottingham. The brothers selected for their home an elevated and very beautiful ridge of land, which is to this day known by the name of Blake's Hill. When Jona-

than reached the age of twenty-one, he returned to Epping for a wife, selecting the amiable Mary Dow, one of the descendants of Henry Dow, who had settled in Hampton as early as 1645. All of their four children were born in Northwood, in a small, rude, framed dwelling-house, one story high, and located at the very edge of the forest, more than a mile distant from the highway.

The subject of this sketch was the third of these children, and was born December 21, 1788. After the fashion of the time he was given only a single name, John; but, as there were other John Blakes in the neighborhood, when he became a student he adopted the middle name of Lauris, which is believed to have been of French origin.

His earliest years were the record of every farmer's boy, hard work about the house or upon the farm in summer, with an attendance upon the district school in winter. Yet his love of knowledge was already developed. At the age of twelve, he had saved enough money for a subscription to a weekly newspaper; and a little while afterward he bought a share in a small circulating library, ten or a dozen miles away. When he could not have a horse to ride he used to walk the entire distance, once or twice a fortnight, in order to make the exchange of books.

It was at about the same period that he learned to handle carpenter's tools. A new and more comfortable house was being built for the family, and the boy became so expert with the plane and saw that he was allowed to make many of the doors and window-frames, which even now remain to attest his skill. This was the turning-point in his life. By his own desire he was, at the age of thirteen, apprenticed to a cabinet-maker in the adjoining town of Deerfield; and, in two years, his services were found to be so valuable that his master sent him to work as a journeyman in Salem, Massachusetts. When he

went thither he walked the whole way, more than fifty miles. His master was a kind-hearted man, and agreed to take a moderate price for the remainder of his term of apprenticeship, — the money to be paid as soon as it should be earned by him.

The journeyman-apprentice remained in Salem for nearly two years, working diligently at his trade. He became a member of the Tabernacle Church, then under the pastoral care of the Rev. Samuel Worcester. There were four or five other young men of the same church, including Daniel Poor, afterward the distinguished missionary to Ceylon, who, like himself, had resolved to enter the ministry. In his case, however, an education must first be had. By economy and hard work he had already saved sufficient money to cancel his indentures. But this had hindered study. He "knew little Latin and less Greek," and in English he had been restricted to the more common branches.

Luckily, at this juncture, some kind friend offered him a place upon the Beneficiary Foundation in Phillips Academy, at Exeter, New Hampshire, which was then under the care of Dr. Benjamin Abbot as principal, and Jeremiah Crosby, Alexander H. Everett, Nathan Hale, and Ebenezer Adams as instructors. He did not hesitate to accept the offer, and entered the school in 1806. Of his class were such men as Barnabas Bates, James Freeman Dana, Samuel L. Dana, and Charles Folsom. Here he remained, working with all his might, for two years. has frequently spoken of the many kindnesses shown him by his teachers and fellow-pupils, kindnesses which assured him of their warm sympathy and regard; and he used to say with pride that, excepting these two years of instruction at Exeter and a gift of one hundred dollars from his father, he had received no pecuniary assistance in obtaining an education.

From Exeter he went to Kingston, New Hampshire,

where, for a time, he resided in the family of the Rev. Elihu Thayer, pursuing his studies. He went thence to Bradford, Massachusetts, and taught school for a period of several months. In 1809, he entered the Sophomore Class of Brown University of Providence, Rhode Island, and was graduated therefrom a September, 1812.

The story of his admission to college is amusing. dreaded the ordeal of an examination before the faculty. Being told, in the spring of 1809, that the President, Dr. Messer, was then visiting his mother at her home in one of the interior towns of Massachusetts, the timid boy resolved to wait upon him there, and to ask for a private examination. The distance was twenty miles or more. He borrowed a horse one fine morning and, with books and luncheon in his saddlebags, rode to Mrs. Messer's house. His chagrin was extreme when, on his arrival, he found that the Doctor had been gone for several hours, and was then on his way to Providence. turned his horse around and, after a hard ride, overtook the Doctor jogging slowly along in a chaise. He made known his errand, and the Doctor proposed that the examination should be had upon the spot. The horse was tied to a fence, and the boy, with his books, took a seat in the chaise. We may imagine his surprise and gratification when he was informed that not only was he fitted to enter college, but that, so far was he in advance of ordinary candidates for admission, he should have a place in the Sophomore Class.

His college course was a severe discipline. He managed to hold a respectable position in his class, and yet every hour of freedom from study was occupied in teaching. Among his classmates were Richard W. Green, William G. Goddard, Cyrus Kingsbury, Ralph Gilbert, and Moses Brown Ives. It is sufficient to say that all of them respected and encouraged him, and that the intimacies then formed lasted through life.

The death of a favorite classmate led, in 1811, to the publication of his first literary effort, it being a brief memoir of the life and character of the deceased. From that time his pen was never idle.

After his graduation, and until 1814, he studied theology, and was also employed as the master of the Westminster School in Providence. His second literary work—a text-book upon geography, humble in size but suggesting certain new and improved methods of instruction, which were afterward freely adopted by other authors—was given to the press in the last named year.

He was licensed to preach in 1813 by the Congregationalists, and he did preach occasionally in and around Providence. But in some way he became acquainted with the Rev. Dr. Crocker, an Episcopal clergyman, rector of St. John's Church in that city, and was induced - at first through curiosity - to attend his services. The beauties of that ritual made a deep impression upon the mind of the young clergyman, and awakened a desire to know more of the peculiar doctrines upon which that ritual is founded. He sought counsel from Dr. Crocker; and the result was that, in the early part of 1815, he was admitted to Deacon's orders, by the Right Rev. Bishop Griswold. His honesty and consistency were so well understood by his former associates in the ministry that he did not lose the friendship of a single one of them because of his changed relations.

Full of energy he immediately began a mission in the new village of Pawtucket, in the vicinity of Providence. This was in May, 1815. The first service was held in a hired room, but he soon had organized a parish — St. Paul's — and had succeeded in building a church edifice. This was completed and consecrated in 1816, and upon the day of consecration he was instituted as rector.

. The new parish prospered exceedingly. In 1818 the Bishop said with truth: "It is already one of our best

churches." The rector was in earnest, the people full of zeal and activity; but an unfortunate dispute arose among certain members of the congregation, and the rector—ardent and impulsive and inexperienced as he was—became involved in it. He loved peace and not discord, and, believing that his usefulness in that place was at an end, he suddenly determined to resign. On August 6, 1820, he preached his farewell sermon, only two or three of the audience having had a previous intimation of his purpose.

With a wife and two small children to support, he could not afford to remain idle. As early as June 25, 1814, he had married Louisa Gray Riehmond, the daughter of William and Hannah (Mason) Riehmond, of Providence. She died January 3, 1816, a few days after the birth, December 26, 1815, of her only child, Henry Kirke, who was lost at sea, July 4, 1834. He was married again on December 6, 1816, to Mary Howe, the youngest daughter of Samson and Huldah (Davis) Howe, of Killingly, Connecticut. By this second marriage a son, Alexander Viets, was born to him in Pawtucket, on July 26, 1818.

He was not long, however, in deciding what to do in this emergency. He went to Concord, New Hampshire, and established there, in December, 1820, a school for young ladies. His ability as an instructor was so widely recognized that the school opened with more than eighty pupils, coming from six different States. One of his friends says: "In this enterprise he was eminently successful. There was no school at that time of higher reputation. His best adaptation was for female education. He loved his work, his scholars loved him, and love is the universal solvent."

Nor did Le forget his duty as a clergyman. He took rge of St. Paul's Church at Concord, with a missionary t Hopkinton, seven miles distant.

if this were not enough for one poor mortal to

do, he began the preparation of several educational works, which were subsequently issued in book form. Nearly all of them were designed with express reference to the wants of his own scholars, and were perfected by his personal experience in their use. Some of them were original; others were of English authorship, and introduced by him into this country with various improvements. Every one of them became immediately popular, and a few had a large sale for more than thirty years after their first publication.

In 1822, he was persuaded to remove his school to Boston, Massachusetts. Although successful in its new home, it did not, because of the active competition which it there encountered, attain so high rank as it had held in its first location. He also took charge of St. Matthew's Church at South Boston,—a feeble parish, which soon responded to his strenuous efforts in its behalf. The church edifice was enlarged and otherwise improved. In order that he might be nearer the scene of this new labor he moved his residence to South Boston. He was likewise elected one of the school committee of the Public Schools of Boston, an office which he filled for several years; and he also contributed largely to the secular press, and assumed a part of the editorial care of the "Gospel Advocate," a religious magazine.

Until this time his ability for hard work had seemed unlimited; but at last he became aware that his health was seriously impaired. By the advice of physicians he gave up the school, and still later the parish. Entire and absolute rest was necessary. This effected a partial cure, and as soon as he dared he resumed his literary labors, both preaching and teaching being permanently forbidden. His most important publication at this time was his "General Biographical Dictionary," the book by which he is best known, and which had consumed his strength and energies for a period of four or five years.

Although a bulky and high-priced volume, it was honored with a demand for twelve editions before he revised it, a short time previous to his decease.

In 1836 his eldest son found employment as a clerk in New York, and in order that the family might be kept together he removed thither. It was not long before this son commenced business upon his own account as a book publisher, and his father thereupon assumed the charge of the literary department of the new house which became eminent for the high character of its publications.

After ten years in New York, in 1846 he moved his residence again, to Orange, New Jersey. Tired of city life, and desirous of much needed rest, he purchased a farm and devoted himself to its supervision. But as he grew stronger in health, he again resumed his pen. It was natural that he should write upon the subject in which he was then most interested. Besides frequent contributions to rewspapers and periodicals, he wrote or compiled four. five volumes in relation to agriculture and the kindred sciences. And, knowing the Biographical Dictionary to be his most valuable work, he devoted a large portion of his time to its revision. It was not only greatly enlarged, but was in many parts entirely rewritten. In its new shape it came from the binder a few short weeks before his death, on July 6, 1857, at the age of sixty-nine years. He was worn out. A low, nervous fever, from which he had not the strength to rally, closed the story of a busy life.

He left a widow who, in 1882, at the age of eighty-seven years, still survives him; also three children: (1.) Alexander Viets, born July 26, 1818, died in Brooklyn, New York, June 25, 1881; (2.) Louisa Richmond, born February 6, 1822, and married to George F. Tyler of Philadelphia; (3.) John Lauris, born March 25, 1831, and settled as a lawyer in Orange, New Jersey.

Of academic honors he received the degree of Master

of Arts from his alma mater, and Doctor of Divinity from Augusta College, Kentucky, in 1836.

He was admitted a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, November 3, 1855, and in January, 1856, was elected the honorary vice-president for New Jersey, which office he held till his death.

He was a member of several other societies, — such as the American Antiquarian Society, and the Historical Societies of New York and New Hampshire.

Dr. Blake had a rare geniality of manner that was the index to the warm heart which beat beneath. He was full of generous impulses. He had great vigor and activity of both mind and body. Until his later years he never knew fatigue. He was also a man of much learning, but at the same time was absolutely without pedantry. Bishop George W. Doane, who knew him well, said: "He was not a common man. He was born in love with learning. Authorship was his occupation. . . . His was a shrewd, sagacious, practical mind. There was no nonsense in it, no ambiguity, no superfluity. He was a good man; he was a true friend; he was a philosopher in the best sense of the word; he was a real Churchman; he was a pious Christian. His memory is blessed."

There is no complete record of his literary work. While his Biographical Dictionary was the most important of all his works, he had pride in his school-books only, knowing that they contained novel features which others had been quick to adopt and improve upon. Their long-continued sale was the best evidence of their value. More than one hundred and fifty thousand copies of his improved edition of Marcet's "Conversations on Natural Philosophy" were issued before his decease. Of the whole number of his publications there were only two or three, hastily prepared, which he afterward regretted; yet even these were well received, and perhaps did more good than he imagined. The following list contains all that can now be identified:—

- 1. A Biographical Sketch of Samuel Adams, a member of the Senior Class of Brown University. 1811. John Miller.
- 2. A Text-book in Geography and Chronology, with Historical Sketches. 1814. Robinson & Howland.
 - 3. A Sermon on Public Worship. 1815. Miller & Hutchens.
- 4. A Discourse on the Nature and Design of Christian Baptism. 1816. Miller & Hutchens.
- 5. A Discourse on the Gospel Qualifications for Christian Baptism. 1816. Miller & Hutchens.
- 6. Offices of Devotion and Hymns, for Social Meetings. 1817. Miller & Hutchens.
- 7. The Catechism of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, together with a larger Catechism; to which are added Offices of Devotion for Sunday-schools. 1818. Miller & Hutchens.
- 8. An Altar to the Unknown God: A Discourse delivered before Friendship Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons. 1818. Miller & Hutchens.
- 9. The Gospel Minister's Farewell: A Sermon delivered in St. Paul's Church, North Providence, Rhode Island, August 6, 1820: Miller & Hutchens.
 - 10. The Historical Reader. 1821. Hill & Moore.
- 11. A Text-book: or First Lessons in Modern Geography, on a new plan. 1821. Richardson & Lord.
- 12. An enlarged edition of Tytler's Universal History. 1822. Hill & Moore.
- 13. The Strength and Beauty of Zion: A Sermon before the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New Hampshire. 1822. Joseph W. Ingraham.
- 14. An Oration before the Grand Lodge of Free Masons in New Hampshire. 1823. Isaac Hill.
- 15. Marcet's "Conversations on Natural Philosophy," enlarged and improved. 1824. Lincoln & Edmands.
 - 16. Historical and Geographical Atlas. 1824. Cook & Munn.
- 17. Blair's "Lectures on Rhetori " abridged. 1825. Jacob B. Moore.
- 18. Marcet's "Conversations on Chemistry," enlarged and improved. 1825. Belknap & Hammersley.
- 19. The Juvenile Companion: being an Introduction to the Historical Reader. 1827. Bowles & Dearborn.
 - 20. Marcet's "Conversations on Political Feonomy," enlarged and proved. 1828. Bowles & Dearborn.
- 21. Marcet's "Conversations on Vegetable Physiology," enlarged and improved. 1830. Crocker & Brewster.

- 22. A Geography for Children, with Illustrations. 1830. Richardson, Lord, & Holbrook.
- 23. Evidences of Christianity: A First Class Book for Sunday-schools. 1832. Lincoln & Edmands.
- 24. The First Book in Natural Philosophy. 1832. Collins & Hannay.
 - 25. The Second Reader. 1832. Russell, Odiorne & Co.
 - 26. The High-school Reader. 1832. William Hyde & Co.
- 27. Conversations on the Evidences of Christianity. 1832. Lord & Holbrook.
 - 28. First Book in Astronomy. 1833. Lincoln & Edmands.
- 29. The Family Encyclopædia of Useful Knowledge. 1833. Pendleton & Hill.
- 30. The Biblical Reader: being selections from the Bible, with Practical Observations. 1833. Lincoln & Edmands.
- 31. American Universal Geography for Schools and Academies, on the principles of Analysis and Comparison. 1833. Russell, Odiorne, & Co.
 - 32. The Light of the World: A Sermon. 1834.
 - 33. The First Reader. 1834. Horatio Hill.
 - 34. Hutton's "Book of Nature," improved. 1834. Dow & Co.
 - 35. The Young Orator. 1834. Lilly, Wait, & Co.
- 36. A View of the World, as distinguished by the Manners, Costumes, and Characteristics of all Nations. 1834. Desilver & Thomas.
- 37. A General Biographical Dictionary, comprising a Summary Account of the most Distinguished Persons of all Ages, Nations, and Professions. 1835. Peaslee.
 - 38. Letters to an Only Daughter, on Confirmation. 1841.
- 39. Parental Instructions: or Guide to Wisdom and Virtue. 1842. A. V. Blake.
 - 40. A History of the American Revolution. 1843. A. V. Blake.
 - 41. The Wonders of the Earth. 1845. A. V. Blake.
 - 42. The Wonders of the Ocean. 1845. A. V. Blake.
- 43. The Farmer's Every-de Book. 1850. Derby, Miller, & Co.
- 44. Lessons in Mogern Farming: or Agriculture for Schools. 1851. M. II. Newman and Co.
 - 45. The Farmer's Cyclopædia. 1852. C. M. Saxton.
- 46. The Farm and the Fireside. 1853. Kerr, Doughty & Lap-
- 47. A General Biographical Dictionary: 13th Edition, revised at enlarged. Royal Octavo, 1366 pp. 1857. H. Cowperthwait & Co.

CALEB BATES

Caleb Bates was born in Hingham, Massachusetts, January 11, 1780. His father was Jesse, son of Caleb Bates. His mother was Abigail, daughter of Cornelius Barnes. They were married by the Rev. Ebenezer Gay, D. D., December 3, 1767. On his — c's side Caleb Bates was a lineal descendant of Clement Bates, an early settler of Hingham, who died September 17, 1671, aged eighty-one; and on his mother's side, of Thomas Barnes, who died November 29, 1672, and whose gravestone bears the oldest inscription in the Hingham Cemetery.

Caleb Bates and his sister Lydia, who married Solomon Lincoln, were the only children of their parents who lived to an adult age.

Caleb Bates was never married. Like his ancestors he was a farmer and lived on the ancestral estate, which is still the property of a descendant of the Bateses.

His father died when the son was but little more than three years of age, and the care of his education devolved upon his grandfather, Caleb Bates, who died February 6, 1797, at the age of seventy-eight, befor his grandson had attained his majority. This grandfat' was a prominent citizen and selectman of the town of hingham during the Revolution and afterwards, and was a pecially familiar with the history of the town during those critical times. This knowledge he stored in a wonderful memory, which his grandson inherited; and the grandfather's readiness to

communicate the information at his command stimulated in the grandson a keen relish for historical studies, which was afterwards not confined to our own country, but extended to all departments of English history.

The early education of the grandson was obtained in the public schools of Hingham. Although nominally a farmer, he inherited a fortune sufficient to relieve him from the necessity of severe labor and to enable him to gratify his taste for historical study; and his acquisitions, which his retentive memory held always at command, supplied material for conversational powers which were developed to a remarkable extent, and which, with their wealth of fact and anecdote, delighted young and old.

Mr. Bates was a zealous friend of education, and served faithfully for several years as Chairman of the School Committee of his native town. He was especially interested in the Boston Asylum and Farm School for Indigent Boys, and took great pleasure in an annual visit which the scholars were accustomed to pay to him. He gave his decided influence to aid the cause of temperance. The Sunday-school was also an object of his care, and he remembered the parish by a generous bequest. In the political divisions of former days he was a Federalist.

Mr. Bates became a resident member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society on January 13, 1846.

His health was generally good, but his last illness was painful and severe. He was compelled to resort to the Massachusetts General Hospital for surgical aid, but without success, and he died there, September 16, 1857.

GEORGE SPARHAWK

The middle of November, 1857, in a little house at Kittery, Maine, a man lay dying. Born in the year 1800, his years had kept pace with the century. Now he was to drop behind, and sleep with others of his name and family, before this century should round its threescore years and enter upon the days that convulsed America with civil war.

George Sparhawk's life had been one of quietude, yet, if he had lived to the days of the Rebellion, all his sympathies would have been excited in favor of the Union, and he would have wished that his age had permitted him to take part in real war, as when a young man he had taken part in the drills and parades of the militia; for he had always been an active opponent of the Slave Power, and a few years before his death lost a political position on account of his antislavery convictions.

It was an uneventful life that was drawing to its close with this November day. It had been no beacon light to men, but like a cheerful hearth-fire it had comforted many with its genial warmth, and many remember how sparkles and flashes of wit enlivened its steady glow. Mr. Sparhawk had quickness and some literary ability; but possessing many desirable faculties, he lacked the money-making one, and this lack, together with years of ill health, brought him some privations. But he had a hopeful temperament and an unshaken faith in God, and the relatives and friends who watched at his bedside learned not

to regret the days of loneliness and pain in his life when they saw how faith and joy held possession of him.

George Sparhawk's family name is a familiar one in Colonial records. Portsmouth, where he was born, is across the Piscataqua River from the old family place at Kittery, once the home of his grandfather's uncle, Colonel Nathaniel Sparhawk. George's great-grandfather, John Sparhawk, a brother of Colonel Nathaniel, was a minister, settled from 1736 to 1754 in Salem, Massachusetts. He left one son and several daughters. One daughter married a Mr. Ropes of Salem; another, one of the Ward family of Salem; one became Mrs. Appleton; and another daughter, Susannah, married a brother of Miss King, her own brother's wife. But Mr. King was then called Atkinson, having changed his name to inherit an estate.

John Sparhawk, Mrs. Atkinson's brother, was a merchant in Portsmouth. His son, George King Sparhawk, became the heir of his childless uncle and aunt, and received the greater part of the Atkinson property which was very large. Consequently George, the subject of this memoir, the son of George King Sparhawk, was born in wealth. But he was one of a large family who, though not dissipated, were without business habits, and spent with a thoughtless lavishness that soon made serious inroads upon a purse which no one had made any effort to replenish.

His mother was the daughter of Mr. Daniel Humphreys of Portsmouth, a man remarkable for the purity and faith of his life, as well as for his scholarly attainments. She was a very generous and benevolent woman, devoted to her family, and earnest in endeavor to fulfil her duties.

George's education was intrusted to Master Tappan of Portsmouth, a celebrated instructor in those days. After his course at this school he obtained a clerkship in a Portsmouth bank, which he held for six or seven years. He did not go to college, either from disinclination, or, more probably, because a growing sense of the necessity for retrenchment in living made him desirous to add to the family resources instead of taking from them; for he was always an affectionate son and brother.

After leaving the bank he kept a bookstore in partnership with Mr. Eben Childs, of Portsmouth. He must have enjoyed this business, for he was at home among books, which were an education and a resource to him all his life; but it proved more profitable to his head than his pocket, and after about two years the partnership was dissolved. At one time he was in business with a Mr. March of Portsmouth, but just at what time, for how long, and what the business was, is not quite clear at this distance of years. Some of his friends think that he was in the insurance business for a while, and it may have been at this time.

From 1823 to 1827 he was a member of the First Regiment New Hampshire Militia, first as Captain, then as Lieutenant-Colonel, and afterward as Colonel. During the Presidential campaign which resulted in the election of General Jackson, the Colonel, together with the late Hon. Hampden Cutts of Brattleboro', Vermont, edited in Portsmouth a very strong Whig paper called the "Signs of the Times." After the contest was over the paper was discontinued.

In 1829 Colonel Sparhawk had no especial business. He spent part of the time in Connecticut, where he went to look after the affairs of some friends, and he superintended the building of his father's house in Conway, where the family, himself included, removed in the spring of 1830; for the Atkinson property had included about two townships of land in New Hampshire.

Three or four years after this he went to Albany, and for a time became book-keeper (or clerk) in the store of Mr. Treadwell, fur merchant. Here he remained until 1837. On the trip home from Albany, he stopped at the

house of an old friend in Concord, New Hampshire, where he met his fate in the person of a sister of his hostess. This young lady, Jane, was the daughter of Dr. John Campbell. She was born in Dunse, Scotland, where her father spent his married life, although himself a Highlander, a native of Argyleshire. His wife was a Miss On the 20th of October, 1838, Colonel Blackadder. Sparhawk married Miss Campbell and took her to Conway, where he had built a pleasant house upon the farm which he had bought from his father. Here were born his two eldest daughters, both of whom are now dead. Isabella, the oldest, died in the summer of 1868, eleven years after her father. Jessie, the second daughter, died of consumption in May, 1855, before she had completed her fourteenth year. She was a young girl of great energy and unselfishness of character. She was an artist as well; her sketches and drawings gave great promise even at that early age, and show decided power.

In the winter of 1842 Colonel Sparhawk's health failed, and although after a time he grew better again, he did not regain his former strength, and was never able to undertake the work he would otherwise have done. He sold his farm in Conway and moved to Kittery, where his cousin, Dr. Thomas Sparhawk, of whom he was very fond, was living at the time.

Not long after, the post of keeper of Fort McClary at Kittery was given to him, and he lived there until the administration of Franklin Pierce, when he lost the appointment. Here, within a year of the birth of his youngest daughter, Eunice Jane, the only one now living, his wife died. He mourned her deeply, and did all in his power to make up the loss to his motherless daughters. No business or pleasure interfered with the rights of the "children's hour."

While at the fort he for some time kept the books in the store of his friend, Mr. Robert Gerrish. Later, he obtained a place as clerk in one of the departments in the Navy Yard at Portsmouth; but this he was obliged to resign on account of ill health. It was at about this time that his daughter Jessie died. Colonel Sparhawk survived her but little over two years, dying November 21, 1857, of an abscess which attacked the base of the brain. became a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, April 7, 1847.

An obituary of him in the "Portsmouth Chronicle," probably written by his friend the Rev. Tobias H. Miller, then the editor of that newspaper, bears the following

testimony to the excellence of his character: -

A man of transparent honesty, undoubted integrity, and delicate modesty, in the world of show he never made a great figure, and in his declining days and declining fortunes he made less and less. But in the social circle as a friendly and intelligent companion, and in the domestic as a brother, husband, and father, he had a character which shone brighter and brighter as it glowed in the furnace of afflictive and bereaving providence.

He was buried in the Pepperrell Tomb at Kittery. funeral was as unostentations as his life had been; a few who loved him followed him to his last resting-place, and he was laid there in silence, as is the custom of the San-This sect, of which there was a small numdemanians. ber in Portsmouth, in early times, — enough for a little society, - is still smaller now. Its members were largely people of great beauty of life, but its tenets are better adapted to flourish in Heaven than on earth.

It is now a quarter of a century since the death of Colonel Sparhawk, and his pleasant sayings and bright stories have been forgotten; but the impression of his genial disposition, his kindliness and his uprightness of

life, still remains with those who knew him.

FREEMAN HUNT

FREEMAN HUNT was born at Quincy, Norfolk County, Massachusetts, March 21, 1804. He was the son of Nathan Hunt, who died when the subject of our sketch was three years of age. His mother was Mary Turner, a descendant of the Turners and Stetsons.

On both sides his ancestors were among the earliest inhabitants of the colony, and in fact we can, in a direct line, trace his descent from Enoch Hunt, one of the first settlers. We find in the Massachusetts State Archives, lib. 120, folio 16, a deposition, sworn to by two early inhabitants, who remembered Enoch Hunt as dwelling in Berks County, England, and also recalled his emigration to, and his settling in Weymouth. He was admitted as freeman in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1638. He died in Weymouth, and administration on his estate was granted to his son Ephraim in 1652.

We see then the hardy New England stock whence Mr. Hunt sprang, and from which he inherited that spirit for overcoming obstacles which was his marked characteristic. His educational advantages were limited to a few years' instruction in the country school, and at the age of twelve he left his home for Boston, and entered the office of the "Boston Evening Gazette" to fill a position of general employment, one of his duties being that of serving the subscribers with the papers. Soon after, he apprenticed himself to the printer's trade. Subsequently he went to

Springfield, Massachusetts, where he continued his labors as a compositor, but desiring a larger field to satisfy his ambition he returned to Boston and became connected with the "Boston Traveller." While here as a compositor he sent several articles to the editor, which were published, and on inquiry being made as to their authorship he acknowledged that he wrote them. From the moment his talents became known, his rise in the establishment was assured, until finally he attained a high position there. Still there remained a desire for a better and a wider exercise of his powers, and upon the termination of his ap-

prenticeship he joined the ranks of publishers.

In 1828 he formed a copartnership with John Putnam, already established in the printing and publishing business in the building of Messrs. Marsh, Capen, & Lyon, booksellers and publishers, No. 362 Washington Street, corner of Newbury Place, now a portion of the site of the Globe Theatre. Mr. Putnam was the publisher of the "Juvenile Miscellany," edited by Mrs. Lydia Maria Child, the first number of which periodical was issued in September, 1826. The style of the firm was Putnam & Hunt. They did much of the printing of Marsh, Capen & Lyon. Nahum Capen, LL. D., author of the "History of Democracy," was a member of this firm, and we have been informed that when Mr. Hunt subsequently commenced the "Merchants' Magazine," no one aided and encouraged him more than Mr. Capen. Putnam & Hunt continued the publication of the "Miscellany," and commenced in January, 1828, a new periodical, the "Ladies' Magazine," of which Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale was the editress. They afterwards removed to No. 41 Washington Street, and thence to No. 3 Cornhill. They printed for Mr. Samuel G. Goodrich some of the earliest of his "Tales of Peter Parley."

Mr. Hunt's experience and success with these periodicals led him to widen his field of labors. He accordingly dissolved his partnership with Mr. Putnam, took a room at No. 15 Court Street, and began the republication of the "Penny Magazine," which reached a sale of five thousand copies within a year after its commencement.

While a partner with Mr. Putnam he collected and prepared for the press the "American Anecdotes," published in 1830 in two duodecimo volumes. The work acquired considerable popularity.

In 1831 Mr. Hunt established in New York City a weekly paper called "The Traveller." He afterwards returned to Boston and became the managing director of the Boston Bewick Company, an association of artists, printers, and book-binders, incorporated March 27, 1834. This association was without capital, and therefore required a good financier to enable it to carry out its object; but Mr. Hunt proved quite equal to the task, and it was not until he left the company that it failed. While connected with this company he projected the "American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge," the first number of which was issued September, 1834. He conducted the editorial department until his connection with the company ceased.

He again removed to the city of New York, where he projected "A Comprehensive Atlas," which he brought out in 1835. It was edited by Thomas G. Bradford. Subsequently, in 1836, a series of letters written by him to the Boston press were collected and published in a small volume entitled "Letters about the Hudson and its Vicinity." It passed through three or more editions.

All through his career to this time there lingered with him a certain dissatisfaction with what he had accomplished, and a desire to do something in a literary way beyond merely transient and occasional writing, and which might prove of lasting benefit to his fellow-man.

This desire took a well-defined shape in the conception of the "Merchants' Magazine," which he projected in

1837, but its details were not fully elaborated for some months, when he began the canvass for its support.

In July, 1839, the first number was printed, and, his means being exhausted, a kind friend — the Hon. John M. Stevenson of Troy, New York — lent him a sufficient amount to pay the expense of its publication. With his usual energy he collected, immediately upon the delivery of the first number, subscriptions which enabled him to go forward with his project.

We can better understand our author, and the spirit which actuated him in this his masterpiece, by an extract from one of his letters. He says, in speaking of the idea of the "Merchants' Magazine:"—

It was a long time the subject of much thought and deliberation before any active steps were taken towards carrying it out. In casting the eye around, in the difficult search after some useful but unoccupied corner in the wide field of literature, it seemed to the editor as if every point was already occupied, every branch represented, except one, - and that the very important one of commerce and the mercantile interest. On the one hand, the professions — the divine, the lawyer, and the physician - the farmer also, and the mechanic, had each one or more organs and exponents in the periodical press. Even the railroad interest, new as it then was, had found a voice through the press; while commerce, more or less connected with all other pursuits, was not represented. While the business concerns of commerce filled the huge columns of the daily press with advertisements and with shipping intelligence and with matters relating to every-day details of merchandise on the one hand, there was not a single magazine, of high or low pretensions, either in America or, to the best of our knowledge, in Europe, to represent and to advocate the claims of commerce. There were one or two dictionaries of commerce, and a few works intended for practical purposes; but a literature of commerce did not exist even in name. The idea and the thing were yet to be developed. In 1839 the "Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review" was established without, we confess, so elear a conception as after experience has furnished of the full

import of the term commerce, in its broadest, largest, and truest sense or signification. Every branch of industry, almost every pursuit, may be said to come within its range. The interests of agriculture and manufactures, which produce, are identified with the interests of commerce, which distributes. The great topics of banking and finance, of railroad and canal communication, of mining, and of navigation by steam and sail, are all involved in the one great topic of commerce. A large part of the legislation of states and nations is devoted to the regulation of commercial operations. Courts of law and equity are daily deciding points in mercantile jurisprudence, growing out of the constantly varying circumstances of commercial enterprise. How liberalizing and expanding are the pursuits of commerce, thus understood, in their effect upon the mind, is obvious and often remarked. The wants and necessities of all nations, of all races of men, form elements in the calculations of the true merchant. He studies the condition and finds out the wants of all, to relieve them. It is his interest, it becomes also his pleasure, to do so. He learns to look upon all nations as knit together by the tie of mutual dependence, to regard all men as kindred. The mercantile student learns the same lesson. To teach that lesson has been and shall be one of the greatest purposes of the " Merchants' Magazine."

The editor regards it as not the least of the happy results of the labors and studies to which his taste and his duty have led him in conducting this magazine, that they have strengthened and confirmed the disposition to look upon all men as brethren, and to regard with favor all measures which tend to unite them together in the unity of peace, and to promote the reform of ancient abuses, however venerable.

We have perhaps dwelt more fully than is necessary upon this extract, but coming as it does from the editor's own hand it puts his motives before us in a clearer light and reveals to us the mainspring of his efforts.

From the time of the appearance of this magazine in the literary and business world Mr. Hunt continued to increase in prosperity until his death. The magazine passed through nineteen volumes, and was taken by the mercantile community in all parts of the world. The numbers of the magazine contained all matters of business interests, discussed practical questions of political economy, and contained much valuable statistical information as to the condition of the market that was of great importance to business men.

A marked trait in Mr. Hunt's character was a pride in the prosperity of his country, and a warm regard for those men who were instruments of that national pro-To pay a just tribute to their excellence led him to begin the compilation of the "Lives of American Merchants," in which he hoped to erect a sing memorial to men like Abbott and Amos Lawre. , Thomas II. Perkins, James Gore King, James Brown, Sir William Pepperrell, and many other illustrious names whose enterprise and industry had placed our country in the front rank of commercial nations. It is greatly to be regretted that he was interrupted by death in the completion of this worthy object, he having finished at that time only two volumes of the work.

He also compiled a book called "Wealth and Worth," which was a collection of practical common-sense suggestions to practical common-sense men, put in the form of pleasing anecdotes.

In 1852 Harvard College conferred on Mr. Hunt the degree of A. M. for his literary services, and Union Col-

lege conferred a like degree upon him in 1856.

He was interested in many good works, was a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, - to which he was admitted as Corresponding Member, April 5, 1855, — and of the United States Agricultural Society.

Although the energies of his life were directed to the study of commercial and mercantile pursuits, still he took a deep interest in the important political questions which agitated the time. While the partnership of Putnam & Hunt existed, the firm at one time became the publishers of a newspaper in Boston called the "Jackson Republican," the principal editors of which were the late General Theodore Lyman, and the late Judge Henry Orne. The paper was established for the purpose of advocating the election of General Jackson to the presidency, but it did not long survive that event.

He was a strong abolitionist, and though not a prime mover in the cause was ready to second any efforts directed to the extinction of slavery.

He had a wide correspondence throughout the country, and a voluminous correspondence with many men of note.

His disposition was kindly, and one of the most lovable traits of his character was sympathy, with ready assistance to help those struggling against obstacles.

In personal appearance he was somewhat above the middle height, well made, and his complexion was florid, with blue eyes, and light brown hair. The general contour of his features was prominent and strongly marked, indicative of that perseverance and energy which marked his career.

Mr. Hunt was married three times. The first time to Lucia Weld Blake of Boston, May 6, 1829, who died ten months after marriage, leaving an infant who survived its mother only two years. He married Laura Phinney of Boston, January 2, 1831, by whom he had four children. The eldest, John Frederic Schroeder, died in 1857, in Jacksonville, Florida, whither he had gone for his health, a consumptive at the age of twenty-six. Helen died when eighteen months old. Sarah Elizabeth died at the age of seven. The second wife died in 1851. In 1853 he married Elizabeth Thompson Parmenter, daughter of Mr. William Parmenter of Cambridge.

Mr. Hunt died in Brooklyn, New York, March 2, 1858, at the age of fifty-four years, of disease of the liver, leaving a widow and two children: Emma Freeman,

daughter of the second wife, who now is the wife of Lewis A. Hall, Esq., merchant of New York, and a son by his last marriage, Freeman, who is a now counsellor-at-law in Boston.

The interest and untiring industry which led him to succeed in the "Merchants' Magazine," his own creation, never forsook him. For months preceding his death, while lying upon his bed, prostrated by a painful disease, he would dictate and arrange work on hand, and direct his secretary, who sat by a table placed at the foot of his bed. The numbers were issued regularly, and the last number, that of March, 1858, he worked on with his customary assiduity, though with great physical pain. A sense of relief came to him the day before his death, March 1, when the March number of his magazine was put into his hand completed. He looked over it and said, with a smile, to a friend at his bedside: "This work has been my hobby in life and my hobby in death."

He was buried at Quincy, his native place. A plain granite shaft marks his resting-place in the old cemetery in the middle of that town.

JOHN MASON PECK

John Mason Peck was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, October 31, 1789. He died March 14, 1858, at Rock

Spring, Illinois.

He was a direct descendant of Paul and Martha Peck, who came to America in 1634, and were among the first settlers of Hartford, Connecticut. Their fifth son, Samuel, who died in 1696, left one child bearing the same name, who died in 1765. Among the children of the latter was Elisha, born in 1720, who died in 1762. His oldest son, Asa, born in Berlin, Connecticut, in 1744, was the father of the subject of our memoir. He was married, in 1786, to Hannah Farnum, who was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, 1755. John Mason was their only child.

Asa Peck was a farmer in humble circumstances. From his fourteenth year the son was his father's main dependence in managing the farm. In the winter he went to school. In his eighteenth year he experienced a decided religious change, which gave a new and noble impulse to his life. Henceforth his chief desire was to benefit his fellow-men as a minister of the Gospel. In the year 1809 he was married to Sarah Paine of Greene County, New York, who was nine months his senior. She died Oct. 24, 1856. Their children were: 1. Eli P., born July 28, 1810; 2. Hannah F., born July 10, 1812; 3. Hervey J., born Sept. 28, 1814; 4. William C., born Feb. 11, 1818; 5. Mary Ann, born Sept. 18, 1820; 6. William S., born

Nov. 13, 1823; 7. John Q. A., born Aug. 27, 1825; 8. a son, born Dec. 10, 1827, died in infancy; 9. Henry M., born May 7, 1829; 10. James A., born Sept. 27, 1831.

In the spring of 1811 Mr. Peck moved his family, consisting of a wife and one child, from his native parish to Windham, Greene County, New York, into a region which was then a dense wilderness, with the exception of fifteen or twenty small clearings. The Big Hollow Settlement, which now became his home, comprised eight families. In 1811 Mr. and Mrs. Peck united with the New Durham Baptist Church, and the same year he began his pastoral work, preaching at Catskill, and later at Amenia, meanwhile prosecuting his studies with great zeal, and obtaining part of his support from school-teaching.

Having become deeply interested in the moral and spiritual condition of the "far West," in 1817 he entered upon missionary work in that then destitute region, under a commission from the Baptist General Convention of the United States. In December of that year he reached St. Louis, Missouri, which was then a French village without a regular hotel or boarding-house, and notorious for irreligion and immorality. In connection with his colleague, Rev. J. C. Welch, he devoted his time to preaching and teaching. Duelling was then a common method of settling disputes; and after several duels, the last one of a peculiarly aggravated character, Mr. Peck resolved to preach against the practice, which he did to a crowded house, from Isaiah i. 15, "Your hands are full of blood," "holding up the practice of duelling to the abhorrence of all right-minded men, as a crime of no small magnitude against God, against man, against society."

During his residence at St. Louis he made missionary tours among the scattered settlements of Missouri and Illinois, through a rough and almost unbroken country, with few carriage-roads, for the most part making his way on horseback along bridle-paths. At a cluster of cabins

on the bank of the Missouri he met the famous Daniel Boone, then past eighty. He was much struck with his amiable and venerable appearance. "His high, bold forehead was slightly bald, and his silver locks were combed smooth. His countenance was ruddy and fair, and exhibited the simplicity of a child. His voice was soft and melodious. He was intelligent and sociable, enjoying a happy old age with his daughter and granddaughter." For nine years Mr. Peek performed important itinerant service in the cause of religion and education in Missouri and Illinois. He established Sunday-schools and Bible societies.

In 1827, through his exertions, a literary and theological institution was opened at Rock Spring, Illinois, which place had now become his residence. Mr. Peck was professor of theology, and had the general charge of the affairs of the seminary.

In 1834 he engaged in raising funds for a seminary at Upper Alton, Illinois, which subsequently, chiefly through the generosity of Benjamin Shurtleff, M. D., of Boston, — whose memoir appears in the first volume of this series of Memorial Biographies, — grew into Shurtleff College.

Besides his directly religious and educational work, he did much to promote emigration to the West. A friend who knew him well says of him: "He was a master spirit among the pioneers. Perhaps no man of the class did more than he to guide the thoughts, mould the manners, and form the institutions of the West. He was an embodiment of Western character, plain, frank, self-reliant, fearless, indomitable, with all his powers, physical and intellectual, subordinated by grace to the service of Christ."

He wrote several valuable works: "A Guide to Emigrants," published in 1831 and, in an enlarged form, in 1836; "Life of Father Clark," New York, 1855; "Western Annals;" "Life of Daniel Boone," in Sparks's Amer-

ican Biography; "Gazetteer of Illinois," 1834, 1837; besides editorial work on "The Pioneer" and the "Illinois Sabbath School Inner," and articles contributed to Western periodical ad historical societies.

In 1843 he was chosen Secretary of the American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, where he temporarily resided. In 1849 he was for a time pastor of the Baptist Church in St. Louis, and editor of the "Western Watchman."

In 1852 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College. He was admitted a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society April 7, 1855.

In 1864 a "Memoir of John Mason Peck, D. D.: edited from his Journals and Correspondence" (360 pages), was compiled by the Rev. Rufus Babcock, D. D., and published by the American Baptist Publication Society. From it we extract the following testimony of the Rev. J. B. Jeter, D. D., his successor at St. Louis, as to his character and abilities:—

I had known Dr. Peek several years before I went to St. Louis in 1849, but not intimately, and my estimate of his worth was considerably increased by my intimacy with him for nearly three years. He was a true, earnest, laborious, faithful servant of the Lord Jesus. I was particularly struck with his disinterestedness. He was willing to labor anywhere, in any department, and with anybody, if he might be useful. He engaged with equal readiness in the labors of a pastorate, an agency, an editorship, or authorship, with little regard to the exposure and fatigue involved in the enterprise, or the meagreness of its pecuniary reward. He was not a man to wait fr important and honored posts of usefulness to be opened to ' but he entered promptly the fields of service before hieultivated them diligently, with the assurance that he fail of his reward. Though he was a man of stre loved, as earnest and energetic men are apt to own way, yet I never discovered in him the s'

mortified ambition. He thought, of course, his own plans right and struggled manfully to carry them out, but accorded to brethren differing from him sincerity and worthy motives. In all his plans for extending the kingdom of Christ—and they were numerous—and in all his warm controversies in supporting them, there was an almost perfect self-abnegation.

The most remarkable trait in the character of Dr. Peck, that arrested my attention, was volubility. Brother Peck was both a full and ready man. He was well informed on almost all subjects; and on matters relating to the West, his knowledge was various, general, and minute. He might be called a Western Gazetteer, and poured forth an incessant stream of conversation on any subject - religious, scientific or political, grave or ludierous — that might be broached in his presence. His resources in conversation were perfectly inexhaustible. When once he was fairly enlisted in conversation, the most resolute hearer could do nothing more than ask a question, suggest a doubt or difficulty, or give some direction to the current of discourse. Being somewhat fond of talking myself, when I first became acquainted with him I made frequent attempts to participate in the conversation; but soon I resigned myself, as did others, a mute auditor of his ceaseless and interesting remarks.

Let it not be supposed that he was rude or overbearing in his manner. He was a courteous man. His manners, however, were eminently Western. In most social circles he was the acknowledged autocrat. He talked because all wished him to talk, and all chose to be silent in his presence.

When he associated with those whose age, culture, and position gave them a title to a full share in conversation, he still engrossed it, partly from habit, and partly from the gushing fulness of his thoughts, which would admit of no restraint. You might as well roll a ball down the mountain side, and attempt to stop it in its mid-career, as to arrest or hold in check the impetuous thought and bounding words of the old pioneer.

Much has been said, and foolishly said, of Western character. Nost people in the West formed their characters before they emigrated thither; and they have been slightly or not at all modified by their change of residence. But Mr. Peck was a Western man. He removed to the West while young, and his tastes, manners, habits, and modes of thinking and speaking were formed there.

No intelligent and observant man could be in his presence five minutes without perceiving unmistakable evidence of this truth. The pioneers were a hardy, self-denying, courageous, and independent class of men. For forms, etiquette, and pretensions they had no respect. They were practical, not theoretical. Mr. Peck was not only a pioneer, but a master-spirit among the pioneers. Perhaps no man of the class did more than he to guide the thoughts, mould the manners, and form the institutions of the West.

He was an embodiment of Western character, — plain, frank, self-reliant, fearless, indomitable, — with all his powers, physical and intellectual, subordinated by grace to the service of Christ.

GEORGE MINOT

George Minot was born in Haverhill, Essex County, Massachusetts, January 5, 1817. He was the son of the Hon. Stephen and Rebecca (Trask) Minot. His early life was marked by simplicity and truthfulness. He then learned from the teachings of a devoted mother the great principles of the Christian life. His habits of thought were formed under the directing influence of his father,—a good lawyer, keen observer, and eminently upright man,—who took unwearied pains in the cultivation and development of his mental powers, and in guiding him to place his confidence in the real and not the seeming.

After a preparatory course of study at Haverhill Academy and at Phillips Academy, Exeter, New Hampshire, then under the charge of the celebrated Dr. Abbot, he entered Harvard College in 1832 and graduated in 1836, and immediately commenced the study of the law in the Law School at Cambridge. After spending two years at the school, he continued his studies in the office of the Hon. Rufus Choate in Boston, in which city, upon his admission to the bar in 1839, he commenced the practice of the law, in which he continued until his last sickness and death.

He was married in 1844 to Mrs. Emily P. Ogle, a native of The Hague, and daughter of Dr. Gallup and Susan (Eversdyke) Gallup. She died in 1853, and left one son, George S. Minot, born August 22, 1845. In December,

1854, he married Elizabeth Dawes of Cambridge, daughter of Thomas Dawes and Eliza Cunningham. They had one daughter, Ellen Minot, born December 16, 1855.

Mr. Minot devoted himself to his chosen profession with faithful and successful assiduity, but he was more widely known by his editorial labors. He was the careful and accurate editor for ten years of the United States Statutes at Large. He also rendered valuable assistance to Mr. Peters in the preparation of the first eight volumes of the Statutes, published in 1848, the full and complete general index of which was the exclusive result of his labors. His name was also familiar to the profession as associate reporter of the decisions of Judge Woodbury in the First Circuit Court; and his edition of the nine volumes of English Admiralty Reports, republished by Little & Brown in 1853, bears evidence of his industry and learning in this branch of his profession. In 1844 he edited the work which has made his name familiar to every Massachusetts lawyer, the Digest of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of the State, to which he added a supplement in 1852; and, had his health permitted, he would have recast the entire work, making it more completely useful to the profession, and more just to his own reputation.

He was for many years solicitor of one of our largest and most important railroad institutions, the Boston and Maine railroad corporation. As such he was called on to advise in many very delicate and very difficult controversies and deliberations, and in all he was remarkable at once for guilelessness, firmness, and discretion. Those who best know what he did, and how generally successful and how happy were the results, can best appreciate this union of scarcely reconcilable qualities.

In his profession of the law he was neither litigious, nor exorbitant in his fees, nor did he contract a stain of dishonor or suspicion. He was prudent, just, and cautious.

He knew at once the necessary law of his case, and all the sources of legal knowledge, and he was a fair, keen, and skilful legal reasoner and inquirer after truth. His knowledge of the jurisprudence of chancery, and his fondness for it, were very remarkable. Few men of any time of life had studied it so thoroughly, discerned so well how it rose above and supplied the deficiencies of the Common Law, and loved it as truly and as intelligently.

Beyond his profession, he read and speculated more variously and more independently than most men of any profession. He became a Resident Member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, June 13, 1857.

Music and literature were his recreations. While in college he was organist of the chapel choir, and during most of his mature years he conducted the sacred music of the religious society with which he worshipped.

He was always an earnest abolitionist, and an active

member of the Free Soil party in politics.

He had rare personal attractions, was genial, gentle, witty, conversed well, and found much pleasure in social intercourse. He was modest, pure, and incorrupt; he slandered and he flattered no man; he felt and he inspired warm love and deep respect.

The strongest element in his character was doubtless the religious. For many years he was a reader of Swedenborg's works, and became a receiver of his doctrines.

He died at Reading, Massachusetts, April 15, 1858.

ISAAC PARKER

ISAAC PARKER was born at Jaffrey, Cheshire County, New Hampshire, April 14, 1788, and died at Boston, May 27, 1858.

The seventy years of his life were almost coetaneous with the first era—the era of development—in the history of the American Republic, of which it may be said that no equal term of time since history began has been marked by changes so numerous and so important to the lives and happiness of men.

Born two years before the last of the thirteen colonies acceded to the new union, he died two years before the first secession from the same. Constitutional government, which in 1788 was hardly established in England, and which had then no real exemplar elsewhere on the earth, was in 1858, in theory at least, the foundation of most European and American states. Within this term the steam engine, which at first had been unable to carry itself, came to be the chief loco-motor of the world. tricity, once known only as a dangerous enemy to man, became his servant and his friend. Iron supplanted timber in constructions, and even floated on the seas; while rock coals relieved our forests from the serious drain for The intermittent whir of spinning-wheels, scattered throughout the households of the land, developed into the roar of spindles condensed by tens of thousands under the single roofs of huge structures of brick and stone. The march of civilization - that "course of empire" near the

western van of which Bishop Berkeley thought he stood when on Rhode Island—passed over half the continent and even established its outposts upon the Pacific shore, and the sway of the aboriginal tribes shrank away into the restricted buffalo ranges of our great central plains.

Such was the panorama of which the child of 1788 would be a spectator, and such the eventful scenes amid which the man of threescore years and ten would live to look back upon from 1858.

By his father's line Isaac Parker was descended from Abraham Parker, one of the original settlers of Chelmsford, Massachusetts. His mother, Edith Jewett, was the daughter of Jedediah Jewett of Pepperell, Massachusetts, (born September 8, 1719, died May 12, 1804), by Elizabeth Shattnek, (born January 12, 1722, died July 25, 1782), and granddaughter of Joseph Jewett of Groton, by Jane Hazen of Ipswich, Massachusetts.

Judge Abel Parker, the father of Isaac, was a man of commanding presence, at once dignified and courteous, one with whom intimacy would seem to have been difficult and trifling impossible. His ideas of personal integrity and individual honor were of the strictest, and he possessed a marvellous self-reliance both in thought and action. What he had once decided to be right was the thing to be done, and so far as his influence went it was done. Military taste and patriotic impulse had made him a soldier in early manhood; faithful service with diligent study had raised him in rank, first in the army, and afterward in civil life, and it was his cherished boast that, of the many honors and offices which he had received or occupied, not one had been the result of his own solicitation or request.

The contrast between the father and the mother was a marked one. She was active and impulsive, quick to sympathize with all about her, gifted with a keen appreciation of the humorous and with a gladsome and kindly spirit which enabled her at all times to bring cheer and courage to the despondent or the timid. Straightforward performance of duty was the first principle with the Judge, and earnest sympathy was the leading characteristic of the Judge's wife. Their household was a busy one. In it old-time family discipline was maintained, religious duties were honored by observance, and its members were bound each to the other by ties of love and by respect for duty.

Under such home influences the character of Isaac Parker was formed and moulded. In him were blended the characteristics of both his parents, and to such effect that Judge Jeremiah Smith, a man not given to unmeaning compliment, said of him that Isaac Parker was the only young man that he ever saw who did not need to be made over.

Mr. Parker's schooling was only that which the district school afforded. The studies there were from Webster's Spelling Book, the English Reader, Murray's Grammar, Adams's Arithmetic, and penmanship; but his learning extended far beyond this limit. His father's collection of books was one of unusual variety in that region, and he but followed the parental taste in his love of reading. After the manner of his time, he was accustomed to write out in a commonplace-book such passages as seemed worthy of especial remembrance, to which he added maxims and reflections of his own. Nor was his education one of books alone. Labor filled the great gaps between the school terms. The duties of the farm in the milder seasons, and the household manufactures in the winter months, commanded large portions of his time, and in order to obtain some little pocket-money he trapped muskrats and other game for their pelts, and in the leisure hours of winter busied himself with setting card-teeth in hand-cards, by which he earned fourpence per pair in store pay, accumulating by close application from nine to twelve cents weekly.

Young Parker, declining the collegiate education which his brothers received, determined very early upon a mercantile career, and January 31, 1803, being then in his fifteenth year, he entered the employment of David Page and Luke Wheelock in his native town. These enterprising gentlemen had then recently established themselves in Jaffrey, and were carrying on a very considerable miscellaneous business. Their operations finally extended from Boston to Montreal, and, besides the buying and selling, or "store trade," they manufactured potash at Jaffrey, flour at Otter Creek, and some textile fabrics at Middlebury, Vermont, — their establishment at the latter place having been the first cotton factory in the State. The factory of those days was, however, as we shall see, quite a primitive affair. On the 29th of August, 1806, Mr. Parker, still in the employ of the same firm, removed to Middlebury, Vermont, to which place the headquarters of the concern were removed in 1807 or 1808; and, after the death of Mr. Wheelock, the business of the store there was prosecuted under his immediate supervision until he attained his majority in 1809.

Having served out his time, at the age of twenty-one, the important questions as to his future were necessarily to be determined, and Mr. Parker had decided to seek fortune and business "in the western wilds," — which may then have been no farther west than the vicinity of Buffalo, New York, — when, without solicitation, Samuel Smith, Esq., of Peterborough, New Hampshire, took him by the hand and established the young man with himself in business at Keene. Jan. 1, 1811, the firm was Parker & Hough, his active associate then being Dr. Hough of Keene.

The times were propitious for a beginner. The embargo which had caused a rising market, continuous for two years, was removed in 1809, and the consequent drop in prices caused widespread and severe mercantile disaster. Among those whose fortunes suffered shipwreck at

that time was David Page, the former employer and constant friend of Mr. Parker. But such a time of depression in prices was favorable to the young merchant, and before he had been established three years the war with Great Britain again inflated values, extended his business, and added to his profits.

Captain George Daniels, a hale and hearty farmer now living at Newton, Massachusetts, delights in recalling the fact that he was employed by Mr. Parker at that time, and declares that from his wages of a shilling a day he not only provided for himself but accumulated capital. Mr. Daniels describes the premises occupied by Parker & Hough as a three-story building on the easterly side of Keene Street, adjoining what has since been known as the Eagle Hotel. The lower story and cellar were occupied for the usual purposes of a country store when much of the business was done by barter, and in the upper portion of the building was a factory for making satinets, a stout fabric for men's wear, whose warp was cotton and whose woof was woollen. The cotton and wool were carded into rolls by water-power at their shop in Swansey, and these rolls, each of five or six feet in length, were carried to the building in Keene and there were spun and woven. The spinning was done on frames, each of ten or twelve spindles, the motive power being supplied by a man who turned a large wheel attached at one end of the frame. The goods were woven on hand-looms 1 the premises, and finished elsewhere.

The term of Mr. Parker's residence at Keene include three years of our second war with England, and we at expect that the son of his father would feel moved the military impulses of the times. Accordingly we him connected with the Keene Light Infantry, on pendent company of which he was commissioned capter 7, 1813. While he commanded the company a second which included several of its members;

whereupon the whole by vote volunteered for service and proposed that, instead of drawing members from their ranks, the company as one organization should be taken to supply the next call for troops, which proposition was accepted by the authorities. A short time afterward another call was made, of which information was obtained through the bearer, an express-rider who passed through Keene, and the company was at once prepared for service in the field; but peace was declared before their marching-orders came.

September 12, 1816, Captain Parker was promoted and commissioned brigade-major and inspector of the Fifth Brigade, New Hampshire Militia, and it is said that his inspections were rigid and careful beyond precedent. Colonel Marshall P. Wilder yet remembers that on his first parade as a private soldier Major Parker inspected the detachment.

November 17, 1812, Mr. Parker married Sarah, daughter of the Rev. Laban Ainsworth, by Mary (Minot) Ainsworth. By his wife he had four sons and four daughters, two of whom were born in Keene. In 1817 he left Keene and commenced his business life in Boston as a partner with Mr. Silas Bullard, under the style of Bullard & Parker, at 31 Central Street; but he soon withdrew and, associating with himself Mr. Jonas M. Melville, the firm of Isaac Parker & Co. was formed for the transaction of a commission business, for the sale of American manufactured goods, at No. 6 Broad Street.

As a clerk for Page & Wheelock, Mr. Parker had c served the first germs of the manufacturing interest, a considerable part of his business at Keene had consit of manufacturing and selling domestic goods. In 1810 was present at the starting of the Peterborough Factory, which he was then part owner and in which he retain interest through life. The embargo and the war succeeded it gave a forced impetus to America.

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turing, and many factories — which seem now exceeding small but which were then of considerable importance — sprang into existence. Until the close of the war the demand for the products of these factories was sufficient to ensure their ready sale at the works; but when foreign competition became possible, more efficient means were required for the distribution of those products.

The Boston Directory for 1821 gives the name and address of five firms described as dealers in "American Goods," - a title of occupation which, previous to that volume, appears never to have been used in the Direc-One of the five firms so described was that of Isaac Parker & Co. The concerns that preceded them proved quite ephemeral, but that which Mr. Parker established in 1819, under the style of Isaac Parker & Co. — and continued as Parker & Blanchard (Abraham W. Blanchard), Parker, Blanchard, & Wilder (Marshall P. Wilder), Parker, Wilder, & Parker (William A. Parker), and Parker, Wilder & Co. (Samuel B. Rindge, Ezra Farnsworth, and Francis J. Parker) - still continues under the latter title the business which he founded; but the amount of the sales of one of those earlier years has often been exceeded by the business of a single day in the later history of the house. To sell by the single piece, or "bolt," was the rule at the first, the sale of an entire package being the exciting exception. The space occupied for a salesroom in the Broad Street store was less than that included in the counting-rooms of the present firm.

Although devoting himself chiefly to business interests and family affairs, Mr. Parker did not refuse to bear his part in public duties when he was summoned to attend upon them. He was a member of the Common Council of the city of Boston in 1824, 1825, and 1826, again in 1832, and yet again in 1838, 1839, and 1840, serving on the standing committee on finance, and in the last two years as chairman on the part of his branch of the joint

committee on the introduction of water, - a matter at that time of the highest interest in the politics of the city. Jonathan Chapman, mayor in 1840, was second on this committee in 1839. Mr. Parker served also for three years as a representative from Boston in the House of Representatives of 1830-31, 1831-32, and 1842. He was a director in a large number of business corporations, one of the original trustees of the Mount Auburn Cemetery, a trustee under the mortgage of the Sullivan Railroad in New Hampshire, and for the last sixteen years of his life president of the Trader's Bank of Boston. He became a resident member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society October 3, 1855. His death was the result of an accident by which he was thrown from his carriage, and with but a brief illness and without any of that failing of the faculties which often precedes death, clouding the closing years of men's lives, he passed from earth to the paradise of God.

The Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, who knew Mr. Parker in early life and who was associated with him as a partner for more than twenty years, in a note to the present writer thus sums up the character of his friend:—

"As a merchant and citizen of Boston the memory of Isaac Parker will be cherished by all who knew him. In all the relations of life, whether public or private, he had the reputation of a high sense of honor and unbending integrity. His moral, political, and religious sentiments were matters of fixed and controlling conviction. He was always anxious to do right and be just. He was very considerate, conservative, and cautious, but having come to a conclusion he was as immovable as the granite hills of his native State. He was very industrious, systematic, and punctual, and despatched business with facility but never without deliberation. He had at heart the best interests of humanity, and was ever ready to bestow his influence for the improvement of those around him. He was eminently a peacemaker, never having controversies if possible to avoid them, and was anxious to do to others as he would have them do to him. Mr. Parker was

remarkable for the uniformity of his character, and he will long be remembered in the annals of Boston as one of her distinguished merchants, as one of her pioneers in the traffic in domestic fabrics, and as one notable for his integrity, firmness, and good judgment,—in short, as an enlightened merchant and a Christian gentleman."

JOB ROBERTS TYSON

It has been well and forcibly remarked by Chancellor Kent, that eminent writer on the Law of Real Property that, in this country—where entailments have been abolished by statute, and the artificial support thus given to names and houses has been taken away—every family is obliged to repose upon the virtue of its descendants for the perpetuity of its fame. In the private life and public services of the subject of this memoir, his family has the highest cause for congratulation that its honorable repute has been so loftily maintained, and that it can safely rest upon the record of his career for the transmittal of its good name.

Job Roberts Tyson was born in the city of Philadelphia on the 8th of February, 1803. His father, Joseph Tyson, was an esteemed merchant of that city, and a direct lineal descendant of Renier Tyson, an Englishman of ancient and honorable lineage, who followed the teachings of William Penn and settled in Pennsylvania in 1683. His mother was Ann Van Tromp — or Trump, as it is now written. It will thus be seen that Mr. Tyson traced his origin from the oldest Quaker families in Pennsylvania.

From early youth he was compelled to rely, in a great measure, upon his own efforts for advancement and success in life. While fulfilling the duties of clerk in a store in Philadelphia he sought every opportunity for mental enlightenment, and employed the intervals of business in diligent application to study. Apart from his individual exertions he received only such education as was imparted by the common schools of the day. With a natural taste for literature these, however, proved a secure foundation, upon which he reared a superstructure of learning that no mere collegiate training would have established.

At the age of seventeen he received an appointment to teach the German youths of Hamburg, Berks County, Pennsylvania, a colloquial knowledge of English, and the elementary as well as higher branches of an English education. He remained in this place as a successful teacher for about two years, and during that period acquired a thorough knowledge of the German language, which he spoke with great accuracy. During his residence here, by a refined and manly bearing, a blameless character, and the exhibition of a remarkable degree of intellectual power, he merited and received the cordial respect and friendship of its people.

From Hamburg Mr. Tyson returned to Philadelphia. Here his talent and superior qualifications as a teacher were at once recognized and acknowledged. Mainly through the instrumentality of his friend, the Hon. Robert S. Vaux, he obtained the appointment of teacher in the first public school that was established in Pennsylvania. This institution, a charter for which had been obtained sometime previously, was especially under the auspices of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, and totally different from the public schools of the present day. Its pupils were limited to the wards or children of members of that Society. At this time, 1822, Mr. Tyson was only about twenty, and considerable hesitation was felt, by the committee having the authority to appoint, at entrusting so responsible a position to one so young. proved him worthy of the confidence reposed in him.

He taught for two years, with eminent success, all the branches of a liberal English and classical education. Throughout this period, he was himself a close and indefatigable student. After the labor of two daily sessions, he toiled far into the night, and has been even known to continue until morning in the closest and most exhaustive study. About this time he became a complete master of the Latin language, and was able to write and even speak it with considerable fluency. His knowledge of Greek and Hebrew was also remarkably thorough.

This round of incessant and severe mental toil, and the want of adequate exercise in the open air, began to produce their usual effects, and in an especial degree upon a frame delicate from infancy. Mr. Tyson never enjoyed robust health, and his physical powers were unquestionably greatly weakened by the incessant labor of his brain.

From the age of twenty-one to that of twenty-six he was well known and active as a Director of the Public Schools of Philadelphia, as a member of the Prison Society, of the State Temperance Society, and Manager of the Apprentices' Library. He was among the first to inaugurate the Temperance movement in Philadelphia; and it was with his earnest co-operation that a preliminary meeting was called of those friendly to the cause, and held in the Arch Street Presbyterian Church, which he addressed in a most effective manner.

On the 6th of September, 1825, at the age of twenty-two, Mr. Tyson entered, as student of law, the office of the Hon. John Wurts, then a Representative in Congress from Philadelphia. There, as always and everywhere, he was a close and laborious student. During his probation in this office, he acquired, in addition to his legal studies, a thorough knowledge of French, which he read and spoke with facility and accuracy. After a highly successful examination he was admitted to the bar of Philadelphia

on the 8th of September, 1827. Up to the period of his retirement from active practice in 1854 he was one of the most conspicuous in that brilliant coterie of lawyers — of whom may be mentioned Binney, Meredith, Ingersoll, Cadwalader, Campbell, and Wharton — who gave name and fame to the bar of which they were members.

In 1833 he was appointed, by a public meeting of the most respectable citizens of Philadelphia, to prepare a history of the great extent and evil tendencies of the lottery system in the United States. He assumed the laborious task, and executed it in such an enlightened manner as to induce the philanthropic gentlemen who were active in the movement to publish, in their several editions, no less than eight thousand copies. Every legislature and almost every prominent man in each State of the Union was furnished with a copy of this admirable work. Soon after its publication the Legislature of Pennsylvania abolished the lottery system, which had existed from an early period, and there is ample evidence from contemporary letters that its destruction in seven other States may be ascribed to the startling facts disclosed in this striking and eloquent production.

The period which intervened from 1833 to 1846 was fully occupied by successful labors at the bar, and frequent recreations in literature and philanthropy. Some of the best reviews and disquisitions he ever wrote, often unavowed, but in many cases published under his name, appeared during this interval. His high intellectual, moral, and social standing, his eminent legal and literary attainments, his zealous and distinguished co-operation in the labors of the Philosophical and Historical Societies, and in most of the philanthropic movements of the day, mark this portion of his history with especial emphasis.

As a historical writer Mr. Tyson's statement of facts was accurate, and his deductions—always the result of deep research and close thought—were truthful, while

his reflections were at once philosophic and profound. All his writings evince a moral tone of the highest standard, which was amply sustained by the purity of his daily walk and conduct. From his devotion to classical literature, and his partiality in early life for the works of such authors as Addison, Dryden, Johnson, and Goldsmith, he almost insensibly imbibed a style in writing and speaking at once elegant and chaste, combined with delicate humor, harmony, and strength, and displaying a remarkable command of well-chosen language.

The publication of the colonial records by the State of Pennsylvania, for the purpose of rescuing from oblivion what was most valuable and otherwise unattainable in her early history, was first proposed by him, and, at his instance, introduced to the consideration of the Philosophical and Historical Societies by Mr. Peter S. Duponceau. In pursuance of his recommendation these learned bodies conjointly resolved to memorialize the legislature on the subject, he and Mr. Duponceau being the committee entrusted with the entire proceedings. As the result of their combined efforts the measure was adopted by both houses.

Through the struggles and vicissitudes of his early life, and the trials and cares of a later period, Mr. Tyson preserved a sunny cheerfulness and a genial equanimity which enabled him to pursue his way, among the difficulties surrounding him, with a serene and tranquil mind. He was a man of great refinement of feeling, and possessed, in an unusual degree, the true spirit of that charity which "never faileth." He has been heard to say, and his character sustained the observation, that he "never entertained animosity, and knew not the feeling of bitterness or vindictiveness;" though when unjustly assailed in writing or in debate, he possessed the faculty of keen and ready retort.

On the 4th of October, 1832, Mr. Tyson was united in

marriage to Eleanor Cope, a daughter of the late Thomas P. Cope, one of the wealthiest and most distinguished merchants of Philadelphia. Her mother, Mrs. Mary Drinker Cope, was a daughter of John Drinker, Esq., also of Philadelphia. She was a lady of superior cultivation, and possessed personal attractions and mental endowments of a very high order. After a union of fifteen years this accomplished lady and devoted wife died on the 12th of September, 1847, without issue. The greater part of their married life was passed in the fine old mansion at what is now the southwest corner of Fourth and Locust, formerly called Prune, streets, in Philadelphia, previously the residence of Dr. Caspar Wistar. This gentleman was a Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, and a physician of eminence, "whose social spirit and the example of his unpretending but liberal hospitality led to the formation of the Wistar Party." It was in this house that the little assemblies of cultivated and scientific men met for convivial intercourse as the guests of Dr. Wistar, and which, subsequent to the latter's death, in perpetuam rei memoriam, brought about the establishment of this admirable social organization. Mr. Tyson was among the early members of the Wistar Party, which included in its lists the foremost citizens of Philadelphia. At the suggestion of his colleagues he prepared, in 1843, a sketch of the Association, which was published for the use of its members. Originally the entertainment at these assemblies was extremely frugal, and confined by rule to such articles of diet as did not require the use of a knife. Subsequently, however, this regulation fell into disuse, and banquets of great elegance and remarkable for their profusion and refined display were substituted. Some of the finest of these were given at this house by Mr. Tyson, who dispensed there a liberal and cultivated hospitality.

With the exception of a comparatively short interval succeeding the death of his wife, Mr. Tyson owned and

resided in the house in question up to the year 1857. In 1852 he purchased a farm in Montgomery County, about seventeen miles from Philadelphia, formerly occupied by a branch of his family. The house on this farm, which he lived in during the summer, was of considerable antiquity, one portion, as attested by an inscription cut into a marble block built into the gable, having been erected as early as 1715. The place was known as Woodlawn Hall, and was regarded as one of the most picturesque and beautiful country-seats in the vicinity of Philadelphia. The austere effect of the gray and rugged walls of this ancient structure was softened and harmonized by a wide-spreading lawn of luxuriant verdure, and the close proximity of an imposing assemblage of "old contemporary trees." To this spot he loved to retire when wearied by the cares of business or the labors and vicissitudes of public life.

Though Mr. Tyson's early training was among Friends, or Quakers, and he was a frequent attendant at their meetings, he was in no sense narrow or bigoted, but entertained liberal and enlarged views on the subject of religion. His taste and inclination led him, however, to the services of the Episcopal Church, and in the latter years of his life he usually occupied a pew at St. Peter's, under the rectorship of the Rev. Dr. Odenheimer, afterwards Bishop of New Jersey. He was a frequent reader of the Bible, and its precepts were those which he consistently strove to follow. He delighted in acts of charity and benevolence, and was ever ready to extend the hand of relief to the destitute and meritorious.

It is impossible, within the limits prescribed to this memoir, to make other than a very brief review of Mr. Tyson's contributions to the historical and political literature of his country. In 1827, while a student of law, he prepared an essay on the Penal Code of Pennsylvania, a production of striking and unusual merit, which was

published by order of the Law Academy of Philadelphia, and extensively circulated.

On the 3d of February, 1830, he read before the Penn Society "An Examination of the various charges brought against William Penn, both as a Man and as a Political Governor," wherein he eloquently and successfully vindicated the character of the founder of Pennsylvania.

In the following month, March 26, 1830, he delivered an address, at the request of the board of managers of the Apprentices' Library Company of Philadelphia, in the hall of the Franklin Institute, and a copy for publication was furnished to the board, in response to a resolution eulogizing its ability.

October 24, 1831, he delivered the annual discourse before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, a most interesting and valuable contribution to the history of the Commonwealth, which was subsequently published by order of the Society.

In 1833 he contributed to the "American Quarterly Review" an able and exhaustive analysis of "Cox on Quakerism." During that year he delivered a discourse before the Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, an association in whose work he ever manifested the utmost sympathy. In the December number of the "American Quarterly Review" for 1835 appeared his "Review of Crawford's Report on the Penitentiary System."

In 1836 he delivered, before the Society for Commemorating the Landing of William Penn at Philadelphia, a discourse on the surviving remnant of the Indian Race in the United States. About the same time he published a memoir of Thomas C. James, M. D., an eminent physician of Philadelphia, one of the vice-presidents of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, a member of the Wistar Party and of the Philosophical Society, and his intimate personal friend.

In 1837 he contributed to the "American Quarterly

Review" an admirable paper entitled, "Review of Byron's Life of Goldsmith." October 22, 1839, he delivered before the Law Academy of Philadelphia a "Discourse on the Integrity of the Legal Character;" and in 1842 he published a pamphlet on the "Impropriety of Capital Punishment." Four years later, in 1846, he wrote, at the request of its members, the report of the majority of the Select Committee of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, relative to the abrogation of the sentence and penalty of death.

February 21, 1842, he delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania a "Discourse on the Colonial History of the Eastern and some of the Southern States," a work of great power and which received the warmest encomiums from such members of the Society as Peter S. Duponceau, Judges Thomas Sergeant of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania and Thomas M. Pellet of the District Court of Philadelphia, James I. Barelay, and William Duane.

In 1843 he read, at the centenary meeting of the American Philosophical Society, a paper on "The Social and Intellectual status of the Colony of Pennsylvania prior to 1743."

October 24, 1844, he delivered in Independence Hall a discourse on the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of William Penn, before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

In 1846 the necessity of a railroad to Pittsburg began to be agitated in Philadelphia. Mr. Tyson, deeply impressed with the immense importance of the work to that city as well as to the West, took up the task of enforcing its claims in the newspapers. Town-meetings were held at his suggestion, the legislature was memorialized, and after much difficulty a charter was obtained for a company, and adequate capital secured to commence the construction of the road. The city of Philadelphia, as its

terminus on the seaboard, was confidently looked to for a liberal subscription to its stock. Several of her enterprising citizens, its early and enthusiastic advocates, were the first to subscribe. But the work languished, and without aid from the city its completion was remote if not impossible.

Mr. Tyson's views on this subject were given at length in an address to the public as chairman of a committee of seven, appointed in town-meeting by his fellow-citizens. As an avowed and ardent champion of the road, he was elected, by a large majority, to a seat in the Select Coun-Here he advocated with equal zeal and ability a subscription to the stock by the city of Philadelphia. Scarcely sustained at the outset, and even opposed in elaborate speeches by some of the more prominent and influential members of that body, he labored earnestly in its support. Gradually but steadily the measure gained warm adherents, and was eventually carried by the force of his convincing and powerful arguments. The signal triumph thus achieved, mainly through his unaided efforts, secured the completion of the Pennsylvania Railroad, which opened to Philadelphia the trade of the great West, and, contributing so largely to her prosperity, has, with the other avenues of trade of which that was the great pioneer, conferred upon her the distinction of a rich and flourishing metropolis. Mr. Tyson was subsequently appointed solicitor of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, a position of the highest trust and responsibility, which he retained for a number of years.

January 1, 1849, he delivered at Philadelphia a discourse on the first anniversary of the Girard College for Orphans, at the request of the board of directors. In the early part of the following summer he delivered before the Belles Lettres Society of Dickinson College, at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, a discourse on "History as a Branch of the National Literature." Of this profound and eloquent pro-

duction, published by order of the Society, the Hon. Edward Everett, under date of December 24, 1849, wrote: "I am greatly indebted to you for a copy of your discourse. I have read it with great interest and pleasure, and general concurrence in the views so ably maintained by you." And William H. Prescott, LL. D., under date of December 26, 1849: "I should sooner have thanked you for your excellent discourse on our historical literature. I am particularly indebted to you for your friendly criticism on my writings, more favorable, I fear, than they deserve. I admire the independence with which you have entered your protest against some of Macaulay's conclusions, and have no doubt you must have had the sympathy of your audience." Shortly after the delivery of this address, on the first of July, 1851, the board of trustees of Dickinson College conferred upon Mr. Tyson the degree of Doctor of Laws.

But probably the work which has left, in his own city, the most enduring monument to his memory, is the series of letters which he addressed, during the year 1851, to the late William Peter, Esq., British Consul at Philadelphia, on the Resources and Commerce of that city. These letters were characterized by an ardent devotion to the interests of Philadelphia, and an absolute faith in her capacity to become the metropolis of the Union, with a proper exercise of her vast powers. Originally published in the newspapers, they attracted so much attention — as well from the remarkable statistical facts which they contained as from the force and elegance of their composition - that they were collected, in pursuance of a resolution of the Board of Trade, and published under its auspices in book form, for wider dissemination and more ready reference.

In 1853 Mr. Tyson delivered at the Musical Fund Hall in Philadelphia an extremely able historical address, entitled "A comparison of the character and times of Queen

Elizabeth and Oliver Cromwell." In the following year he delivered, in the hall of the House of Representatives at Harrisburg, the opening address before the Pennsylvania Female College. In 1856 he read before the Montgomery County Agricultural Society an address illustrative of the character and career of Job Roberts, Esq., after whom he was named, one of the pioneer farmers of the region, and himself the author of an admirable treatise on agriculture.

The greater part, if not all, of the foregoing papers and addresses were published in pamphlet or book form, by the societies or organizations before which they were delivered, or at whose request they had been prepared. Of most of these Mr. Tyson was a member. He was one of the vice-presidents of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, one of the vice-provosts of the Law Academy of Philadelphia, an honorary member of the Belles Lettres Society of Dickinson College, a member of the American Philosophical Society, of the Law Association, of the Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, to which he was admitted as a corresponding member March 25, 1855; and of other learned and scientific institutions.

In October, 1854, Mr. Tyson was elected as a representative from the city of Philadelphia to the Thirty-fourth Congress, and took his seat as a member of that body on the first Monday in December of the following year. The interval he employed in a tour of Europe, passing the greater part of his time in England, where he enjoyed the intimate personal acquaintance of John Bright, Lord Palmerston, and Sir John T. Coleridge. Throughout his term of service in Congress, Mr. Tyson occupied a conspicuous and honored position, not less from the ability by which his several reports and speeches were characterized, than by reason of the refinement of his manners, the warmth and geniality of his disposition, and the stainless

purity of his life. Elected as a Whig, his course was in conformity with the political principles of that organization, so far as a support of these did not exact a sacrifice to the spirit of mere partisanship. But his term of two sessions satisfied him that party discipline was too rigorous and intolerant for his high standard of duty and patriotism, and although urgently solicited to continue in the field, he declined to mingle further in the disturbing elements of political life. If all the votes that he gave upon public questions, during his sojourn at Washington, failed to meet the requirements of party sentiment, it is certain that they were given with the deliberate sanction of his best judgment, his moral approval, and his duty to his country.

His ambition was not to figure as a disputant, but to await the demands of duty, when questions of great national magnitude had arisen, or where issues affecting his immediate constituency required his attention. member of the Library Committee, he prepared in 1856, at the request of his colleagues, an elaborate report on the Arctic Explorations of Dr. Elisha Kent Kane, accompanied by a resolution providing for the publication of Dr. Kane's book by Congress, and which was subsequently adopted by the House. Referring to this report Dr. Kane, in a letter to Mr. Tyson, under date of April 19, 1856, wrote: "As a tribute to our expedition, it will be even more valued by me than the adoption of the resolution which it recommends, and I hasten to assure you that I shall always look upon its author with warm feelings of personal regard."

During the fierce political excitement occasioned by the assault on Senator Sumner, which took place during the first session of the Thirty-fourth Congress, Mr. Tyson addressed the House, July 12, 1856, in favor of the resolution for the expulsion of Representative Brooks; but in a speech so fair, temperate, and judicial in its tone, yet so earnest and sincere in its denunciation of the assailant, that it received the cordial encomiums of members of both parties.

His reports upon the Delaware Breakwater, and suggestions for the improvement of the navigation of that river, showed the same clear comprehension of the commercial interests of his State and city, that characterized his letters on the resources and commerce of Philadelphia. They were as dignified and forcible in their composition as they were practical in their suggestions and prophetic in their forecast.

The most important event of his Congressional career was his speech on "The Fugitive Slave Law and Compromise Measures of 1850." This scholarly and eloquent production was delivered February 23, 1857, near the close of the second session, and but a few days prior to the inauguration of President Buchanan. Unlike the majority of those who spoke upon that then all-absorbing topic, Mr. Tyson scrupulously avoided any treatment of his subject calculated to arouse the animosities of those of opposite opinions, but rather addressed himself to the reason and conscience of every law-abiding citizen, irrespective of political faith. This speech, at once vigorous, dispassionate, and statesmanlike, was described by a well-known historian, Emma Willard, as one that "worthily recalled the days when Clay and Webster were the ruling spirits in Congressional debate." In a letter to Mr. Tyson, dated April 17, 1857, the Hon. Thomas L. Clingman, afterwards United States Senator from North Carolina, writing of this speech, says: "It has been so extensively circulated, and is so universally praised, that any commendation from me would be like 'carrying coals to Newcastle.' I do not see how you could have made a better speech for the subject or for the country." And the Hon. Benjamin Rush, a distinguished citizen of Philadelphia, addressed him in these words: "I felt a pride, give me leave to say, that the statesmanlike views and patriotic counsels of your speech were proclaimed to the representatives of the nation by a Representative from Pennsylvania, and, better still, from the city of Independence — shall I add, by one, the weight of whose personal character and whose political and social ties could not fail to enhance the value of his sentiments."

Such was the respect for his abilities and esteem for his character which was entertained for Mr. Tyson by the citizens of Washington, that, in the latter part of 1857, he was invited to deliver the introductory address before the Art Association of that city on the occasion of the opening of its second annual exhibition. In communicating to him a resolution of the Association tendering him the thanks of the board of management for his compliance with its invitation, and requesting a copy for publication, the corresponding secretary wrote: "The dissemination of just and liberal views in reference to the all-important subject of art in the United States is a chief object of our Association; and when such views are enforced with the ability so conspicuous in your address, we feel a more than ordinary desire that the profit and gratification which we derived from listening to it, may be shared by those who were not so fortunate as to be present at its delivery."

This address, which was delivered in January, 1858, was the fitting close of Mr. Tyson's public labors. With unwearied energies he continued, however, the pursuit of knowledge, and wrote and studied with unremitting assiduity. It was his hope, at this time, to withdraw for a protracted sojourn to his country residence, and there hold continuous converse with his household gods. He was engaged at this time in investigations for the further elucidation of his views upon the subject of promoting and extending the commerce of Philadelphia, and also in the consideration of a work of more than ordinary mag-

nitude, the materials for which he had been carefully gathering for years. This latter was a proposed history of Pennsylvania from her earliest settlement, and it is a subject of profound regret to the scholar and historian that it should have been left incomplete. The further progress of his earthly labors was suddenly arrested by the conquering hand of death. He was prostrated in his rural retirement at Woodlawn Hall by an attack of dysentery, superinduced by a long period of unceasing toil and anxiety. The disease rapidly passed beyond the power of human skill to subdue, and in a few days terminated his life. He died on the 27th of June, 1858. at the age of fifty-five. The writer is indebted for many of the facts, and a considerable portion of the text of this memoir, to an unpublished sketch of Mr. Tyson's life, from the pen of the latter's brother, Dr. James Lawrence Tyson of Penllyn, Pennsylvania. A meeting of the Bar of Philadelphia was held, on the announcement of his decease, at which the warmest tributes of respect and affection were addressed to his memory. His remains lie beneath a simple tablet of white marble, in the cemetery at South Laurel Hill.

[&]quot;No farther seek his merits to disclose."

ELAM SMALLEY

THE REV. ELAM SMALLEY, D. D., a Corresponding Member, admitted March 8, 1858, was the son of Ezra and Mary Smalley, and was born in the town of Dartmouth, Massachusetts, October 27, 1805. The name Smalley was made honorable, among the New England divines of the last century, in the person of the Rev. John Smalley, D. D., widely known for his abilities as a preacher and theological teacher. He was a native of Lebanon, Connecticut, and was settled in Berlin, Connecticut, in that part of the ancient town now known as New Britain. Here he remained in the pastoral office from April 19, 1758, to his death, June 1, 1820, at the age of nearly eighty-six. One naturally looks to find a family connection between the subject of this sketch and this celebrated divine of the earlier generations. We are not able certainly to trace any such relationship. The genealogical tables are want-There are grounds, however, for believing that they both drew their origin from John Smalley, who, according to Savage, came over in the ship "Frances & James" in 1632, in company with Edward Winslow, who was then returning from England. John Smalley the emigrant took up his abode first at Plymouth, but in the year 1644, with six others, left Plymouth to begin the settlement of the town of Eastham on the Cape. The name Smalley is comparatively rare in our New England lists of names, and is especially infrequent upon our college catalogues. John Smalley, D. D., of New Britain, Connecticut, was graduated at Yale College in 1756. He was the earliest New England collegiate student of this family name, and after him no other one appeared until Elam Smalley came forth from Brown University in 1827. Since that time several more of the name, including a son of the last, have studied at different New England colleges, sometimes in the academical and sometimes in the professional departments. It is said, that the name once written Smalley is now, to a large extent, Small. This may help to explain its comparative rarity in the earlier form.

Dartmouth, the native place of Mr. Smalley, was anciently a large town territorially, embracing the present towns of Westport and Fairhaven, and the city of New Bedford. Its business relations were chiefly with the sea. Young Smalley grew up among a sea-going people, whose talk was of ships and whaling voyages. The ocean has a strange and powerful fascination for the young men that grow up along its borders. Almost all of them are lured away sooner or later to seek their fortunes on its rough pathways. Whatever attractions the sea may have presented to the boy of whom we write, the love of books, which early manifested itself in him, seems to have acted as a counterpoise, and led him strongly to desire a collegiate education. His circumstances in life were humble, but in this respect his case did not differ from that of thousands of New England boys, both of the earlier and the later generations, who, from homes of comparative poverty, have found their way into the activities and successes of professional life. His aptness as a scholar appears in the fact that while he was not born in a literary family, and had no special facilities for early culture, he was ready for college before he had reached his seventeenth birthday. He entered Brown University in the summer of 1822. It was five years from his entrance before he was

graduated, as he was obliged to be absent a year, earning money as a teacher, to enable him to go on with his studies. During the period of his connection with the college, in the classes that came directly under his notice, he made the acquaintance of not a few young men who afterwards became distinguished. Among these may be named Ezra Wilkinson, an able jurist, and one of the prominent judges of the Superior Court in Massachusetts, who passed away February 6, 1882; the Rev. Barnas Sears, D. D., LL. D., secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, president of Brown University, and especially known in his later years as secretary of the Peabody Board of Education; the Rev. George Burgess, D. D., bishop of Maine, and the Rev. Edwards A. Park, D. D., so widely known as professor of theology in Andover Theological Seminary.

Immediately after graduation, in 1827, Mr. Smalley placed himself under the eare of the Rev. Otis Thompson of Rehoboth, Massachusetts, for the study of theology. This was in accordance with a custom which had prevailed in New England through the last half of the last century, and the early years of the present. While Mr. Smalley was pursuing his theological studies in the quiet town of Rehoboth, the majority of our theological students at that time sought the theological seminaries which were then comparatively new, but in full activity. Not a few young men, however, preferred the old way of studying divinity, in the family of some able and judicious pastor. Mr. Thompson, it seems, had fitted young Smalley for college years before. The teacher and the pupil were therefore well acquainted with each other. Mr. Thompson died in 1859. From the brief obituary notice of him published in the Congregational Quarterly for October, 1859, we have the following comprehensive paragraph as to his qualities as a man and a teacher: -

During his ministry he superintended the theological studies of fifteen candidates for the sacred office. Those who enjoyed his aid as a theological instructor had occasion gratefully to bear testimony to his suavity and kindness of manner, his well systematized method, his discriminating elucidation of doctrine, the wisdom of his counsels, and his reverence for the Word of God as the only infallible standard of religious truth.

After pursuing his theological studies one year, Mr. Smalley was licensed as a preacher by the Mendon Association, October 28, 1828. In the following year h accepted a call from the church in Franklin, to become a colleague with the celebrated Dr. Nathanael Emmons, then in his old age. Dr. Emmons had already been the minister of this parish for fifty-six years, at the time of the calling of a colleague. Mr. Smalley was ordained and placed in the pastoral charge at Franklin, June 17, 1829. Shakespeare asks, "What's in a name?" One cannot but think that Mr. Smalley's name had something to do with his call to Franklin. Dr. Emmons's theological instructor had been Dr. John Smalley, and he looked back to him with gratitude and reverence. The Rev. C. L. Goodell, D. D., of St. Louis, in an article upon Dr. Smalley in the Congregational Quarterly, July, 1873 says: "Dr. Bellamy studied with Jonathan Edwards; Dr. Smalley studied with Dr. Bellamy; Dr. Emmons studied with Dr. Smalley. What an illustrious line! The ministerial lives of the three last were respectively fifty, sixty-two, and seventy-one years after licensure. Their combined ages were two hundred and fifty-three years. They preached the gospel one hundred and sixty-five years. They were active pastors, without colleagues, one hundred and fiftyfive years. They trained two hundred students at least for the ministry." Dr. Emmons himself, in his day, instructed in theology a much larger number of men than Dr. Smalley. Indeed, in this respect, he surpassed any other private instructor in New England, having superintended the theological education of about one hundred students. But looking back from his old age to the days of his youth, and

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remembering his teacher in theology with great respect and pleasure, when Elam Smalley—the second of this family name in New England who gave himself to the ministry—was ready for his work, it was not unnatural that Dr. Emmons should have been pleased in having him for a companion and fellow-laborer. Not that considerations of this kind would have had much weight if there had been any substantial reasons to the contrary. But Mr. Smalley was a man of fine scholarship. He had acquitted himself well in his college course, graduating with honor, and was entering upon his public work with high promise of success. Under all these conditions, we have no doubt that the aged divine liked his young colleague all the better for his name.

He remained in this connection until July 5, 1838. From an article in The Congregationalist, written at the time of Dr. Smalley's death, we copy the following brief passage relating to his ministry in this town: "His pastorate in Franklin continued for a period of nine years, when he was dismissed at his own request, greatly to the regret of his people. There was a general outburst of grief when he read his resignation from the pulpit, as the writer, who was present, well remembers."

His venerable colleague lived on through the whole of this ministry in Franklin and two years beyond, dying in 1840, at the great age of ninety-five.

One element of Dr. Smalley's success and popularity in the ministry was his love of music. He was able to lead his people easily in the service of song. A minister may have this musical taste in excess. The passion may be so strong as to divert him from the more serious studies and labors of his profession; but good musical powers, properly regulated and balanced, are very serviceable in the work of the ministry. Dr. Smalley was a good singer and a player upon instruments.

He left Franklin to accept a call to the Union Church

in Worcester, and was installed September 19, 1838. This church had been recently organized, February 3, 1836. Its first pastor, the Rev. Jonathan E. Woodbridge, was settled November 24, 1836. Owing to some differences of opinion between him and his people, on the question of admitting antislavery lecturers to the pulpit, his pastorate was short. He was dismissed February 14, 1838.

At the time of Dr. Smalley's death, in 1858, Joseph Palmer, M. D., was historiographer of this society, and from the record prepared by him, and read before the society, we take the following somewhat extended extract, illustrating his ministry at Worcester, as also his subsequent ministry at Troy, New York.

The period of his residence in Worcester he always regarded as one of the bright spots in his life, and the friendships he there formed remained firm and unbroken until his death. During his ministry in that place he prepared a volume entitled "The Worcester Pulpit, with Notices Historical and Biographical," which was published in Boston in 1851. The dedication of this work was in these words: "To the members of the Churches and of the Religious Societies in Worcester, this volume, intended to preserve the memory of their religious teachers, is respectfully inscribed by the author."

The fairness, honesty, and correctness that characterize the work gained for its author the approbation of all denominations of Christians in Worcester, and raised him at once to that broad platform of Christianity constructed on the principle of Scriptural charity. In the account of the Union Church in this volume it became necessary to refer to himself, but with his characteristic modesty he merely remarked concerning his ministry in Franklin and Worcester, that "respecting both these connections he could in truth say many pleasant things, but he rather inclined to the opinion that here, as in many other instances, silence is wisdom."

In the spring of 1854 he received a call from the Second Presbyterian Church in Troy; and after due consideration, and with the advice of his friends, he accepted the invitation, was installed on the 21st of June of the same year, and he remained pastor of the church until the connection was severed by his death. With a full appreciation of the responsibility of his position as a Christian pastor, he immediately sought the acquaintance of all his congregation, and within three weeks after his settlement he had visited every house within the limits of his parish. This early acknowledgment of his duties immediately endeared him to his parishioners. Nor was his faithfulness confined to his labors as pastor alone. He brought to the pulpit the fruits of his experience among men, of the study of the writings of the great and good of ancient and modern times. By consequence his sermons were the counterpart of his life.

About two years ago his health began to fail; he had some disease of the stomach, probably a cancer. It had been of somewhat long standing. On the 13th of June, 1857, he sailed for Europe in company with one of his parishioners, in the hope of improving his health. But a severe and almost constant seasickness during the voyage, outward and back, irritated the stomach and aggravated the disease. Yet his buoyant spirits did not desert him, and soon after his return, which was on the 15th of October following, he for several evenings entertained and instructed his congregation with a familiar account of his journeyings in the Old World. But his system had already begun to exhibit tokens of internal affection of an alarming nature. His regular preaching was, after a while, exchanged for an occasional sermon, and then ceased entirely. He found no relief in a change of air and treatment, and on Friday, July 30, 1858, his spirit gently departed, and his life on earth was exchanged for a higher existence. As a Christian he was earnest, devout, and sincere, and although very decided in his own peculiar religious views, he had none of that bigotry which would exclude from his Christian love and fellowship those who, differing from him in opinion, yet gave evidence that "they loved the Lord." In 1849 the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by Brown University.

We have received the following letter from Professor Edwards A. Park, D. D., of Andover, who was a classmate of Dr. Smalley during the earlier part of his collegiate course. In consequence of his pecuniary necessities, as has been already said, Dr. Smalley was compelled to leave college for one year and teach a high school. In the above extract from Dr. Palmer mention has already been made of Dr. Smalley's volume upon the Worcester Pulpit, but as the reference to this work, in the letter of Dr. Park which follows, presents it in other aspects than those already given, each will serve as a complement to the other.

I first became acquainted with the Rev. Elam Smalley in the year 1822. He then entered the Freshman Class of Brown University. He was very bashful. He trembled whenever he recited a lesson or read a composition before the class. He treated his classmates as if they were far superior to him. Before he left college, however, he was in some degree relieved of his bashfulness.

He was an excellent scholar from the start. He excelled particularly in mathematics, logic, and mental philosophy. His voice was very rich, and he had a very considerable skill in music; yet as a public speaker he did not excel. At that time his diffidence interfered with his freedom of clocution.

With all his early bashfulness he was decided in maintaining his rights. He had been prepared for college by the Rev. Otis Thompson of Rehoboth, Massachusetts. Mr. Thompson was a very acute thinker and logical reasoner. He was a thorough law student, and was often engaged in litigation, — almost uniformly successful. The pupil imitated the teacher in many respects. He was once libelled in a Providence newspaper. The libel was not a serious one, yet Mr. Smalley prosecuted the editor and compelled him to retract the false charge as publicly as it was made. His readiness to prosecute the libeller developed a degree of self-respect which he had not been supposed to possess.

When Mr. Smalley was ordained as a pastor in Franklin, Massachusetts, it was expected that he would become, like his predecessor, Dr. Emmons, eminent in the metaphysics of theology. He had been highly esteemed by President Messer and President Wayland of Brown University, also by the Congregational clergymen who knew him. At his ordination the ordaining prayer was offered by the Rev. Mr. Howe of Hopkinton,

Massachusetts, a man of original genius but eccentric ways. In this prayer Mr. Howe expressed the wish that "the new minister may live as long as his predecessor, may write as many books, be as faithful a pastor, and be as successful in keeping the parish free from all Universalists, Unitarians, Swedenborgians, Methodists, and Baptists."

The course of Mr. Smalley at Franklin was not exactly such as had been anticipated. He devoted himself to literature more than to philosophy. He studied the Hebrew language with great zeal. He became more and more oratorical in his style of writing and of speaking. He retained, however, the cordial regard of his parishioners, and the high esteem of Dr. Emmons. Emmons had studied theology with Dr. John Smalley of Connecticut, and was accustomed to say: "I like the name and the nature of my successor at Franklin."

The increasing popularity of Mr. Smalley attracted the attention of city churches. Some of them invited him to preach as a candidate for settlement over them. He finally accepted a call to become pastor of the Union Congregational Church in Worcester, Massachusetts. After his removal to Worcester I had but little personal intercourse with him. I know, however, that Dr. Emmons of Franklin, Dr. Ide of Medway, and all the members of the Mendon Association, continued to hold him in high esteem. His early friends were much gratified with two articles which he published in the Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. VII. pp. 254–280, 479–501, on "The Theology of Dr. Emmons." They were the result of careful study. One year after the preparation of these essays he published, in 1851, a volume under the title of "The Worcester Pulpit: With Notes Historical and Biographical." It contained five hundred and sixty-one duodecimo pages. It made some valuable suggestions in regard to the "Half Way Covenant," and gave important as well as interesting sketches of Dr. Samuel Austin, Dr. Aaron Baucroft, and other prominent men. As an author he was distinguished by accuracy and conscientious fidelity. In early life he was indigent and industrious; when he ceased to be oppressed by poverty he retained the virtues of his youth.

Besides the publications already referred to, we may mention a sermon published in Franklin in 1835 on "The Piety which the Present Age Demands;" "A Centennial

Discourse;" Franklin, 1838; a volume upon the Sacrament, 1841; and a "Funeral Sermon upon the Hon. A. D. Foster," Worcester, 1852.

About the time of his entrance upon the work of the ministry he was united in marriage with Miss Louisa J. Washburn, daughter of General Abiel and Mrs. Elizabeth Washburn of Middleboro', Massachusetts. From this marriage there were two children, a son and a daughter, both of whom are living. The son, George Washburn Smalley, was graduated at Yale College in the class of 1853, and is now the distinguished Loudon correspondent of the New York Tribune. The daughter, Miss Louisa J. Smalley, bearing the same initials as her mother, was for some years teacher of music in the Wheaton Female Seminary at Norton, and is now resident in the city of Boston. Mrs. Smalley, the wife and mother, died at Middleboro, June 7, 1875, and was buried by the side of her husband in Troy, New York.

The writer well remembers Dr. Smalley as he appeared during the years of his settlement at Worcester. Of medium height, of graceful and erect form, of gentle manners, his presence was attractive and winning. His church, though young, was a growing and important one. Congregational ministers of Worcester, who were his associates during his settlement in that city, were the Rev. Rodney A. Miller and the Rev. George P. Smith of the First Church, the Rev. Seth Sweetser, D. D., of the Central Church, the Rev. George Bushnell of the Salem Street Church, and the Rev. George Allen, chaplain at The last named, who died March 31, 1883, the asylum. aged ninety-one, had, at his death, been nearly seventy years out of college, having been graduated at Yale in the Class of 1813. The Rev. George Bushnell, now Congregational pastor at Beloit, Wisconsin, is the only survivor of the gentlemen above mentioned.

ELEAZER WILLIAMS

In the month of February, 1853, there appeared in the pages of "Putnam's Magazine" an article which, from the peculiarity of its title and the elegance of its style, at once attracted the attention of the reading public, both young and old. It is stated that the subscription list of the periodical was increased twenty thousand copies on the appearance of this contribution.

The article was entitled, "Have we a Bourbon among us?" The author was the Rev. John H. Hanson, D. D. an Episcopal clergyman, who, in a closely connected and most ingenious argument, in which proved fact appeared to follow proved fact right onward to the conclusion, endeavored to convince the public that Eleazer Williams, the subject of this memoir, known as an Indian missionary, then residing in the State of New York, was none other than Louis XVII., the son of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, who was born at the Château of Versailles, March 27, 1785, and was supposed to have died in the Temple.

The author of the article in "Putnam's Magazine" had his curiosity awakened by seeing a published statement to this effect, and accordingly sought an interview with Williams, who informed him that, though he was personally ignorant of his origin, there were those, both in Europe and this country, who were acquainted with it. "I am convinced," he added, "of my royal descent." Mr. Hanson, having been satisfied as to the probity and

ecclesiastical standing of Mr. Williams, committed to paper all that Mr. Williams related to him, opened a correspondence with him, and visited him at his home among the Indians at St. Regis. In a subsequent interview Mr. Williams gave a detailed account of his early life, in which he stated that his mind was a blank until he was thirteen or fourteen years of age. Climbing one day to the summit of a high rock on the shore of Lake George, he plunged head foremost into the water, after which his mind recovered its tone and soundness. Mr. Williams then gave to Dr. Hanson a detailed account of a most extraordinary interview which he claimed to have had in 1841 with the Prince de Joinville, the substance of which was that, being fellow-travellers on a steamboat, the Prince sent for Williams, started with surprise when he saw him, paid him marked attention, to the astonishment of his suite, the passengers, and Williams himself; that he subsequently desired a private interview, which he opened by informing Mr. Williams that he had a communication to make of a very serious nature concerning himself, and, after exacting a pledge of secrecy, said: "You have been accustomed, sir, to consider yourself a native of this country, but you are not; you are of foreign descent. You were born in Europe, sir; and however incredible it may at first seem to you, I have to tell you that you are the son of a king." The Prince then placed before Mr. Williams a document, very handsomely written in parallel columns of French and English, which was a solemn abdication of the crown of France in favor of Louis Philippe, by Louis Charles, the son of Louis XVI., who was styled "Louis XVII., King of France and Navarre." consideration of this abdication Mr. Williams was to receive a princely establishment either in this country or in France, at his option. Mr. Williams, after considering the matter for several hours, refused this offer, with the answer which De Provence gave to Napoleon at Warsaw: "Though I

am in poverty and exile, I will not sacrifice my honor." Upon being asked by Dr. Hanson if he had any contemporary record of this conversation with the Prince de Joinville, Mr. Williams subsequently produced a journal or diary of the events of his life, in which this interview was embodied, and which Dr. Hanson says bears every mark of having been written at the time. On the other hand, when the article in "Putnam's Magazine," containing an account of this interview, was received by the Prince de Joinville, his Secretary wrote that "all which treats of the revelation which the Prince made to Mr. Williams of the mystery of his birth, all which concerns the pretended personage of Louis XVII., is from one end to the other a work of the imagination, a fable woven wholesale, a speculation upon the public credulity." The literary executor of Mr. Williams, the Rev. Charles F. Robertson, D. D., now Bishop of Missouri, in the July "Putnam" of 1868, asserts that this journal consists of sheets stitched loosely together, and that it would be entirely possible to interpolate new matter into it, or indeed to write it wholly over. In fact, two journals covering the same period, but differing in several remarkable particulars, were found among the effects of Mr. Williams; and the sentiments put into the mouth of the Prince at this interview are found in almost identical words among Mr. Williams's papers, at a date long anterior to his meeting the Prince.

Dr. Hanson laid great stress upon the resemblance between Eleazer Williams and the Bourbons. Two eminent portrait painters, the Chevalier Fagnani and Mr. M. B. H. Muller, both testified to the Bourbonic outline of his countenance. An article in the "Boston Daily Advertiser," February 17, 1853, written by the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D. D., son of the editor of that paper, says: "The writer of these lines, having heard some years since that likeness spoken of, recognized Mr. Williams long after, when he saw him for the first time,

simply from the Bourbon cast of his complexion and features, and without introduction saluted him by name. We venture the assertion that Mr. Williams would not appear in any room filled with persons acquainted with the portraits of the Bourbon family, without that resemblance being at once generally recognized."

The Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop, D.D., writes, under date of September 5, 1882: "As to the resemblance of the late Eleazer Williams to the Bourbons, cela va sans dire, as the French would say. It was recognized by some long before he claimed to be the Dauphin, and after that, was all but universally admitted. Indeed it was that resemblance, probably, that was the cause of his whole monomania upon the subject. His mother, - who was living at Caughnawaga, near Montreal, in 1852, and to whom I got a friend in Central New York to write for information just after the article in Putnam's appeared — while insisting that he was her son, said that several years before some French officers, who were travelling in this country, saw him at her house, and told him he must be a Bourbon, his resemblance to the family was so strong, that he was about the age the Dauphin would have been had he lived, and this she thought was what turned his head with the idea that he was the Dauphin himself."

The writer of this memoir had a conversation in the summer of 1868 with the Hon. Charles Sumner, who was very much interested in the subject, and the following memorandum of Mr. Sumner's remarks was noted down at the time: "Mr. Williams called on me at Washington when in the Senate chamber. On receiving his card I was disposed to treat the matter as a joke; but when I reached the lobby I was taken completely aback by the appearance of the gentleman before me. The moment my eyes rested on him all disposition that I had to laugh or to treat the matter with levity vanished. I found myself standing in the presence

of one possessed of natural dignity. His aspect was princely, and he struck me as a natural leader of men, one born to command, and whom instinctively I was bound to treat with courtesy and politeness. He resembled the Bourbons, many of whom I have seen. I was disposed to give faith to his pretensions, the only difficulty being the conversation with the Prince de Joinville at Mackinaw, which I thought proved too much. I had a letter sent to me in the handwriting of the Prince, addressed to the Hon. John Jay of New York, denying the purport of the conversation with Williams." Mr. Sumner also stated that he was aware his brother George had been cited as authority, as having been the recipient of a confession of one of the officers who accompanied the Prince to America, — that the Prince went out of his way to see an old man among the Indians, who had very much of a Bourbon aspect, and who was spoken of as the son of Louis XVI. Mr. Sumner said his brother had never mentioned the matter to him. Mr. Williams visited Mr. Sumner several times, and related to him the mysterious placing of the two volumes of the work of the Legitimist Beauchesne in his room during the night, while he was asleep. This work was the elaborate result of years of research among the archives of France, and was the sworn testimony of four distinct groups of witnesses as to the death of the Dauphin on the ninth of June, 1795. In the introduction the author says: "I have gone to the source of all facts already known, I have put myself in relation with all the living persons whom chance or special duty admitted into the Temple during the Revolution, I have gathered a great deal of information, and have corrected many errors. I have intimately known Lasne and Gomin, the two last keepers of the Tower, and in whose arms Louis XVII. expired." It is needless to add that the motives which induced M. de Beauchesne to spend twenty-five years of his life in proving that the Dauphin

was really dead, always remained in the mind of Dr. Hanson, as a grand mystery.

The Rev. Francis Vinton, S.T.D., in the September, 1868, number of "Putnam's Magazine," mentions the surprise of the Duke of Würtemberg on seeing Mr. Williams, and his exclamation: "It is so. This is a Bourbon, no doubt!" Mr. George William Curtis says: "His face was very full, and was certainly very like the face of the Bourbon kings upon the louis d'ors of France. If he were not the Seventeenth Louis, there was no apparent reason why he should not be." Many letters were received by Dr. Hanson, from physicians of high standing, stating that there existed no trace of the aboriginal or Indian in Mr. Williams; and the impression of all whom Dr. Hanson saw on his visit to St. Regis was that Mr. Williams was not an Indian, although his half-brothers were strongly marked Indians. Yet it is asserted that a microscopic examination of his hair proved that he was an Indian.

In the year 1854 Dr. Hanson grouped together the circumstances which tended to prove that in the person of a venerable elergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church there was still living the representative of the ancient glories of the French monarchy. It was issued in a volume of four hundred and seventy-nine pages, entitled "The Lost Prince: Facts tending to prove the identity of Louis XVII. of France, and the Rev. Eleazer Williams, Missionary among the Indians of North America." The negative of this proposition, writes Dr. Hanson, can be shown in either of three ways: 1. By proving that the son of Louis XVI. in question died at the time and place mentioned; 2. by proving that the Rev. Eleazer Williams is an Indian; 3. by establishing as a fact that, although the Dauphin may not have died as reported, and Eleazer Williams is not an Indian as reported, there is nothing to prove a pe sonal identity between them, or that the evidence add-

for this purpose is not reliable. The affirmative, on the contrary, requires Dr. Hanson to show that there is no reliance to be placed on the accounts given of the death of the royal child, that Eleazer Williams is not an Indian, and that the circumstantial identifying testimony is multisarious, strong, reliable, and to the point. To the affirmative Dr. Hanson devotes his energies. He reviews in a brilliant and interesting manner the events which led to the subversion of the French monarchy, the imprisonment of the royal family, the death of its members, and the mysterious disappearance of the child, who he claims was removed from the Temple and brought to America, where he appears in 1795, and is the object of peculiar attention from mysterious French visitors. He is supposed to have been adopted by an Indian named Thomas Williams.

The connection of Eleazer Williams with the ancient Williams family of Roxbury, if descended from it, was as follows. On the twenty-eighth of February, 1704, an attack was made by a large body of Indians, assisted by two hundred Frenchmen under the command of Le Sieur Hertel de Rouville, upon the town of Deerfield. The pastor of the town was the Rev. John Williams. His house was burned by the savages, two of his children murdered in cold blood, himself, his wife, and his remaining children carried toward Canada. While pursuing their journey, his wife, having fallen while crossing a rapid stream, was immediately tomahawked by her captor. This story has been touchingly told by the sufferer himself in a volume entitled "The Redeemed Captive," first published in 1707. Several editions of this work have been printed,the last in 1853, edited by Stephen West Williams, M.D., of whom an account appeared in the second volume of these Memorial Biographies. The survivors all returned Deerfield save one, a daughter Eunice, six years of age captured, who remained, embracing the Catholic faith,

and ever after clung to her blanket and her beads, in spite of all attempts to persuade her to relinquish her savage life. Her daughter married Ezekiel Williams, an English physician, and they had a son Thomas, who married an Indian woman, Mary Ann Konwatewenteta, on January 7, 1779. In the year 1800 they had eight children, but the name of Eleazer, the subject of this memoir, though claimed by some as their son, does not appear on the baptismal register with the others at Sault St. Louis.

One would naturally suppose that the mother of Eleazer Williams ought to have known whether he was her own child or an adopted one, but she was an Indian woman and neither spoke nor understood English; the information she possessed could therefore only be obtained through an interpreter. This was done, but under such extraneous pressure that she declared at one time that Eleazer was her own son, at another that he was an adopted son.

Eleazer was sent to school at Longmeadow about 1800, where he remained nine years. He was then placed under the charge of the Rev. Enoch Hale of Westhampton, Massachusetts, where he pursued his studies about three On the breaking out of the War of 1812 he entered the government service, and was appointed Superintendent General of the Northern Indian Department. At the battle of Plattsburg, September 14, 1814, he was wounded. He soon afterward officiated as lay reader among the Oneida Indians. About 1820 this tribe sold their lands in the State of New York and removed to the neighborhood of Green Bay, Wisconsin. In 1846, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America appropriated a sum of money for the support of Mr. Williams, which at the end of two years was withheld, the reports not indicating any great amount of success. In 1850 Mr. Williams left Wisconsin and established himself at St. Regis, and the most respectable citizens of Hogansburg recommended Mr. Williams.

Another appropriation was made and continued until 1853, when letters were received withdrawing the former recommendation on the ground of his frequent and long absences from his post of duty.

In all Dr. Hanson's writings he depends much and wisely upon the character of Williams, for on the statements made by him the truth of this matter stands or falls. Dr. Hanson represents him, and firmly believed him to be, a modest, devoted, self-sacrificing Christian missionary, whose integrity was above reproach. We have shown that his work as a missionary was not considered a success by the society assisting him. The Hon. John Y. Smith, the author of an article in the sixth volume of the Publications of the Wisconsin Historical Society, writes: "I doubt whether there was a man at Green Bay whose word commanded less confidence than that of Eleazer Williams. His character for dishonesty, trickery, and falsehood became so notorious and scandalous that respectable Episcopalians preferred charges against him to Bishop Onderdonk." This is strong language. Mr. Franklin B. Hough says, in his introduction to the Life of Tehoragwanegen, alias Thomas Williams, in speaking of his reputed son Eleazer: "It cannot be denied that many persons who have formed and expressed opinions, upon personal acquaintance with the subject of these remarks, in the locality where he resided, had at some period of their lives sustained the relation of creditors. How far this circumstance might bias opinion is left to the decision of the mental philosopher; to what extent this trait, if admitted in the full degree, and conceded as hereditary, would disfavor the theory of descent from the Bourbon family, is referred to the historian for settlement." Mr. Smith in his article asserts that the death of the Dauphin is as well established as the death of Abraham Lincoln. The attestation of the four physicians of the Republican government satisfies him. Let us examine

the language of the proces-verbal. "On attaining the second floor, we found on a bed, in the second suite of rooms, the dead body of a child apparently about ten years old, which the commissaries declared to be that of the son of the late Louis Capet, and which two of our number recognized as that of the child they had been attending for several days." This then is the authority for the decease of the Dauphin and the guaranty of his identity. None of these physicians knew the Dauphin; they could not and did not testify that the dead boy was the son of Louis XVI., but only a boy whom they were given to understand was the Dauphin. The makers of the Secret Treaty of Peace in 1814 were not misled by this statement, and the first article of the treaty shows the greatest doubt possible as to his death, the substance of which is as follows: "That although the high contracting powers ve no evidence of the death of the son of Louis XVI., the state of Europe and its political interests require that they should place at the head of the government of France, Louis Xavier, Comte de Provence." Mr. Smith also brings forward facts in the life of Williams tending to show that he must have been a half-breed Indian. He also publishes affidavits of Indians who knew Williams as a boy during the period of his life when he was from four to eight years of age, - counterbalancing those of Skenondough published by Dr. Vinton, in which it was sworn that Eleazer Williams was brought by two French gentlemen to Lake George, that he spoke the French language, and that the gentlemen told the deponent that Eleazer was a Frenchman by birth, and in the

In regard to the age of Mr. Williams, Mr. Smith produces a copy of the original autograph application which Mr. Williams made to become a member of Menomonec Lodge of Freemasons in 1824, in which he states that he

census of 1815 was so recorded, but adopted by the St.

Regis tribe.

was then thirty-two years of age, which would overturn his claim to be the Dauphin of France by anachronism. Smith also dissects the second affidavit of Mrs. Williams in a masterly manner, and brings facts to prove that Eleazer Williams himself was the man who inserted or coined the Indian word meaning "adopted," and not Dr. Hanson, who corrected the translation as stated in "The Lost Prince." This statement was corroborated subsequently in an article which appeared in July, 1868, in "Putnam's Magazine," ten years after the death of the supposed Dauphin. article was written by the Rev. C. F. Robertson, D.D., into whose hands had fallen, as executor, all the papers of the Rev. Eleazer Williams. These documents, which had remained at the late residence of the deceased at Hogansburg, had been carefully preserved. They filled six or eight cases, and threw much light upon the subject of the claim of Williams to be the King of France. The author of the article, himself a clergyman of the Episcopal Church, discusses the question of the birth, early life, physiognomy, and character of the claimant. He refutes, from documentary evidence, the statement of Rev. Mr. Hanson that the money for Eleazer's schooling came from a mysterious and unknown source, and has the original bills, vouchers, and appropriations to prove the contrary. He also finds among the effects of Mr. Williams two copies of Mr. Williams's journal, and he writes that the copy from which Dr. Hanson wrote is evidently the later transcript. Again, although Dr. Hanson makes no mention of Mr. Williams as having any connection with the affidavit of Mrs. Williams, in which Eleazer is mentioned as her adopted son, Dr. Robertson finds several memoranda in Mr. Williams's handwriting, containing erasures and interlineations, showing how the affidavit had been made up and composed by him in the quiet of his own study.

Dr. Hanson says that at the time his first article appeared, January, 1853, Mr. Williams was not aware that

any person named Bellanger was known historically to have been in communication with the Dauphin during the last hours spent in the Temple; but Bishop Robertson finds a statement in Mr. Williams's handwriting, written before 1850, containing the words, "The brave and humane Bellanger who had charge of the Dauphin, arrived at Lake George," etc.

In spite of the wonderful disclosures of the executor of the Rev. Eleazer Williams, the September, 1868, number of "Putnam's Magazine" contained an article from the pen of the Rev. Francis Vinton, S. T. D., a gentleman of the highest standing and world-wide reputation, entitled "Louis XVII. and Eleazer Williams: were they really the same person?" The article opens with an account of the startling effect produced upon Williams while accidentally coming upon the picture, in a book of prints, of Simon the jailer of the Temple, who had charge of the Dauphin. "I saw," writes Dr. Vinton, "Williams sitting upright and stiff in his chair, his eyes fixed and wide open, his hands clenched on the table, his whole frame shaking and trembling as if paralysis had seized him. Pointing to the woodcut, he said: 'That image has haunted me day and night, as long as I can remember. 'T is the horrid vision of my dreams; what is it? who is it?' This scene occurred in the parlor of Mrs. O. H. Perry at Newport." Had Dr. Vinton turned to "The Lost Prince," which must have been in his library, he would have found, on page 354, that in the year 1850 Mr. Williams went through this same performance before Professor Day and his family at Northampton.

The strongest point made by the rector of Trinity in his article was the statement that when Naündorff's claim to the dauphinship had been rejected by the Duchesse d'Angoulême, the sister of Louis XVII., she had said that when her brother should be discovered, if he were yet alive, there would be found on the back of his shoulder

the mark of a lancet, in the shape of a crescent, which was made there by the surgeon at the time of the inoculation of the Dauphin, for the purpose of identification. Now inoculation was unknown among the Indians during the last century, and it was deemed of the greatest importance by Dr. Hanson that Dr. Vinton should make a personal examination of the Rev. Eleazer Williams. "I found myself," writes Dr. Vinton, "in a very delicate position. It was to request an aged and venerable man to strip his back that I might subject him to a scrutiny." But Dr. Vinton came manfully up to the work. "Williams threw off his coat and vest, and allowed me to scrutinize the mysterious mark. The light of the robing-room was very dim; I could see the deep pit of the inoculation on the arm; I could not discern on the back of the shoulder any thing particular, nor could Dr. Hanson. Williams preserved the same calm composure while we were discussing the matter. 'Will you step into the church a moment? There is no one there,' I suggested. 'If you wish it,' said Mr. Williams. I opened the door and he followed me outside, when, turning his shoulder to the light, there was the cicatrix, in the shape of a crescent, three fourths of an inch across, nearly obliterated, yet palpable and unmistakable. Hanson saw it again, and tears silently stole down his cheeks. It was proof positive to him that he had found the Lost Prince."

A certificate by the late Dr. J. W. Francis of New York, testifying to the crescent-shaped inoculation mark upon Mr. Williams, was also sent to the publishers of "Putnam's Magazine." Dr. Francis also told Dr. Hanson that when Citizen Genet was in this country he distinctly said, in the presence of a company of gentlemen, "The Dauphin of France is not dead, but was brought to America."

A communication from Colonel H. E. Eastman of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, appears in volume sixth, page 339, of the Wisconsin Historical Society's Proceedings. This

gentleman, in this communication, addressed to the Hon. John Y. Smith, states: "I shall be able to prove, or enable you to prove, that the original story of 'The Lost Prince' was my story; that it had no claim or pretence beyond a moderately ingenious, if somewhat extravagant, romance; that the manuscript or copy of it was surrentitiously obtained from me by the Rev. Eleazer Williams; that it was several years in his hands before he got the courage or conceived the folly of claiming my fiction for his facts; that when Dr. Hanson builded his book, in three acts and an epilogue, he had my model before him, of which he adopted something more than the name and theory." If Colonel Eastman has since furnished evidence in support of his claim, it has not come to our knowledge. A letter asking for further particulars, sent to the above address, was neither returned by the postmaster nor answered by Colonel Eastman.

Eleazer Williams was married on the third of March, 1833, at Green Bay, Wisconsin, to Miss Madelaine, daughter of Joseph Jourdain. Miss Jourdain, besides being a lady of personal attractions, considerable accomplishments, and sweetness of disposition, brought to her husband a dowry of five thousand acres of land on the borders of Fox River, not far from Green Bay. Two daughters, who died, were born to them, and a son, John, whose claims to the royal purple, perchance, take precedence of the Comte de Chambord or the Comte de Paris.

It appears that as early as 1822 Mr. Williams became interested in genealogical matters. He proposed to prepare a memoir of Solomon Williams, and assisted in preparing an account of Eunice Williams. He became a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society on the seventh of June, 1846.

In 1823 he had become favorably known as an authority in Indian history, manners, and customs. He published at Plattsburgh, in 1813, "A Spelling-book in the

Language of the Seven Iroquois Nations;" also, the same year, a pamphlet entitled, "Good News to the Iroquois Nation: a tract on Man's Primitive Rectitude, his Fall, and his Recovery through Jesus Christ;" in 1815, at Albany, a work entitled "Caution against our Common Enemy." In 1848 he delivered at Deerfield two discourses commemorating the life and public services of the Rev. John Williams. He also translated, in 1853, the Book of Common Prayer into the Mohawk, or Iroquois, language. In 1859 his Life of Tehoragwanegen, alias Thomas Williams, a chief of the Caughnawaga tribe of Indians, was privately printed at Albany. He made himself thoroughly familiar with the labors of the early French missionaries among the Indians. He followed with interest and avidity the discoveries of La Salle, Marquette, and Charlevoix; and it may have been on this subject that he engaged the attention of the Prince de Joinville, who was interested in whatever had been done by France in the New World.

Eleazer Williams was not the first nor the last who laid claim to being the Dauphin of France. The earliest was Hervagault, the son of a tailor, who appeared in the reign of Napoleon I., and who died in prison at Bicêtre in 1812. The next was Marturin Bruneau, who, under Louis XVIII., set up for the Dauphin in 1815, and was succeeded in 1833 by Charles William Naundorff, who styled himself Charles Louis, Duke of Normandy. He had the Bourbon physiognomy, a wonderfully accurate recollection of events which occurred to the royal family in the Temple, and the "inoculation mark in the form of a crescent." He failed, however, to convince the Duchesse d'Angoulême of his fraternal relationship. A volume with the evidence adduced in support of Naiindorff's claims was translated from the French, and published, with notes by the Hon. and Rev. G. C. Percival, in 1838. Naundorff was hustled out of France, and died at Delft, in Holland, August 10,

1845, and was buried with regal honors. His claims were pleaded as late as 1874, in a French court, in behalf of The next claimant appeared in the reign of his children. Louis Philippe. His name was Hébert. He was known as the Baron of Réchemont, Duke of Normandy. He was supposed to have been brought forward by the French government to upset the claims of Naundorff. His story was similar, but his escape from the Temple was said to be anterior, occurring during the period when Simon and his wife held sway, when, as he claims, he was removed in a basket M. de Rémusat, a medical gentleman, on the of clothes. trial of Réchemont, testified that in 1811 Madame Simon, in a conversation with him, said that the Dauphin was alive, and was released from the tower of the Temple in a bundle of linen; and Miss Muhlbach, though not the best historical authority, in her novel entitled "Marie Antoinette and her Son," after giving Réchemont's description of his escape from the Temple and flight to America, curiously confirms the testimony of M. de Rémusat, by saying that the wife of Simon, in 1821, at her dying hour, asserted that Capet was released in the way above men-In the churchyard at Villefranche is a tombstone with the following inscription: "Here rests Louis Charles of France; born at Versailles, March 27, 1785; died at the château of Vaux Renaud, August 10, 1853."

In 1868 there appeared in London a book of three hundred and forty-two pages, entitled "The Authentic Historical Memoirs of Louis Charles, Prince-Royal, Dauphin of France, who, subsequently to October, 1793, personated through supposititious means, Augustus Meves." This book, compiled by the sons of Augustus Meves, who died on the 9th of May, 1859, was written in consequence of the belief that their father was the Dauphin. If the story may be believed which they have written, it would appear that one William Meves was so interested in the unhappy fate of the Queen of France that he agreed to introduce his

son Augustus, a lad of the same age as the Dauphin, into the Temple at Paris, place him under the care of Simon who had been well bribed, as the Marquis of Bonneval asserts — until an opportunity occurred to extricate Louis XVII. from the Temple. This was accomplished; and young Meves in due time was removed by the substitution of a deaf and dumb boy, who was the one examined by M. Harmand, February 27, 1795, and the one who died in the Temple, and to whom the physicians' certificate of death refers. The real Dauphin escaped, and turns up in London under the name of Meves, having the Bourbonic outlines, the proper color of the hair, and the crescent. His reputed mother confesses, on the death of her husband and on her own deathbed, that he was not her son; that he was in reality the Duke of Normandy; that he had been intrusted to her care in infancy; and told him by what means he could establish his identity with the Duchesse d'Angoulême, - namely, "a cicatrice on his left instep," which the physicians, both during his life and after death, testify that he had. The authors of the Meves book are as much puzzled as was Dr. Hanson to account for the appearance of the publication of M. de That a man should spend twenty years of Beauchesne. his life to prove that the Dauphin died in the Temple, would seem to be an unnecessary amount of literary labor and anxiety, unless it was the popular belief in the best informed circles, up to the time of its issue, that the Dauphin had effected his escape.

Eleazer Williams died at Hogansburg, in the county of Franklin, New York, on the twenty-eighth of August, 1858. A correspondent of the "New York Journal of Commerce" thus describes the last sad rites:—

The township from which I date embraces a part of the St. Regis Reservation, and here, at a small settlement called Hogansburg, the Rev. Eleazer Williams has lived and died. Approaching

St. Regis River from the east, and about one thousand feet from it on the north side of the road, is a square enclosure of one acre, nearly covered by a beautiful pine grove, with only one white and one yellow birch tree besides. Midway, and about one hundred feet from the road, in this grove stands a modern-built, one-story house, forty feet square, with a high Gothic roof, gable front and piazza, painted outside dark brown, inside oak-grained.

From front to rear runs a wide hall, dividing the house equally, making two small rooms in front, one each side of the hall; whilst the rear, from which is a flight of stairs above, has no room deserving a more dignified name than closet or pantry. The windows are small, with diamond glass, and hung with outside green blinds. No other building or shed graces the premises. This is where the Dauphin lived and died.

About one o'clock I entered the grounds and dwelling, where I found about twenty persons, mostly females. In the west front room, upon stools, stood a large-sized coffin, covered with broadcloth and silver-mounted, and a rich pall, having two deep velvet borders. No plate, letter, or figure indicated its contents.

The lid was open, and therein lay the deceased, clad in his priestly vestments, with a small black velvet cap covering the top of his head and the upper part of his brow. The countenance was remarkably fresh, the eyes not sunken, and, but for a parched appearance of the lips, nothing inconsistent with a hale man in calm repose. On entering, I was not a little surprised to see Mrs. M of New York at the head of the corpse fanning off the flies, as I have seen her do for her sleeping child, and a stalwart Indian standing at her back. She had made the acquaintance and won the confidence of a squaw who had attended the deceased, and thus enabled me to inspect the library, royal robe, etc. Ascending the stairs before mentioned, there is a small garret-like room with plain shelves, containing a library of about a thousand volumes. Its general character is theological, and its most prominent feature, in this respect is the large collection of sermons by eminent French divines of the last century. There is little of history or biography. Lamartine's History of the Girondists, Carlyle's French Revolution, Documentary Colonial History of New York, Lives of Madison, Monroe, and Kossuth were observed. The miscellaneous books would indicate little care in selection. Walker's Rhyming Dictionary is there. In a small closet under the roof were about a bushel of loose manuscripts scattered about, which I only looked at.

Upon descending, Mrs. M. called my attention to the robe said to have belonged to, and been worn by that queen whose fate has awakened such deep sympathies, and whom the deceased claimed as his mother. For elegance and richness of fabric it would not disgrace royalty, even if the history given of it be a myth. She also showed me a sun-painted likeness, showing a noble head and countenance, said, I doubt not truly, to be of the deceased; but I could find little resemblance to the inanimate clay coffined before me.

The floors were all bare, and the only furniture I saw in the house was a small table, a small old trunk containing the robe in the east front room, and a pine-board bench in the hall. Back of the house was a plain, turned, maple bedstead, and a pine-board, upright box with a seat in it. Mrs. M. said there were also in the house three chairs, one small bedstead and a straw bed, one other small table, and one other old trunk.

Just before two o'clock the ancient and honorable fraternity of Masons, in large numbers, came in procession, and, with the officiating elergyman, accompanied the remains to the Methodist Episcopal Mission Church, about half a mile north on the St. Regis road. This church is a neat, clapboarded structure, about forty by fifty feet, painted white, with a cupola containing a bell. Its finish is plain but neat, with slips. Provident against the cold of these regions, it has two large stoves and a liberal length of pipe. In this church the Rev. Mr. Treadway, rector at Malone, preached the funeral discourse. These services over, the remains were borne across to the west side of the road to a small cemetery, and under two pine trees consigned to the grave with Christian and Masonic rites.

But what of the Indians, with whom he was reared, if not born? I doubt not you will learn with surprise that this burial, though in their midst, and within a mile and a half of their large village, was not attended by one as a mourner or friend. About a dozen squaws, neatly attired in their costume, straggled along outside of the procession, of whom a few entered the church, whilst others sat by the fence.

During the services at the grave none approached; but after others retired, about half a dozen squaws came up, looked in the grave, and turned away. No warrior paid the least attention to what was transpiring, nor did a squaw manifest the slightest emotion. Why was all this? Had the departed one ceased to be recognized as a red man? Was he considered a pale face by blood as well as by habit? Had he given mortal offence in matters of religion or civil polity? Or was it simply an exhibit of that stoicism characteristic of their most savage constitution? Let those who can, answer.

There is no doubt that he suffered at last from the want of attention and other necessaries. His habits at home would seem to have been reclusive. Had he made known his claims to their attention, the Masons would have provided for all his wants.

The land and house where he lived are said to belong to a Protestant Episcopal Missionary Association in New York. Intelligent and trustworthy people in these parts, who have known him long and intimately, with great unanimity believe in the Dauphin claim. Requiescat in pace.

The question of the identity of Eleazer Williams with Louis XVII. has been openly discussed for thirty years. Thousands have taken sides. Many yet believe that when the memoirs of the Marquis de Talleyrand shall be given to the public, that it will appear that Talleyrand was knowing to the feigned death, the abduction from the Temple, and the removal to America of the young Capet, and that the Marquis visited this country on business connected with that affair. These memoirs were to be published thirty years after the death of the writer. The time expired in 1868, but owing to the extraordinary and surprising nature of their disclosures they were again sealed and their publication postponed.

CHARLES MAYO

There were apparently two families bearing the name of Mayo, who came early to these shores, no connection, that we are aware of, having been traced between them. The Rev. John Mayo of Barnstable, who was made freeman, March 3, 1640, was the progenitor of one family; and John Mayo of Roxbury, who about the year 1633 was brought to this country, being a young child, by Robert Gamlin, Jr., was the ancestor of another family. The Apostle Eliot, in his Church Record, states that this John was the son of Mr. Gamlin's wife "by a former husband." He married Hannah, daughter of John Graves, and died April 28, 1688.

The Rev. John Mayo and his son Samuel were among the original settlers of Barnstable, their names appearing in the first list in 1640. See the New England Ilistorical and Genealogical Register, volume ii. page 64. He was ordained in that place as a colleague minister with the Rev. John Lothrop, April 15, 1640, the latter being the Pastor of the church, and the former the Teacher. Mr. Mayo tarried but a short time in Barnstable, for we learn that he removed to Eastham in the year 1646, and remained in the exercise of his ministry there nine years, until he was called to Boston, where he was installed as the first minister and pastor of the Second, or North, Church, November 9, 1655. The Rev. Samuel Mather, son of the Rev. Richard Mather of Dorchester, who was born in Lancashire, England, May 13, 1626, had previ-

ously preached a few months to them, but declined the urgent wishes of the people for a settlement. He returned to England, and was a minister in Dublin, Ireland, where he died October 29 1671.

Mr. Michael Powell, from Dedham, one of the seven original founders of the Second Church, was ordained Ruling Elder the same day that Mr. Mayo was installed as Pastor. Mr. Powell had, for a few years prior to this event, conducted the worship of the church, "and to such satisfaction that he would have been ordained teacher, had it not been for the interference of the General Court, who would not suffer one that was illiterate, as to academical education, to be called to the teaching office in such a place as Boston." He departed this life, January 28, 1672–3, a paralytic affection having seized upon him soon after his ordination, resulting in an incapacity, afterwards, for all labor.

The Rev. Increase Mather was ordained to the office of teacher in the Second Church, May 27, 1664. The pastor and teacher, Mayo and Mather, continued to labor together until the increasing infirmities of Mr. Mayo made it advisable for him to close his ministry at the Old North Church. Cotton Mather was ordained as colleague with his father, at the Second Church, May 13, 1684. The following record in relation to Mr. Mayo was left by Increase Mather: "In the beginning of which year [1672] Mr. Mayo, the Pastor, likewise grew very infirm, inasmuch as the congregation was not able to hear and be edified; wherefore the Brethren - the Pastor manifesting his concurrence - desired the Teacher to take care for a supply of the congregation, that the worship of God may be upheld amongst us." Again, he writes: "On the 15th day of the 2d month, 1673, Mr. Mayo removed his person and goods also from Boston to reside with his daughter in Barnstable, where - and at Yarmouth - since he hath lived a private life; as not being able - through the infirmities of old

age — to attend the work of the ministry. The —— day of third month [May], 1676, he departed this life at Yarmouth, and was there buried." He speaks thus of the character of his coadjutor: "He was a blessing to his people; and they two lived together in love and peace for the space of eleven years." Mr. Mayo preached, in Boston, the Artillery Election Sermon for 1658.

In regard to the formation of the Second Church, in 1650, it may be worthy of mention that four out of the seven original members — namely, Christopher Gibson, John Phillips, Michael Wills, and John Farnham — were formerly of Dorchester, and were — with the exception, it may be, of the latter, — with their wives, members of the First Church there. Elizabeth, wife, it is presumed, of John Farnham, was admitted a member of the Dorchester Church, November 9, 1639.

Thomasine or Tamisine Mayo, widow of the Reverend John Mayo, died February 26, 1682, at Yarmouth, where her daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Howes resided.

The Rev. Mr. Mayo had five children, the eldest of whom was Hannah, who married Nathaniel Bacon in 1642, and had issue. The second child, Samuel Mayo, was one of the purchasers of Oyster Bay, Long Island, in April, 1653. He died in 1663. By his wife, Thomasine, daughter of William Lumpkin of Yarmouth, Samuel had several children; the youngest, Nathaniel and Sarah, having been born in Boston. John, the third child of the Rev. Mr. Mayo, married Hannah Lecraft, January 1650–51. They were the ancestors of the subject of this memoir. Nathaniel, the fourth child, married Hannah Prence, daughter of Governor Thomas Prence, February 13, 1650. Elizabeth, the fifth and youngest child of the Rev. John Mayo, married Joseph Howes of Yarmouth.

John Mayo, son of John and Hannah Mayo, and grandson of the Rev. John Mayo, was born December 15, 1652. He married Hannah Freeman, daughter of Major John

Freeman of Eastham, April 14, 1681. They were the parents of Joseph, born in 1696, who married Abigail Myrick in 1718. Thomas, the sixth child of this Joseph and Abigail Mayo, was born in 1725. He married Elizabeth Wing in 1752, and died in 1778. Their son, Asa Mayo, born February 7, 1755, married Sarah Seabury, daughter of Ichabod and Temperance Seabury, August 23, 1778. She was born August 2, 1760. Asa and Sarah (Seabury) Mayo, had thirteen children. He died December 24, 1823. Sarah, his widow, departed this life July 14, 1833. John Mayo, seventh child of Asa and Sarah, was born May 28, 1779. He married Lydia Laha August 15, 1802. They had children: James Laha, born May 27, 1803; John, born November 20, 1804; Charles, born February 10, 1809, or according to some records, 1808; Catharine, born January 10, 1812; Sophronia, born January 1, 1814, who married Royal F. Eastman of Andover, New Hampshire, and left one daughter and a son, Professor John R. Eastman of the National Observatory at Washington; Sarah, born March 14, 1816, married James H. Smith, now of Olean, Cattaraugus County, New York; Asa, born April 16, 1818; Josiah, born February 20, 1820; John, 2d, born December 31, 1821; Josiah, 2d, born June 18, 1828. Of these ten children, three only -Sarah, Asa, and John - are now living. The first four were born in Brewster, Massachusetts; the rest in Andover, New Hampshire.

Charles Mayo, son of John and Lydia (Laha) Mayo, was born in Brewster, Massachusetts, February 10, 1809. His father removing, in 1812, to Andover, New Hampshire, took Charles with him. Captain Mayo was here for a while engaged in farming. He went from thence to Syracuse, New York, in 1839, and died there August 26, 1852. Lydia, his wife, departed this life July 4, 1845.

We have no definite information in regard to the early days of Charles, or how his boyhood was passed. One of

his teachers was Mr. B. F. Tyler. At the age of eighteen he was himself engaged in teaching, and for some years taught in the winter season. For a while he was instructor in a school at South Natick, Massachusetts. The summer after he was twenty years of age he went with his father—who was for a number of years a sea-captain—to the Labrador region, on a cod-fishing voyage.

He studied medicine during one summer, but soon after became dissatisfied with the science of therapeuties, and relinquished the pursuit of it; though subsequently, in a distant part of the world, the knowledge he had acquired in this stage of his life was of use to him. Accepting the invitation of a cousin he, in 1831, went on a whaling voyage in the South Atlantic Ocean, to the Tristan d' Acunha. An abstract, in his own handwriting, of the journal kept by him during that time, being a manuscript of fifty-two pages, has been preserved, which contains many items of interest. Some extracts will now be given.

He sailed on this expedition from Fairhaven, Massachusetts, in the ship Columbus, Gustavus A. Baylies, of Martha's Vineyard, master, leaving port June 1, 1831. The officers of the ship and crew were thirty in number. On the first day of July following they had their initial combat with a whale, which he thus describes.

At two P. M. saw a sperm-whale five miles distant. With fine weather, smooth sea, and hearts gleaming with pride to encounter a whale, we lowered our bow boat, in order to go and give her a battle. The bow boat first struck her with an iron, when she brought round her flukes and just gave the bow of the boat a rap that stove it in pieces. However, the boat's crew gathered aft, and with eare and bailing got on board without any one being injured. The waist boat then made fast to her, and she with the other boats succeeded in despatching the whale without much difficulty. We towed her to the ship about sunset, and with the ponderous fluke-chain made her fast to the bowsprit bits. This whale was something quite novel, and excited much curiosity with us green hands.

On the second day after this, being the third of July, they succeeded in capturing another whale.

This day's work, I thought to myself, was the hardest that ever I experienced. Those two whales make about one hundred and fifty-three barrels of sperm oil.

After the successful "trying" of this whale on the next day, he jocosely remarks:

Hard work for the Fourth of July. Up to my eyes and ears in raw oil. Hope I shall be a little limberer by having my joints well oiled. My father used often to tell me that they needed such an operation.

He had not the opportunity of going on shore at Fayal, on the 9th of July, with the boat's crew that visited the place, but the Portuguese brought on board the ship "lemons, oranges, cucumbers, plums, eggs, &c.; and we, being quite hungry for something green, eagerly purchased them in exchange for cash, clothes, and knives. . . . I sent three letters ashore to be sent home."

At the isle of Togo, the top of which, in the distance, "appeared very high above the clouds," they obtained goats, swine, pine-apples, and bananas."

Calms and whirlwinds predominated unmolested around this island. It appears as if the place was possessed by evil spirits, and if ever I go a'whaling again, before I ship I will ask if the vessel is going to Togo to recruit; and if she is I will tell them that I go there for no one again. We made sail and run as fast as possible from this land of whirlwinds, which we left in the following night.

August 4. Crossed the Equator at 4 o'elock, in longitude 19 West.

Old Neptune omitted his usual inspection of the green hands of the Columbus on this occasion, they being unitedly resolved to make a formidable resistance if such an attempt upon them had been made. The whole matter ended with a preparation only.

August 15. Spent some of my time in reviewing geometry, trigonometry, and navigation. Find that I can solve most questions in the latter.

September 21. Saw a whale, close to, at sunrise. Immediately lowered our boats. The starboard boat struck her, which she stove. The bow boat next struck her, which she also stove, by smashing in the whole broadside with her flukes. She was, however, killed by the other two boats. We made her fast to the ship, having done a good day's work before breakfast. As for myself, being in the bow boat, I had a comfortable cold duck for my breakfast. I was obliged to float in the cold and immeasurable ocean for a half-hour or more, until I was picked up by another boat that came to our assistance.

October 12. Amused myself with reading Rollin's Ancient History, which I borrowed of the Captain.

On the tenth of January, 1833, he reports that the Captain was sick, "and asked medical advice of Dr. Mayo," who advised and administered accordingly. February first, the Captain "asked medical advice again," and was successfully treated. He describes the island of St. Helena, which he visited, as twenty-one miles in length and eighteen in breadth, with a population of three thousand inhabitants, most of them dark complexioned, composed of natives, East India men, and Chinese. Many of the foreigners were slaves.

I saw many of the slaves wore shackles. I was told that they were obliged to wear them for the most trivial crime. The shore is rocky and steep, admitting no landing, except at the town, which is strongly fortified with walls and barracks, and guarded by eight hundred soldiers sent from England. There are numerous and strong forts on all the eminences near by, so that it is almost impossible for it to be taken by any other nation. It is said to belong to the English East India Company, whose ships always call here to recruit. It was impossible for me to visit Napoleon's tomb, it being three miles from town, and I had not time. The American Consul, Mr. Carrol, rendered great assistance in procuring recruits. The island is very fruitful, bearing all kinds of tropical fruits. Jamestown, the

landing-place, is built in a valley, between two high hills. The buildings are quite nice, and are of stone. When walking through the street, my attention was drawn towards a schoolhouse.

The windows and doors being open, he could look in and see, as he thought, one hundred and thirty-two small boys in a single room. "I inquired of a bystander," he continues, "of the state of schools and the master's wages, &c., generally £50 per year. Had some notion of stopping and filling that station."

Nothing important occurred after leaving the rock-girt isle, until they reached New Bedford Harbor, on the morning of March 8, 1833, where they cast anchor the second and last time for the voyage. Their adventure seems to have been a successful one, for, in summing up the results, he states that they took thirty-five right and three sperm whales, besides seven that were sunk and lost, making in all—according to the official report as given in the newspapers of the day—a return of two thousand two hundred barrels of whale oil, two hundred and sixty sperm, and twenty thousand pounds of bone.

Mr. Mayo used often, afterwards, to refer to his experience of sea life. He had previously expressed a great desire to "go to sea," but this one whaling voyage completely cured him of his salt-water propensities.

After his return Mr. Mayo learned the trade of carriage-maker and painter. He worked at this business at Chatham, Charlestown, and Newton, Massachusetts. At the latter place he married his first wife, Lucinda Ware, August 21, 1834, by whom he had one child, Ellen Augusta, born June 2, 1835, who died May 26, 1858. Lucinda, his wife, died August 4, 1839. After this he studied law in the office of Jonathan P. Bishop, Esq., at Medfield, from October 1, 1839, to April 1, 1840, inclusive, and in that of Peter S. Wheelock, Esq., now Judge Wheelock, of Rox-

bury, from the latter date to July 26, 1841, on which day he entered the Law School at Harvard College as a limited student, and there remained until January 10, 1842. On the following day he renewed his studies with Mr. Wheelock, and continued in his office until the first of October of that year. On the recommendations of Professor Simon Greenleaf, Royal Professor of Law at Harvard College, and of Messrs. Bishop and Wheelock, he was admitted to practice as an attorney, October 8, 1842. His office was opened at 20 Court Street, Boston, where he practised several years. On the sixth of June, 1844, he married Harriet W. Ball, daughter of Dr. Stephen and Lydia Lincoln Ball of Northborough, Massachusetts, by whom he had three children: namely, Charles Lincoln, born October 2, 1845, who died of consumption, August 27, 1879; Josephine Virginia, born December 15, 1847, who died January 11, 1854; Walter Ball, born July 25, 1849, still living. The widow of Mr. Charles Mayo married, February 19, 1863, Mr. Jairus Lincoln of Northborough, Massachusetts, where she now resides. Mr. Lincoln died May 12, 1882, aged eighty-eight years, twenty-six days.

Charles Lincoln, eldest son of Charles and Harriet Mayo, was educated in Boston schools and Leicester Academy; entered the army at the age of sixteen; and, at the end of four years' service in the war, received an honorable discharge. For seven years he was in the office of his mother's brother, Dr. Abel Ball, 41 Tremont Street, Boston. During the latter years of his life he was of the firm of Ball & Fitch. Failing in health, having contracted the chills and fever while in Virginia, he went to Bermuda, there remained a few weeks, and then returned to Northborough, where he died in 1879, as before mentioned.

Mr. Mayo was much interested in genealogical pursuits. He had accumulated materials for his own family history, which he intended to publish, but died before he had ac-

complished his labor. He had traced the family through nine generations in this country.

He was admitted a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, May 6, 1848, and was Recording Secretary of this institution from January 1851 to January 1856, the late Rev. Samuel H. Riddel preceding, and the Hon. Francis Brinley, now of Newport, Rhode Island, succeeding him in that office. He was also one of the Publishing Committee for the year 1853, his associates being the Hon. Timothy Farrar, David Hamblen, Frederic Kidder, and William B. Trask.

He was made a member of the Cape Cod Association, in Boston, May 12, 1851. At one time he was an officer in the Highland Guards, a volunteer company in Boston. He was unanimously admitted, by ballot, a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, May 9, 1842, being proposed and highly recommended by the commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Ebenezer W. Stone, and was then styled Lieutenant Mayo. He was chosen sixth sergeant of the company, June 3, 1844, and became an honorary member in 1854. Governor Boutwell appointed him inspector-general of fish for the State of Massachusetts, in 1851. In 1854, and again in 1855, the citizens of Ward Eleven, in Boston, elected him a member of the common council, Dr. Jerome V. C. Smith being mayor.

Mr. Mayo continued to practise in his profession, his law office being for some five or six years at 18 Massachusetts Block, on Court Square, then used for law-offices, now the Sherman House. His residence was number one Dover Street. Without doubt he was honest and faithful in the administration of justice, and in meting out to others their legal and moral dues. Here he remained as advocate and counsellor until, in 1856, the spirit of adventure came over him. He sold his house in Dover Street, December 11, 1856, to Mr. George O. Frothing-

ham, who still owns and occupies it, and immediately left Boston. But how, when, and where he went, we are informed by himself, in a letter to one of his surviving brothers, Asa Mayo, of Syracuse, New York. Through the kindness of that gentleman we are permitted to give the following details.

Mr. Charles Mayo left Boston on the twenty-second of December, 1856, for the purpose of going to the Western country, but, as will be seen, took a long way of getting there. While in New York City he was induced to take a trip to Nicaragua, the owners of the line of steamers presenting him with a free cabin passage. They sailed from thence on the twenty-fourth, in the steamer Tennessee. On the third day out from New York the vessel broke her shaft and put back into Norfolk, Virginia. After a delay of six days they took another steamer, and arrived at San Juan del Norte the ninth of January, 1857. They remained there three weeks, and then—

Went up the river with Walker's recruits; was gone five weeks; took Serapiqui and assailed Castillo; hunted wild hogs, deer, and monkeys; fished, and shot a sea-cow; corresponded for the New York Daily Times, and drilled with the soldiers. Did not go to where Walker was; cause, could not go further up the river. Returned to San Juan on the 20th of March. Got wet and took cold; had the chills and fever at San Juan. Got better and went in the British mail steamer to Aspinwall; took a bird's-eye view of the country, and a passage on steamer Tennessee for New York. Stopped two days at Pascagoula. Visited New Orleans, calling upon some friends there. Left for St. Louis. Was attacked with fever and ague again. Sailed up the river Missouri, stopping a day or two at Carrolton, thence to Kansas City. Arrived at Leavenworth, May 4. A week there; bought a horse, saddle, and bridle; rode round the country, to Laramie, Topeka, &c., and then back through the southern part of the territory. Became interested in some land at this place, and here am I. Olathe is in about the centre of Johnson County, on the great Santa Fé road, about twenty miles southwesterly from Kansas City. I engaged a man to plough up fifty acres

of prairie. Went to Kansas City, bought twelve bushels of potatoes, one bushel of beans, and six bushels of corn, and some garden-seeds, all to plant before the twentieth of June. Bought some town shares, and engaged to build a house in town next week for an office, and to live in. We intend to make this place the county scat, and I think we shall succeed. If so, I shall do well. I see no reason why I should not continue to reside here. Shall stay this season, anyhow.

The above letter was dated, Olathe, June 6, 1857. On the fifteenth of October following, he writes concerning the election frauds in Kansas. In regard to himself he says:—

I came here a conservative, determined not to take sides with either party, but soon got eured of that position. I live in the most proslavery portion of the Territory, and can see enough almost every day of their reckless villary to make one shudder.

In his Correspondence of March 15, 1858, he states: —

Next week I go to the Convention to form a new constitution for the State of Kansas. We submit the new constitution in May, and when adopted send it on to Congress as the expressed will of the people of Kansas.

Soon after his arrival in Kansas, Mr. Mayo was appointed to take the census of certain townships. He became school superintendent for Johnson County, and was elected judge of elections at Olathe, June 3, 1858; about the same time he was appointed, by the Governor, judge of probate and notary-public. It is stated that he was offered the office of supreme judge by the proslavery party, but peremptorily declined, as his political sentiments were adverse to their views.

His death took place in Olathe, January 2, 1859, of inflammation of the bowels, after a siekness of three days.

In his family Mr. Mayo was a kind, affectionate, and faithful husband and father, quiet and unostentatious in his manners, reticent in regard to himself and his affairs, strongly attached to his friends, performing with cheerful

fidelity the various duties of life. He was brought up a Congregationalist, but, when he subsequently read and reasoned for himself, became a strong Unitarian.

We take pleasure in appending the following notice, kindly furnished us by George W. Searle, Esq., of the Boston bar:—

Mr. Mayo was a man of respectable reputation at the bar, rather than eminent as an advocate or a jurist. He was without those brilliant qualities which are essential to the former; and he came too late to professional studies to have laid in those stores of legal learning which are needful in the advanced stage of legal science, - to that accomplished character which is denominated the Jurist. He was a self-made man, and rose from the ranks of manual toil to the honorable dignity of professional life; but after his manner he was a man of power in court, and wielded an influence with juries, and his legal opinions were serviceable He was a man of sound judgmen' and ripe to his clients. common-sense. His business habits made him a use al rather than a showy lawyer. As an office-lawyer and adviser he was an able, reliable, and useful man. As a speaker he was not eloquent or rhetorical, but he was sound and sensible. He was of few words, but those were spirited and to the purpose. He was a man of fair general acquirements outside of his profession, and in antiquarian and especially genealogical literature he was a learned scholar. He was a man of probity and honor. As a social companion he was an admirable man, - affable, agreeable; and ever ready to do a favor and to extend a helping hand to the needy. As a politician he was honest and upright, and came to a very considerable influence in the councils of his party.

OTIS WILBOR

Otis Wilbor was born in Little Compton, county of Newport, Rhode Island, January 12, 1803. He was the son of Joseph Wilbor, and a descendant in the sixth generation from William Wilbor of Portsmouth, Rhode Island, who died in 1710,—through Joseph, by wife Anna Brownell; Joseph, by wife Emeline Champlin; Walter, by wife Catharine Davenport; and Joseph, his father. His mother was Hannah Brown, the daughter of Thomas Brown and Elizabeth Head, both of the town of Little Compton. He was the seventh in a family of ten children, one only surviving.

At an early age he began to attend school. When about seven years old he was attacked with some disease in one of his limbs, which caused great suffering and rendered it necessary for him to use crutches in walking, which he did for several years. His education was obtained in the town in which he was born and where he always lived; but he was in a great measure self-taught, and, by his natural abilities, reading, and study, became fitted at an early age to teach others, which he did for many years, both in his own town and in Westport, Massachusetts, an adjoining town. He was qualified to make a successful and faithful teacher of youth, many of whom have gone forth from this place and become useful members of society and active business men. After several years he recovered in a measure from his lameness,

but having another attack of sickness at the age of twentyfive, it settled in his limb and produced a fever-sore, the effect of which he never recovered from, and thus he was compelled to take up sedentary pursuits. Previous to this he had assisted his father, even while teaching a part of the year.

His father was a well-to-do farmer, and his sons, with the exception of one, were employed on the farm. As has been said, he had a great fondness for books; so much so that an elder brother had remarked, "It would be of no use to give Otis anything, for he would spend it all for books." It has been said of him, by those who knew him in his youth, that he was very sober-minded and quiet in demeanor, and at the age of sixteen, in the year 1819, he united with the Congregational Church in the town, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mase Shephard; and here he entered into a field of interest and labor, which was never abated until feeble health compelled him to resign the latter, the former never until the end of his life. As the writer - though of another generation - looks back on that Christian life, there seems to be nothing to stain it. It was a bright example of steadfast confidence and fidelity, and of unselfish interest in that Master's cause which he loved; and though we are apt to think only of the virtues of those that are gone, yet, notwithstanding this, in his case it is truly said, by many who knew him, there has no one arisen to fill his place. In 1836 he was chosen deacon of the church, and held the office until his death.

The 18th of November he was elected secretary and treasurer of the United Congregational Church, and continued in those offices until 1856. In the year 1830, or about that time, he was also chosen superintendent of the Sabbath-school, and held that office sixteen years, and was also teacher in the same school for many years, besides superintending a branch school Sabbath afternoon in the same town, in which capacity he served with great success,

because of his watchfulness and care over them. His influence was felt as a check upon all wrong-doing, but though possessing a decided character, he was neither gloomy nor morose; on the contrary his temperament was constantly cheerful — even humorous.

In the cause of freedom and equal rights he ever stood firm, and was known as an advocate of the antislavery institutions of his time, believing that God "hath made of one blood all the nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth."

In the year 1836 he travelled through the South to New Orleans to settle the estate of his brother, George Wilbor, who had died in that city, and on the journey he writes to a brother from Columbia, South Carolina, thus:—

After we had crossed the Wateree River, one mile from Camden, we overtook a coffle of slaves, seven in number, that had been purchased in Virginia, going to Alabama. bought by two slave-dealers, who were accompanying them with lashes in their hands, as if they were driving so many cat-Two of them - very smart looking men - were chained together by the neck. One of the drivers, on being asked how much he had given for the two men, replied, ten hundred dollars each. The country, ever since I came into the northern part of Virginia, is one continued wilderness. The plantations, a mile or more apart, are small portions of the wilderness cleared, with some half-dozen log-huts or hovels for the slaves, which more resemble pigstyes than places for human beings. are considered more valuable now perhaps than ever before, and it only wants a person to come to the Southern States from the North to make an Abolitionist of him. The appearance of everything at the South may be regarded as the effect of slavery. On the plantation everything is left in a slovenly manner, and indicates that no interest is taken by those who perform the labor.

In November, 1837, the year after his return from the South, he was married to Mary Shaw, daughter of Zebedee

and Alby Shaw, both of the town of Little Compton, who now survives him, but he left no children to perpetuate his name or virtues. In 1840 he was chosen town-clerk and treasurer of his native town, - also probate and town clerk, - and continued to hold these offices until 1856. While town-clerk he put the records of Little Compton into a fine condition. He copied the records of births, marriages, and deaths, gleaning from every source within his reach, and so admirably did he arrange them that half the time of those who use them is saved. In April, 1845, he was chosen senator for three successive years, in the Rhode Island Legislature, by his native town. In all the business of the town he took a lively interest, ever standing for right and justice, in the face of opposition oftentimes, - never seeking office, yet it might be said truly, perhaps, no man in the town ever held more than he.

He was an early advocate of the cause of temperance, being a member of the first temperance society formed in the town, which was in 1835. In 1842 he was appointed one of an executive committee, by the Little Compton society, to present a report of the town on this subject, which was faithfully done, though the picture presented was a dark one; and it may be said that the fruits of those early efforts, with others which have followed, have been coming in these later years, so that at the present time the town may be reckoned as a comparatively temperate one. His principles were those of total abstinence, discountenancing the use of all intoxicating beverages, either for medicinal or sacramental purposes.

In all missionary enterprises he took a deep interest. He gave of his means and sought by personal effort to enlist others in the good work. Not confining his exertions to those of mature years, he labored with the young, especially his nephews and nieces, and at an early age some of them were induced to give their small sums for

this purpose. To him the writer owes more than any other person for the interest created in childhood in the missionary cause. He was a member and officer of all the missionary and benevolent societies in the town, and a life-member of the Foreign and Home Missionary Society of Little Compton. In 1853 he became a life-member of the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West.

He became a Corresponding Member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, November 9, 1847.

Four years previous to his death he experienced a shock of paralysis, — slight, but followed by others which soon rendered him unable to perform active duties. This disease he inherited from his mother, who also died of it after three attacks. From that time, until his death, his mind as well as body gradually became enfeebled. For three years he was unable to attend the services of the church, but during this time an aged sister in Christ, meeting him, made this remark: "I hope you have not lost your interest in the church?" He immediately replied in the words of Scripture: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy."

His death took place suddenly, with scarcely any suffering, January 15, 1859, occasioned by a more severe attack of paralysis.

His funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Nathaniel Beach, pastor of the church. His text was from Psalm xii. 1: "Help, Lord, for the godly man ceaseth, for the faithful fail from among the children of men."

He left in manuscript an extensive genealogy of the Wilbor family, which has been deposited by his nephew, Albert Gallatin Wilbor of Boston, in the library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

LEMUEL SHATTUCK

The members of the New England Historic Genealogical Society will feel more than ordinary interest in the incidents in the life of Mr. Shattuck and the traits of his character, since he was one of the five original members and founders of the society. It is a fact worth noting that the deaths of these founders, who were all chosen to office on the organization of the society, have been in the order in which their names are entered as such on the record: Mr. Ewer, the president, dying first; Mr. Shattuck, the vice-president, second; Mr. Drake, the corresponding secretary, third; and Mr. Thornton, the recording secretary, fourth. Mr. Montague, the treasurer, whose name closes the list, still survives.

Lemuel Shattuck was the fifth child of John Shattuck by his wife Betsey, daughter of Abel and Elizabeth (Adams) Miles, and was born in Ashby, Massachusetts, October 15, 1793. Before he was one year old, his parents removed to the adjoining town of New Ipswich, New Hampshire, and here and in the vicinity he resided as a farmer, manufacturer, and teacher until 1815. In an autobiographical sketch, in his Shattuck Memorials, he thus speaks of his education:—

He never had the benefit of much public instruction. The common school in the district to which his father belonged was at a considerable distance from his dwelling-house, and was generally very imperfectly taught, and continued only a part of the

year. He seldom attended more than five or six weeks in one season. The chief educational privileges which he enjoyed in his youth were in the school of mutual instruction, composed of his elder brothers and his sisters, kept in intervals of leisure in an industrious and a laborious early lifetime, in his father's own household. Two quarters in the academy completed his public education. Whatever knowledge he has possessed besides has been acquired almost entirely in his private study, by his own unaided efforts, at such times as could be spared from active labor and business or from sleep; and he has great satisfaction in stating, as the result of his own experience, that any personby having a judicious plan of saving the odd moments of life, and appropriating them to reading good books or to the acquisition of useful information - may obtain a large fund of knowledge which will be a qualification for greater usefulness in any station, and be the source of great gratification and happiness in more mature and declining life.

The academy which he attended was the New Ipswich, now the Appleton Academy, located in the town where his parents then resided. It was the second academy incorporated in New Hampshire, the first being the Phillips Academy at Exeter. Both academies fitted scholars for college, and both had high reputations as institutions of learning. Among the early graduates from the New Ipswich Academy, were men who afterwards attained a national reputation, such as the Hon. Levi Woodbury, the Hon. Amos Kendall, the Rev. Edward Payson, and Thomas Green Fessenden.

When a young man Mr. Shattuck carried on the manufacture of either yarn or thread, on a small scale, at New Ipswich, and Mr. Frederic Kidder, the author of the History of that town, remembers him while he was in that business. He was, Mr. Kidder says, very industrious and a great reader. When he left town the loss was felt by all, for he had made himself very useful to the community, especially in church matters. He was one of the most active in opening a Sunday-school there.

He early engaged in school-teaching. In 1817 he taught in Troy and Albany, New York, and from 1818 to 1822 in Detroit, Michigan. This employment was undoubtedly of much service to him; for, as has been said by one of his biographers, it is "above all others calculated to discipline the mind and give one a knowledge of human nature."

In 1823 he returned to his native State, and settled at Concord, Massachusetts, where he entered into partnership with his elder brother, Colonel Daniel Shattuck, who then carried on business as a trader in that town. Here he resided about ten years. While here, in 1824, he was admitted a member of the Social Circle, a club which has embraced in its membership most of the leading minds of Concord, and which celebrated on the 21st of March, 1882, the one hundredth aniversary of its present organization - a revival of a previous one dating back to Revolutionary times. He was active as a member, and in January, 1828, was chosen chairman of a committee to collect facts relative to the first formation of the Circle. The report of this committee, dated February 26, 1828, and bearing marks of painstaking research, is printed in full in a volume, issued in 1882, entitled, "The Centennial of the Social Circle of Concord," which volume contains the proceedings at the celebration, with an appendix of historical and biographical matter.

In 1827, he assisted in organizing a Sunday-school in Concord. An interest had then begun to be awakened in the Sunday-school system among the ministers and friends of religious education in that town and its vicinity. In May of that year the Rev. Ezra Ripley, D. D., the minister of Concord, invited such as he supposed would care to help him to meet at the Centre Schoolhouse. Mr. Shattuck, Deacon Hosmer, Dr. Edward Jarvis, Miss Almira Hunt, now the wife of Dr. Jarvis, Miss Harriet Moore, and others were present. A school was organized,

of which Mr. Shattuck was chosen superintendent; and he faithfully attended to the duties of the office till he left town. Dr. Jarvis, who is my authority for these facts, was the first librarian of the school. Mr. Shattuck had experience in Sunday-school matters, as he had taught in such a school at New Ipswich, and in 1818 had organized one at Detroit, the first ever opened in Michigan.

His interest in the subject of education did not cease when he left the profession of a teacher. Some of his efforts to raise the character of the schools in his adopted town are given in the following extract from his autobiography, previously quoted:—

While a member of the school committee in Concord he reorganized the public schools in that town, introduced a new system for the division of the public-school money, and prepared and printed a new code of school regulations. One of these regulations required that school registers, prepared under such forms as he prescribed, should be furnished to the teachers at the commencement, to be returned at the end of each successive school term; and another that the committee should make written reports annually to the town concerning the schools; and in 1830 he prepared, presented, and published their first report. These measures were original with him; and, so far as his knowledge extends, this was the first annual school report of that description ever presented in a public town-meeting in Massachusetts. Before that time it had not been considered one of the duties of such committees to make a report of their doings concerning the matters entrusted to them. A similar regulation was subsequently introduced in Cambridge, Northborough, and other places; and it operated so well that, at his suggestion while a member of the Legislature, the law of April 13, 1838, requiring its adoption throughout the State, was passed; and it may with perfect confidence be said that no measure, aside from the establishment of the Board of Education itself, has done so much for the improvement of the public schools of the State.

In June, 1832, he formed, at Cambridge, a copartnership with the firm of Hilliard, Gray, & Co. of Boston, — which

firm consisted of Messrs. Harrison Gray, John H. Wilkins, and James Brown, - for the purpose of carrying on the bookselling and publishing business at the University Bookstore. The firm-name was Brown, Shattuck, & Co.; and Mr. Brown and Mr. Shattuck, both of whom resided at Cambridge, managed the business. In November, 1833, they sold out to Messrs. James Munroe and George Nichols. Mr. Shattuck removed to Boston, where, in 1834, we find him engaged in the same business, under the style of Shattuck & Co. A few years later he became a partner in the publishing house of Russell, Shattuck, & Co., successors to Russell, Odiorne, & Co., his partners being Messrs. John B. Russell and John D. W. Williams. On the 31st of March, 1836, the American Stationers' Company was incorporated "for the purpose of manufacturing type, stereotype plates, and books, and carrying on the business." Mr. Shattuck was one of three persons named in the charter, the others being Edwin Shepard and James Ballard. This corporation succeeded to the business of Russell, Shattuck, & Co. In 1839 the affairs of the company were closed, and Mr. Shattuck retired from regular business. 'The Stationers' Company, and the firms in which Mr. Shattuck was a partner, published many standard and valuable works.

In religion, Mr. Shattuck was a Trinitarian Congregationalist, and he was an attendant on the Park Street Church in Boston. In politics he was a Whig, but not a very active partisan. For five years, from 1837 to 1841 inclusive, he was a member of the Common Council of Boston. In the latter year he declined being a candidate for re-election. One of his acts, while a member of the city government, I give in his own words:—

In 1837 he devised the plan for arranging, printing, and preserving the "Documents of the City of Boston, printed by order of the several Departments of the City Government" which was begun in 1838, and has been since continued in one

or more annual volumes upon the same plan. And he then introduced a resolution, which was passed, providing for exchanging such documents for those of other cities, intending that they should form a nucleus for the commencement of a city library. At the same time he collected and caused to be bound a few sets of such documents as could be found of the four previous years, which had been printed without system, and left to chance for their preservation.

The forethought of Mr. Shattuck in this matter has secured to the city of Boston probably the most perfect series which any city in the country possesses of printed documents illustrating the doings of its own municipality. His plan is still carried out; and there are now annually bound, with titlepages and indexes, three stout octavo volumes of more than fifteen hundred pages each, copies of which are placed in the principal libraries in the city. In 1874 a thorough index to the whole series, then amounting to sixty-eight volumes, was prepared and printed by the city, furnishing a ready reference to the matters in the series.

Mr. Shattuck also prepared, in 1841, a "Municipal Register containing the Rules and Orders of the City Council, recent Ordinances and Laws, and a list of the Municipal Officers of the City of Boston." This continues to be issued annually, upon a similar plan and under the same general title. It was, he informs us, "the first publication of its kind." Now most of the chief cities in the Union, and many of the smaller ones, have similar manuals.

He made special efforts in conjunction with others, while connected with the city government, to reduce the public debt, and to secure an economical administration of affairs. When in 1845 an act to supply the city with pure water was submitted to a vote of the citizens, Mr. Shattuck opposed it and published two pamphlets against the adoption of the act. His reason for doing this was that he believed that "the specific measures then pro-

posed for the acceptance of the citizens would not be expedient." The city by vote rejected the act. Another act, however, which Mr. Shattuck considered "less objectionable," was afterwards accepted by the city.

In 1838, and again in 1849, he represented the city of Boston in the Massachusetts General Court. Here he proved a useful member, and was placed on important committees. He was also for many years a Justice of the Peace.

He early took an interest in public libraries. manifested the first year that he held a seat in the Legislature by procuring the passage of the Resolve of April 25, 1838, for the exchanging with other States and governments the printed State documents and publications. Alexander Vattemare, to whom credit is due for priority in the idea of international literary exchanges, had before this brought his plan to the attention of the governments of Europe, but it was more than a year later, September 20, 1839, that this cosmopolitan enthusiast sailed for this country to advocate it before our people. While in the General Court in 1849 Mr. Shattuck served on the Library Committee, and wrote the report, House Document, No. 71, embodying a plan for enlarging and changing the management of the State Library, placing it under the control of the Board of Education, as it now is.

Mr. Shattuck, however, is best known at the present day as a writer on statistical, historical, and genealogical subjects. His tastes and talents specially fitted him for this species of literature, to which he made very important contributions.

The first book which he gave to the press was his History of Concord, published in 1835. It was issued at a time when attention was beginning to be directed to local history, a department of writing which now forms no inconsiderable portion of the issues of the New England press. The Collections of the Historical Societies of Mas-

sachusetts and New Hampshire, and the histories of the counties of Worcester and Berkshire, had already preserved topographical and historical accounts of many New England towns; and the American Quarterly Register had gathered the ecclesiastical statistics of not a few of them. A few town histories had also appeared, but they were mostly small and fragmentary; though Snow's Boston and Adams's Portsmouth, published in 1825; Lewis's Lynn, in 1829; Folsom's Saco and Biddeford, in 1830; Deane's Scituate, in 1831; Willis's Portland, in 1831 and 1833, and perhaps others, were of respectable size and gave evidence of praiseworthy research and conscientious preparation.

No doubt the increasing interest then felt in our colonial and local history was quickened by the eloquence which had recently been heard at Plymouth, Salem, Concord, Charlestown, Boston, and elsewhere, from the lips of such orators as Webster, Everett, Story, and Quincy, commemorating the bi-centennial, centennial, and semi-centennial anniversaries of the founding of towns, or of some stirring event in their history. The very year of the publication of Mr. Shattuck's book, Ralph Waldo Emerson, who had recently become a citizen of Concord, delivered an oration on the two hundredth anniversary of its settlement. Ten years previous, there had been commemorated by the town, the semi-centennial anniversary of the Concord Fight, one of the most important engagements in the battle of the 19th of April, 1775, known, from the town where the action began, as the battle of Lexington; for here, at Concord, in the words of Dr. Jarvis, "the first effectual resistance to British aggression" was made. An address was delivered on that occasion by Edward Everett, whose fame as an orator had been established the year before by his scholarly efforts at Harvard University and Plymouth Rock. Even then pilgrim feet were seeking Concord as a spot where heroic actions

had been done, as they are now seeking it as a literary Mecca.

It was while preparing articles for a newspaper, published in Concord, on the events which had made that town famous - as Mr. Shattuck himself informs us - that the thought of writing a history of the place arose in his mind. He "met with so much matter," he says, "not only of local but general interest, that he conceived the idea of preparing a separate work on the subject." During the last four years of his residence in Concord all his intervals of leisure, and every moment that he could snatch from business, were devoted to the collection of materials for this work and to its preparation for the press. It is difficult at the present day, when so many early records have been printed, and so large a number of ancient documents and other evidences of history have been made accessible to the student in the pages of the Historical and Genealogical Register, and other works of the kind, to realize the amount of labor that must have been required of Mr. Shattuck to prepare his work. His authorities were chiefly in manuscript and widely scattered.

Mr. Shattuck issued a prospectus for his History, May 1, 1832, but the book was not published till three years later. The subscription price was one dollar and fifty cents in boards, or one dollar and seventy-cents in sheep. The book has since been sold as high as fifteen dollars. In his prospectus he says:—

Few places have so many interesting incidents associated with their history as Concord. From its local situation it has been the centre of many important operations in the county of Middlesex, and of some of the most interesting in the Commonwealth. Being the first inland town settled above tide-waters, it endured great hardships in the commencement of its history. The progress of the settlement, the exertions to civilize the Indians, the warlike operations in the town as a military post during Philip's War, the distinguished part it took in the Revo-

lution, and in other peculiar eras in the history of Massachusetts, are imperfectly, if at all known; but fortunately many important facts have been preserved in manuscript. The ecclesiastical history also has been considered of unusual importance, and especially during Whitefield's time. The proposed work—besides the minute details of general and ecclesiastical history, interesting to readers generally, as well as to the citizens of this town in particular,—will contain the Natural History, Topography, Statistics, Notices of Early Families and Distinguished Men, and other subjects of general or local interest.

This extract from the prospectus gives a good idea of the contents of the volume, and the manner of classifying its subjects. No doubt other works were examined and their plans studied, but the originality of Mr. Shattuck's mind would not allow him to be a servile copyist of any one. The plan he adopted has been frequently commended, and certainly many of its features are improvements on previous works. The book was received with marked favor, and was the subject of an article in the North American Review for April, 1836, by Benjamin B. Thatcher, in which both the arrangement and the execution of the work were commended.

While collecting materials for his History, Mr. Shattuck learned the condition of the public records, and found that those of births, marriages, and deaths were generally neglected. By articles in the newspapers he called public attention to the subject and urged the need of reform. The newspaper discussion, and probably the personal efforts of Mr. Shattuck, led the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Counsellors of the Massachusetts Medical Society, to petition the General Court in 1841 to provide by law for a more exact and efficient system of registering the births, marriages, and deaths within the Commonwealth. The petitions were referred to a joint special committee, which recommended that the subject be referred to the next General Court, with

the declaration, however, that "the committee fully concur with the memorialists in their opinion as to the beneficial effects that would result from an efficient and thorough system of public registration." The next year, March 4, 1842, an act was passed, which, with subsequent legislation, has made the Massachusetts registration records a model for other States. They are not barren entries of names and dates, but they record, with these, various facts having a scientific value in the history of mankind. Five years previous to the passage of this act a new system of registration had been established in England, and, no doubt, the English system of 1837 furnished important suggestions for our own. The Massachusetts Act directs that returns be made to the Secretary of State, who is required to "prepare therefrom such tabular results as will render them of practical utility." The first report was made to the Legislature of 1843, since which they have been annually presented and printed, and are among the most highly valued documents of the State.

Mr. Shattuck "furnished some of the materials for the first and second reports," and "the fourth report, on a new plan, was entirely prepared by him." He addressed to the Hon. John A. Bolles, Secretary of the Commonwealth — in reply to a request from the Secretary for suggestions — a letter dated December 13, 1843, pointing out the defects of the existing laws. This letter was published in the second report. Another letter, dated December 12, 1845, addressed to the Secretary at that time, the Hon. John G. Palfrey, containing important views on the general subject, was appended to the fourth report, and was also issued separately.

In 1849, while a member of the House of Representatives, the laws relating to registration were thoroughly revised agreeably to his recommendations as chairman of the joint special committee on the subject. The Hon. William B. Calhoun, Secretary of State, requested him to prepare the blanks necessary to carry this law into execution, and to write the instructions to the town and city clerks, registrars, &c., which he did. This matter was published in a pamphlet of thirty-two pages. Mr. Shattuck states that he "originated the plan, and drew the ordinance which was passed by the city of Boston, for carrying the laws into operation in that city and for creating the office of City Registrar." In regard to the system of registration, which he had labored so assiduously to perfect, he writes:—

If faithfully carried out, henceforward the rights of property will be more securely guarded, the natural history and laws of human life will become more generally known, and genealogists and biographers will have a more easy and sure pathway to the information they desire.

The city of Boston in 1845 employed him to superintend the taking of the census for that city. He then originated "and introduced for the first time in this country, a new plan for enumeration — that of taking the name and description of every person enumerated, and, among other characteristics, specifying the birthplace of each, and thus distinguishing the native from the foreign population." The elementary facts thus obtained were afterwards abstracted, and presented in a variety of statistical tables and statements, giving much new information of value which had not and could not be obtained under the old method of taking the census. The result of his labors appeared in a volume entitled, "Report to the Committee of the City Council appointed to obtain the Census of Boston for the year 1845." The volume makes two hundred and eighty octavo pages, illustrated by maps and plates.

While in the Legislature in 1849 he was placed on the special committee on the census, and wrote the report recommending for the State census a modification of the

plan used in Boston. In November of that year he was invited by the United States Census Board of Washington to "visit that city, to assist in preparing the plan of the national census of 1850; and the first, second, third, fifth, and sixth—five of the six—blank schedules used in that census, with the accompanying instructions, were designed and prepared principally by him." The Act of Congress relating to the census was also drawn by him, and was passed substantially in the form in which he drew it.

In October, 1847, the American Statistical Association, of which he was a member, appointed a committee to prepare a memorial to the Massachusetts Legislature for a sanitary survey of the State. A petition prepared by the chairman, Edward Jarvis, M. D., showing by statistics and arguments the value of such a survey, was reported to the Association at the annual meeting, January 12, 1848, and after being read was ordered to be presented to the General Court by the chairman. The memorial was printed as House Document No. 16. The matter was referred to the next Legislature, when a petition was also received from the Massachusetts Medical Society. The petitions were referred to a joint special committee. Mr. Shattuck was then a member of the House and was placed on this committee. He wrote the report recommending the appointment of a commission to prepare and report to the next Legislature a plan for such a survey. The resolve was adopted May 2, 1849, and, on the third day of the following July, Governor Briggs appointed Lemuel Shattuck of Boston, the Hon. Nathaniel P. Banks, Jr., of Waltham, and Dr. Jehiel Abbott of Westfield the commissioners.

Mr. Shattuck states that his appointment by Governor Briggs as chairman of this commission was entirely unexpected, and "was not accepted without doubt and hesitation." At the request of the other commissioners he collected the materials and wrote the report which was

printed by the State, in 1850, in a volume of over five hundred pages, with maps and plates. The New York Journal of Medicine, in reviewing the volume in its issue of March, 1851, calls it "an epitome of sanitary science," and says: "We doubt if there has appeared any work for many a year in our country that is of more real interest to the community than this, whether we regard it as replete with suggestions for the promotion of personal health, or as a great political document intended to show the mode whereby the physical and intellectual powers of a people may be fully developed." Equally high is the praise bestowed upon it, a quarter of a century later, by Dr. Elisha Harris of New York City, who, in a letter to Henry I. Bowditch, M. D., of Boston, dated May 1, 1876, speaks of the Report as "the first great step in the sanitary work of our times." "It remains," he says "a monument to Mr. Shattuck's large and fervent mind, and to his plans of usefulness."

Dr. Bowditch himself, in his "Public Hygiene in America, being a Centennial Discourse delivered before the International Medical Congress, Philadelphia, September, 1876," pays a high tribute to the value of this Report and to the importance of Mr. Shattuck's labors in behalf of the cause he advocated. Speaking of the pioneers in hygienic reform, he says:—

Among these stand pre-eminent, in their relation to the English-speaking race, two laymen. One of these, I fear, may be but little known to most of those present, or even to the majority of the people in the State where he lived. That one is Lemuel Shattuck of Boston. The other is Edwin Chadwick of London, a barrister well known and honored by every civilized nation. In relation to the former, I will take the liberty of quoting from an appendix to an address on Public Hygiene, delivered by myself as chairman of a committee on Public Hygiene, last year, before the American Medical Association, at its meeting in Louisville: "Twenty-five years ago, namely, in 1850, . . . a report of the Sanitary Commission of Massachusetts was

printed by order of the Legislature. It was written chiefly, if not entirely, by a layman, Lemuel Shattuck, Esq., an earnest sanitarian of that day. It was an admirable and exhaustive statement of what the State had previously done. It gave detailed plans and propositions as to what it was incumbent on the State still further to do. Many of its pages will apply to any State at the present day. Among other recommendations it suggested the appointment of a State Board of Health. It demanded that Board on similar grounds to those taken when establishing a State Board of Education,-namely, the public weal. As I read it now, after a lapse of a quarter of a century since it was written and presented to the Legislature, I wonder at the wisdom of its suggestions and learn much from them." I remember Mr. Shattuck well. Calm in his perfect confidence in the future of preventive measures to check disease, he walked almost alone the streets of his native [adopted] city, not only unsustained by the profession, but considered by most of them as an offence, for his earnest defence of what seemed to the majority of us physicians out of a layman's sphere, and, withal, of trifling moment, compared with our usual routine of so called "practice." The public, ignorant of hygiene, treated him no better. The report fell stillborn from the State Printer's hands. Its recommendations were ignored. Nevertheless, the ideas contained therein germinated slowly but surely; and twenty years afterwards, namely, in 1870, Dr. Derby, as secretary of the State Board of Health of Massachusetts, looked to the book as his inspiration and support.

His taste for genealogical research was probably early developed; but the first printed results of his research appear in the History of Concord, where sketches of the families of the early settlers of that town are given. Genealogy, now so prominent a feature in our most approved town histories, seldom had a place in those of that day. The Rev. Samuel Deane, however, whose History of Scituate preceded Mr. Shattuck's work four years, had made a new departure, and devoted nearly half of his volume to family history. The portion of Mr. Shattuck's book given to this subject, though less than one tenth of the volume, bears evidence of patient research and careful analysis.

Besides his genealogical sketches of Concord settlers, Mr. Shattuck collected and arranged genealogies, more or less full, of a number of families to which his own was allied, though only a few of these genealogies have been printed. But his great work in this department of literature is his Shattuck Memorials, an octavo of more than four hundred pages, which was published in 1855. An examination will convince even a careless observer that it is the result of painstaking investigation; and I would advise those engaged in compiling such works to study this, as they will find here suggestions and examples which will be of great use to them.

His other printed genealogies which have come to my knowledge are the Minot in the Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. I. pp. 171-8 and 256-62; the Winslow in the same periodical, Vol. IV. pp. 297-303; the Baxter in his System of Family Registration; and the Blood, Chamberlain, and Parker, appended to his Shattuck Memorials.

His genealogical studies having shown him the need of greater precision in expressing the degrees of relationship, he prepared an article on this subject, which he illustrated by diagrams, and had printed in the Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. I., pp. 355-359. This was afterwards rewritten and otherwise improved by him, and appears in the appendix to his Shattuck Memorials. He furnishes here the means for a more precise use of the names of the different degrees of consanguinity and kindred, and for defining them more accurately. William H. Whitmore has since made other improvements in genealogical nomenclature, which will be found in the Register, Vol. XXVIII., pp. 402-403. As the science progresses no doubt other improvements will be made, and this nomenclature will be simplified and made more precise.

He was one of the first to turn his attention to the

science of heredity. While engaged in his genealogical investigations he was led to examine the facts which came to his knowledge bearing upon the hereditary descent of personal qualities and talents, and to note how this principle had worked for the elevation or corruption of the race. Finding that neither public nor private records preserved sufficient data to arrive at satisfactory conclusions as to the laws of heredity, he directed his mind to devising a plan for recording more full and precise statistics of persons and families, the result of which he published in 1841, in a book entitled, "A Complete System of Family Regis-This is a series of blanks, with an explanatory introduction, for recording, with the family record, such facts and circumstances as illustrate the progressive history of the individual and the family He afterwards simplified and otherwise improved the plan, and published it in 1856 under the title of "Blank Book Forms for Family Registers." If a book on this plan were kept by every family, a vast fund of information illustrating the laws of human life would be preserved.

Mr. Shattuck's ideas of the importance of investigations into vital statistics and the laws of heredity are developed in the introductory chapters to his Shattuck Memorials. I quote the opening paragraph of his chapter on "Philosophical Genealogy":—

Genealogical investigations should have two great objects in view: first, to ascertain and record the most important facts in the history of generations, families, and individual persons; and secondly, to abstract, analyze, and classify these facts so that they may illustrate the natural history of the race to which they refer. The former may be denominated Historical Genealogy, and the latter Philosophical Genealogy. Hitherto investigations have been confined almost exclusively to the first department of these inquiries, and the incidents of personal history have possessed sufficient interest to secure attention. Philosophical Genealogy is, however, of much more importance. The great truths it develops might be applied to facilitate our

personal improvement and to increase our happiness in the every-day acts and duties of life. Considered in this light, genealogy becomes a science of the utmost utility. Though it has as yet received little attention and been but imperfectly understood or appreciated, it should, nevertheless, be a popular science, and should take its place among the most important objects deserving attention and investigation. "The proper study of mankind is man." The general, characteristics of a family are perpetuated through successive generations. ifications and even peculiarities may, however, be introduced and may be transmitted for shorter or longer periods, though there is a constant tendency in nature to return to the original type. It is well known that different races, and different families of the same race, do not uniformly possess the same characteristics, and that they often differ materially from each other. Even the different members of the same family frequently exhibit great diversity in their natural capacities and propensities. Some families and individuals are remarkable for their muscular power, their industry, energy, and perseverance; others for their mental superiority; some for other characteristics, physical, intellectual, or moral; and others for opposite or different qualities. Some seem to inherit a predisposition to consumption, apoplexy, fever, insanity, or other disease which will be developed under circumstances that favor it; while others seem entirely exempt from such tendencies, and can expose themselves to hazards with impunity. The transmission of these characteristics is not uniform. In some cases they affect a part of the progeny only; in others they skip one or two generations to reappear in a grandchild or great-grandchild. The size, form, complexion, color of the hair and eyes, or other physical or even intellectual or moral traits of character, may be produced by the peculiarities of the father or of the mother, or by a combination of the peculiarities of both. Offspring often resemble the paternal grandparent more than the father, and the children of a wife by her second husband have been known to bear a greater resemblance to her first husband than to their own father. Sometimes the peculiar circumstances and propensities existing at the time of generation, and especially the condition, associations, and influences of the mother during gestation, may originate a new trait of character, which may be transmitted

to the "third and fourth generation," or until eradicated by other causes and circumstances. The characteristics of a noble and generous, as well as of a mean and grovelling nature, may be perpetuated through many generations. Other elements, however, may be introduced, and other influences may be brought into combination which may exterminate or modify good or bad qualities, and produce other types of character differing from the originals that have preceded them. The causes of good and evil which often hover over the history and destiny of families, to enlighten or darken the domestic fireside, are often traced to the marriages of individuals which have an immense influence upon their happiness, prosperity, and perpetuity. Many husbands are unworthy of their wives, and many wives unworthy of their husbands, the one unfit or uncongenial to the other, either in physical or mental capacity, or in social or moral training, and such alliances should never have been formed. Eminent naturalists have stated, and probably truly, that if they could have the control of marriage connections, and determine what persons should be united, they could produce a race of idiots or a race of nature's noblemen.

The reader will derive much useful information and be furnished with much "food for thought" if he carefully studies the whole introductory matter in the volume, particularly the parts which give the results of the author's analysis of the several classes of facts which he there preserves, and his deductions from them.

On the 24th of August, 1830, he was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He served on the committee of publication for the sixth volume of the third series of the society's collections, published in 1837. He was also chosen, October 24, 1831, a member of the American Antiquarian Society. In 1839 he assisted in founding the American Statistical Association, and, at the first election of officers—in December of that year—he was chosen home secretary, which office he held till February 1844. He was the librarian from February, 1840, to February, 1843, a counsellor from February, 1844, to

January, 1847, and a member of the publishing committee from February, 1840, to February, 1843.

The first organized meeting for forming the New England Historic Genealogical Society was held at his house. No. 79 Harrison Avenue, November 1, 1844. An informal meeting had been held at the house of Mr. William II. Montague a fortnight previous, October 18, 1844, at which the guests were regaled with some apples which grew that year on the tree planted by Peregrine White, the first white child born in New England; but this meeting was not organized, as was that in November, by the choice of a chairman and a secretary. Several meetings followed for deciding preliminary matters. A constitution was adopted December 17, 1844, and officers were chosen January 7, 1845. Mr. Shattuck was elected vice-president, and held the office till January, 1850. He was ex officio a member of the board of directors for the same term. In 1854 he was chosen a member of the publishing committee, and held the position two years.

On the 1st of November, 1854,—the tenth anniversary of the meeting at his house, - the regular monthly meeting of the society was held at its rooms, No. 5 Tremont Street. The writer of this memoir attended that meeting. Mr. Thornton, one of the four surviving founders, was absent, but the others - Messrs. Shattuck, Drake, and Montague - were present, and they all gave reminiscences of the early days of the society. It appeared from their testimony that the society was projected some years before the meeting at Mr. Montague's house, for they all remembered having had conversations with Mr. Ewer, during several preceding years, on the feasibility of forming such an association. The part Mr. Ewer took in forming the society is told in his memoir in the second volume of these Memorial Biographies, pages 141 to 150. The services of Mr. Shattuck, though not so prominent, were important. He entered heartily into the work of

the society, and was appointed on important special committees, the duties of which he discharged with his usual fidelity.

He retained his membership in these societies till his death. In their objects he took a deep interest, and did his whole duty in every position assigned him. The two associations which he assisted in founding owe him a debt of gratitude for the work performed for them in the days of their infancy. He was a member of various other literary and benevolent institutions.

The following is as complete a list, as the writer of this memoir is able to prepare, of the publications of Mr. Shattuck. He contributed largely also to the magazines and newspapers of the day:—

- 1. A History of the Town of Concord, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, from its Earliest Settlement to 1832; and of the adjoining towns, Bedford, Acton, Lincoln, and Carlisle: containing various notices of County and State History not before published. By Lemuel Shattuck. Boston, 1835. 8vo, pp. viii. 392.
- 2. A Complete system of Family Registration. Part First: containing charts, forms, and directions for registering, on a new and simple plan, the birth, marriage, and death of the several members of the family, and for ascertaining and exhibiting at once their connections, relative situation, heirs-at-law, ancestors, descendants, and generation. Part Second: containing forms and suggestions for registering other particulars, proper or useful to be retained in remembrance, relative to every member of any family, from which a particular biography or history of any individual or family may be easily compiled. By Lemuel Shattuck. Boston, 1841. 4to, pp. 12, besides blank forms which vary in different copies.
- 3. The Vital Statistics of Boston; containing an abstract of the bills of mortality for the last twenty-nine years, and a general view of the population and health of the city at other periods of its history. By Lemuel Shattuck. Philadelphia, 1841. 8vo, pp. 35. Reprinted from the American Journal of the Medical Sciences, April, 1841.

- 4. The Domestic Book-Keeper and Practical Economist; suggesting how to live independently, and how to be independent while we live: containing directions and forms for a new method of keeping an account of the receipts and expenditures of individuals and families. Designed for those who are willing to know how they live and who desire to live better. Boston, 1843, small 4to., pp. 36, besides blank forms.
- 5. The Scholar's Daily Journal; containing simple forms for recording each day's lessons, and for exhibiting, at one view, the attendance, character, and intellectual progress during each month: embracing introductory suggestions and rules of behavior for good scholars. Designed for public schools, academics, colleges, and home instruction. Boston, published by Lemuel Shattuck, 1843. Small 4to, pp. 12, besides forms for records, &c.
- 6. Letter from Lemuel Shattuck, in answer to interrogatories of J. Preston, in relation to the introduction of water into the city of Boston. Boston, 1845. 8vo, pp. 40.
- 7. How shall we Vote on the Water Act? [Boston, 1845.] 8vo, pp. 24.
- 8. Letter to the Secretary of State, [the Hon. John G. Palfrey], on the registration of births, marriages, and deaths, in Massachusetts. By Lemuel Shattuck. 8vo, pp. 42. Dated Boston, December 12, 1845.
- 9. Report to the Committee of the City Council appointed to obtain the Census of Boston for the year 1845, embracing collateral facts, and statistical researches, illustrating the history and condition of the population and their means of progress and prosperity. By Lemuel Shattuck. Boston, 1846. 8vo, pp. 179, app. 95.
- 10. The State Library. Report of the Committee on the Library. Presented March 7, 1849. House Document, 1849, No. 71, 8vo, 14 pp.
- 11. Memorial of Lemuel Shattuck, praying for a revision of the laws in relation to the registration and return of births, marriages, and deaths. Dated January 21, 1848. Senate Document, 1848, No. 24, Massachusetts General Court. 8vo, pp. 38.

- 12. Report of the Joint Special Committee of the Legislature of Massachusetts appointed to consider the expediency of modifying the laws relating to the registration of births, marriages, and deaths, presented March 3, 1849. Boston, 1849. House Document, No. 65. 8vo, pp. 57.
- 13. Report of the Joint Special Committee to whom were referred the Memorials of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and the American Statistical Association, and various other Memorials and petitions for a sanitary survey of the State. House Document, 1849, No. 66, Massachusetts General Court. Dated March 3, 1849. 8vo, pp. 39.
- 14. Report on the subject of the State Census, of 1850, by the Special Committee of the Legislature of Massachusetts. Presented April 7, 1849. Boston, 1849. 8vo, pp. 46. House Document, 1849, No. 127.
- 15. Contribution to the Vital Statistics of the State of New York, by Lemuel Shattuck, Esq., of Boston. Dated February 1, 1850. 8vo, pp. 28.
- 16. Report of a General Plan for the Promotion of Public and Personal Health, devised, prepared and recommended by the Commissioners appointed under a resolve of the Legislature of Massachusetts relating to a sanitary survey of the State. Presented April 15, 1850. Boston, 1850. 8vo, pp. 544.
- 17. Sanitary Survey of the town of Lawrence, by the Chairman of the Commissioners, appointed under a resolve of the Legislature of Massachusetts relating to a sanitary survey of the State. Boston, 1850. 8vo, pp. 23. Reprinted from the above report.
- 18. Sanitary Survey of the town of Attleborough, by the Chairman of the Commissioners, &c. Boston, 1850. 8vo, pp. 32. Reprinted from the same report.
- 19. Annual Report of the Board of Health of Lynn, by the Chairman of the Commissioners, &c. Boston, 1850. Svo, pp. 30. Reprinted from the same report.
- 20. Memorials of the descendants of William Shattuck, the Progenitor of the families in America that have borne his name; including an introduction, and an appendix containing collateral information. By Lemuel Shattuck. Boston, 1855. 8vo, pp. 414.

21. Blank Book Forms for Family Registers, devised and constructed upon a new, simple, and comprehensive plan, and designed for general use in every family; including suggestions and directions for an improved system of family registration. Boston, 1856. 8vo, pp. 12, besides blank forms which vary in number in different copies.

The book has a second titlepage, and some copies were issued with this title only, viz.:—

Mr. Shattuck, in his Memorials, says: —

The personal conformation of our family, where its peculiar type prevails, has some distinctive characteristics. It may be described generally as of the medium height, full-chested, thickly set, compactly built, and well proportioned, with rather more than the average weight and athletic or muscular power; the features usually full and regular, and the complexion fair; a constitution capable of enduring hardship and toil, and favorable to health and long life.

This may be taken as a good description of Mr. Shattuck himself. He was however a little above the medium height. A life-like engraved portrait of him is prefixed to his Shattuck Memorials, and to a memoir of him in the Historical and Genealogical Register for April, 1860.

He married December 1, 1825, Clarissa Baxter, born in Boston, February 11, 1797, daughter of the Hon. Daniel and Sarah (White) Baxter. Mr. Shattuck died at Boston, January 17, 1859. His widow died there May 29, 1871.

His children were: (1) Sarah White, born July 20, 1827; married, June 13, 1849, John Henry Shattuck; died February 4, 1863. (2) Rebecca Elizabeth, born July 7, 1829; died January 27, 1851. (3) Clarissa Baxter, born August 19, 1831; married November 1, 1853, Isaac Frank Dobson; died August 16, 1858. (4) Miriam Stedman, born August 4, 1833; still living. (5) Francis Minot born April 12, 1835; died June 26, 1850.

Edward Jarvis, M. D., of Boston, President of the American Statistical Association, who knew Mr. Shattuck intimately and is probably better qualified than any other person to appreciate the value of his labors, has furnished the writer with the following paper on his life and works:—

Mr. Shattuck was a partner with his brother Daniel, a trader in Concord, Massachusetts. He had very strong literary tastes and habits of investigation and industry. He wished to learn the history of Concord, but he found no printed record of the town. For the want of this lie was induced to hunt up the means of writing one himself. He set out to do this with courage and a determination to investigate the whole field of the town's experience from the beginning. He was met with difficulties in the want of public records of the first century and more, which were burned and never replaced. The subsequent records, made afterwards, were very meagre and only related to public affairs, and these very scantily. There were besides these the church records, I think from the beginning, and also records of the Sunday-school from its origin in 1827 - wanting only a few years - until the time when Mr. Shattuck wrote. There were also records of the military companies, the older incorporated in 1777, and the younger in 1809; and the record, dating from 1795, of the Social Circle. For facts not recorded on these Mr. Shattnek was obliged to resort to family records, burialground inscriptions, the record kept by the Rev. Dr. Ripley of the deaths in the whole town from near 1778. I am not aware that any of Dr. Ripley's predecessors had left any account of the deaths.

Mr. Shattuck made research everywhere in collateral records and general histories which might include any part of the history of Concord, or throw any light upon it. Then he searched in private families for every kind of family history, past or present, — family genealogies, records of births, marriages, and deaths, family letters. He diligently collected all traditions and recorded them in his note-books.

Thus his materials, gathered with ceaseless labor for years from numberless and varied sources, were necessarily a multitude of independent, unconnected, heterogeneous parts, without form or relation to each other. He was obliged to assort them into their respective classes as to date and character, and arrange them so as to form one connected whole which would present a continuous account of the events of Concord from the beginning. It was necessarily a labor of years, but he went to it resolutely and cheerfully, and persistently continued until the completion of his work. In his book he embraced accounts of the neighboring towns, Acton, Carlisle, Bedford, and Lincoln, parts or the whole of which had formerly been included in the limits of Concord. But his histories of these towns are necessarily less full and minute than that of Concord. The result was given to the world in 1835, and met with a warm acceptance by the people of Concord and the neighboring towns which were included in the volume.

The work is as complete an analysis and description of the events of Concord as probably could be written out of the ex-It is to be wished that it were more complete isting materials. as to the first half of the existence of the town. It is generally very accurate; though subsequent investigation has thrown additional light on the history of the town, and furnished data for correcting a few of the statements in the work. But these are not material, and they do not impair its general character. The people of Concord and the neighboring towns have reason to be grateful to Mr. Shattuck for his long and patient search for the materials of their history, and for his labor in so arranging the facts as to make one complete whole and present the current events of two hundred years in such a clear and attractive man-The book has long been out of print. On rare occasions, such as the death of owners and the breaking up of families, a copy is to be sold, but it commands a price more than three times as great as the highest price for which it was originally sold. There is now a very general desire that some other investigator and writer like Mr. Shattuck would spring up to complete the History from 1835 to the present time, and, while correcting the mistakes of Mr. Shattuck, make such additions as subsequent discoveries have furnished the means of making.

Mr. Shattuck was not content with learning and reciting the mere facts or events of the past, but was inclined to examine them as to their motives, their course, their bearing, and the consequences that arose or would arise out of them. Hencehe was led to analyze and classify facts, and ascertain the part they had in history—their value and their power. This was the philosophy of history, and invaluable is the lesson which it teaches. Mr. Shattuck, therefore, became a statistician. To this work he afterwards bent his thoughts with his warmest zeal. Here was a field opened to him wherein he could labor with the most satisfaction to his taste and apply the powers of his mind with the best advantage, and—in the result—with the best success. The statistical part of the History of Concord caused him the most mental labor, and gave the world the most satisfaction. It is the most valuable part of the book.

In the year 1842 the law of registration of births, marriages, and deaths in Massachusetts went into effect, and interested Mr. Shattuck very greatly. In the next year, 1843, he sent to France and obtained the details of the law and customs in reference to these matters in that country. He then wrote a comprehensive letter to the Secretary of State, explaining the practice in France, and the best methods of executing the law This letter is printed in the Second Report of Registration of Massachusetts, 1844. In 1845 he made for the same purpose more extensive inquiries in Europe, and obtained reports of the laws and customs of England, Germany, Belgium, and some other European nations. He gave this information in a long and elaborate letter to Dr. John G. Palfrey, the Secretary of State, which is printed in the Fourth Registration Report of Massachusetts, in 1846. From the facts thus obtained, added to facts derived from the registration of the State and some towns in Massachusetts, he drew a series of deductions as to health and mortality. These he digested and presented in tables, showing the comparative value of life in its different stages, and its dangers from various causes at home and abroad. Here were rich lessons in anthropology - such as had not been seen before in these reports, and have since been seen in the annual reports of few States - on the great events of life, its beginning and its termination. This was a new feature in the State mortality reports, which should have been followed ever thereafter. Unfortunately the law assigned this work to the Secretary of State, who, being elected annually, is liable to be changed every year; and who is chosen for other qualities than familiarity with statistical sciences. Although he is charged with the duty of

digesting the facts concerning life and health returned to him, yet he is not required personally to do the work. This is always done by some of the clerks or deputies in his office, or by some other person or persons appointed by him. The Sceretary for the year 1846 did not secure the valuable aid of Mr. Shattuck to do this work. Possibly Mr. Shattuck may have been asked and declined; certainly another did the work, and did not follow in the path so ably and plainly opened with such good results. This was the first work of the kind from Mr. Shattuck. It demonstrated still another point in Mr. Shattuck's east of mind, and opened a field in which he worked with his greatest power and success.

In the year 1848 the American Statistical Association asked the Legislature to make a sanitary survey of the State, and sent a long memorial for this purpose, setting forth the example of England, and the reasons for its adoption in Massachusetts. This petition and memorial were referred to the judiciary committee, who carefully considered the matter and were inclined to favor it; but as it was a new principle both to the government and people, the committee thought it best to recommend to the Legislature to print a large edition of the memorial to be spread throughout the State for the instruction of the people, and to refer the whole matter to the next Legislature, who thereby would come to its consideration with better knowledge of the objects of the measure and the means of accomplishing it.

The next year, 1849, the Statistical Association again petitioned for the same object. The Massachusetts Medical Society also petitioned for it, and prepared another memorial to be joined to that of the Statistical Association. The Legislature received the petitions very kindly, ordered the printing of both the memorials of 1849 and 1850, and finally resolved that the Governor should appoint a commission to prepare a plan of the

survey, and report to the next Legislature.

Mr. Shattuck was then in the Legislature and favored the request of the petitioners in all its stages. There were then three political parties in the State, — the Whigs, the Democrats, and the Freesoilers. The Governor appointed one from each of these parties to be the committee, — Mr. Shattuck, Dr. Jehiel Abbott of Westfield, and Nathaniel P. Banks, Jr., of Waltham.

Mr. Shattuck was chairman, and the master-spirit of the body. He was the most familiar with and interested in the plan, and was expected to do the whole work. He sought the advice of the counsellors of the Massachusetts Medical Society, the consulting physicians of Boston, and some others. But they could not enter into the details of the plan, and only advised as to the general principles. So Mr. Shattuck was at liberty to embrace in his report a plan the most comprehensive. He produced his report at the next meeting of the Legislature. It was very able, long, and comprehensive, filling 544 pages of an octavo volume as printed by the government. But, unfortunately, Mr. Shattuck anticipated the progress of the people in intelligence of and interest in this matter. It was far beyond their comprehension and their readiness to take any step in the work. It was suited to the culture and willingness of a future generation, and an age must pass before the people would be ripe for it. So it fell upon the Legislature and the people fruitless, and elicited no attention, either of approval or disapproval. But the world was content to wait until it should grow up to and understand it and put it into practice. Nothing was done in this matter in the Legislature until 1861, when the Massachusetts Medical Society, the Statistical Association, and the Sanitary Association all joined in a petition for the establishment of a State Board of Health. The Senate passed a very satisfactory bill for this purpose, but it was lost in the House. In 1863 the friends of the measure again took courage and asked the government to ereate a Board of Health, and it was done. The Board went into operation and has so continued until this day with manifest usefulness. It probably will be a lasting and successful institution in the State.

When, in 1849, the office of City Registrar of Boston was established, the friends of the measure—those who hoped to make it the most useful to health and life—wished to elect Mr. Shattnek to the office, but they failed to secure a majority of the city council for that purpose.

Mr. Shattuck was one of the original promoters and members of the American Statistical Association in 1839. He was a constant attendant at all its meetings, and was a very useful associate, taking great and active interest in its proceedings until 1852, after which he was present at no meeting and apparently took no interest in its purposes or works.

Mr. Shattuck, for this country at least, was in advance of his time in his ideas of statistical science, and especially in its applications to the law of life and mortality. His writings manifest correct principles which have stood the test of time, and no adverse criticism has impaired their truth or their hold on the world's confidence.

One of the results of the efforts of Mr. Shattuck to impress upon the people of Massachusetts the importance of preserving statistical information, has been the establishment of a "Bureau of Statistics of Labor," which, under the able management of Mr. Carroll D. Wright, the chief of the bureau, is effecting much good by collecting, digesting, and spreading among the community statistics regarding the various industries of the State. Mr. Wright, who, in the performance of his official duties has made himself familiar with what has been written upon the subject, has furnished me with the following opinion of the value of the contributions of Mr. Shattuck and his contemporaries to the statistics of population:—

In studying the social statistics of our Commonwealth, one first strikes solid ground when he reaches the work of Lemuel Shattuck, Joseph B. Felt, Jesse Chickering, and Josiah Curtis. These writers treated of the population of Boston and of the State between the years 1840 and 1855, and their services have been of inestimable value to the public, for they were the moving forces and influences which placed the statistical work of Massachusetts in the front rank. Mr. Shattuck made a report to the government of the City of Boston, on the Census of 1845, in which he showed the possession of the keenest powers for statistical analysis. This report gave an increased value to all subsequent works of the kind, and it must stand at the head of such efforts in our State, not only on account of its completeness, but for the fact that it was pioneer work in a field of science quite untried in this country.

Mr. Shattuck, with the Rev. Dr. Felt and Dr. Chickering as his contemporaries working in the same field, and Dr. Curtis, whose work followed ten years later, are entitled to the warmest gratitude of all students of our social history; for they all brought not only the very best statistical capacity to their respective works, but they put their individual integrity into their efforts.

The reader of this account of Mr. Shattuck's life and writings has learned from it some of the principal traits of his personal character. Little need be added to what has already been said. He was industrious, patient, and persevering. In his intercourse with others he was unassuming and unobtrusive, but always self-possessed. In his speech he was deliberate, and, though never at a loss to express his ideas, he was not a man of many words. I am told, however, that he spoke fluently upon subjects in which he was deeply interested. Whenever I met him I found him genial, obliging, and always ready to impart any information which he possessed. Though for a large portion of his life a studious rather than an active man, it is evident, from what he accomplished, that he possessed the art of interesting his fellow-men in his plans.

The Hon. Charles Hudson, author of the History of Lexington, wrote a memoir of Mr. Shattuck for the Massachusetts Historical Society, which was printed in their proceedings for June 1880. He closes with the following estimate of the character and work of his friend:—

No observing man can review Mr. Shattuck's work without seeing that he possessed a cool, deliberate mind of more than ordinary strength and self-reliance, and that when he had formed a resolution he would not relax his effort till the object was attained. He not only possessed a discriminating mind, but he had more than ordinary executive or business talent. His fixedness of purpose and untiring industry were prominent traits of his character. The natural powers of the man were undoubtedly under the control of the true Puritan doctrines of the age, modified in his case by his reflections and his acquaintance with the world; so that there is a free, generous, and moral tone displayed in all his writings, showing a true patriotic spirit, equally distant from a rigid aristocracy on the one hand, and radical

democracy on the other. His efforts to improve the health of the community by drainage and ventilation, the gathering of statistics to learn the situation of the people, their wishes and their wants, the sanitary condition of the community, and every subject connected with their well-being and prosperity, - all show the natural feeling of the man and the kindness of his heart. All this we read in the acts he performed and the subjects on which he spent his powers. We discover in all his writings nothing which would abridge the privileges of the people, but on the contrary he labored to increase their prosperity and to elevate their character physically, socially, and morally. What he has written on family registers and the genealogy of his own family illustrates one trait of character which might be overlooked, but which, in fact shows the parental, filial, and brotherly affections of the heart from which the tenderest traits of character arise. The man who would curse father or mother, and despise those reared under the same roof with himself, we should all regard as a cold-hearted wretch. So, on the other hand, where we discover great regard for parents and kindred, we naturally look for kind and generous emotions, for reverence and fidelity, for respect for authority, a sympathy for the poor and unfortunate, and a readiness to instruct the ignorant, elevate the fallen, and protect the weak against the oppression of the Such were the traits of his character; and the acts of benevolence shown in the life of Mr. Shattuck should be cherished, and perpetuate a pleasing remembrance of his amiable qualities.

WILLIAM HICKLING PRESCOTT

WILLIAM HICKLING PRESCOTT was born in Salem, Massachusetts, May 4, 1796. His family had been for generations honorable and distinguished. His father, William Prescott, who lived to witness and enjoy his son's literary fame, was a man of singular dignity and purity of character, - a lawyer who early achieved an honorable eminence, a citizen who, constitutionally averse to political life, did not refuse public service when he deemed that duty demanded it. He served in the legislature of the State both as a representative and senator, and was for three years a member of the governor's council. He belonged through life to the Federalist party, and in 1814 was sent as a delegate to the famous Hartford Convention by the Legislature of Massachusetts. In 1820-21 he bore an influential part in the convention, distinguished for the ability of its members, to which was committed the revision of the Constitution of the Commonwealth. He twice declined an appointment as Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, chiefly on account of his health, which for the last half of his life was far from robust; but in 1818 he held for one year the office of Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He retired from the bar in 1828, and at that time, according to the testimony of Mr. Webster, "stood at its head for legal learning and attainments." His education, begun at Dummer Academy, was continued at Harvard College, where he was

graduated in 1783. He possessed, in a remarkable degree, firmness and independence of character, combined with gentleness of manner and serenity of temperament. His judgment was clear and sound. Honored by all, he was beloved by those admitted to his intimacy. His death, at the age of eighty-two, was sudden, and happily had been preceded by no mental decay or physical suffering.

At the age of thirty-one Judge Prescott married Catherine Greene Hickling, a daughter of Thomas Hickling, Esq., for many years consul of the United States at the island of St. Michael. Mrs. Prescott survived her husband more than seven years, and at the time of her death, in 1852, had nearly reached the age of eighty-five years. She was energetic, efficient, and wise, cheerful in temperament, untiring and judicious in charity and helpful counsel to the poor,—to whom she devoted a very large share of her time and thought. Her position in society was one of much influence and respect, and her death was lamented by hundreds both of those most favored by fortune, and of those whose poverty and suffering she had alleviated.

Judge William Prescott was the son of Colonel William Prescott, who, like his grandson, has left a name destined to be remembered in the history of his country. From early youth he showed a nature bold and venturesome, which seemed not obscurely to point to a soldier's life as that most likely to give scope to his energy and daring. Before he was twenty-one years old he left his father's house in Groton, at that time the outpost of civilization, and moved alone some miles further into the unbroken wilderness, close to the present boundary of New Hampshire. He there occupied a tract of land granted to his father, Benjamin Prescott, at a meeting of the proprietors of Groton, held May 26, 1735, in consideration of his services in obtaining for the town from the General

Court a certain "gore" of land containing 10,800 acres, lying between Townsend and Dunstable, as an equivalent for a portion of the town assigned to Littleton. Benjamin Prescott received one thirteenth part of this gore, and this land is still owned by his great-great-grandson, and has been the favorite home of successive generations of his descendants. The northern portion of Groton, including the gore, was in 1753 set off as a separate district, and was named Pepperell in honor of the captor of Louisburg. At this date William Prescott was already a lieutenant in the militia, and in 1755 he served under General Winslow in Nova Scotia,—being offered, for his conspicuous gallantry, a commission in the regular army, which he declined.

When the struggle of the men of Boston against the arbitrary exercise of the royal authority was fast awakening the slumbering feeling of nationality among the colonies, Prescott was fearless and outspoken in his espousal of the popular cause. He now showed that, however rude had been his life, he was not merely the unlettered soldier or ignorant frontiersman. A letter is published in Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. VII. 1858, p. 99, written by Prescott to the Committee of Safety, in Boston, August 1774, breathing the most fervent and fearless patriotism, and promising the aid which he afterwards so signally rendered. Referring to this letter Winthrop says: "No braver, nobler words than those of Prescott are found in all the records of that momentous period." He was made colonel of a regiment of minutemen, and on the nineteenth of April, 1775, with an impetuous zeal characteristic of him, he hurried to Cambridge with a portion of his command, in the hope of intercepting the British on their return from Lexington and Concord. On the evening of June 16 Colonel Prescott was ordered by General Ward to march to Charlestown with a force of about one thousand men, there to fortify and hold Bunker's Hill. Here—or more correctly, on the adjoining summit known as Breed's Hill, where the fortifications were erected—was fought on the morrow, under his command, the stubbornly contested battle which launched the country upon the War of the Revolution, and made sure the final independence of the colonies. In this battle coolness and gallantry were shown on both sides, but by none in a higher degree than by Colonel Prescott. His statue, by Story, now stands on the hill he so valiantly defended,—a statue not unworthy the hero it commemorates.

Colonel Prescott again distinguished himself in the retreat from Long Island, and, as a volunteer, was present at the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga. But, although the exigency of the Shays Rebellion once more called upon him to draw his sword, he had retired from active service at the end of 1776, and continued to live upon his farm at Pepperell until his death in 1795. Some surprise has been expressed that a soldier who at the beginning of the war had shown such daring and patriotic zeal, and who ought still to have been in vigorous manhood, should have been willing to sheathe his sword before the end to which he had set himself had been accomplished. The explanation is found in an injury sustained while at work upon his Pepperell farm, which rendered the saddle a painful and dangerous seat for him.

His wife was Abigail Hale, a woman of great sweetness and strength of character.

The father and grandfather of Colonel Prescott, Benjamin and Jonas, passed their lives at Groton, — or at Boston, during sessions of the General Court, to which both were repeatedly delegates,—and enjoyed in a high degree the confidence and esteem of their fellow-townsmen. Both held military commands, and in civil life both were called upon to perform services of dignity and importance.

The father of Jonas was John Prescott, who with his

wife, Mary Platts, had emigrated before 1640 from Laneashire, England, and had first settled at Watertown, where his land adjoined that of the ancestor of President Garfield. He was of powerful frame, commanding aspect, and of great personal prowess. In 1643 he became interested with others in the purchase of a large tract of land from Sholan, chief of the Nashaway Indians, and of the settlement which finally established itself in this remote and exposed situation he early became the master-spirit. Thus was founded the town of Lancaster, named in honor of Mr. Prescott's English home. During King Philip's war this infant settlement suffered repeatedly from Indian attacks; and on such occasions, it is related, John Prescott would don a suit of armor in which he had seen service in the Old World, and would thus strike terror into the hearts of the savages, who believed him protected from wounds by supernatural power.

From such men and women was William Hickling Prescott descended, and to them he owed many of those qualities which won him both fame and love. From his mother, perhaps, he derived the unfailing spirits which, with rare intervals of grief or extreme suffering, kept him cheerful and almost playful to the end. The finely constituted mind, which he taught so perfectly to do his will, was doubtless an inheritance in large degree from his father. From his soldier ancestors came the courage and resolute persistency - not less than theirs - which made possible a career of effort and achievement, rather than a life of inactivity for which his early misfortune would have afforded so plausible an excuse. It is perhaps not too fanciful even to trace the choice of a subject for his literary labors to the same pioneer spirit which, in the two preceding centuries, had prompted first the removal to Lancaster, and later into the untrodden wilderness of Pepperell.

The life of William Hickling Prescott has been ably

written by his life-long friend George Ticknor, and to that biography the writer of this brief sketch acknowledges in the fullest degree his indebtedness.

Judge Prescott having moved to Boston in 1808, the son began his direct preparation for college under the Rev. Dr. Gardiner, an excellent classical scholar, who won, and retained until death, the affection of his pupil. At the age of fifteen young Prescott was admitted to the Sophomore Class in Harvard College. Although up to this time he had not shown himself a very enthusiastic student, yet his acquirements in Latin and Greek were such as to carry him with credit through the prescribed examinations; and his knowledge of English literature was already considerable, though gained by much desultory reading, of the lighter sort, rather than by methodical study. Of mathematics he had a strong dislike, and of geometry he declared his utter incapacity to comprehend a word. In character he was still boyish, abounding in animal spirits, prone to mischief, entering with full zest into all the pleasures and some of the follies of a college life; but with too substantial a rectitude and a taste too fastidious to permit him ever to stoop to the more gross forms of indulgence. He was manly, frank, and singularly truthful. Not ambitious as yet of excelling in scholarship, he aimed only to attain a rank which would not be deemed discreditable. The powers which he afterwards displayed can undoubtedly be traced, albeit somewhat faintly, at this early period; but the motive force was not yet supplied.

The story of the accident which resulted in the total loss of one eye, and the crippling for life of the other, is well known and need not be here repeated. It may have been due to this accident, apparently so appalling a calamity, that the boy, who already gave promise of a cultivated and refined manhood, was now destined to become an untiring student and to devote laborious years to the

achievement of a great task. But the change was not a sudden one. After an absence of a few weeks he resumed his studies with increased diligence, and at the Commencement exercises of his class delivered a Latin poem. After graduation he entered his father's office as a student of the law. But this study, although, as he himself says, not uncongenial with his taste, never took a strong hold upon him, and after a few months was interrupted by an acute and most painful inflammation of the remaining eye. This attack was most alarming in its violence, and for a long time baffled the severe remedies that were applied. His health was seriously affected, but his courage and cheerfulness did not yield. The disease finally proved to be rheumatism, and this attack was the precursor of a long series which continued through life, causing always the most intense pain, and gradually impairing what sight was left to him, until the use of his eye was reduced to one hour daily, and for long periods of time was altogether abandoned.

After a slow recovery, by the advice of his physician he sailed for the Azores, and was there most hospitably received by his grandfather, Mr. Hickling, of whose household he was an inmate for about six months. But even in this delicious climate he was not safe from the enemy he had hoped to escape; for during three months he was confined in a dark room, living on meagre fare, but with his mind greedily devouring, through the help of others, many of the classic works of Greek and English literature.

In the spring of 1816 he embarked for London, where he consulted the most eminent oculists of the day, who however could afford him but slight encouragement. He then journeyed to Paris, and continued southward to many of the principal cities of Italy. In Rome we find him already writing with the noctograph; the instrument which was thereafter to be almost his constant companion,

and indeed his chief reliance in his literary labors. In spite of ill health and suffering, it is certain that he enjoyed much in this journey, his preference however being for England, as compared with France, or even Italy.

He returned to Boston in the summer of 1817, only to pass the entire following winter a close prisoner in a darkened room, the tedium relieved only by the visits of friends, or by hours daily of attentive listening to reading.

On the 4th of May, 1820, he was married to Susan Amory, daughter of Thomas C. Amory, Esq., and grand-daughter of Captain Linzee, commander of the British sloop-of-war, Falcon, which was engaged in the attack upon Bunker Hill. This marriage brought great and enduring happiness to both.

It was now, at the age of twenty-four, that Prescott, after careful consideration, determined to make his life one of literary labor. The obstacles to be overcome might well have made such an attempt seem folly, but he was possessed of the resolution and the ability to conquer them. Before deciding the choice of a subject he devoted six years to earnest and systematic study, ranging from English grammar and the masters of English style to the classical authors of Rome and the poets of mediæval Italy. He studied Spanish with Mr. Ticknor; and was thus led, after long hesitation, in January, 1826, definitively to adopt the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella as the topic of This work his first important labor in his chosen career. was not finished until June, 1836. For ten years he had kept his end steadily before him, and had labored towards it with indomitable persistency of purpose. For a considerable portion of the time his eye was useless, and he was obliged to depend absolutely upon the services of a reader; at all times its use was limited within strict and narrow bounds. In spite of this and other hindrances, his industry and ardor enabled him to pursue a course of preparatory study remarkable in its breadth and scope. He eagerly sought all sources of information, and imported from Spain a large number of rare authors, and copies of manuscripts treating of the period of which he wrote. As the time of publication drew near, the nervous diffidence of an inexperienced author was in his case relieved in part by a consciousness that his work had been done with thoroughness and accuracy. Whatever doubts he felt were dispelled by the immediate and assured success of the work. It at once was made the subject of favorable and even highly laudatory reviews, both in this country and in Europe. From these he received much pleasure, but his was not a nature to be unduly clated by the praise of others. His judgments of himself were at all times just, critical, and modest.

After a brief season of relaxation, probably made necessary by the severe mental tension which he had so long sustained, he resumed work, and in August, 1843, had finished the "Conquest of Mexico." To this was devoted the same thorough and severe preparation that he had given to his earlier work. He collected and studied not only all the material, whether in print or in manuscript, bearing directly upon the subject, but read as well books of travel and of science, and the histories of other lands and times. The favor with which this work was received is said to have been greater than has been accorded in this country to any other book of similar importance.

The critics and the public again vied with each other in their cordial reception of Mr. Prescott's next work, the "Conquest of Peru," which issued from the press in March, 1847.

He now began the "History of Philip the Second;" but the condition of his eye grew dangerously worse, his health was seriously impaired, and, yielding with reluctance to the urgency of his friends, he sailed for England May 22, 1850. On reaching London he was at once

welcomed with the utmost cordiality by all that was most cultivated and refined in the society of that city. All doors were opened to him. He was eagerly sought by the leaders of fashion, not less than by those eminent as scholars or as statesmen. The charm of his manner, the grace of his bearing, the interest excited by his misfortune, were almost as powerful factors in his popularity as was his literary fame. Many who had admired his works, and whose judgment was of the highest worth, now became his warm friends. Mr. Ticknor calls this "the most brilliant visit ever made to England by an American citizen not clothed with the prestige of official station."

Returning to Boston in September, 1850, Mr. Prescott resumed work upon the "History of Philip the Second," of which the first two volumes were published in 1855. The next year he gave to the press a continuation of Robertson's "Charles the Fifth." Both these works were eagerly bought by the public, and sustained the high reputation of the author.

But he no longer enjoyed even the moderate health which had been his portion through life. Frequent headaches of intense severity caused his friends much anxiety; but he bore them with unabated cheerfulness, as he did his other sufferings. He continued his work, and the daily exercise which he had always taken with scrupulous regularity was not suspended. On the 4th of February, 1858, an attack of apoplexy, from which he speedily recovered, gave sad warning of a danger not wholly unforeseen by those most near to him, and thenceforth ever present to his own mind. He however soon resumed his writing, and in April of the same year appeared the third volume of "Philip the Second." He was now restricted wholly to a vegetable diet, and although his faculties were n no degree dimmed, his strength was greatly reduced. his hopefulness and good cheer never failed him. He

thought himself growing stronger and better, and looked forward apparently with confidence to completing his work.

The end came with startling suddenness. He was stricken again with apoplexy on the 27th of January, 1859, and, without recovering consciousness, died within three hours from the time of the attack. In obedience to his own request, his body lay for a time in his library, where he had won so much happiness and fame, and on the fourth day after his death it was buried under St. Paul's Church.

In person Mr. Prescott was tall and well-formed. face was one of remarkable beauty, - the features finely cut and regular, the head high and capacious. His expression was winning and refined. His very remarkable personal charm is attested by all who knew him. Professor Theophilus Parsons says of him: "If I were asked to name the man whom I have known, whose coming was most sure to be hailed as a pleasant event by all whom he approached, I should not only place Prescott at the head of the list, but I could not place any other man near him." His affections were warm and constant. Independent in his opinions, he was charitable and magnanimous in his judgments. His nature had no taint of malice or envy. His religious views were the result of careful study and thought in his mature years, and were firmly and reverently held. He was led to reject the doctrines commonly reputed Orthodox, and adopted a liberal Unitarianism.

His character is well depicted in an address delivered before the Massachusetts Historical Society, by the Rev. N. L. Frothingham, D.D.:—

The man was more than his books. His character was loftier than all his reputation. So simple-minded and so great-minded; so keen in his perceptions, but so kind in his judgments; resolute, but so unpretending; so considerate of every one so tasking of himself; so full of the truest and warmest affections; so merry in his temper, without overleaping a single due bound; such spirit, but such equanimity; so much thoughtfulness, without the least cast of sickliness; doing good as by the instinct of spontaneous activity, and doing labor without a wrinkle or a strain; unswerving in his integrity, and with the nicest sense of honor; whom no disadvantage could dishearten, no prosperity corrupt, no honors and plaudits elate or alter one whit; modest, as if he had never done anything; retaining through life all the artlessness of the highest wisdom; with a liberal heart and an open hand; the ingenuousness of youth flashing to the last from his frank face; walking in sympathy with his fellows, and humbly before God.

His engrossing literary occupation kept him aloof from the political contests of his time; nor would his opinions or his temperament have allowed him to find pleasure or interest in the embittered struggles for party supremacy. But he was always a patriotic citizen of his country,—not less so when enjoying the lavish hospitality of England than when at home. His opinions were those which had been held by the Federalists, to which party his father had belonged. Although living thus removed from the turmoil of political strife, he was not unstirred by the growing conflict against slavery; and Charles Sumner was always a welcome guest at his table when many doors in Boston were closed to him.

Besides the important historical works by which he will be chiefly remembered, Mr. Prescott had contributed to the North American Review a series of critical and historical essays, and had also prepared memoirs of Mr. John Pickering and Mr. Abbott Lawrence. His style was vigorous, fluent, and strongly infused with the personality of the author. His ardent imagination was so far indulged as to give to his work intensity of color and warmth, but was ever restrained by a fastidious and correct taste. So competent a critic as Hallam wrote to Mr. Prescott, in 1843, "Your style appears to me to be nearly perfect;"

and Sir William Stirling Maxwell speaks of him as "one of the best writers of English."

Edward Everett narrates the following high testimony to the charm of Mr. Prescott's style: "Calling one day," he says, "on the venerable Mr. Thomas Grenville, whom I found in his library (the second in size and value of the private libraries of England), reading Xenophon's Anabasis in the original, I made some passing remark on the beauty of that work. 'Here,' said he, holding up a volume of Ferdinand and Isabella, 'is one far superior.'"

Addressing the New York Historical Society, George Bancroft, well qualified by his own high achievements to judge of the obstacles overcome and the success attained by a co-worker in the field of historical research, spoke of Prescott as follows:—

The excellence of his productions is, in part, transparent to every reader. Compare what he has written with the most of what others have left on the same subjects, and Prescott's superiority beams upon you from the contrast. The easy flow of his language, and the faultless lucidity of his style, may make the reader forget the unremitting toil which the narrative has cost; but the critical inquirer sees everywhere the fruits of investigation rigidly and most perseveringly pursued, and an impartiality and soundness of judgment which give authority to every statement and weight to every conclusion.

Each of Prescott's works has a charm of its own. The first has the special attraction that belongs to the earliest, but thoroughly matured, fruit of his youthful aspirations. In the "Conquest of Mexico" a subtle, scarce perceptible, yet all pervading warmth underlies the style of the whole work, running through every sentence, from the first to the last. The plastic power of the author, in moulding crude and incongruous and forbidding materials into shape and unity and life, appears most conspicuously in the "Conquest of Peru." In his last work we discern, in the highest degree, the hand of the master. Years seemed only to renew the freshness of his talent, enhance the brilliancy of his coloring, and confirm the vigor of his grasp. . . . Prescott's last volume was finished after he was sixty, and it is a perfect

model of skill in narration. Every statement is the result of most elaborate research; and yet, as he passes from court to country, from valley to mountain ranges, from Spain to the Levant,—among Moors and Turks and Christians, and Corsairs from Barbary,—his movements are as easy and graceful as those of the humming-bird as it dives after honey among the flowers of summer; and his pictures of battles are as vivid as though the sun had taken them in its brightest colors at the very moment they were raging.

In the writings of Preseott his individual character is never thrust on the attention of his readers; but, as should ever be the case in a true work of art, it appears only in glimpses, or as an abstraction from the whole. Yet his personality is the source of the charm of his style, and all who knew him will say he was himself greater and better than his writings. While his histories prove him to have felt that he owed his time to the service of mankind, everything about him marked him out to be the most beloved of companions, and the life and joy and pride of society.

As to the permanent value of his works, time has not materially altered the favorable verdict which greeted their appearance. His contemporary, Jared Sparks, the historian of Washington, bore strong testimony to Mr. Prescott's thoroughness of preparation: "I can say with entire confidence, after my historical studies, such as they have been, that I know o. 10 historian, in any age or language, whose researches into the materials with which he was to work have been so extensive and profound." More recent students of the period treated by Mr. Prescott have cordially acknowledged, not alone his complete mastery of the subject, but his just and faithful treatment of it as well. His conclusions have been conceded by critics of all nations and religions to have been singularly free from that unconscious bias of race or creed which so often perverts the exact truth of history. It is doubtless true that the increased knowledge of American ethnology has cast some degree of doubt upon the complex social

and political system described by the early Spanish chroniclers as existing in Mexico at the time of the invasion. Recent writers have denied that the empire of Montezuma was ever more than an aggregation of Indian tribes, whose degree of civilization was grossly exaggerated by the wonder-loving Spaniards, who could describe what they saw only in terms applicable to their own elaborate and ceremonial court system. But this knowledge was unattainable when Mr. Prescott wrote; nor even if this criticism be admitted does it affect the authenticity of his history as a narrative of events, or as a portrayal of individual character and achievement. His works have appeared in many editions, of which the sale is still large, and have been translated into the Spanish, French, Italian, German, Dutch, and Russian languages.

No sketch of Mr. Prescott, however brief, would be complete without some reference to his method of work. The very strict limitations imposed upon him by his defective vision and his fluctuating degree of health had early led him to adopt a manner of life of singular regularity. His hours of work, of exercise, of social enjoyment, - for which he had always a keen zest, - were carefully ordered by strict rule, and were most faithfully observed. He well knew that his eyesight and general health could be improved by a total abandonment of the scholar's life he had so deliberately chosen. "But he would not pay the price. He preferred to submit, if it should be inevitable, to the penalty of ultimate blindness, rather than give up his literary pursuits." His whole life was so ordered as best to enable him to do the great work he had taken in hand.

Having once fixed upon a rule of conduct in any particular, often after careful experiment, he was rigorous in exacting from himself, however reluctant, strict conformity with it. This was shown in his early rising, — although, as his biographer says, "from boyhood it seemed

to be contrary to his nature to get up betimes in the morning;" in his persistency in taking out-of-door exercise, in spite often of sharp rheumatic pains; in his abstemiousness at table, both in food and drink; in his resolute withdrawal at an early hour from social pleasures, lest he might be less fitted for work the following day. Yet in all this there was so little parade of virtue or of high motive, that few even of those who knew him best were aware of the strict rule to which he subjected himself.

His hours of literary work with his secretary were for many years from 10 A.M. to 1 o'clock, and again from When he had decided upon the topic of a 6 to S P. M. chapter, - for in his method each chapter generally comprised a distinct division of his main subject, — it became the duty of his secretary or reader to arrange in chronolocal order all books or manuscripts bearing upon the heme to be treated. The reading then began, and Mr. escott, seated remote from the little light admitted to room, and using the noctograph, made copious notes of what he deemed of value. This was continued until every available source of information had been exhausted. These notes were afterwards written out in a plain large hand, and arranged in due sequence by the secretary, and were then read by Mr. Prescott himself, if the condition of his eye permitted it, or were read to him again and again until he could estimate fully their relative importance and authority.

Then began the work of composition, and it was in this that his triumph over his infirmity seemed most remarkable and most complete. As it was plainly impossible for him to write and rewrite and alter his text, he was compelled, before taking up his noctograph and stylus, to have the subject in his mind very nearly in the form in which it was to appear on the printed page. So well did he train his memory to the task imposed upon it, that a single whole day of intent thought—during which his mind

hardly relaxed its tension even when he was taking exercise on foot or in the saddle - was generally sufficient to clothe the mass of unadorned material in the vivid grace of his But in the case of some chapters, this formative process lasted several days and even weeks. "At length he would begin to write. Case in hand he would dash off page after page, for an hour or two hours at a time, with nearly as much readiness as if he wrote from memory, as he probably did to a great extent. . . . When the chapter was all written - which usually did not take long, for he wrote rapidly after he had begun — it was read over to him carefully several times, corrected, copied again, and laid away ready for the printer." "He frequently," says Mr. Ticknor, "kept about sixty [printed] pages in his memory for several days, and went over the whole mass five or six times, moulding and remoulding the se tences at each successive return." Nor was this faculty an instance of memory phenomenal from birth, as w Macaulay's; but it was gained only by long and seve effort, and was the compensation won by a resolute man. from his mental powers for the loss of a physical sense.

Mr. Prescott was the recipient of many literary honors both in this country and in Europe, a list of which appears in the Appendix to Mr. Ticknor's Life. The most noteworthy were, perhaps, his election in 1845 as a member of the French Institute and of the Royal Society of Berlin, and the degree of Doctor of Civil Law conferred upon him by Oxford in 1850. He was admitted an honorary member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, February 10, 1847.

His death, at the age of sixty-two, was deeply mourned in both hemispheres, but was not too early for his fame nor for the honor of American letters.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS MATHER

"It was at a small town called Lowton, in the county of Lancaster, anno 1596, that so great a man as Mr. Richard Mather was born, of parents that were of credible and ancient families."

Thus writes the author of the Magnalia, concerning the earliest ancestor, in America, of the subject of the following memoir. The color of that eminent man is familiar to the students of ew England history; but a brief account of his life may be a not inappropriate introduction to that of his distinguished descendant, who possessed many of the prominent traits which characterized his progenitor.

The estate of his parents "was not a little sunk below the means of their ancestors," yet they bestowed upon him a liberal education. "They sent him to school at Winwick, where they boarded him in winter; but in the summer, so warm was his desire of learning, that he travelled every day thither, which was four miles from his father's house." He remained at this school until 1611, when certain "well-disposed people" in Toxteth Park, near Liverpool, desiring "to erect a school among them," ent to "the schoolmaster at Winwick, to know whether had any scholar that he could recommend for a master their new school;" and, notwithstanding his youth, ichard Mather was by him recommended unto that service." He continued to be the schoolmaster until the 9th May, 1618, when he entered Brazen Nose College in

Oxford. But the people of Toxteth had been so won by his "wisdom, kindness, and grave reservation," that he was invited to "return unto them and instruct, not their children as a schoolmaster, but themselves as a minister." This invitation he accepted, and at "Toxteth, November 13th, 1618, he preached his first sermon, with great acceptance, in a vast assembly of the people." He was shortly afterwards ordained, with many others, by the Bishop of Chester. This prelate said to him in private, after his ordination, although he was a Puritan: "I have an earnest request unto you, Sir, and you must not deny me; 't is that you would pray for me, for I know that the prayers of men who fear God will avail much, and you I believe are such a one."

On the 29th September, 1624, he married Catherine, the daughter of Edmund Holt, Esq., of Bury in Lancashire, whom God made "a rich blessing unto him for thirty years together." For fifteen years he faithfully, laboriously, and acceptably performed the duties of his ministry, preaching every Lord's Day twice at Toxteth, and every fortnight a Tuesday lecture at Prescot; besides which he often preached on the holy-days, and very frequently at funerals. But his piety and zeal were not to save him from persecution. In 1633 he was complained of for "his non-conformity to the ceremonies." The celebrated act of uniformity, passed in the reign of Elizabeth, although in many instances enforced with extreme severity, had not been extended to all the Puritan churches. Archbishop Abbot had perhaps connived, to a limited extent, at some irregularities of discipline in the parochia' clergy; but he died in 1633, in which year, in the reign of Charles I., an act was passed authorizing the king order the habits of clergymen, and on Abbot's death famous Laud was made Archbishop of Canterbury. " der his direction, every corner of the realm was subjected to constant and minute inspection. Every little congregation was tracked out and broken up. Even the devotion of private families could not escape the vigilance of his spies."

Under the act of Charles I. it was insisted that the surplice should be worn. Of this garment the Puritans had an intense horror. They deemed it a relic, and called it "a rag" of Popery. Such was their detestation of it, that they "would sooner have walked to the stake in the yellow robes of the San Benitos" than have worn it. For "in those days hatred of Popery was no mere intolerance about minor religious opinions. It was, and had a right to be, a holy and mighty passion." For his nonconformity to the ceremonies, Mather was, in the technical language of the time, silenced. In the following November, by the intercession of some gentlemen in Lancashire, and the influence of a relative of the bishop's visitor, he was restored. The next year, however, the visitors passed a sentence of suspension on him, merely for his non-conformity; and, it having been proved that during his entire ministry of fifteen years he had never worn a surplice, no exertion could afterwards "get off this unhappy suspension." One of the visitors declared his abhorrence of this act of contumacy on the part of Mather in terms more forcible than decent.

The act of uniformity imposed severe penalties on clergymen neglecting its provisions, and Mather, finding that he was about to be arrested, fled in disguise to Bristol, from which place, May 23, 1635, he embarked for America, and, after a tempestuous voyage of three months, arrived at Boston, August 17, 1635.

There he "abode for a little while, and, with his virtuous consort, joined unto the church in that place." Immediately on his arrival he had invitations from several towns to settle amongst them, and finally determined upon Dorchester. On the 23d August, 1636, he was installed the minister of the new church just "gathered there," of

which he continued the pastor for nearly thirty-four years, until his death, April 22, 1669.

All the writers who have mentioned this distinguished man award to him high commendation. Winthrop, his contemporary, calls him "a very godly and able pastor."

Savage says: "He was a man of excellent discretion,—of less learning, perhaps, than his ambitious son Increase, and less brilliancy, it is clear, than his eccentric grandson, the never-dying author of Magnalia; but, in true service as a minister, happier than either and better than both."

In Allen's Biographical Dictionary it is said that he was a "pious Christian, a good scholar, and a plain and useful preacher; though in his old age he experienced many infirmities, yet such had been his health, that, for half a century, he was not detained by sickness so much as one Sunday from his public labors."

Richard Mather had by his first wife six sons, of whom Samuel, Timothy, Nathaniel, and Joseph were born in England, and Eleazer and Increase in America. Of these sons, Samuel, Nathaniel, Eleazer, and Increase followed their father's profession. Increase, the president of Harvard College from 1688 to 1701, was a very voluminous author; and the others were authors of more or less note. Cotton, the son of Increase, Samuel the son of Cotton, and Samuel the son of Timothy, were also ministers of the gospel. Thus, of Richard's descendants, four sons, two grandsons, and one great-grandson trod in the footsteps of their distinguished ancestor. Of Richard and his son Eleazer, Cotton Mather says: "Now because this mighty man, and the youngest but one of these arrows in his hand, were not only lovely and useful in their lives, but also in their deaths not divided (for he died about three months after his father), it will be pity to divide them in the history of their lives." Therefore he gives a short sketch of Eleazer's life and ministry.

William Williams Mather was a lineal descendant of Richard Mather through his second son Timothy, and was born at Brooklyn, Windham County, Connecticut, on the twenty-fourth of May, 1804. His father was Eleazer Mather, the oldest son of Eleazer Mather, who was a surgeon or officer in the Connecticut troops in the Revolution, and died, between 1830 and 1840, in Portage County, Ohio. His brother Elisha was an officer in the Revolutionary War, and in his old age received a captain's pension.

Eleazer, the father of William, was at first a hatter, and learned his trade in Norwich, Connecticut. Afterward he removed to Brooklyn, where he established himself in business. This he carried on for many years, and acquired property. After travelling several years in Canada, he returned to Brooklyn and married Miss Fanny Williams. After his marriage he relinquished the business of a mechanic, and kept a temperance hotel, employing most of his time in improving worn-out lands, which he cultivated successfully.

The maternal grandfather of William W. Mather was Nathan Williams, who was born at Black Hill in Canterbury, Connecticut. At the age of eighteen years he was orderly-sergeant of a company in the Revolutionary War. He died about 1850 at the age of nearly a hundred years. His wife was Hannah Putnam, who was born in Preston or Stonington, New London County, Connecticut.

Nothing is known of William's childhood, and very little of his early youth. In 1823, being then not quite nineteen years old, he applied, with his father's consent, for admission into the Military Academy at West Point. At that period in the history of the academy warrants were granted in preference: first, to the sons of deceased army officers; next to the sons of officers wounded in a war; and last to sons of those who could command political or personal influence, supported by recommendations of the

applicants from official, or any respectable persons. Possibly the fact that three of his near relatives had served in the Revolutionary War may have had some effect in providing an appointment for him, which even in those days was eagerly sought. But young Mather had recommendations of the highest character. Twelve well known gentlemen, from seven towns, certified to his ability and worth. The chief judge of Windham County Court certifies, June 5, 1822: "He is about eighteen years of age, possessed of much more than common talents and literature. He understands the Latin language, and some of the higher branches of mathematical science, which he acquires with much facility. His moral character is, I think, very fair and unexceptionable."

With such recommendations he could hardly fail to receive the appointment; and his acceptance of it, with the consent of his father, is dated March 21, 1823.

On the first of July following, having satisfactorily passed the examination for admission, — which indeed needed only the rudiments of a very common English education, — he was enrolled as a cadet on the customary probation, till the result of the next January examination should determine whether he was entitled to a warrant.

In June, 1826, he entered the second class, corresponding to the juniors in a college. In that year first began the course of study in the department of chemistry and mineralogy. In despite of able rivals he at once took the head of the class in that department, and easily maintained it through that and the following year. The course of chemistry at West Point was not, however, the beginning of his love for the science in which he afterwards became so eminent. He seemed to have a natural aptitude for it. Before applying for admission into the Military Academy, he intended to become a physician, and with this object he went to Providence, Rhode Island, to study the profession and attend the lectures. On the

occasion of a subsequent visit to his parents, he brought with him an elaborate chemical apparatus, the cost of which rather astonished and displeased his father. But he so amused and instructed his family by his experiments and explanations that his father was entirely reconciled to what, at first, he considered an unwarrantable extravagance. This anecdote was furne a by one of his family.

The text-book used in 1826–27 was Webster's Chemistry. This work was passing through the press in 1826, before Mather had entered the second class. The proof-sheets of a part, if not of the whole of the work, were sent to him by the author for suggestions and corrections. These were furnished by him, and they were adopted; but Mather's name was not mentioned in the preface to the work as amongst those who had contributed to it, and he expressed to the writer his disappointment at the omission. It would seem, therefore, that he must have had some considerable reputation as a practical chemist before he entered the academy.

The winter of 1826-27 was very cold. The ice, floating down to the narrow gorge between the precipitous shores of West Point and the opposite bank, became wedged there and was exceedingly thick. It occurred to Mather that a favorable opportunity was thus offered to ascertain the temperature of the water at the bottom of the river, while the surface was covered with ice. After several attempts he succeeded in making a self-registering thermometer, and an apparatus for bringing up a specimen of the water of the lowest depth. A hole was cut through the ice about the middle of the river, and the apparatus, attached to a strong cord, was let down into the water; but the current was so strong that it failed to reach the bottom. With a heavier weight, it sank far enough, but the pressure forced the cork into the bottle. The next attempt was successful; water was drawn from below, and

its temperature ascertained from the self-registering, compared with that indicated by a detached, thermometer. The result of this experiment, in which the writer assisted him, is not remembered, but Mather declared that he was satisfied with it. Such was his occupation, in one of the coldest days of winter, during the whole of the Saturday afternoon allowed to the corps for recreation.

The class graduated the first of July, 1828.

Among his classmates was Albert E. Church, who graduated as its head. For forty years Mr. Church was the able professor of mathematics at the academy, and the author of several works on the higher branches of that science. Jefferson Davis, the ex-president of the ephemeral Confederacy, whose history is unfortunately too well known, was also a member of the class.

Of the graduates in 1828 but five now survive. Twenty-two died before 1861. Of the eleven who were then alive, only three joined the Rebellion. Two of the remaining eight were highly distinguished in the war.

Mather's rank on graduating was fifteen. He obtained the maximum mark in the department of chemistry and mineralogy, being one of the only four in the class who obtained the highest mark in any of the departments.

Upon graduating he received the customary appointment of brevet second-lieutenant in the United States Army. Afterwards he was promoted to be second-lieutenant in the Seventh Infantry, his commission bearing date the day of his graduation. He remained at West Point as acting assistant instructor of artillery during the annual encampment, and was then ordered to the School of Practice at Jefferson Barracks, where he remained until April, 1829, when he was sent to Fort Jesup. In June of that year he was detailed for duty at West Point; and until June, 1835, was the acting assistant professor of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology in the Military Academy,—and must have been a successful teacher, if

length of service be taken as a criterion. The assistant professors in the several departments of the academy were then, with few if any exceptions, detailed from Their terms of service seldom exrecent graduates. ceeded and in most cases were less than two years. In the department of chemistry, from 1822 to 1863, there were detailed twenty-one such assistants, only three of whom served in that capacity longer than two Of these, Lieutenant Mather served six, and the other two, four years, which was the limit, prescribed by the army regulations, to service on detached duty. But during these six years he did not confine his attention merely to his duties as professor. As early as 1828, before he had been graduated a year, he published, in the American Journal of Science and Arts, a paper "On the non-conducting power of Water with regard to Heat." During his service at the academy he published, in the same journal, an article on the geology of a part of Connecticut and the Highlands of New York, and five papers relating to chemistry. One of these, entitled "Contributions to Chemical Science" is a chemical discussion of twelve different subjects. Of his publications in that journal an obituary notice on it observes: "His contributions to the pages of this journal have been numerous and important, both in chemistry, mineralogy, and geology." The paper entitled "Contributions to Chemical Science," printed in vol. xxvii. 1st series, 1835, gives ample evidence of his ability in practical chemistry.

Besides these papers he composed and published, while professor at the academy, a small work on geology, for the use of schools, — which was afterwards expanded into a much larger volume and passed through several editions, — and a treatise on Diluvion, for the use of the cadets as a part of the geological course. He did not suffer himself to be idle during the recess of his course of instruction at the academy, but, having obtained from the

Secretary of War the requisite permission, he acted, in 1833, as professor of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology in the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Connecticut. During the same year he was made an honorary member of two societies in the university, which the following year complimented him with the honorary degree of Master of Arts.

His term of service at the academy was terminated in June, 1835, when he was ordered on topographical duty, as assistant geologist to G. W. Featherstonhaugh, on a geological examination of the country from Green Bay to the Coteau de Prairie. On this service he made a report, and a topographical map of the St. Peter's River Valley. This survey occupied him from June to December. In November he was ordered to join his regiment at Fort Gibson, where he remained till June, 1836, when he marched into the Choctaw country, in command of Company D, Seventh Infantry, and remained there till August, 1836. Finding that his reputation as a scientific chemist and geologist was now sufficiently well established to render him no longer dependent on his commission, he resigned his position in the army and thenceforward devoted himself exclusively to science. He thus remained in the army a little over eight years. Of this time, only about eighteen months were occupied in purely military duties. The remainder was employed in his favorite pursuits of chemistry and geology.

The occupations of his subsequent life may be considered under five general heads.

First, as a Geologist. In 1836 he was appointed geologist of the First District of New York, containing twenty-one counties. In this duty he was engaged about seven years, during which he made six reports of his operations. The sixth and final report is contained in a quarto volume of six hundred and fifty-three pages, illustrated by forty-six colored plates. It would require scientific knowl-

edge of a high character to give even a superficial outline of this great work, and it would not be useful to attempt it for the purposes of this memoir. To show its value, it will be enough to quote the judgment of an expert, well qualified to criticise it lat character. "His final report on the Geology of the First District, published in a large quarto, was his most important original work, and will always bear honorable testimony to his ability and accuracy as an observer in this department of nature."

While engaged in the survey of New York, he was appointed the geologist to superintend the geological survey of Ohio. In this duty he was engaged from 1837 to 1840, and made two elaborate reports, which were published as Assembly Documents; and in 1838–39 he made a report on the geological reconnoissance of Kentucky, published also by that State as an Assembly Document.

In 1853 he was appointed, but declined the position of, geologist of Lieutenant Williamson's party of exploration for the Pacific Railroad across the Sierra Nevada. position was one that he must have eagerly desired to fill, and to refuse its acceptance undoubtedly caused him much regret. The reason of his refusal was physical disability. While making an examination of coal lands near Pomeroy in Ohio, he was wounded in the second finger of his right hand. This wound induced a partial paralysis, and required an amputation of the finger. The cause of it was supposed to be a snake bite. As soon as he was convinced by the examination that amputation was inevitable, "he directed the surgeon to procure a block, a chisel, and a mallet, and, placing his finger on the block, told him to sever the finger at one blow." This was attempted but proved a sad failure. The chisel was too thin and highly tempered, and the edge crumbled. Nevertheless, he directed the surgeon to go on,

and several blows were required before a complete severance could be made; although in this painful operation the bone was crushed instead of being cut, he bore it without flinching. This anecdote, related by his son, well illustrates his characteristic courage and endurance.

Second, as Professor. From 1842 to 1845 he was professor of natural science in the Ohio University, and in 1845 its vice-president and acting president. In 1846, from January to March, he was acting professor of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology in the Marietta College, Ohio, being unable to accept the professorship in consequence of other engagements; and from 1847 to 1850, he was vice-president and professor of natural science in Ohio University.

Third, as Geologist and Mining Engineer to various mining companies on Lake Superior from 1845 to 1847.

"There he spent two years in laborious, self-denying toil, in a wilderness country beyond the boundaries of civilization, travelling in unexplored forests, fording rivers, wading through swamps and marshes, and enduring the numerous hardships and privations incident to such a course of life." Thirty-three reports of analysis of ores comprehended a part of his labors during this expedition. But he must have made more than one journey to that region; because in 1846 he prepared eight reports on mines in New Jersey, Virginia, and Massachusetts.

During his various expeditions he collected a large cabinet of minerals and geological specimens. By means of extensive exchanges, both in the United States and foreign countries, he so enlarged this collection that it numbered at his decease about twenty-two thousand specimens. It is fortunately preserved and in possession of his son. The collection of this cabinet was probably begun in 1837, upon his appointment as principal geologist of Ohio. "With a view to facilitate the progress of the survey," he addressed "to the people of the State,"

a series of questions numbering more than two hundred, upon sixteen different classes of spects relating to geology, "hoping that every one so is interested either in having the mineral wealth of his farm known, or in advancing geology and its kindred sciences, will contribute such aid as may be in his power." At the same time he gave an abstract of general directions for collecting specimens and observing phenomena.

The results of his application to the people are stated in his second report, made in 1838. "A large collection of specimens to illustrate the useful as well as curious mineral products of the counties examined this year has been made."

From these proceedings may be perceived the thoroughness with which he conducted the survey. The same thoroughness is doubtless the characteristic of all his scientific investigations.

Fourth, as Agricultural Chemist. From 1850 to 1854 he served in that capacity for Ohio, and was corresponding secretary of the State Board of Agriculture.

Fifth, as an author upon subjects of general science and miscellaneous topics. His papers in this department, from 1836 to 1855, number thirty-one. After the latter date, until just before his decease, he was still engaged in congenial occupations, but no record of them has been found.

Although the several scientific investigations, in which for thirty years he had been busily engaged, were similar in their general characteristics, all of them demanding for success close and accurate observation, and rigid logic, yet eminence in either required traits of mind peculiar to itself.

Mather was so successful in all as to have deserved, as he obtained, a national reputation. That his character and acquirements were widely known and appreciated is evident from the fact that, besides the degree of Master of Arts conferred upon him by the Wesleyan University, he received, in 1853, that of Doctor of Laws from Brown University, and between 1833 and 1859 was elected member, honorary member, or corresponding member of twenty-five scientific and literary institutions, in seven States and the District of Columbia. He was elected a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, April 2, 1856. He was a lifemember of many religious associations, and for fifteen years was a trustee of Granville College in Ohio.

Mr. Mather on the 26th June, 1830, married his cousin, Miss Emily Maria Baker, who was born July 24,1810, and died November 1850. The children of this marriage were Richard, born May 30, 1831; Francis Louisa, born February 17, 1833; Elizabeth Baker, born April 1, 1838; Cotton, who died young; Hannah Putnam, born June 20, 1843; William Increase, born July 10, 1846. On the 21st August, 1851, he married Mrs. Mary Curtis, who survives him. Her maiden name was Harry. She was born in Newport, Monmouthshire, England, and was the daughter of the Rev. John Morgan and Margaret Harry. By this marriage he had one son, George Cotton, born March 19, 1853.

The powerful frame and robust health of Mr. Mather gave to his friends the just expectation of a prolonged life. His resolute will and enthusiastic devotion to his cherished pursuits were guarantees that, if his life were preserved, he would achieve still greater results in the cause of science. But these expectations were not realized. He died at Columbus, Ohio, February 26, 1859, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. The cause of his death is not satisfactorily known. It was very sudden and unexpected, and, although supposed by his nearest friend to be a complication of dropsy and paralysis, was probably a heart complaint. For some days before his decease he had been unwell and complained of sharp pains in the

of his heart, but was not considered to be in any
.: On the morning of his death he sat up in his
was about to leave it, when he fell back and

ins xpired.

Jied William Williams Mather. Not possessing the genius which dazzles, he had the intellect which, continually improved by exercise, achieved valuable results by patient and conscientious industry. What duty demanded, that he performed regardless of consequences, either to himself or others. Not indifferent to fame, he never sought it by doubtful or devious courses. His object was not to enhance his reputation, but faithfully to do the work before him. Through the whole of his active and laborious life of thirty years in the cause of science, in all the various and important public positions which he occupied, no breath of censure assailed his integrity, "which was a law of nature with him, rather than a choice or a principle." How nice was his sense of honor may be judged from the following incident. While he was corresponding member of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture, it was his duty, not only to conduct the correspondence of the board, but also, it seems, to examine all communications made to it on any subject. In 1851 the board desired to receive from all persons, competent to make them, essays upon the soils of Ohio. For that purpose he had, as the agriculturist of Ohio, made some preparation. A personal friend, Col. Charles Whittlesey, who was also a distinguished geologist, had prepared an essay on the subject, which of course was sent to Mather. This, without reading it, he immediately on receiving sealed up, in the presence of two witnesses, and forwarded it to the board. In stating this fact to his friend, when acknowledging the receipt of the essay, he said: "I sealed it up as soon as received, because I had made some preparation for a similar paper, but do not know whether I shall be able to prepare it in time for the meeting of

the board; and I would take no advantage of my position to read your essay under such circumstances,"—thus showing his determination to avoid even the suspicion of abusing his official position for personal ends.

Equable in his disposition and gentle in his manners, considerate of others and just in his judgment of them, modest, but manly and self-reliant, thoroughly versed in the branches of science to which he devoted himself, he had neither dogmatism nor ostentation. As he observed in a letter to the same personal friend, who differed from him in regard to a geological question: "I am not wedded to any theory, but seek the truth, - and, when found, adopt it." Never elated by success nor depressed by occasional failure, a genial companion, a firm friend, and a zealous Christian, he pursued "the even tenor of his way" till death, too soon for science and his country, removed him from the earth. We have had the privilege of reading many of his private letters to members of his family and friends. All of them display the gentleness of his disposition, the firmness of his principles, and his high-toned sense of honor. Those to his family also manifest his deep-seated religious feeling. It has been said, we know not how justly, that students of nature are apt to become sceptics in religious truth, - that they become materialists, if not altogether disbelievers in a supreme and intelligent first cause. But Mather, although a profound observer of nature in some of her most mysterious operations, was far from being one of that class of students. He looked "though nature up to nature's God," and recognized and acknowledged the hand of the Creator in all that surrounded him. "It has been too much the case," he says in an official paper, "that our rocks have been looked upon as so much worthless stone. There was nothing made in vain, and all things will be usefully employed in their proper time." "Geology has shared the fate of other infant sciences in being for

a while considered hostile to revealed religion; so, like them, when fully understood it will be found a potent and consistent auxiliary to it, exalting our conviction of the power and wisdom and goodness of the Creator." An obituary notice in an Ohio newspaper paid the following eloquent tribute to his memory: "In his extensive knowledge of the physical world, in all his scientific investigations, he found nothing to foster the barren spirit of scepticism, or a cold and cheerless infidelity. He found the name of his God inscribed upon the flinty rock. He looked down into the deep valleys and up to the lofty mountains; the voice of the mighty Creator came up to him from the one, and down to him from the other. The deep recesses of the earth which he explored taught him lessons of the infinite wisdom, power, and goodness of the Deity."

In the career of Mr. Mather, thus imperfectly sketched, there can hardly fail to be perceived some of the traits which characterized his distinguished progenitor. The conscientious and patient industry; the eagerness for knowledge; the firm adherence to his sense of duty; the deep-seated and sincere religious principle which were conspicuous in Richard Mather, were prominent in his descendant. As the late Dr. Palmer justly observed: "In his death science has lost a master and the country a benefactor. His position in the ranks of knowledge cannot easily be filled."

AMOS ATWELL TILLINGHAST

Amos Atwell Tillinghast, oldest son of Nicholas and Betsey (Atwell) Tillinghast, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, on Sunday, May 13, 1792. He married on September 14, 1824, Mary Niles Jerauld of Pawtucket, Massachusetts, the only daughter of Henry and Lucy Arnold Jerauld, who died August 1, 1880, aged seventy-eight years. Their daughter and only child, Frances, was born May 15, 1828, married Francis Pratt, Esq., of Pawtucket, and died April 23, 1853, leaving three children, a son and two daughters. Amos Atwell Tillinghast died in Pawtucket, Massachusetts, March 19, 1859, aged sixtysix years.

His father, Nicholas Tillinghast, one of the most prominent members of the Bristol Bar, was the son of Nicholas Tillinghast, son of Joseph Tillinghast, son of Pardon Tillinghast, who came to this country from England in 1645. His mother, Betsey Atwell, was the daughter of Amos Atwell.

His residence after his marriage was in Pawtucket, where he was engaged for a time in the manufacture of cotton goods, — not actively, but as the financial partner in the firm. He was also for many years the cashier of the Pawtucket Bank.

He was eminently self-educated. An omnivorous reader, he acquired, among other general information a great knowledge of legal principles, which his clear head and good judgment made him able to apply so practically that he was frequently appealed to for advice on points of law and equity, not only by his townsmen, but by others who knew of his repute. He was interested in historical and antiquarian subjects, and was admitted a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, August 2, 1845.

I cannot close this memoir without a slight tribute to the personal character of one so universally loved and respected. Genial, hospitable, chivalrous, a true gentleman in the highest and best sense of the word, uniting the uniform courtesy of the Old School with an invariable kindness of heart which never forgot the feelings and claims of other people, whatever their station,—his character had that rare union of simplicity and strength which alone is found in noble natures.

On being asked how it was that he could so invariably settle any disputed point of history correctly, when the memories of others failed them, his modest answer was, "By constantly reading it." His brother, Nicholas Tillinghast, an accomplished scholar and successful teacher, once said of him: "When I do not know anything, I ask Amos and he tells me." Writing of the death of his only daughter, in the anguish which alone is known to deep natures, he says with unwavering faith: "Perhaps I shall see the wisdom of this dispensation. Whether I do or not, that it is wise there can be no doubt."

To his wife, a woman of unusual intellectual vigor and strength of character, he was most tenderly devoted to the last day of his life,—a life whose beneficent influence can never die.

JOHN RICHARDS

The Rev. John Richards, pastor of the Dartmouth College Church, in Hanover, New Hampshire, died there, March 29, 1859. Although he had been connected with the Society only two months, there are few, whose names have been enrolled among its members, who have brought a more intelligent sympathy to its labors, or better deserve to be remembered with honor. The Richards Genealogy, published in 1861 by Rev. Abner Morse, is fitly dedicated to his memory. His manuscripts contributed much to that work, and his portrait is included.

Another important work which he had projected was interrupted by his death, but carried to a fortunate completion by another hand. As early as 1855 Dr. Richards told the writer of this notice that he had proposed to Bishop & Tracy, printers at Windsor, Vermont, to furnish a volume of historical and biographical memoranda of Dartmouth College and its alumni, if they would print it. In this task he afterward enlisted the aid of the Rev. Dr. George T. Chapman of Newburyport, who, after Dr. Richards's death, took the material which he had gathered, enlarged somewhat the plan of the work, and in 1867 published the "Dartmouth Alumni," an octavo volume of five hundred and twenty pages, which is the best and most convenient volume of college memoranda which has ever been published.

John Richards was born in Farmington, Connecticut, May 14, 1797. He was son of Deacon Samuel Richards, and of his second wife, Sarah, daughter of Jonathan Wells of Glastonbury. His grandfather was Dr. Samuel Richards of Hartford, son of Thomas, son of John, whose father Thomas, the immigrant ancestor, settled early at Hartford, Connecticut.

Farmington was an important centre of intellectual and spiritual life in the early part of this century. The long and powerful ministry of the Rev. Noah Porter, D.D., father of President Porter of Yale College, bore much fruit. John Richards's father was a deacon of the church, an officer in the Revolution, and the postmaster of the town for thirty-one years; and when the son was a lad of thirteen years he must have heard of the first annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which was held in the study of the pastor.

At the funeral of Dr. Richards a discourse was preached by the Rev. Nathan Lord, D. D., President of Dartmouth College. Felicitous and admirable in statement and characterization, it affords apt material for this sketch, which would only be injured by change, and it will be freely drawn from, as here.

At the age of seventeen, being then a clerk in the neighboring city of Hartford, and intended for mercantile pursuits, he came under the ministry of the venerable Dr. Strong. He was greatly instructed and moved by the preaching of that distinguished man. His mind became profoundly engaged upon the great doctrines of the gospel, and after many spiritual conflicts his heart was bowed to Christ.

Then he returned to Farmington, resolved upon a different pursuit in life, and said, with his characteristic abrupt and unstudied air, "Father, I want to study, and to preach the gospel!" 'T was said and done. He became in due time a student at Yale. During his junior year, being then more quickened in his religious feelings, he made profession of his faith. He was graduated with honor in 1821.

From college he went at once to the theological seminary at Andover, and after the full course of three years

was graduated in 1824. Among his contemporaries as students in the seminary were such men as Rufus Anderson, Leonard Bacon, James Marsh, E. Carter Tracy, William Richards, and David Greene, men whose influence and friendship in later years were among the potent factors which shaped his own course.

After leaving Andover Mr. Richards spent one year in an agency for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He was ordained December 2, 1827, pastor of the Congregational Church in Woodstock, Vermont, and remained in this charge until February 21, 1831. At that time this beautiful Vermont village was the home of a remarkable group of families, which gave it much intellectual and social prestige. It was the county-seat, and had a prosperous medical school; and the bench, the bar, and the medical faculty were represented by men of great worth and eminence. To his position here Mr. Richards brought such character and ability as gave him respect and usefulness. In 1831 he resigned, to become one of the editors of the Vermont Chronicle, published in Windsor, Vermont. In this work he was associated with the Rev. Joseph Tracy, D. D., and, after 1834, with his brother, Mr. Ebenezer Carter Tracy, under whose able control this paper long held a very influential posi-Of these gentlemen Mr. Richards was a worthy associate, and contributed not a little to maintain the high character of the Chronicle. From 1837 to 1841 he taught a school in Windsor; and in 1841 he was called to the pastorate of the College Church at Hanover, New Hampshire, being installed April 2, 1842. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Dartmouth College in 1845.

To this important field Dr. Richards came in the fulness and freshness of his manhood, and here for fifteen years he wrought with great diligence and fidelity, and his pastorate must be accounted a useful

The charge of such a church, with a congregation · composed largely of students and professors, involves conditions and requires adaptations which test the scholarship and the manhood of the preacher and pastor. It is just but high praise to say that Dr. Richards approved himself a workman who did not need to be ashamed in this responsible post. He was a devout and a direct man, seeing objects of wise pursuit clearly, and seeking them with earnestness and perseverance. He was a student of exceptional tact and fidelity, and his preaching was thoughtful and Scriptural. He loved the truth, and was ready to contend vigorously in its support. He commended himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God, as a just and guileless man. He was open as the day, his frankness of utterance being almost childlike, and sometimes exposing him to misconceptions. Illustrations of this abound in the traditions of the town. On one occasion a neighbor, who was to give a temperance address, informed his pastor of the fact, and invited him to be present. "No, I shall not go; I have heard you," was the quick response.

The Rev. Dr. Samuel G. Brown, then and long professor in the college, and more recently president of Hamilton College, has favored me with a letter from which I am glad to make extracts here. Referring to Dr. Richards's connection with the Vermont Chronicle, President Brown says:—

This paper had obtained a commanding influence through the thoughtful and vigorous writing of its editors, the Rev. Joseph Tracy, D.D., and his brother, E.C. Tracy. Of these Dr. Richards was an able associate, and contributed his full share to the acknowledged excellence and ability of the journal. He came to Hanover to supply its vacant pulpit for a few Sabbaths. His preaching was marked by a practical and incisive character, which he seemed to have brought from the editorial chair, and withal by a certain originality of thought and manner which

could not fail to command the attention of his hearers. It was not long, therefore, before a movement was made which resulted in his permanent removal to Hanover, where he was installed as pastor of the College Church. In this important position he remained for the rest of his life, never losing the respect and esteem of an unusually intelligent, thoughtful, and somewhat critical congregation. He was a faithful pastor, interested in everything which would promote the spiritual or temporal welfare of the community; an able preacher, often remarkably fresh and original in thought and diction, rising sometimes to uncommon fervor and eloquence; and a man of transparent sincerity and honesty. In manner he was eccentric, and sometimes absent-minded. It was currently reported that on one occasion, being absent from home, he addressed a letter to his wife by her maiden name, and was much surprised, on returning, to hear that she had not heard from him. He sometimes seemed regardless of place or person; but he never uttered anything merely for effect, and often manifested an instinctive delicacy and sense of fitness which were very beautiful. Even when he seemed indifferent to the opinion of others, he was really very sensitive to harsh or ungracious criticism, and never more happy than when he found himself in accord with those whom he respected.

He was guileless in intercourse with others, tender and sympathetic with the bereaved and suffering, and, if liable to be led into violation of technical rules, never at a loss or undecided in moral judgment. In theology, though not extreme in his views, he was inclined to conservative opinions, and opposed new lights and new measures. It was the general soundness and sobriety of his opinions, together with the firmness, independence, and strength with which he maintained them, that gave him the strongest hold upon his people and the widest influence in the community. . . . His faults and foibles were entirely superficial; his virtues and excellencies profound, and of the very substance of his character.

It is quite certain that many students of the college during his ministry received salutary and lasting impressions from Dr. Richards. One, who seldom heard him, recalls vividly a discourse, on a Sunday evening, when his theme was "Meditation on God in the Night-watches." Lifting his hearers with remarkable effect into the poetic mood of the Psalmist, presenting God as the delightful object of the soul's communion and loving sympathy, and outlining the opportunities and advantages which night-watches give for such communion, he left impressions which, after the lapse of thirty years, are still strong, and often recur to the spiritual quickening of this hearer.

I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of quoting further from Dr. Lord's eulogy of his deceased pastor:—

Dr. Richards was true to his heavenly ealling; always an active student, a comprehensive scholar, ranging widely in the fields of knowledge; thoroughly versed in the subjects of his profession; faithful to Christ and heartily devoted to the best interests of mankind. No man ever questioned his learning, intelligence, or piety. He was never known to sacrifice a righteous principle, to balk an honorable purpose, to shrink from a necessary sacrifice, to betray a trust, to speak evil of his neighbor, to renounce a friend or hate an enemy, to his dying day. I know not that a greater pattern of simplicity, guilelessness, and sincerity could be found on earth, among men practically conversant, as he had been for so long a time, with the bewildering and tempting world. Here indeed was the beautiful element of our pastor's character, the solvent of his other qualities, which were fused and compounded by it, and took their spirit and direction from it. I have thought that if Jesus could have met him, as he met Nathaniel, he would have said of him, and with equal pertinence, "Behold an Israelite, indeed, in whom is no guile." He knew not how to be insincere. His brusque and untrained manner, which was his æsthetical defect, was yet an evidence of the unaffected simplicity of his heart. . . . The idea of saying or doing anything, in public or in private, for effect never occurred to him.

Our pastor was a faithful student of the Bible. He went to it with greater zeal and confidence than ever a devout pagan to his oracle. He took it in his hand as if God had sent it down to himself particularly from heaven. He gathered from it, as the old church gathered its manna in the desert, and never questioned what was written.

Dr. Richards married, June 16, 1828, Emily, daughter of Zenas Cowles of Farmington, sister of the Hon. Thomas Cowles of that town, who survived him, and died in Danbury, Connecticut, August 28, 1866. Their children were four: (1) John, born August 16, 1830; graduated from Dartmouth College in 1851; a lawyer in Pittston, Pennsylvania. (2) Elizabeth Cowles, born October 1, 1832; died at Port Gibson, Mississippi, March 1, 1863. (3) Julia Ann, born December 16, 1834, who married, July 16, 1866, David B. Booth, Esq., a lawyer residing in Danbury, Connecticut. (4) Emily, born February 10, 1838; died March 16, 1850.

Dr. Richards was admitted a resident member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, January 25, 1859. His publications were: (1) A Eulogy on President Harrison, 1841. (2) A Sermon at the Ordination of Rev. Franklin Butler, Windsor, January 18, 1843. (3) A Sermon at the Funeral of Mrs. Balch, 1850. (4) A Sermon on Gambling, 1852.

JOSHUA SIDNEY HENSHAW

The original name of this gentleman was Joshua Henshaw Belcher. On his petition it was changed to the above name, in 1845, by the Pennsylvania legislature. He was the eldest son of Joshua and Charlotte (Babcock) Belcher, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, October 16, 1811, and died in Utica, New York, on the 29th of April, 1859. His father, Joshua Belcher, was a partner of the Hon. Samuel T. Armstrong, whose memoir is printed in the first volume of these Memorial Biographies, the firm name being Belcher & Armstrong. They were well-known printers and publishers in the early part of the present century. Mr. Belcher, the father, died in New York, September 4, 1816, aged thirty-two.

The subject of this memoir was educated partly in the schools of his native city and partly at Leicester Academy. In 1827 he entered the counting-room of II. II. Williams, dry-goods dealer, Boston, for the purpose of becoming a merchant, but it was soon evident that a mercantile life was not to his taste. He then began the study of the classics, with a view of entering Harvard College, but, on account of ill health, was obliged to relinquish his studies.

The winter of 1829 he passed in Florida, and returning in the spring he resumed his studies at Northampton; but the next year he was again compelled to seek a milder climate, and passed the winter in New Orleans. In September, 1833, having regained his health, he accepted the appointment of teacher in Chauncy Hall School, Boston.

On the 26th of September, 1837, he was appointed Professor of Mathematics in the United States Navy. While in the service he sailed in the frigate Columbia on a voyage around the world, and spent over two years on board that ship, having left Norfolk, Virginia, May 6, 1838, and arrived at Boston, Massachusetts, June 16, 1840. On his return he wrote a very interesting account of his voyage, which was published in New York, in 1840, by Charles S. Francis, in two duodecimo volumes, entitled: "Around the World; a Narrative of a Voyage in the East India squadron, under Commodore George C. Read. By an Officer of the United States Navy." He showed marked ability in this work. His observation of the customs and manners of the various people whom he saw, and of the soil and productions, extent and kind of resources, and the beauties of the countries he visited, was keen, rapid, and accurate. He viewed men and things from a standpoint elevated far above the sectional barriers which sometimes circumscribe the views of the most intelligent. The opportunity thus afforded of observation, together with his natural liberality of mind, gave him a cosmopolitan character which never exhibited the slightest taint of narrow-minded prejudice.

In 1841 he resigned his position in the navy, and entered the office of Judge Mallery of Philadelphia, where he pursued the study of the law. He was admitted to the bar in 1842. On the 1st of July of that year he was reappointed to his former position, professor of mathematics in the navy. For a year or two he was a professor at the Naval School, Philadelphia, and lecturer on Naval Jurisprudence. During the famine of 1847, in Ireland, the United States government placed the frigate Macedonia, and several other vessels, at the service of the relief committee of New York, for the purpose of forwarding provisions contributed by people in this country. These vessels were manned by naval officers, who volun-

teered their services, and Mr. Henshaw had charge of one of them. This service to his country, and the reception he received on his arrival on Erin's shores, were ever a source of pride and gratification to him. On his return he published, in 1847, a brief Life of Father Mathew.

The Naval Appropriation Bill, approved August 3, 1848, limited the number of professors of mathematics in the Navy to twelve, and under that bill Mr. Henshaw and eight other professors were dropped from the rolls.

On retiring from the Navy he settled in Utica, New York, where he practised law till his death. Although devoted to his profession and to literary pursuits, he was not indifferent to social life, nor incapable of appreciating and contributing to its pleasures; and when the silver cord snapped under his protracted mental prostration, his loss was felt by all who had been brought within the charmed circle of an exemplary and noble life.

Besides the works already named, Mr. Henshaw published: (1) Philosophy of Human Progress, 1835. (2) Incitement to Moral and Intellectual Well-doing, 1836. (3) Around the World, second edition, 1846. (4) United States Manual for Consuls, 1849.

When taken by his last illness he was engaged on a work designed to apply to practical life the rules of Scripture. The plan was a novel one, and indicates the line of thought and study in which he delighted. The work, which was nearly completed, is entitled "Bible Ethics."

He was admitted a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, February 16, 1859.

Mr. Henshaw married, March 11, 1846, Jane Handy of Utica. His children were: (1) Emily, born July 17, died July 21, 1848. (2) John, born February 9, 1850. (3) Abbie L., born July 28, 1851.

He was a man of fine literary attainments. His reading was varied and extensive, and his memory was singularly

tenacious. He knew history in its various branches, and loved to read books of travel and works on political philosophy; but his chief pleasure was in abstruse studies. While engaged in foreign service he corresponded with several metropolitan newspapers, and always contributed liberally to the magazines. His lecture on the "Art and Grace of Conversation" was an evidence of the scholarship and sparkling humor which lurked beneath a quiet and unassuming exterior.

HENRY BOND

In Domesday Book we read that the Bonds held landed possessions, many estates, in various counties of England, in the time of Edward the Confessor. This Anglo-Saxon name being quite common at so early a period indicates a remote origin; and the accumulated wealth, long retained by many who bore it, shows that they were of an intelligent or superior class. Among the early settlers of New England and the Middle States, of English birth, who came from a "Paradise of Plenty into a Wilderness of Wants" were several of the name; a valuable addition to the colonies, - their numerous descendants, like their English ancestry, maintaining a respectable position in society. Our country, especially New England, and above all Massachusetts, owes much to the sturdy Puritans, who wrought even better than they knew in laying broad and deep the foundations of our Commonwealth, whose influence throughout all the States has been widespread in building up free institutions.

The relationship of the many English families of Bonds to each other has not been traced, and the record we have of the ancestry of Dr. Henry Bond does not give the connection of that line with the other families of the name that flourished in "ye olden time;" nor does it go beyond three generations, discovered by the late Mr. Horatio G. Somerby in his researches in Bury St. Edmunds, County of Suffolk, - the first of these three generations coming

from another part of England.

William Bond, of this branch in Suffolk,—son of Thomas and Elizabeth Bond, grandson of Jonas and Rose Bond, baptized in the church of St. James in Bury St. Edmunds, September 8, 1625,—was the progenitor of almost all the families of the name in New England. Suffolk furnished its full share of the first settlers of Massachusetts, and especially of Watertown, several being natives of Bury St. Edmunds; and the emigrants from that county were considered some of the best contributions which the mother country made to her New England colony.

The tradition of the Bonds,—one that is frequently met with in New England families in relation to their ancestry,—of three brothers coming over the water together, was probably incorrect, though other persons of the name were early in the colonies.

The time of the arrival and settlement of William Bond in Watertown, Massachusetts, has not been ascertained, the first mention of him in the records being his marriage, February 7, 1649-50, to Sarah, daughter of Nathaniel Biscoe, "the rich tanner," though it is conjectured that he was here some years earlier; but he was not one of the first proprietors, being only five years old when Watertown was settled.

The name of Bond is not in any passenger list published by the late Mr. Samuel G. Drake, in his researches in England, most of the vessels mentioned by him sailing for New England before 1640. Several of them were from Ipswich, Suffolk, bringing many who settled in Watertown. At one time those persons about to emigrate had to take the oath of allegiance, of which lists were preserved. William Bond may have embarked at another port, as did many others from Suffolk, or at Ipswich after the oath ceased to be required,—by which we are deprived of names and dates of the departure of great numbers for New England. About sixty years since, all the old papers of the custom-house at Ipswich were

destroyed by orders from London; and, possibly, among them were documents that would have thrown light on the history of the emigration.

His farm, which he purchased March, 1654-5, of the Rev. John Knowles for £200, continued in possession of the family one hundred and seventy years; it became in time one of the most highly cultivated estates in the vicinity of Boston—the beautiful residence of the late John P. Cushing, and later of Alvin Adams.

William Bond was evidently a man of much intelligence and ability, who soon took his rightful position as a leading citizen in the management of town affairs. The various offices and trusts in Watertown to which he was appointed,—besides representing the town in the General Court, of which he was repeatedly elected speaker,—are evidences of his high standing in the colony and of the estimation of his townsmen. The Bonds were formerly more numerous and influential in Watertown than of late years, becoming less prominent as, in time, many enter-

ing descendants of the progenitor left the old home to other fields of usefulness, and they are now widely

rsed throughout the United States.

Henry Bond, M. D., of Philadelphia, the subject of this notice, born in Watertown, County of Middlesex, and alth of Massachusetts, March 21, 1790, was Comme Henry and Hannah (Stearns) Bond; grandson the sc of Colonel William and Lucy (Brown) Bond; great-grandson of Jonas and Hannah (Bright) Bond; great-greatgrandson of Colonel Jonas and Grace (Coolidge) Bond; and great-great-grandson of William and Sarah (Biscoe) Bond,—all of Watertown and of the best families. On his mother's side the connection was very respectable. She was the daughter of Hannah Bemis, first wife of Captain Phineas Stearns, a soldier at Lake George and in the Revolution; granddaughter of Josiah and Susanna (Ball) Stearns; great-granddaughter of John and Abigail (Fiske)

Stearns; great-great-granddaughter of Samuel and Hannah (Manning) Stearns; and great-great-great-granddaughter of the progenitors, Isaac and Mary Stearns, -all of Watertown. The homestead of Samuel Stearns, inherited by his son John and grandson Josiah, was at Commodore's Corner, on the back road above the residence of the Bonds, designated on the Watertown map of 1850 as that of William A. White. Henry Bond, Sr., father of Dr. Bond, when a lad fourteen years of age, accompanied his father, Colonel William Bond of the Continental Army. The gallant colonel died in the service, August 31, 1776, and was buried at Ticonderoga. The son then returned home, where he married, May 21, 1789, Miss Stearns. His home at Watertown was not far below the Waltham line, on the north side of the ancient Sudbury Road, as it was called, - now Main Street.

The house in which his son was born, and doubtless himself also, is supposed to have been built by a man who bought the lot of Robert Feake, the original grantee, and died there in 1676. It is designated on Dr. Bond's map of the "Original Allotments of Land," appended to his . "Genealogies and History of Watertown." The house was removed within the present century, and a small portion of it is still standing in the vicinity. The property eventually passed to the Browns, living opposite, who occupied it for a time; and it then passed to Colonel William Bond, who married the youngest sister of his neighbor, Jonathan Brown, a captain at Lake George in the campaign of 1758. The Brown estate opposite was an original grant to Abraham Browne, — a Suffolk man, in Watertown, in 1632, or earlier, - the first surveyor of the town. A part of this estate has been in possession of his descendants to this day, and was occupied by them till recently. We learned from Dr. Bond that there was much correspondence between Colonel William Bond and his brother-in-law, Captain Jonathan Brown, both being

actively engaged in the public service; but this correspondence cannot now be found. The papers of Captain Jonathan Brown — except what are said to have been taken away to prove soldiers' claims, and never returned — are preserved; but in the collection there are no letters of either of these two men. Dr. Bond, believing the correspondence to be of much interest, made inquiries for these letters, but no trace of them was discovered.

In 1790, a few months after the birth of his son, Henry Bond and family removed to Maine, and were among the pioneers of a settlement which, five years later, was incorporated as the town of Livermore. At that time the Great West was little known, and the current of emigration was toward the East. Maine had its attractions, and Watertown and vicinity were well represented at Jay and Livermore, the latter town being named for a settler from Waltham. Henry Bond, Sr., was a useful citizen in the infant settlement. He engaged in enterprises to promote its prosperity; he was deacon of the church, and also taught school one season. He died in March, 1796, aged thirty-four, leaving a wife and two children, Henry and Hanuah, - the latter, born in Livermore, married Mr. William Dewey of Middleborough, afterwards of Philadelphia. The widow married, for her second husband, Zebedee Rose, and died in 1803, aged thirty-five. We are ignorant of the life of their son Henry, in that Eastern wilderness, till the age of sixteen, when he began preparation for college. The condition of things in those days in a new settlement must have been such that we may imagine his boyhood to have been one of some hardship, probably of toil as well as of study, - with plain fare, simple dress, and few indulgences; the usual lot of most lads, even in the oldest settlements, in the last century. He entered, in 1806, Hebron Academy, then under the preceptorship of Mr. Albion K. Parris, who was succeeded by Mr. William Barrow; and was admitted to Dartmouth College in

1809, where he graduated with honor in 1813. The Rev. Joseph B. Felt, formerly president of the Historic Genealogical Society, was a classmate. His winter vacations were passed in teaching school. He began his medical studies with Dr. Cyrus Perkins, professor of anatomy in the college, and continued them till March, 1815. He was then elected tutor of the college, which office he held till August, 1816, in the mean time continuing his professional studies, and passed an examination for a medical degree in December. He removed immediately to Concord, New Hampshire, and began the practice of his profession in January, 1817. During three summers he delivered lectures on chemistry, and in 1818 delivered the oration before the New Hampshire Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. He originated a reading-room or Athenaum, in 1819, which was not permanent, possibly owing to his removal from Concord soon after. The same year he was elected Fellow of the New Hampshire Medical Society. After an experience at Concord of more than two years, he had in view a change of residence, and contemplated settling in Augusta, Maine, where he had relatives; but desiring first to obtain a better knowledge of his profession, he went, in November, 1819, to Philadelphia,—its medical institutions being of the highest reputation in the country, - and attended medical lectures in the University, and received instruction in the Pennsylvania Hospital. On the eve of his intended journey to Augusta, inducements to settle in Philadelphia were held out to him that decided him to remain, and it became his home during life. This decision was probably fortunate, affording him better opportunities for study, practice, and professional reputation. He opened an office in Arch Street, previously occupied by a physician, and had classes in practical and surgical anatomy. He had been previously elected honorary member of the Philadelphia Medical Society, was its treasurer for ten years,

and afterwards its vice-president. In 1824, he delivered the annual address before the New England Society of Philadelphia. He was a member of the Kappa Lambda Society for medical improvement, and, for a time its secretary. In 1825 he was elected a fellow of the Philadelphia College of Physicians, and its secretary from 1832 to 1844, when the labor and his ill health induced him to resign; though he remained one of its censors, and was its delegate in 1848, and again in 1850, to the Decennial National Convention, held in Washington City, for revising the United States Pharmacopæia.

Of the first convention that met in New York, May, 1846, for organizing a National Medical Association, he was a member, and was generally a delegate to the subsequent meetings of the association. He attended the convention at Lancaster, in 1847, for organizing a State Medical Society of Pennsylvania, and was on the committee for drafting the constitution. He was also an original member of the Philadelphia County Medical Society; a member of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Science; and of the Philadelphia Board of Health, being most of the time its president. He was corresponding member of the National Institute; of the American Statistical Association; of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, to which he was admitted April 12, 1845; of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and of the New York Historical Society. In addition to papers on professional subjects, he read, before medical bodies, others which were not printed, and two biographical notices of deceased members. Some improvements in surgery and surgical instruments were made by him, one or more of which were introduced into a London hospital.

This is a long and remarkable list of services; and it falls to the lot of few persons to perform so much work for such worthy objects, requiring, time, thought, and labor. That his efforts to advance the objects of his

profession, and his readiness to aid other useful ends, were highly estimated, may be inferred from the many calls upon him to work for the public good.

The later years of his life, when ill health compelled him to relinquish a portion of his professional services, were much devoted to antiquarian and genealogical researches. The result was a work by which he is probably best known out of his profession, the "Genealogies and History of Watertown," published in 1855,—a volume of nearly eleven hundred pages. This fruit of his investigation, exceeding in amount and value every work of the kind which preceded it, embraces accounts of hundreds of families, and an abundant collection of material in his history of the town. No one, unless familiar with the labor and trouble of researches of this nature, can appreciate the difficulties involved in the preparation of this work. It is the more surprising when it is considered that he left Watertown an infant, never returned to reside there, and lived at a great distance, engrossed by professional labors and other duties. His immediate relatives had all departed from Watertown; and his investigations into the genealogy of persons he never knew, and the history of a town he rarely ever saw, had to be accomplished chiefly by correspondence with strangers, under great disadvantages. At first he only contemplated some account of his own family, but with the progress of his inquiries his interest in the subject deepened. His investigations lead him to a knowledge of the lineage of other families to which the Bonds were more or less remotely allied by marriages, the subject became more attractive and absorbing, until he embraced in his plan all the families of the old settlers of his native town. With the increase of material, he proposed appending a History of Watertown, the whole to form, if published, a volume of moderate dimensions. Thus, what originally was probably designed to be preserved in manuscript - an account of his kindred, for his

own special gratification — grew under his hands till his accumulations swelled it to a large work for publication.

The title of "Book of Generations," first adopted for his manuscript, was finally changed to the longer and more comprehensive one by which it is known. When he began his inquiries, little progress had been made in such inquiries in this country; the subject of family history excited but little interest; few genealogical publications, now so numerous, had then appeared as guides or aids to those engaged in similar researches. More recently the publication of family memorials, town histories, and books relating to the early history of New England, greatly facilitate investigation; and the New England Historic Genealogical Society, since established, with its large collection of local history and genealogy, and its quarterly "Register," is a storehouse of information for all engaged in tracing their ancestry. These have awakened a new interest in the subject, more laborers are engaged in the work, and publications are increasing - a help to all gleaners in the same field.

To Dr. Bond the work was a labor of love, with no prospect of pecuniary profit, but in the reasonable expectation, or hope, that a portion of the expense of printing the manuscript would be realized by a speedy sale, — as the great outlay, in his circumstances, was an inconvenient tax; moreover, he desired its rapid distribution, to stimulate others to make similar researches. He was highly gratified by the opinions expressed of its merits by all who could appreciate its value, and the labor involved in the gathering of this great mass of facts. It is a work to be more valued in the distant future; as all such works are, when, by the lapse of time they become scarce, and a wider circle of descendants of the settlers of that town becomes interested to trace its lineage to the Puritans in that ancient hive from which swarms went forth and spread over the land.

Errors, unavoidable, especially in works of this kind, were, in this case, more often the fault correspondents, whose multitudinous reports he could not always verify. Still they were comparatively few; and, had life and health been spared, these would have been corrected. No work in this line, of equal extent, has ever been published in New England, and it will probably long be without a rival. He was a painstaking and singularly accurate investigator; his arrangement of genealogical material was lucid and easily understood. Eventually most of the edition was willed by the author to the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the first bequest which this society ever received. The society prefixed to the work the author's portrait, an excellent likeness, and a memoir by the Hon. Horatio G. Jones of Philadelphia.

The New England Historic Genealogical Society voted to invest the proceeds of his bequest in a permanent fund for the purchase of local histories and genealogies, to be called "The Bond Fund."

Dr. Bond never married. His home in Philadelphia was eventually with Mr. William Dewey, his brother-in-law, in North Ninth, near Market Street; but some time before his decease it was in South Eighth Street, where he died. He was much interested in religious matters, and a member of the church under the pastorate of the Rey. Albert Barnes.

Notwithstanding his reputation as a physician, his long and extensive practice, his simple tastes, and inexpensive habits, and having no family, his fortune was limited; but he practised when professional remuneration was generally moderate, compared with the present demands of many practitioners of fashionable reputation. Instances of wealth were rare. Possibly he placed too low an estimate on his services and skill: moreover, he was a conscientious man, governed by strict principles in all his dealings. He had been troubled with disease of the heart, an affec-

tion of long standing, which interfered somewhat with his medical practice, but gave him more leisure for his genealogical pursuits.

The last time he visited his native town was in the summer before his death. In August, soon after his return to Philadelphia, when walking in Washington Square, he was seized with paralysis and fell, from which attack he never wholly recovered; but though suffering from the effects of this paralytic stroke, his literary activity continued till the last. Though able to ride out occasionally, he was confined mostly to the house. His letters after his attack, though scarcely legible, and difficult to decipher, showed a clear, unclouded mind, that still took a lively concern in what had hitherto engaged his attention. a brief interview with him by the writer, the last of April following, it was evident that his days were numbered; yet, though greatly prostrated, he was cheerful; and with a large volume in hand, though his voice was reduced by illness to almost a whisper, he talked of old topics with apparent interest. The end was nearer than was supposed. The final summons came four days after, May 4, 1859, when he passed away in the seventieth year of his age. He died alone, - was found dead in his room. His remains were deposited at Laurel Hill, in a spot he had long before selected and carefully prepared.

His will was dated April 3, 1858. In it he bequeathed most of his property to his relatives in Philadelphia, leaving his manuscripts, and the remainder of the edition of his Genealogies and History of Watertown, to the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and making Dartmouth College residuary legatee, to provide books and instruction to students, descendants of William and Sarah Bond.

In him were happily blended many attractive traits of character, gentleness and courteous manners, firmness of purpose and resolute will, which drew around him a circle of friends, who felt his death to be a loss to the community. The confidence reposed in his integrity and judgment, and the faithful management of trusts confided to his charge, evinced the reliance on his ability and readiness to aid others that called him to many responsible positions, — taxing his physical and mental powers, — which he filled to acceptance.

With the arduous labor of his practice as a physician, requiring strict attention, one is surprised that he could bestow so much thought on subjects not necessarily connected with his professional duties. It denoted application, system, earnestness, and a strong interest in every good work in which he engaged for the benefit of his fellow-beings. It may be truly said that the world within the reach of his influence was better for his having lived. Those who know his daily life, and what he accomplished, may be encouraged in their efforts to follow in his footsteps.

FRANCIS WILLIAM BRINLEY

Francis William Brinley was born in Shelburne, Nova Scotia, May 26, 1798. His father, Mr. Edward Brinley, born in Newport, Rhode Island, November 12, 1757, held, after the war of the Revolution, a government appointment in Nova Scotia; but before the close of the last century he returned with his family to the old home at Newport, where his father, Mr. Francis Brinley, then resided. He finally removed to Perth Amboy, and spent the last seventeen years of his life there, — dying, September 8, 1851, in the ninety-fifth year of his age. He was twice married. His first wife, the mother of Francis William, was Janet, daughter of Mr. James Parker of Perth Amboy, New Jersey.

The subject of this memoir was sent to a celebrated school, the academy at Woodstock, Connecticut, where he was educated in the classics by Mr. John Frazier, a learned Scotsman. In early manhood he entered the employ of his maternal unele, Mr. Cortlandt Parker of Perth Amboy, who was then a flourishing merchant in Curaçoa. He very soon formed a business connection with a Mr. Suyando, and the firm transacted business in Porto Caballo, on the Spanish Main. For a time the business was very prosperous, but the Revolutionary troubles under Bolivar, combined with other circumstances, brought disaster to him. He afterwards entered into partnership with an American named Litchfield; but

again met with reverses, and returned to the United States, taking up his residence in Perth Amboy, the home of his mother's family, where many of his relatives then resided. For a time he carried on business there; after which he held the offices of surveyor-general of the State of New Jersey, and collector of customs for the port of Perth Amboy.

He was a man of genial manners and a generous disposition, with a large and warm heart. He fulfilled the duties of life faithfully and conscientiously, and was a devoted Episcopalian, a useful citizen, and an honest man. He was well educated, and had a taste for antiquarian and scientific studies. He was admitted a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, February 8, 1858.

He married, early in life, Mrs. Abby Maria Randolph, née Thorpe, daughter of Mr. David Thorpe of Perth Amboy, by whom he had a large family. His wife, and all of his children, except Mrs. Aliph, wife of Samuel Foster of Providence, Rhode Island, and Mrs. Katherine, wife of Henry Tremaine of London, England, are dead. He died at Perth Amboy, May 14, 1859, aged sixty.

RUFUS CHOATE

In March, 1633, John, son of Governor John Winthrop, with twelve men, began a plantation at Agawam, which in 1634 was incorporated as Ipswich by the General Court of Massachusetts. Its southern portion, long known as Chebacco, was created into a separate town in 1819, by the name of Essex. Ship-building was carried on upon the principal stream at least as early as 1668, and the "Chebacco boats" were long famous. Captain Barnstable of the Ariel, in Cooper's "Pilot," hailed from "old Chebacco."

John Choate, an immigrant from England, settled in Chebacco in 1645. His son Thomas settled on Hog Island, and, being the first resident there and a large farmer, was known as Governor Choate. A man of good sense and large influence, he represented Ipswich in the General Court in 1723-27, dying March 3, 1745. His son, Colonel John Choate, was born on Hog Island in 1697, and died Seventeen years a member of the House of Representatives, and five of the Council, Justice of the Court of Sessions and Court of Common Pleas, and Judge of Probate, he was a leading citizen of the province. Elected Speaker in 1741, he was negatived by Governor Belcher. Francis, another son of Thomas Choate, was born on Hog Island in 1701, and died there October 15, 1777. He was prominent in church and town affairs. His second son, William, was the father of David Choate, born upon

Hog Island, November 29, 1757, who died March 26, 1808. He inherited the island farm which is still owned by his descendants, but in 1800 he removed to the main land. David Choate, the father of Rufus, was, at times, a school-teacher in Ipswich. He was highly esteemed for his social talents, good sense, and judgment. He is understood to have been a member of the State Convention called to consider the Federal Constitution, and to have advocated its adoption in a series of newspaper articles, sometimes ascribed to Chief-Justice Parsons. The statement shows, at any rate, the estimation in which his abilities were held. By his first wife David Choate had no children. October 11, 1791, he married Miriam, daughter of Captain Aaron Foster, who bore him two daughters and four sons, and who survived him more than forty years, dying in 1853, at the age of eighty-one. Their son David, born November 29, 1796, died December 16, 1872. He was long engaged in school-teaching, was an active town and church officer, a member of both branches of the legislature, and distinguished for the moral and intellectual traits characteristic of his family.

One of the daughters married Dr. Thomas Sewall, who, about 1808, succeeded another eminent physician, Dr. Reuben D. Muzzey, in practice at Essex. Dr. Sewall, some years after, removed to Washington, where he attained great distinction in his profession, his house becoming the home of his famous brother-in-law, the subject of this memoir, during his various residences in that city.

Fond tradition and affectionate eulogy preserve the memory of another son, Washington Choate, who, born January 17, 1803, died February 27, 1822, whilst a member of the Junior Class in Dartmouth College. His fair beauty, his sweet disposition, his extreme precocity and remarkable attainments were accompanied, we are told, by a sincere and fervent piety, which fitted him for the lofty service to which he had already determined to con-

secrate his life. He was undoubtedly a young man of rare promise, thought by many to be in no way inferior to his brother Rufus, — who was fondly attached to him, and refused to be comforted for his loss.

Rufus, the second son and fourth child of David and Miriam (Foster) Choate, was born upon the island "Tuesday. Cetober 1, 1799, at 3 o'clock P. M."—according to the cord made by his father in the Family Bible. Although the family removed to Essex village when Rufus was only six months old, the island farm continued to be cultivated by them, and frequent visits were made to it in a "dug-out." To his latest day Mr. Choate loved to repair there, and talk of his boyish work and sport upon that spot. Its scenery and associations became a distinct element in the formation of his character. His biographer wrote, in 1862:—

An arm of the sea flows pleasantly about it, and a little creek runs up to within twenty rods of the old dwelling, which stands on the hillside, hardly changed from what it was sixty years since, — of two stories, heavy-timbered, low-roomed, with beams across the ceiling, bare and weather-beaten, but with a cheerful southerly outlook towards the marshes, the sea, and the far-off rocky shore of Cape Ann.

During the War of the Revolution a British frigate hovered off the shore, and sent boats into the near harbor of Annisquam. When they approached Hog Island, all the people fled to the main land, save the wife of William Choate, grandmother of Rufus, who refused to leave, and remained with two little children, fearless and unharmed. During the War of 1812, British men-of-war were more than once seen near the islands. The boy Rufus gazed with rapt eyes upon the Tenedos and the Shannon, "sitting like swans upon the water."

In August, 1813, he went to Salem, when the remains of the brave Captain Lawrence of the Chesapeake were reinterred. The last battle-cry of the hero, "Don't give up the ship!" rang in his ears. The opening sentence of Judge Story's famous oration, "Welcome to their native shores be the remains of our departed heroes!" seemed to him the grandest eloquence. He delighted in accounts of naval battles; and, with his brother Washington and other boys, he fought them "o'er again." He was himself the captain, the admiral; and, above all things, he impressed upon his subordinates the duty of nailing the flag to the mast-head, never, never to be hauled down!

Indeed, the boyhood by the sea, the sight and sound of it in calm and storm, the fishing, the ship-building, the sea-stories and sea-fights, made an indelible impression upon this imaginative boy. His dream then was to be a sea-captain, - or better, himself a naval hero. And though the stronger passion for books, when it sprang up, dispelled that dream, yet to the last of earth he loved sailors and the sea. No man was more familiar with naval history, and the very manœuvres of the vessels in our various naval engagements. His most brilliant and beautiful lecture "The Romance of the Sea" - in which he had incorporated much that he had seen and thought of and about the ocean, and its wonders and its mysteries - was stolen or lost after its delivery in New York, and has never reappeared. Said Richard H. Dana, the author of "Two Years Before the Mast," in his remarks at the Boston Bar meeting, after Mr. Choate's death: "I take for the moment a simile from that element which he loved as much as I love it, though it rose against his life at last."

Although Rufus lost his father when he was only eight years old, his surroundings were pleasant and wholesome. His mother is described as "a quiet, sedate, but cheerfull woman, dignified in manner, quick in perception, of strong e sense and ready wit," whom her son was said to resemble "in many characteristics of mind and person." When she died, in 1853, he mourned her deeply, although she sank into a "timely grave." When in the Senate, in

1841, he wrote to his children: "Give best love to all at Essex. Go, especially, and give my love to grandmother, who was the best of mothers to your father, and help her all you can." To his son at Essex, about the same time, he wrote:—

There is a place or two, according to my recollections of your time of life, in the lane, where real, good, solid satisfaction, in the way of play, may be had. . . . One half-hour, tell grandmother, under those cherished buttonwoods, is worth a month under these insufferable fervors.

Many passages might be selected from the orations of Mr. Choate, descriptive of the scenery of Ipswich and its vicinity, with which his youth was familiar. Many spots were identified with his early readings. Forty years after, in riding from Ipswich to Essex, he pointed out a rocky dell, saying, "There is the descent to Avernus." The poetic feeling was already developing. In manhood he was wont to relate that more than once, after driving his father's cow to pasture and throwing away his switch, he returned to pick it up again and place it under the tree from which he had stripped it, saying to himself, "Perhaps there is, after all, some yearning of nature between them still."

For the lad was not exempt from the share of work which usually falls to the lot of New England farmer-boys. He was strong, active, and willing, and one stone-wall builder, at least, thought it a pity so good a worker should be sent to college. And to the master-workman the boy appreciatively said, "If ever I'm a lawyer, I'll lead all your cases for nothing." But, as we have seen, loved play, at which he was eager and indefatigable.

The passion of his life, however, early disclosed itself in his absorbing devotion to reading. Before he was six years old he had devoured Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, and could repeat it from memory. A little while before his death, he borrowed the old dog-eared copy, which

refreshed the memories of the child's absorption in the grand allegory. Before he was ten, he had "pretty nearly exhausted" the heavy histories of the village library — Rollin, Josephus, Plutarch, Hutchinson, &c. He read and re-read the Bible, and noted prophesies which foretold, he thought, Napoleon, then at the zenith of his power. He already sucked out the heart of books, as other boys fruit, and his wonderful power and tenacity of memory began already to be marked and commented upon. When in college, afterwards, he would read a chapter just before retiring, and on waking in the morning could repeat it correctly. He once recited in court a long passage from the Assembly's Catechism, saying, "May it please your Honor, my mother taught me this in my earliest childhood."

As an illustration of the vivid impression which the books read in youth make upon a plastic mind, it is worth recording that when, in the trial of Albert J. Tirrell for murder, Mr. Choate broached somnambulism as the theory of the defence, he read a striking passage - containing an incident of a sportsman, who, in his sleep, attempted to kill his comrade - "from a good old book, which used to lie on the shelves of our good old fathers and mothers, and which they were wont devoutly to read. This old book is Hervey's Meditations, and I have borrowed it from my mother to read on this occasion." Tirrell was a somnambulist, and the suggestion that he had killed Maria Bickford in his sleep is said to have been made to Mr. Choate by his friends. This defence was much ridiculed, and Choate was censured for adopting it, whilst the jury is said to have declared they acquitted Tirre on entirely different grounds. But Mr. Choate, whos judgment in such matters was wellnigh infallible, defended Tirrell, in a subsequent trial for arson upon substantially the same facts, upon the same ground, and the jury again acquitted Tirrell. It is altogether probable

the evidence of somnambulism did impress the jury, and it is quite certain that the quaint passage from the Meditations, read in boyhood and never forgotten, must have encouraged the great advocate in the maturity of his splendid powers, as well as lent a certain dignity to the novel and, at first blush, absurd theory.

As a boy Choate was remarked for the same sweetness of temper, and mischievous, roguish love of fun, that characterized him in manhood. He doubtless received valuable impressions from intercourse as a child with Drs. Muzzey and Sewall, who both, at different times, resided in his mother's family. At the age of ten he commenced the study of Latin with Dr. Sewall, continuing it with the clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Holt, or the teachers of the district school. "Among these," says Mr. Choate's biographer, "should be mentioned the Rev. Dr. William Cogswell," whose memoir appears in the first volume of this series of Memorial Biographies, and who taught the school during the successive winters of his Junior and Senior years in college.

Completing his preparation for college in 1815, at the Academy in Hampton, New Hampshire, Rufus entered Dartmouth in the summer of that year, where he graduated in course in 1819, when not quite twenty,—the youngest in the class with two exceptions. He is described "as a diffident, modest, beautiful boy, singularly attractive in person and manner, of a delicate frame, with dark curling hair, a fresh, ruddy complexion, a beautiful ingenuous countenance, his movements marked with a natural grace and vivacity, and his mind from the first betraying the spirit of a scholar."

Chief-Justice Perley in his discriminating eulogy on Mr. Choate, pronounced at Dartmouth College, July 25, 1860, says:—

There he brought a mind burning with a thirst for knowledge, which death alone had power to quench, kindled with aspira-

tions lofty, but as yet undefined and vague, and stocked with an amount of general information quite remarkable for his years; a physical constitution somewhat yielding and pliant, of great nervous sensibility, but equalled by few for endurance and clastic strength. He came pure from every taint of vice, generous, enthusiastic, established in good principles, good habits, and good health.

It is probable that the broken manner of his preparation for college, and his own sensibility, prevented attention from being fixed upon his extraordinary merit during his first half-year or so. These defects could not long keep him in the background. His quickness of apprehension, love of acquisition, grasp of memory, natural command of beautiful and vivid expression, with extraordinary capacity for application, quickly placed him in advance of all competitors. In his second year, he had already entered upon a course of thorough study, independent of the class curriculum. He read in all directions poetry, romance, the classics, general literature. He was too eager and busy to mingle much in the sports of the playground, but he was never churlish or inhospitable. All loved him, none envied him. He was librarian of the Social Friends, one of the two literary societies of the College, a position which gave him unusual facilities for gratifying his omnivorous love of books, and doubtless aided in creating and confirming the habit which once chained him to the shelves of a well-known New York bookseller, for nine hours upon the stretch, without food or drink.

The four years of his academic course were coincident with the struggle between the College and the University, terminating in the complete triumph of the College through the decision pronounced in its favor by the Supreme Court of the United States at its term in February, 1819. Daniel Webster had won such pre-eminent glory in the argument of the cause, that Joseph Hopkin-

son, associate-counsel with him, wrote to President Brown: "I would have an inscription over the door of your building: Founded by Eleazer Wheelock, Refounded by Daniel Webster." Webster had thus become not only the most distinguished graduate of the College, but the graduate to whom it was believed to owe its very existence. Choate had already heard Webster, in the famous trial of the Kennistons, at Ipswich in the autumn of 1817, and had become profoundly impressed with the genius of that extraordinary man, who was to exercise so great an influence over his own career.

There had been no difference of opinion to whom should be awarded the highest honors of the Class of 1819. But Choate had been overworked, and his health broke down towards the close of his Senior year. The six weeks before Commencement were passed by him upon a sick bed, attended by the assiduous care of his family friend, Dr. Muzzey, now a professor at Dartmouth. There had been fears that he would be unable to deliver the valedictory. The report of his extraordinary love of study and rare attainments had gone abroad, and public sympathy had been roused by the rumor of his dangerous illness. Thus, when he came upon the rostrum, pallid, attenuated, his dark beauty seemed stamped with the seal of approaching mortality, his eye was thought to burn with an unearthly lustre, and his voice sounded mellow with a pathos, fit to melt into the melody of the heavenly So thought the matrons and maids in the old choir. village church; but before him stretched away forty years of intense study, struggle, forensic agony, and triumph. From that hour, a brilliant future was foretold for the gifted, romantic-looking student.

At this Commencement were present many distinguished friends of the College, eager to hail its resurrection. Webster was there; and Choate, in the famous eulogy, recalls his meeting with him on that occasion.

Ex-governor and ex-Chief-Justice Jeremiah Smith, who also had been of counsel for the College in the State courts, was accompanied by his beautiful and accomplished daughter Ariana, who naturally selected the performance of "young Mr. Choate" as "really admirable," — adding: "This young man is a fine scholar, a hard student, and uncommonly interesting."

Choute remained for a year at Dartmouth as tutor, successful and beloved as a teacher, and vastly extending the area of his own knowledge. James Marsh, the well-known metaphysician, afterwards president of the University of Vermont, was a colleague in tutorship,—to whom Choate wrote ten years later, just after his election to Congress: "I more than once, while it was raging about me, wished myself a tutor in the Indian Charity School, upon \$350 per annum, teaching the first book of Livy to the class, and studying with you that dreadful chapter of Mitford about the dialects."

The venerable Judge Nathan Crosby of Lowell, who graduated in the Class of 1820, just as Choate's connection with the College was terminating, writes of him: "The ideal scholar, and the pride of the College, no one had ever so completely won the admiration of the Faculty, of his fellow-students, and of the people of Hanover."

It is proper to guard the reader against the conclusion that, either in his youth or manhood, Mr. Choate could ever justly be charged with affectation or a fondness for theatrical display. Though he probably became conscious, early in his career, of the possession of great talents, yet those who knew him best bear strongest testimony to his unassuming manner and unfeigned modesty. But such was his fresh, even blooming, beauty in youth, — so picturesque, and latterly even so tragic, his appearance in after life, — so intense was his absorption in the preparation, and so completely did he lose his identity in the presentation of his cause, whatever it might be, — that on

every stage he appeared the "well-graced actor," whom all eyes devoured. For his own part, Mr. Choate ever delighted to recur to the happy and profitable days of his sojourn at college. To his son, Rufus, so well-beloved, and for whom he hoped so much, he wrote, whilst a student at Amherst College: "My college life was so exquisitely happy, that I should love to re-live it in my son. The studies of Latin and Greek — Livy, Horace, Tacitus, Xenophon, Herodotus, and Thucydides especially — had ever a charm beyond expression; and the first opening of our great English authors — Milton, Addison, Johnson — and the great writers for the reviews, made that time of my life a brief, sweet dream. It created tastes, and supplied sources of enjoyment which support me to this hour — in fatigue, ill-health, and low spirits."

Again he says to his boy, of college life: "It glides away so fast, and is so delightful a portion of the whole term of life, that I should envy every day and hour. I prized mine. Yet now, as the poet says, it is my grief that I prized it no more."

Of that precious springtime of youth and the beginning of culture, Mr. Choate was thinking in his lecture of March, 1856, before the Mercantile Library Association. Speaking "of the time, say from 1812 to 1820," when Byron and Wordsworth and Scott, Rogers and Coleridge and Madame de Staël, were entrancing the youth of the period, his thoughts flit back twoscore years to Hanover and the Connecticut, and he says:—

You who can remember this will sigh and say,

"'T was a light that ne'er can shine again On life's dull stream."

So might you say, whatever their worth intrinsically: for to you, to us—read in the age of admiration—of the first pulse of the emotions beating unwontedly,—associated with college contentions and friendship; the walk on the gleaming, Rhine-

like, riverside; the seat of rock and moss under the pine singing of Theocritus: with all fair ideals revelling in the soul before

"The trumpet-call of truth
Pealed on the idle dreams of youth," —

to you they had a spell beyond their value, and a place in your culture that nothing can share.

Choate's industry, ambition, and fervor of temperament were too marked to permit his wasting long time in "idle dreams;" and the "trumpet-call," is clearly pealed in a letter written him in March, 1820, by his old teacher, now his brother by marriage, Dr. Sewall of Washington.

Dr. Sewall writes to the young tutor, not yet twentyone, about the speeches, in Congress, of Barbour, Pinkney, Otis, Clay, Lowndes; about Judge Story; of his own great and growing intimacy with Webster, who expresses an interest in Choate, and invites him to visit him, - whom "Rufus" will find "a friend, a companion, and equal." The Doctor supposes that Choate's funds "must be nearly exhausted." He strongly urges him to commence professional study immediately upon the close of the present academic year, - the study of Divinity, if he can bring his "feelings to such a course. . . . I am not without a strong hope that, whatever you engage in for the present, you will finally be called to devote those talents, which God has distinguished you with in so eminent a degree, to that cause which will ultimately swallow up all others." If he cannot come to this "for the present," then he advises him to commence the study of law in Webster's office in Boston. It is quite probable that, aside from his views of duty, Dr. Sewall may have thought Choate's powers eminently fitted for usefulness in the pulpit; and one can imagine in him another Whitefield of a different type. One sentence of Dr. Sewall's letter may well be quoted here as illustrative of Mr. Choate's character, since doubtless it is substantially correct: "I

am aware, Rufus, that you have too much independence to be greatly influenced in your future course by the advice of any one."

But whilst Choate would certainly decide for himself a question on which his future life hinged, he was ever grateful for the disinterested counsel of his wise and kind friend.

In the autumn of 1820 he was entered at the Dane Law School in Cambridge, under the instruction of Chief Justice Parker and Professor Asahel Stearns.

He was, beyond question, an earnest student of the law, but neither then nor ever did he neglect general reading. At that time Edward Everett was connected with the academic department of the University; and after Mr. Choate's death he said: "While he was at the Law School in Cambridge, I was accustomed to meet him, more frequently than any other person of his standing, in the alcoves of the Library of the University."

In the following year, 1821, Choate entered the office, at Washington, of William Wirt, then Attorney-General of the United States, of whom, however, he did not see very much, as Mr. Wirt was at that time in ill-health. Mr. Wirt, however, wrote of him, November 12, 1822: "Mr. Rufus Choate read law in my office and under my direction for about twelve months. He crinced great power of "icution, and displayed a force and discrimination of mind which I formed the most favorable presages of his future clion in his profession." The italies are Mr. Wirt's.

At Washington he heard William Pinkney, both in the Senate and in his last argument in Court, and, it is said, made him his model. He saw John Marshall preside in the Supreme Court, which, as then constituted, he described in 1853 as "A tribunal unsurpassed on earth in all that gives illustration to a bench of law, not one of whom any longer survives." He became familiar with the public administration of affairs. To James Marsh he wrote: "I

am sadly at a loss for books here, but I sit three days every week in the large Congressional Library, and am studying our own extensive ante-Revolutionary history, and reading your favorite Gibbon. The only classic I can get is Ovid; and while I am about it, let me say, too, that I read every day some chapters in an English Bible. I miss extremely the rich opportunities we enjoyed formerly, and which you still enjoy, but I hope I shall at last begin to think."

The sudden death of his favorite brother Washington, of whom we have spoken, brought him back, inconsolable, to Essex. After a time he entered his name in the law-office of Mr. Asa Andrews of Ipswich, and subsequently he finished his studies with Judge Cummins of Salem. Admitted an attorney of the Court of Common Pleas in September, 1822, he was not enrolled as an attorney of the Supreme Court until two years later, according to the practice of that day.

His biographer tells us that his sign was first put up in Salem; but the very next day he took it to more "removed ground" at South Danvers, where he began the practice of the law in earnest.

Thus launched upon a professional career at the age of twenty-four, Mr. Choate's success in obtaining employment, though as great as could have been reasonably expected, was not at first remarkable. As a student, he had been so admired and caressed, that probably his friends may have flattered him with the prospect of being at once overwhelmed by business. In a letter to his friend Marsh, November, 1823, he refers to a "sense of miserableness," that "presses upon me every moment that I am not hard at study." Indeed we are told by his biographer, that during the first two or three years of his residence at Danvers he was sometimes despondent, and even debated whether he ought not to throw up law and seek other means of support. This was a mood easily

understood by such as have passed through a similar experience. Separated from the companionship of the friends by whom he had been loved and cheered, he very probably funcied that the talents of which he was conscious were unappreciated by the strangers among whom he had come to live. This was a natural reaction of feeling; but, with his healthful temperament, it could not last long, and there is no trace of its recurrence at any subsequent period. Indeed, with this exception, the tone of Mr. Choate's life is manly and bracing. Hard work, the excitement of causes, and domestic happiness soon wrought a permanent cure; for in 1825, he married Helen, daughter of Mills Olcott, Esq., a lawyer of Hanover, New Hamphire, whose acquaintance he of course had made whilst connected with Dartmouth College. Mr. Olcott was widely known, and highly respected in the valley of the upper Connecticut. Mrs. Choate survived her husband more than five years, dying December 8, She was a woman of gentle, refined, and pure character, whose screnity and steadfastness were ever a support and consolation to him.

After all, the Danvers folk were not slow in finding out what sort of man their young attorney was. They sent him to the House of Representatives in 1825, and again in 1826; and his service there opened the way to the State Senate in 1827. We are told that "he took a prominent part in the debates, and the energy and sagacity which he displayed gave him a wide reputation." In his lecture upon "The Power of a State developed by Mental Culture," delivered before the Mercantile Library Association, November 18, 1844, he says: "I may be permitted to remember that the first time I ever ventured to open my lips in a deliberative body, I had the honor to support a bill in the House of Representatives, in Massachusetts, providing for educating teachers of common schools. I should be perfectly willing to open

them for the last time in the same place, in support of the same proposition exactly."

He was an active member of a literary society which he found established in Danvers. He joined the Danvers Light Infantry, and delivered a Fourth-of-July oration before that corps, and another before the citizens at large. In short, he received all the honors and discharged all the functions belonging to a popular and talented young lawyer in that day. We are informed that he always had a peculiar regard for Danvers as the place of his early struggles and success. And so he expresses himself in the exordium of one of his most beautiful addresses, delivered in South Danvers, at the dedication of the Peabody Institute, September 29, 1854: "I esteem it a great privilege to have been allowed to unite with my former townsmen, and the friends of so many years, - by whose seasonable kindness the earliest struggles of my professional life were observed and helped, - the friends of all its periods, - so I have found them."

The lecture on the Waverley Novels was written, we are told, during the Danvers residence.

But in a short time Cheate was deeply absorbed in forensic contests. Only a small pecuniary value was involved in most of them; but he soon became admired as the man who did his best in every cause. He threw himself with as much enthusiasm into a trial before a country justice in a shoemaker's shop as if it were before the Supreme Court. He magnified every litigation, and each litigant, magistrate, and juryman. He never hesitated to pour out all his wealth of imagery, the profusion of his classical allusions, and all the exuberance of his rhetoric upon trivial occasions and before an illiterate audience. And he found his account in it. There was a subtle flattery in this treatment which stole the hearts of his hearers. But he was also fortunate enough to appear before Lemuel Shaw, afterwards the great Chief-Justice

of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and Samuel Hoar of Concord, in an arbitration, as early as June, 1826. Judge Shaw wrote of that appearance: "We were much and very agreeably surprised at the display of his powers. It appeared to me that he then manifested much of that keen legal discrimination, of the acuteness, skill, and comprehensive view of the requirements of his case, in the examination of witnesses, and that clearness and force in presenting questions both of fact and of law, by which he was so much distinguished in his subsequent brilliant professional career. He soon after this removed to Salem, and in a short time became extensively and favorably known as a jurist and advocate."

There could be little question of mistaken vocation as to a young lawyer who made so vivid an impression upon those experienced and hard-headed seniors, Shaw and Hoar.

The most eloquent advocate in Massachusetts before the Revolution, James Otis, gathered his first laurels in defence of some young men of good family in Plymouth, complained of for disorderly conduct. Similarly, the first case in which Rufus Choate professionally appeared in Salem, was in defence of a number of young men of respectable families, charged with riotous proceedings at a low dance-house. Asahel Huntington, long an eminent member of the Essex Bar, penned in after years a very interesting sketch of this case, which "excited much interest from the character and position of some of the parties implicated, and especially from the fame, even then, of the young advocate. He had before that time, I believe, appeared before some of the magistrates of Danvers." This was known as the Mumford Case. Choate's argument, Mr. Huntington says:-

It was a new revelation to this audience. They had heard able and eloquent men before in courts of justice and elsewhere. Essex had had for years and generations an able, learned, and

eloquent bar; there had been many giants among us, some of national fame and standing, but no such giant as this had appeared before, — such words, such epithets, such involutions, such close and powerful logic all the while, such grace and dignity, such profusion, and waste even, of everything beautiful and lovely. No, not waste, he never wasted a word. . . . The feeling excited by this first speech of Mr. Choate in Salem was one of great admiration and delight. All felt lifted up by his themes. . . And all were prepared to welcome him when, a few years afterwards, he took up his abode here, after the elevation of his old friend and teacher, Judge Cummins, to the bench of the Court of Common Pleas.

This seems extravagant language as applied to the almost maiden plea of a young man of twenty-five; but it was deliberately written, long subsequently, by a man of sense and observation. Certain it is that, as the years went on, the appearance of Choate in any cause, under any circumstances, was the signal for thronged courtrooms by audiences lifted high and still higher upon the lofty and ever renewed flights of his winged eloquence.

To Salem, then, Choate removed in 1828,—at that time, as it always has been, the principal seat of the courts of Essex County.

The bar of that county has been illustrated by famous men, and was still a very strong and able one when Choate was put upon his mettle there. He early acquired a great prominence in criminal causes, and it is said that no man whom he defended was ever convicted whilst he lived in Salem. He got plenty of applause, but, probably, very little money in proportion to his labor. One of the most famous of his petty causes was that of Jefferds, indicted for stealing a flock of turkeys, and defended by Choate. He was tried three, if not four times, with the same result, — a disagreement of the jury; until, in despair, the Commonwealth's attorney entered a nol. pros. The case had become a cause célèbre, the frequenters of the courts asking: "When is the turkey case coming on

again?" It is said that Jefferds afterwards called to pay his respects to his counsel in Boston, and was much surprised at not being recognized, exclaiming: "Why, Mr. Choate, I'm the man you plead so for in the turkey case, when they could n't find anything agin me."

Mr. Huntington's comment is: "There had been only forty-four good and true men against him - if there were four trials, and I believe there were - without including twenty-three more of the grand jury." Possibly Jefferds thought it unkind that he should not be recognized by his attorney, to whom his cause had furnished such brilliant opportunities for display. But Mr. Choate's biographer tells us he was generally averse to personal contact with his clients in criminal cases. He never exchanged a word with Tirrell till the day of the trial, when, after the prisoner had been placed in the dock, he walked to the rail and said: "Well, sir, are you ready to make a strong push for life with me to-day?" The answer, of course, was in the affirmative. "Very well, we will make it," rejoined Mr. Choate, and returned to his seat, not speaking to Tirrell again. After the second successful defence of Tirrell, some legal wit said, "Tirrell exists only by the sufferance of Choate." But Tirrell, it is recorded, had the impudence to write to Mr. Choate, asking a return of one-half the small fee paid, upon the ground that it had been so easy to persuade two juries of his innocence.

Doubtless one reason why Choate was reluctant to accord interviews to his clients in criminal causes, was his inflexible rule never to ask the accused if he did the act charged; but, in one instance, after looking at the defendant, he said: "He did it, — he sweats so."

During many years of his professional career, and till he thought he had fully earned his discharge from that branch of practice, Mr. Choate did not consider himself at liberty to decline retainers in criminal causes. When retained he believed himself bound, in honor and conscience, to present all the law and all the evidence, with his entire ability, to the court and the jury; but he did not consider himself bound to receive and conduct such a cause upon a theory which did not commend itself to his sense of propriety, or his view of the evidence, or the fitness of things.

It must not be supposed that Mr. Choate did not, at all times, try many civil actions; but his glowing eloquence and extraordinary resources were naturally more conspicuous in criminal cases, in the days of his youth and strength, and before such trials had become irksome to him, as they afterwards were. There was, no doubt, a keen intellectual enjoyment of the capacity to overcome great obstacles. It must also be remembered, that the line between civil and criminal practice was not so sharply drawn fifty or sixty years ago as it is now. There was not the same subdivision of legal business as at present, nor was a purely criminal lawyer looked upon with as much disfavor as at present.

Of Mr. Choate it is no exaggeration to say, that his talents, dignity, and devotion ennobled every cause in which he was engaged.

It may also be truthfully said in this connection, that, however unpopular any cause in which he was ever employed, nobody ever thought of impeaching his integrity and honor, professional or personal. In 1830 he was associated with Mr. Webster in the prosecution of Crowninshield and the Knapps for the murder of Captain Joseph White of Salem. Probably he may have been employed at the suggestion of Webster himself, who was the master-spirit of that famous trial. Mr. Choate in the Dartmouth Eulogy, speaking of Webster's great professional displays, remarks: "One such I stood in a relation to witness with a comparatively easy curiosity, and yet with intimate and professional knowledge of all the embarrass-

ments of the case." Choate's name is not of record in the cause, but he assisted in preparing the case for the government, and was constantly in consultation with Webster and his associates.

November 4, 1829, he writes to his old friend Marsh, in excusing himself for declining to review that gentleman's edition of Coleridge's "Aids to Reflection," "My habits have become almost exclusively professional."

But the time was at hand when he was to be called away from professional pursuits. In October, 1830, he was nominated by the National Republicans of Essex South, as Representative to Congress. It is stated, and is believed to be true, that Choate never sought this, or any other office or position held by him, and that this nomination was made without his knowledge, and accepted by him only after some persuasion. The nomination was not satisfactory to many. Benjamin W. Crowninshield formerly Secretary of the Navy in the administrations of Madison and Monroe, a gentleman of wealth, respectability, and influence - had represented the district for eight years, and was not yet ready to retire. There were probably others who had looked for the succession, in due order of promotion. Choate was objected to as a young man, a new comer, ambitious and without experience. One young lawyer is remembered to have declaimed vigorously against him, - and with some reason, - that, instead of being a substantial citizen like Mr. Crowninshield, he was only stopping in Salem, "while he oated his horse," on the way from Danvers to Boston. Mr. Crowninshield was supported as an independent candidate; but Choate was elected by a majority of more than five hundred votes over all opposing candidates. His own motives and feelings are expressed, doubtless with sincerity, in his letter to Marsh, dated November 14, 1830.

The matter of my election I do suppose rather a foolish one on my part; but the nomination was so made that I could not

avoid it without wilfully slutting myself out of Congress for life,—since my declining would undoubtedly have brought forward some other new candidate, who, if elected, would go ten years at least; long before which time, if living, I might have removed from the District. . . .

The responsibilities of the new place I appreciate fully; proparte virili, I shall try to meet them. I have a whole year yet, you know, before me, before I take my seat; quite short time enough for me to mature and enter on a course of study and thought adapted to this sphere of duty. I hardly dare yet look the matter in the face. Political life—between us—is no part of my plan, although I trust I shall aim in good faith to perform the duties thus temporarily and incidentally assigned.

There is no reason to think that Mr. Choate ever swerved from the views thus expressed as to a political career. He prized the honor of this election, as afterwards that to the Senate; but he looked upon either service as temporary; and, having rendered it to the best of his ability, he returned with satisfaction to private life.

During his residence in Salem, Choate had continued his early habit of diligent study. Standing at a high desk, pen in hand, and a manuscript book before him, he read law and made notes assiduously. At this period he carefully studied equity as administered in Massachusetts, and collated the decisions. He still kept up his literary tastes, but specially devoted himself to mental and political philosophy, and at one time to theology. After the election, he began to prepare himself for his new duties; not procrastinating, as the date of the following memorandum shows. It is the first page of a new common-place book, then commenced.

November 4, 1830.

Facienda ad munus nuper impositum.

1. Pers. quals. [personal qualities]. Memory — Daily Food and Cowper, dum umbulo. Voice. Manner — exercitationes diurnæ.

- 2. Current politics in papers. 1. Cum notulis, daily. Geog. &c. 2. Annual Reg'r. Past Intelligencers, &c.
- 3. District S. E. [i. e. Essex South]. Pop. Occs. [population, occupations]. Modes of Living. Commerce the Treaties, and Principles on which it depends.
- 4. Civil History of U. States, in Pitkin and [original] Sources.
- 5. Exam. of Pending Questions: Tariff, Pub. Lands, Indians, Nullification.
 - 6. Am. and Brit. Eloquence, Writing, Practice.

Then follow [says his biographer] more than twenty pages of the closest writing, with abbreviated and condensed statements of results, drawn from many volumes, newspapers, messages and speeches, with propositions and arguments for and against, methodically arranged under topics, with minute divisions and subdivisions. Some of these heads, under which he endeavors to compress the most essential political knowledge, are these:—

1. Public Lands, giving the number of acres in the whole country, the States where they lie, the sources whence derived, the progress and system of sales, &c., &c.

2. Politics of 1831, brought down to the beginning of the session in December; an analysis of the President's Message, and notes upon the subjects which it suggests; the measures and policy of the government.

3. The Tariff, beginning with an analysis of Hamilton's Report in 1790; History of Legislation respecting it; Internal Improvements, their cost, and the Constitutional power of making them.

Then follow three or four closely written pages on particular articles, — wool, cotton, flax, hemp, iron, — as affected by the tariff.

- 4. Analysis of British opinions.
- 5. Cause of the excitement in the Southern States.
- 6. Commerce of the United States in 1831.

These are but samples of the subjects which occupied his attention, but they may serve to indicate the thoroughness with which he prepared for his new position.

Regarding this systematic and patient course of study,

- knowing already his remarkable power of acquisition and strength of memory, to which we may add an equally wonderful ability to assimilate, - we are not surprised to be told that when he took his seat in Congress in December, 1831, he speedily attained high rank. He was not forward or assuming, and did not speak very frequently, but watched the course of public business with close attention, studied new questions carefully, and was often in the library of Congress. He was not then, nor ever, tolerant of the business of committees; his mind moved too quickly for the processes of ordinary men, and he endured with impatience the waste of time so precious There were some great and many able men on to him. the floor of Congress. In the Senate were Webster, Prentiss of Vermont, Peleg Sprague of Maine, Marcy, Dallas, Clayton, Clay, and Benton; whilst in the House there were John Quincy Adams, Nathan Appleton, George N. Briggs, Everett, and John Davis of Massachusetts, Evans of Maine, Verplanck of New York, Tom Corwin, Wayne of Georgia, McDuffie of South Carolina, James K. Polk of Tennessee.

Mr. Choate made a speech in his first session upon the Revolutionary Pension Bill, which was both instructive and persuasive. His speech upon the Tariff, of which he had made so careful a study, is said to have made a profound impression upon the House in its delivery,— much heightened in effect by the passage of a severe thunderstorm, to whose influences Choate was always exquisitely sensitive. This effort established his fame as a parliamentary orator. It may be observed, in passing, that his famous Eulogy on Webster, at Dartmouth, was pronounced under similar circumstances, producing similar impressions upon his auditors.

In April, 1833, Choate was re-elected by an increased majority. March 28, 1834, he spoke upon the removal of the deposits by President Jackson, an effort of which

"old Ben Hardin" of Kentucky said: "I became charmed by the music of his voice, and was captivated by the power of his eloquence, and found myself wholly unable to move until the last word of his beautiful speech had been uttered."

At the close of this session Mr. Choate resigned his seat in Congress, and removed to Boston, where he devoted himself with renewed zeal to the practice of law. August 16, 1834, he delivered, at the bicentennial of the settlement of his native town of Ipswich, the admirable address which, in his published works, is called "The Colonial Age of New England." To this period is ascribed also a lecture upon Poland; and, soon after his removal to Boston, the famous "Romance of the Sea," of the loss of which, soon afterwards, mention has been made.

From 1834 to 1841 Choate remained in private life, trying law-cases, winning and maintaining a high place at the Suffolk Bar, studying law, and finding his delight, according to his wont, in literature. When, in 1841, Mr. Webster entered the Cabinet of President Harrison, Mr. Choate was chosen by the Massachusetts Legislature to succeed him in the Senate of the United States. It is explicitly declared that he at first positively refused the offer of an election, and only yielded upon great urgency, and the understanding that he should be permitted, after two or three years, to resign.

The reasons of his reluctance are probably not far to seek. He enjoyed the contests and triumphs of the bar, he was poor, and desired to secure a competence for his family; he delighted in his home and was loath to leave it; he was probably conscious of a mental and moral delicacy which made the conflicts of politics distasteful to him, and he despised political intrigue and office-seeking. The sudden death of President Harrison caused Mr. Choate to be summoned to deliver a eulogy upon him in Faneuil Hall, which is well remembered as a pathetic and eloquent production.

Taking his seat in the Senate at its extra session, Mr. Choate bore a prominent part in the memorable debates that followed. He first spoke, with great applause, upon the questions growing out of the case of Alexander McLeod, indicted in the State of New York for the burning of the steamer Caroline.

Upon the bill for the re-establisment of a National Bank, Mr. Rives of Virginia moved an amendment, making the assent of States necessary for the creation of branches within their limits. Mr. Choate briefly supported this amendment, not as doubting the Constitutional power of Congress to dispense with such assent, but from considerations of policy. He expressed his doubt whether, without such a provision, the bill could be carried through Congress, and declared his belief that if it should be, it would fail to become a law. He did not enter upon the grounds of his belief, saying: "The rules of orderly proceeding here, decorum, pride, regret, would all prevent my doing it. I have no personal or private grounds for the conviction which holds me fast; but I judge on notorious and, to my mind, decisive indications." This language very clearly indicated Mr. Choate's belief that the bill would be vetoed by President Tyler if it passed Congress. But it does not seem to warrant the conclusion that he had any actual or peculiar knowledge upon the subject. He was, however, the intimate friend and protégé of Mr. Webster, President Tyler's Secretary of State. Henry Clay, then unmistakably the autocratic head of the Whig party, and ready to declare war upon the administration, roughly and ungenerously interrogated Mr. Choate as to the grounds of his belief. Choate was unquestionably taken by surprise by the violent and arrogant manner of this attack. He was himself a young member, not perfectly familiar with the Senate and its usages, whilst he had been accustomed to regard Mr. Clay with the deference to which his age, experience,

and pre-eminent abilities entitled him. It is the tradition that Choate did not reply with all the spirit and vigor the occasion called for. Mr. Choate's careful and judicious biographer was "informed by those who were present, that the impression in the Senate Chamber was much less than it was represented by the newspapers." But Mr. Winthrop, in his fine Memorial of Henry Clay, says: "Like Palmerston, he could sometimes be 'lefty and sour,' and sometimes even rude towards those who opposed him. He was so to Rufus Choate, in my own hearing, in the Senate Chamber." But Mr. Clay could also be magnanimous; and the very next day he tendered open and ample apology upon the floor of the Senate, which was accepted by Mr. Choate with frank grace. Such a collision was doubtless very distasteful to the gentle nature of Choate; but if he did not rise quite promptly to the shock of Henry Clay's overbearing onset, it is not to be inferred that he was crushed by it, or that he did not gain later laurels upon the same field. Horace Greeley tells us that he saw Stephen A. Douglas, when a new member of the Senate, "quail" before the glance of Daniel Webster; but the friends of Douglas glory that, on another day, he struck his lance full upon the shield of the Great Expounder.

Choate made a lofty speech in favor of the confirmation of Edward Everett as minister to England, opposed on the ground of his alleged Abolitionism. In the next session he spoke ably on a number of measures, especially on the Bankrupt Bill, the Tariff, and the bill to provide further remedial justice in the courts of the United States, which grew out of the difficulties of the case of McLeod. In 1843 he vigorously supported Mr. Webster's Ashburton Treaty, making three speeches on that and kindred topics.

In the session of 1844 he debated, with great power and eloquence, the Oregon Question; and his noble strain

in reply to Mr. Buchanan's declaration that America entertained a deep-seated enmity to England, is one of the finest passages of Congressional oratory. The late Alexander II. Stephens quoted it from memory thirty-four years after, in a very graphic sketch of the delivery of the speech; "at the conclusion of which," he says, "I was confirmed in the opinion that he was the greatest orator I ever heard,—in this respect, greater than Calhoun, Clay, or Webster!"

Mr. Choate's speech upon the bill proposed by Mr. McDussie of South Carolina, to revive the Tariff of 1833,. contains some brilliant passages, especially the highly characteristic description of the eccentricities of the climate of New England. And his reply to Mr. McDuffie's personal assault upon himself is a masterpiece of effective and even scornful satire; and must be considered conclusively to establish that, even if he once faltered for an instant when the masterful Kentuckian bore down upon him, he would yield to no less a champion. Upon the whole it may be safely recorded, that if Mr. Choate had chosen to remain in the Senate, his high aims, patient investigation, lofty - even chivalrous - sense of honor, charming grace of manner, wondrous oratory, and no less wonderful adaptability, would have made him the cherished favorite and ornament of the Chamber. Multitudes would have flocked to hear his speeches, and we should now read such encomiums upon them as were poured forth in the enraptured Commons at the close of Sheridan's dazzling speech on the impeachment of Warren Hastings. But a political leader, Mr. Choate could never have been. He was not a coward or sluggard; he was, on the other hand, a bold champion. He would ride forth on caracoling steed, with fluttering pennon, and gallant mien and high heart, and lance gaily set at rest, against any challenger. But neither by temperament, nor by ambition or patience, was he adapted to the long, severe, unintermitting contests of protracted sessions. His profession, his library, his wife and children, beckoned him away, and his and their necessities constrained him, when he resigned his seat in the Senate in 1845.

In his last session he argued with great power against the annexation of Texas. He supported George Evans's amendment, that Florida should not be admitted to the Union until the articles should be struck from her constitution, forbidding the legislature to emancipate slaves, or to permit the immigration of free persons of color. He took great interest in the organization of the Smithsonian Institution, and was the author and principal advocate of the library plan which was adopted by Congress. Elected a member of the Board of Regents, he continued to take great interest in the affairs of the Institute until, in 1854, a departure was made from that plan by the Board. Opposing it with even more than his wonted eloquence, but defeated, he resigned the trust immediately after.

Choate's reputation as an orator was much enhanced by his address, "The age of the Pilgrims, the Heroic Period of our History," made in New York before the New England Association, December 22, 1843. This address is rich with high thought, with poetry, with beauty, tenderness, and pathos. Its effect in delivery was magnetic. The vividness of the following description of the scene will justify its transcription here:—

The oration was delivered in the old Broadway Tabernaele, then the largest auditorium in the city. The great building was crowded to hear the famous speaker. Mr. Webster and other distinguished men were on the platform. Mr. Choate was then in his prime, and his presence was hardly less striking than that of the Great Expounder. [He was] tall [and] thin, his complexion a rich olive, his eye large, liquid, glowing; the face Oriental, rather than American, and generally rather sad than eager and passionate. His voice was a rich baritone, sonorous, majestic,

finely modulated, and inimitable in the expression of pathos. He philosophically developed the rise of Puritanism, and the cause of the Pilgrim emigration, and came down to the Mayflower, to Miles and Rose Standish, to the landing at Plymouth, the severity of the winter, the famine and the sickness, and the many deaths,—fifty out of a hundred, including the beautiful Rose Standish. Pausing, with a sad, far-off look in his eyes, as if the vision had suddenly risen upon his memory, and with a voice inexpressibly sweet and pathetic, and nearly choked with emotion, he said: "In a late visit to Plymouth I sought the spot where these earlier dead were buried. It was on a bank somewhat elevated, near, fronting, and looking upon the waves—symbol of what life had been to them; ascending inland behind and above the rock—symbol also of that Rock of Ages on which the dying had rested in that final hour."

I have never seen an audience so moved. The orator had skilfully led up to this passage, and then, with a voice surcharged with emotion, symbolized the stormy and tumultuous life, the sudden and sad end, and the heroic faith with which, resting upon the Rock of Ages, they had lain down on the shore of the Eternal Sea. As Choate approached the climax, Webster's emotion became uncontrollable; the great eyes were filled with tears, the great frame shook; he bowed his head to conceal his face in his hat, and I almost seemed to hear his sob. The audience was flooded with tears, a handkerchief at every face; and sighs and sobs soughed through the house, like wind in the tree-tops. The genius of the orator had transferred us to the spot; and we saw the rocky shore, and with him mourned the early dead. We have had one Rufus Choate; alas! we shall never have another.

It is probably within bounds to say that, after this masterly effort, Mr. Choate's reputation was established in all quarters, as one of the first, if not the very first of eloquent orators and persuasive advocates. There was more question about the solidity of his understanding and the strength of his reasoning. There are expressions of Mr. Choate extant, which show that he understood very well the estimation in which he was held, and that he

resolutely determined to spare no effort to conquer the world's esteem and his own.

He had always been a close student and a ravenous reader. Of course, the range of his studies had in early life been ordered by the necessities of his scholastic and professional preparation; afterwards, very much by the exigencies of his legislative service in the State and in Congress, and by his legal engagements. Outside of the labors thus imposed upon him, he had at times studied law very diligently, and had taken all literature for his province. Probably, however, his reading, though extensive, had been rather desultory. About this time he seems to have distributed his scant leisure more rigorously. And, as the most valuable lesson of Mr. Choate's life for young men, especially those in the professions, is the necessity and profit of economizing spare portions of time for self-culture, it may be useful to set forth his methods in detail. This, fortunately, may be done in his own language, for he began in May, 1843, what he styles an "imperfect journal of readings and actions," in which he writes:—

I can see very clearly that an hour a day might, with manifold and rich usefulness, be employed upon a journal. Such a journal, written with attention to language and style, would be a very tolerable substitute for the most stimulating and most improving of the disciplinary and educational exercises - careful composition. It should not merely enumerate the books looked into, and the professional and other labors performed, but it should embrace a digest, or at least an index, of subjects of what I read; some thoughts suggested by my reading; something to evince that an acquisition has been made, a hint communicated, -a step taken in the cultivation of the immortal, intellectual, and moral nature; a translation, perhaps, or other effort of laborious writing; a faithful and severe judgment on the intellectual and the moral quality of all I shall have done, - the failure, the success, and the lessons of both. Thus conducted, it would surely be greatly useful. Can I keep such an one? Prorsus ignoro — prorsus dubito. Spero tamen. . . .

I have a little course, for instance, of authors, whom I read for English words and thoughts, and to keep up my Greek, Latin, and French. Let me, after finishing my day's little work of each, record here what I have read, with some observation or some lesson. I am sure the time I now give to one would be better spent if equally divided between him and this journal. I am not to forget that I am, and must be if I would live, a student of professional forensic rhetoric. I grow old. My fate requires, appoints, that I do so διδασκόμένος, — arte rhetoricâ. A wide and anxious survey of that art and that science teaches me that eareful, constant writing is the parent of ripe speech. It has no other. But that writing must be all rhetorical writing, - that is, such as might in some parts of some speech be uttered to a listening audience. It is to be composed as in and for the presence of an audience. So it is to be intelligible, perspienous, pointed, terse, with image, epithet, turn, advancing and impulsive, full of generalizations, maxims, illustrating the sayings of the wise. . . .

Those I love best may read, smile, or weep, when I am dead, at such a record of lofty design and meagre achievement! yet they will recognize a spirit that endeavored well.

In this critical spirit he reads the Gospels in Greek, and compares with that the French and German text; then reads commentators, and records his impressions of all. In the same way he reviews Quintilian, de copia verborum, and writes:—

How such a language — such an English — is to be attained, is plain. It is by reading and hearing, — reading the best books, hearing the most accomplished speakers. Some useful hints how to read and how to hear I gather from this excellent teacher, and verify by my own experience and accommodate to my own taste.

I have been long in the practice of reading daily some firstclass English writer, chiefly for the *copia verborum*, to avoid sinking into cheap and bald fluency, to give elevation, energy, sonorousness, and refinement to my vocabulary. Yet with this object I would unite other and higher objects,—the acquisition of things, of taste, criticism, facts of biography, images, sentiments. Johnson's Poets happens just now to be my book. May 15, 1843, he writes of a trial in which he had been engaged:—

I am not conscious of having pressed any consideration farther than I ought to have done, although the entire effort may have seemed an intense and overwrought one. . . .

I could and should have prepared my argument beforehand, and with more allusion, illustration, and finish. Topics, principles of evidence, standards of probability, quotations, might have been much more copiously accumulated and distributed. There should have been less said,—a better peroration, more dignity, and general better phraseology.

I remark a disinelination to cross-examine, which I must at once check. . . .

Whole days of opportunity of preparation stupidly lost. . . . I have read nothing since Sunday until to-day; and to-day only a page of Greenleaf on Evidence, and a half-dozen lines of Greek, Latin, and French. But I prepared the case of the Ipswich Man. Co. My Greek was the Fifth Book of the Odyssey.

Again he writes:—

The week which closes to-day has not been one of great labor or much improvement. I discussed the case of Allen and the Corporation of Essex, under the pressure of ill-health; and I have read and digested a half-dozen pages of Greenleaf on Evidence, and as many more of Story on the Dissolution of Partnership. Other studies of easier pursuit, nor wholly useless, — if studies I may denominate them, — I have remembered in those spaces of time which one can always command, though few employ.

He then digests what he has read of Tacitus in Latin, and of the Odyssey in Greek; also, what he has read in French. "For English, I have read Johnson's Lives to the beginning of Dryden; Alison, a little; Antony and Cleopatra, a little; Quintilian's chapters on Writing and on Extempore Speech I have read and re-read, but mean to-morrow to abridge and judge," which, on the morrow, he elaborately does, and a translation from the same author follows.

June 6, he writes: —

I have carefully read a page or two of Johnson's Dryden, and a scene or two of Antony and Cleopatra every morning, — marking any felicity or peculiarity of phrase; have launched Ulysses from the isle of Calypso, and brought him in sight of Phaeacia. Kept along in Tacitus, and am reading a pretty paper in the Memoirs on the Old Men of Homer. I read Homer more easily and with appreciation, though with no helps but Cowper and Donegan's Lexicon. Fox and Canning's speeches are a more professional study, not useless, not negligently pursued. Alas, alas! there is no time to realize the dilating and burning idea of excellence and eloquence inspired by the great gallery of the immortals in which I walk!

June 24th. — I respire more freely in this pure air of a day of rest. Let me record a most happy method of legal study, by which I believe and feel that I am reviving my love of the law; enlarging my knowledge of it; and fitting myself, according to the precepts of the masters, for its forensic discussions. I can find, and have generally been able to find, an hour or two for legal reading beyond and beside cases already under investigation. That time and that reading I have lost, no matter how. I have adopted the plan of taking a volume, the last volume of Massachusetts Reports, and of making a full brief of an argument on every question in every ease, examining all the authorities, finding others, and carefully composing an argument as well reasoned, as well expressed, as if I were going to-morrow to submit it to a bench of the first of jurists. At the completion of each argument, I arrange the propositions investigated in my legal commonplace book, and index them. Already I remark renewed interest in legal investigations; renewed power of recalling, arranging, and adding to old acquisitions; increased activity and attention of mind; more thought; more effort; a deeper image on the memory; growing facility of expression. I confess delight, too, in adapting thus the lessons of the great teachers of rhetoric to the study of the law and of legal eloquence. I resume Quintilian, p. 399, § 7: [A translation follows.] . . . Thus far, Quintilian.

I read, beside my lessons, the Temptation, in Matthew, Mark, and Luke, in the Greek; and then that grand and grave poem which Milton has built upon those few and awful verses, Para-

dise Regained. I recognize and profoundly venerate the vast poetical luminary "in this more pleasing light, shadowy."

In the following winter we find him writing to his daughters from Washington: "I am reading French law-books to prepare for a case."

He was still writing an hour every day in his journal; "it must be an hour of activity and exercise of mind.". In this fashion he records his impressions of Pope, and the youth of Milton:—

Boston, June 23, 1844. — It is necessary to reconstruct a life at home; life professional and yet preparatory; educational, in reference to other than professional life. In this scheme the first resolution must be to do whatever business I can find to do, -tot. vir. maximo conatu, - as for my daily bread. To enable me to do this, I must revive and advance the faded memory of the law; and I can devise no better method than that of last summer, — the preparation of a careful brief, on every case in Metcalf's last volume, of an argument in support of the decision. In preparing this brief, law, logic, eloquence, must be studied and blended together. The airy phrase, the turn of real reply, are to be sought and written out. I may embody in a commonplace the principles acquired; and I shall particularly strive to become as familiar with he last eases of the English and Federal Benches at least, - and, if possible, of those of New York, Maine, and New Hampshire, — as of our own. I have lost the whole course of these adjudications for some years. studies — and this practice — for the law.

We are told that Mr. Choate kept up this method of studying the Massachusetts Decisions, and of making a brief upon the topic of each, to the end of his life.

I advance to plans of different studies, and to the training for a different usefulness and a more conspicuous exertion. To avoid a hurtful diffusion of myself over too wide and various a space, — laboriose nihil agens, — I at once confine my rhetorical exercitations within strict and impassable limits. I propose to translate Cicero's Catiline orations, — or as many as I can, be-

ginning with the first, — with notes. The object is, — 1st, the matter and manner of a great master of speech; 2d, English debating style and words; 3d, the investigation of the truth of a considerable portion of history. All the helps are near me. I shall turn the orator, as nearly as I can, into a debater statesman of this day, in Parliament and in Congress.

With this I shall read Burke's American speeches, writing observations on them. The object is his matter and manner, useful gleanings, rules of speech. But to this is to be added the study of polities. And for this eircumstances are propitions. The approaching election requires that the true national policy of the country should be impressed on the minds of the people of America. To elect a Whig administration is to prefer, and to secure, the practical realization of that policy. To induce the people to elect such an administration, you must first teach them to prefer to desire that policy. To do that, it must be explained, contrasted, developed, decorated. To do that, it is to be deeply studied. I mean, therefore, to compose discourses on the tariff; on Texas; on currency; on the general points of difference and grounds of choice between the parties, and the like, - embodying what I understand to be the Whig politics, and the sound politics of the hour. In all, through all, an impulsive presentation of truths - such an one as will move to the giving of votes for particular men, representing particular opinions -- is the aim. Every one ought to be, and to involve: 1st, an honest study of the topic, and so an advance in political knowledge; 2ndly, a diligent effort to move the public mind to action by its treatment, and so an exercise in speech. Princip. fons sapientiæ. Truth for the staple — good taste, the form — persuasion to act, for the end. . . .

July 17. — Engaged in translating "Cicero against Catiline," — with the aid of Sallust's History.

Again he writes: -

There is a pleasure beyond expression in revising, re-arranging, and extending my knowledge of the law. The effort to do so is imperatively prescribed by the necessities and proprieties of my circumstances; but it is a delightful effort to record some of the uses to which I try to make it subservient, and some of the methods on which I conduct it. My first business is obvi-

ously to apprehend the exact point of each new case which I study, - to appreliend and enunciate it precisely, neither too largely nor too narrowly, - accurately, justly. This necessarily and perpetually exercises and trains the mind, and prevents inertness, dulness of edge. This done, I arrange the new truth, or old truth, or whatever it be, in a system of legal arrangement, for which purpose I abide by Blackstone, to which I turn daily, and which I seek more and more indelibly to impress on my memory. Then I advance to the question of the law of the new decision: its conformity with standards of legal truth, - with the statute it interprets; the cases on which it reposes; the principles by which it is defended by the court; the law; the question of whether the ease is law or not. This leads to a history of the point; a review of the adjudications; a comparison of the judgment and argument with the eriteria of legal truth. More thought, - producing and improved by more writing, and more attention to last cases of English and our best reports, are wanting still. I seem to myself to think it is within my competence to be master of the law, as an administrative science. But let me always ask at the end of an investigation, can this law be reformed? How? why? why not? Cui bono the attempt?

A charm of the study of law is the sensation of advance, of certainty, of having apprehended, - or being in progression towards a complete apprehension of a distinct department and body of knowledge. How can this charm be found in other acquisitions? How can I hit on some other field or department of knowledge which I may hope to master; in which I can feel that I am making progress; the collateral and contemporaneous study of which may rest, refresh, and liberalize me, yet not leave mere transient impressions, phrases, tineture, - but a body of digested truths, and an improved understanding, and a superiority to others in useful attainment, giving snatches of time, minutes and parts of hours, to Cicero, Homer, Burke and Milton, to language and literature. I think I see in the politics of my own country, in the practical politics of my country, a department of thought and study, a field of advancement, which may divide my time, and enhance my pleasure and my improvement, with an efficacy of useful results equal to the law.

My experience in affairs will give interest to the study of the thing. It will assist the study, as well as give it interest. . . .

One hour of exclusive study a day, with these helps, might earry one very far, — so far at least, as to confer some of the sensations, and some of the enjoyments, attending considerable and connected acquisitions. Let me think of methods and aims.

- 1. The first great title in this science is the Constitution, its meaning, its objects, the powers it gives, the powers it refuses, and the grand reasons why.
- 2. The second is the policy on which that Constitution ought to be administered, the powers it ought to put forth, the interests, domestic and foreign, to which it ought to attend. This is practical statesmanship, the statesmanship of the day. Now let us see how systematic and scientific acquisitions are to be achieved on these grand subjects.
- 1. It is to be done by composing a series of discourses, in the manner of lectures or speeches or arguments or essays, as the mood varies, on the particulars into which these titles expand themselves, &c. I am to write then, first, the History of the Formation and Adoption of the Constitution. . . .

Truth, truth is the sole end and aim. I shall read first with pen in hand, for collecting the matter, and not begin to compose till the general and main facts are tolerably familiar.

Mr. Choate took an active part in the Presidential canvass of 1844, earnestly advocating the election of Mr. Clay, and support of the Whig party, as the above extracts have shown his intention to do.

August 24, he writes in his journal:—

I have gone through a week of unusual labor, — not wholly unsatisfactorily to myself. I deliberately record my determination to make no more political speeches, and to take no more active part in the election or in practical politics. One exception I leave myself to make. But I do not mean to make it; I have earned the discharge, — honesta missio petitur et concessa erit. To my profession, totis viribus, I am now dedicated, — to my profession of the law and of advocacy, with as large and fair an accompaniment of manly and graceful studies as I can command. . . .

September 29th. — A little attention to things and persons and reputations about me, teaches that uncommon professional

exertions are necessary to recover business to live, and a trial or two teaches me that I can very zealously and very thoroughly and con amore, discuss any ease. How well I can do so, compared with others, I shall not express an opinion on paper, — but if I live, all blockheads, which are shaken at certain mental peculiarities, shall know and feel a reasoner, a lawyer, and a man of business. In all this energy and passion I mean to say no more than that the utmost possible pains-taking with every case is perfectly indispensable, and fortunately not at all irksome. The case in hand demands, invites, to a most exact, prepared, and deep legal and rhetorical discourse. . . .

For the rest, I grow into knowledge of Homer and Tacitus and Juvenal, — and of the Rome of the age from Augustus to Trajan. . . .

The classical historians I do love. I read Tacitus daily. But this is for their language, for their pictures, for their poetical incident, the rhetorical expression, the artistical perfectness and beauty.

The history I would read is modern. I should go no farther back than Gibbon; should recall the general life, thoughts, action, of the Middle Age in him, and Hallam's two great works; and begin to study, to write, to deduce, to lay up, in the standard, particular histories of the great countries.

Let me begin, then, with a succinct display of the foreign politics of England in the reign of William. [i. e., William III.]

He writes in this fragmentary journal, under the date of Boston, December 9, 1844:—

About to set off to Washington, there to close, in two months, forever my political life, and to begin my return to my profession, I am moved with a passion for planning a little, — what, in all probability, will not be performed, — or not performed without pretty essential variations and interruptions.

1. Some professional work must be done every day.

He has eases in the Supreme Court to prepare; but, in addition, he purposes also to read upon Evidence and Cowen's Phillipps.

2. In my Greek, Latin, and French readings, — Odyssey, Thucydides, Tacitus, Juvenal, and some orator or critic, — I

need make no change. So, too, Milton, Johnson, Burke, — semper in manû — ut mos est. . . .

3. The business of the session ought to engross, and shall, my chief attention. The Smithsonian Fund ought to be applied to a great library; and a report and speech in favor of such an appropriation are the least I owe so grand and judicious a destination of a noble gift. An edition of the laws, on the plan of last winter, is only next in dignity and importance. For the rest,—the reduction of postage, the matter of Texas, the tariff, will be quite likely, with the Supreme Court, to prevent time from hanging vacantly on my hands. Sit mihi diligentia, sint vires,—sit denique et præcipue gratia!

And now for details of execution.

I. Walk an hour before breakfast; morning paper; Johnson and Milton before breakfast. Add, if possible, with notes, an essay of Bacon also, or a paper of the Spectator, or a page of some other paper of Addison.

II. After, —1. The regular preparation for the Senate, be it more or less. Let this displace, indeed, all else, before or after.

2. If that allows — (a) preparation of eases for courts. (b) if that allows — 1. Page in Cowen's Phillipps. 2. Then preparation for courts. 3. Then Senate, &c.

III. Letters and Session.

IV. Then — subject to claims of debate and of Court — Greek, Latin, French, ut supra, Burke, Taylor.

V. The cases to be prepared by, say 20th January; debate oftener than formerly; less preparation is really needful, yet seek one great occasion.

December 28, 1844, he writes:

My readings have been pretty regular and almost systematic. Phillipps's Evidence, with notes, Johnson, the Tatler, the Whig Examiner, and Milton, in the morning. Some thoughts on the Smithsonian Fund, and one or two other Senatorial matters in the forenoon, and the Odyssey, Thueydides in Bloomfield, Hobbes and Arnold, Demosthenes for the Crown, Tacitus, Juvenal, and Horace De Arte Poet., with Dacier and Hurd. For the rest, I have read Jeffrey's contributions to the Review, and have plunged into a pretty wide and most unsatisfactory course of inquiry concerning the Pelasgi, and the origin of Greek culture,

and the Greek mind. Upon this subject, let me set down a few thoughts.

Then follows a long and fine passage upon the history of Ancient Greece, and the value of a good work on that subject, written by a competent American.

To me, cogitante sæpenumero on what one such labor I may concentrate moments and efforts, else sure to be dissipated and unproductive,—this seems to be obviously my reserved task. It is large enough and various enough to employ all my leisure, stimulate all my faculties, cultivate all my powers and tastes; and it is seasonable and applicable in the actual condition of these States. . . . Let me slowly, surely begin. I seek political lessons for my country.

Mr. Choate's retirement from the Senate, at the end of the session of 1845, did not release him from occasional political efforts upon the platform, or from literary discourses, for which his services were always in great request.

In the summer of that year he delivered an address before the Law School at Cambridge, on the "Position and Functions of the American Bar, as an element of Conservatism in the State." It is a brilliant, scholarly, and wise production.

Choate's argument in the following January, in the United States Supreme Court, in the case of Rhode Island against Massachusetts, about the boundary line, is said to have been listened to with extreme delight, as almost a revelation of subtlety and beauty. But it is stated that not a fragment of it remains in any form. Yet Mr. Choate spent upon its preparation much time and labor.

Soon after, in March, 1846, occurred the first of the Tirrell trials, of which enough has already been said. There remains only a very imperfect newspaper sketch of Choate's argument in this case, which no doubt exhibited his power over a jury at its high-water mark. In the

Rhode Island and Massachusetts case, Choate was associated with Daniel Webster. In the Oliver Smith Will case, at Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1847, Choate led for the contestants against Webster, who prevailed, as he ought to have done. Both the great lawyers displayed wonderful ability, each according to the exigency of his cause.

Mr. Choate entered into the Presidential contest of 1848 with great enthusiasm, making a number of very brilliant and effective speeches. He was specially delighted with the election of General Taylor. About the same year, 1848, Mr. Choate was invited to accept a professorship in the Dane Law School of Harvard College, under very flattering auspices. His biographer is enabled to give the circumstances from a narrative furnished him by Chief-Justice Shaw, who evidently was the author of the project, and himself communicated the suggestion to Mr. Choate, of whom he writes as "a candidate offering powers of surpassing fitness." It was, in substance, that Mr. Choate should remove to Cambridge on assuming the duties of the professorship, and give up general practice, except an occasional law argument in the Supreme Court at Boston or Cambridge. But as a compensation, it was proposed so to distribute Mr. Choate's duties at the School as to enable him "to attend the Supreme Court of the United States, at Washington, during their whole term." Judge Shaw says: -

The advantages to Mr. Choate seemed obvious. When it was previously known that he might be depended on to attend at the entire term of the Supreme Court, we supposed he would receive a retainer in a large proportion of the cases which would go up from New England, and in many important causes from all the other States. The effect of this practice upon the emoluments of his profession might be anticipated. . . . The extent to which such a practice, with such means, would soon add to the solid reputation of Mr. Choate, may easily be conceived,

especially by those who knew the strength of his intellectual power, and the keenness of his faculty for discrimination.

Judge Shaw thus concludes his narrative: —

Mr. Choate listened to these proposals and discussed them freely; he was apparently much pleased with the brilliant and somewhat attractive prospect presented to him by this overture. He did not immediately decline the offer, but proposed to take it into consideration. Some time after—perhaps a week—he informed me that he could not accede to the proposal. He did not state to me his reasons, or if he did, I do not recollect them.

The whole transaction, however, is specially interesting as showing conclusively the exalted opinion entertained of Mr. Choate's legal abilities by the great and stern "Chief," who, as the undiscerning thought, was sometimes impatient of his flowery orations, or impassioned appeals to the jury. Many reasons may be conjectured as dissuading Mr. Choate from accepting the invitation to the Law School. Possibly a disinclination to teaching, or to the proposed change of residence,—certainly, to the suggested absence from home and books for a great part of the year. But what a teacher he would have made! How persuasively, and with what golden-tongued eloquence, he would have guided young men toward "the gladsome light of jurisprudence!"

About the same time Mr. Choate declined a seat upon the bench of the Supreme Court, tendered him by Governor Briggs, although urged by some friends to accept, as a relief from professional labor. But if there were no other reason, he was not rich enough to take the place.

March, 1849, he delivered a lecture before the Mercantile Library Association, entitled "Thoughts on the New England Puritans." In the summer of that year he argued at Ipswich — with, it is said, "consummate skill and eloquence"—the Phillips Will case, involving a very large estate, in which he was entirely successful. Yet not a

fragment of his great argument remains. Let us record the names of counsel, for men so varied and great in ability are rarely associated. For the heirs-at-law, were W. H. Gardiner, Joel Parker, and Sidney Bartlett; for the executors, Rufus Choate, Benjamin R. Curtis, and Otis P. Lord.

All this time Mr. Choate kept up his private studies, as his journals show. He was still anxious to accomplish some literary labor, "which may do good when I am not known, and live when I shall have ceased to live,—a thoughtful and soothing and rich printed page." He mentions some single topics which he desired to treat:—

The Greek orators before Lysias and Isocrates — Demosthenes, Æschines, Thucydides, the Odyssey, Tacitus, Juvenal, Pope — supply them at once; Rhetoric, the conservatism of the bar, my unpublished orations, the times, politics, reminiscences, — suggest others, — Cicero and Burke, Tiberius in Tacitus, and Suctonius, and De Quincy. But why enumerate? The literature of this century to the death of Scott or Moore, — so grand, rich, and passionate.

He recurs again to his project of a History of the Constitution of the United States, - a scheme which was also a favorite aspiration of Daniel Webster, who indeed once got so far as to commence the dictation of an outline of his plan. Mr. Choate also cherished the notion of writing the History of Ancient Greece, as we have seen by the extracts from his journal. His biographer says he probably did not relinquish that idea until the appearance of Grote's History. Later he hoped, at least, to prepare a volume of Essays, and even wrote a paper for Introduction to such a work, under the title of "Vacations," at the close of which he says he was "willing that others should know that the time which I have withheld from society, from the pursuit of wealth, from pleasure, and latterly from public affairs, has not been idle or misspent: non otiosa vita; nec desidiosa occupatio." Such scraps and

fragments are all that remain of so much reading, thought, and aspiration. But the reason is given in an incident recorded by his biographer. He once told Judge Warren that he was going to write a book. "Ah," said the Judge, "What is it to be?" "Well," replied Mr. Choate, "1've got as far as the titlepage and a motto." "What are they?" "The subject is the Lawyer's Vacation; the motto—I've forgotten. But I shall show that the lawyer's vacation is the space between the questions put to a witness and the answer."

In 1850 Mr. Choate, strenuously impelled by the state of his health, permitted himself a long-desired trip to Europe, in company with an old friend and well-known lawyer, the Hon. Joseph Bell, who married a sister of Mrs. Choate. They were absent three months, visiting England, Belgium, France, a part of Germany, and Switzerland. His journal and letters show how much he enjoyed, in spite of ill health and fatigue. In travel he still kept up his studies:—

This, lest taste should sleep and die, for which no compensations can pay. . . . For all the rest, I mean to give it heartily, variously, to what travel can teach, — men, opinions, places, — with great effort to be up to my real power of acquiring and imparting. This journey shall not leave me where it finds me: better, stronger, knowing more. One page of some law-book daily I shall read.

London, Paris, Waterloo, Geneva, Cambridge, by his associations, were as familiar to him almost as Cornhill and Court Square. And at Basle he writes, in lines he expected no eye would see till his own were closed in death:—

Political life forever is ended. Henceforth the law and literature are all. I know it must be so, and I yield and I approve. Some memorial I would yield yet, rescued from the grave of a mere professional man, some wise or beautiful or interesting page,—something of utility to America, which I love more, every pulse that beats.

When, in 1850, Professor Webster was indicted for the murder of Dr. Parkman, it was generally supposed that Mr. Choate would defend him, and it is now known that he was invited and persistently urged to do so, and that very liberal fees were tendered him for the service. Franklin Dexter, a distinguished lawyer, who had himself defended John Francis Knapp at Salem twenty years before, visited Mr. Choate by appointment, and presented the merits of Professor Webster's case for several hours. Mr. Choate listened without interruption till Mr. Dexter had quite . concluded, and then said, "Brother Dexter, how do you answer this question, - and this?" Mr. Dexter never answered those questions, but turned the conversation, and took his leave. From Judge Otis P. Lord's account of a conversation with Mr. Choate, it is very evident he would not have consented to defend Professor Webster except upon the theory of justifiable homicide in self-defence, or manslaughter occurring in sudden altercation. That defence might possibly have been successful.

Governor Clifford, who acted for a long time as prosecuting attorney and then as attorney-general, wrote that he believed "Mr. Choate at times accepted retainers in criminal causes from a conscientious conviction of duty, when the service to be performed was utterly repugnant and distasteful to him. . . . He felt that he was not at liberty, when pressed by the friends of parties accused of crime, to refuse his services to submit their defence to the proper tribunal," in accordance with his own theory of a proper But he gladly accepted the appointment of attorney-general from Governor Clifford in 1853, because it would operate as his release from the disagreeable duty of accepting retainers in criminal causes. As attorneygeneral he was dignified and impressive, seeming ever to hold his fervid temperament and wonderful gift of impassioned eloquence in check, lest he should urge too hardly upon the accused. He would not press an indictment for

the sake of victory. He has left on record his own deep sense of his responsibility while attorney-general. It is the impression of one who improved every available opportunity of observing him in his official capacity, that he discharged its duties under a sense of self-constraint, and gladly put them aside, at the expiration of a single year, as if he were laying away the robe of an honorable servitude, and was himself again.

From 1834 to 1849 Mr. Choate's professional partner in business was B. F. Crowninshield, Esq. 1t is said there never was any division of earnings between them, nor any disagreement. In the latter year he took into partnership his son-in-law, Joseph M. Bell, Esq., who remained with him till his death, and is understood to have been of much service to him in systematizing his business, and raising his scale of professional charges, which had been at first ridiculously low. Mr. Choate was habitually careless of money and of pecuniary interests, although his many years of untiring labor for his clients were at last rewarded by a bare competency. Horace H. Day, his client in the rubber-cases, wrote: "I have employed many lawyers, but I have had but one lawyer who was wholly unselfish, and that was Rufus Choate." He once kept a book of office-accounts, in which he entered, as the first item, "office, debtor to one quart of oil, 37! cents." Six months after, he made another entry. This was the last. The size of the fee received made no difference to him as to the amount of labor to be bestowed on a cause. He did his utmost in every case; he could not do more in any. He gave away and lent money to everybody who asked him, if he had money to give or lend. In his early years he often forgot to make charges, and to collect them when made. Under the fostering care of Mr. Bell, the average annual receipts of his office, from 1849 to 1859 inclusive, were nearly \$18,000. In 1852 they were more than \$20,000; in 1855 nearly \$21,000; in 1856 over \$22,000. His largest fee was \$2,500. During these eleven years his actual trials and arguments amounted to an annual average of nearly seventy,—some of them, of course, consuming many days.

It is pleasant to read that he always refused, and never accepted, any compensation for political speeches. He prided himself on his honor and purity in his relations to the State.

One of the best-known cases with which Mr. Choate was connected in his later years was Fairchild vs. Adams, an action for written and verbal slander by one clergyman against another. Mr. Choate defended successfully the Rev. Dr. Nehemiah Adams, who was his own pastor. In May, 1851, he argued the Methodist Church case in the Circuit Court of the United States in New York. March, 1852, he argued the great rubber-cases in the United States Court, in Trenton, New Jersey. In 1857 he exhibited all his wondrous resources of wit and wisdom, eloquence and pathos, in the Dalton Divorce case.

Reference has been heretofore made to the vast influence exerted by Daniel Webster over the career of Rufus Choate had - for reasons, some of which have been suggested - regarded Mr. Webster from his youth with affectionate veneration. He loved him with an almost filial devotion; and Mr. Webster seems to have reciprocated this warmth of feeling, loyally. Webster's was the masterful nature, and Mr. Choate appears, in political affairs, to have been quite content to follow his lead, but not with any servile devotion, still less with any selfish feeling. President Fillmore, indeed, is understood - in 1851, perhaps at the request of Mr. Webster, then Secretary of State - to have offered Mr. Choate the place made vacant by the death of Mr. Justice Woodbury of the United States Supreme Court, but it was declined. In the court-room Choate was too loyal to the interests of his

client to yield to Mr. Webster aught but the deference due to his age and great professional eminence. But in 1850, after the 7th of March Speech, Choate never faltered, but with unsurpassed chivalry followed the great chieftain forth into the dark storm of obloquy and reproach that burst upon him. He sought no exemption on the ground of his genuine retirement from political life, but voluntarily sought the battle where the blows fell fastest. November 26, 1850, he spoke at a Union Meeting in Fancuil Hall; and, February 22, 1851, on Washington's Birthday, he delivered an address, the scope of which was largely in support of the sentiment which Mr. Webster deemed it most important at that moment to inculcate. Again, in July of the same year, he addressed the Story Association, of the Dane Law School, in a similar strain, — though, of course, with the most careful observance of the proprieties of a scholastic anniversary. November 25, 1851, a great meeting was held in Faneuil Hall by the Massachusetts friends of Mr. Webster, to present him to the country as a candidate for the Presidency. No one who listened to Mr. Choate's great effort on that occasion can fail to remember it as a tender, glowing, yet high-reasoned, lofty, and wonderfully effective panegyric. Scarcely any man ever deserved such a tribute; perhaps no man beside Webster ever had such a eulogist.

Mr. Choate's labors in behalf of Mr. Webster in the last Whig National Convention, at Baltimore, in June, 1852, are well known, and his disappointment at the result was intense. But we have his own declaration, made after Mr. Webster's death, that he should vote for General Scott for the Presidency. He remained in the Whig party till its practical dissolution, but in 1856 supported Mr. Buchanan as the nominee of the Democratic party, — making a speech in Lowell in his behalf, under somewhat remarkable circumstances, as the candidate of a

national, in opposition to what he considered a sectional, party. This was his last strictly political effort, — although in 1858 he delivered a Fourth-of-July oration, before the Boston Young Men's Democratic Club, upon "American Nationality; its Nature, some of its Conditions, and some of its Ethics." Nationality and the Preservation of the Union was the key-note to all Rufus Choate said and did about politics in his later years. No explanation of any apparent inconsistency in his course is necessary, and his sharpest critics of that turbulent era would doubtless now concede his perfect integrity and high-minded devotion to what he deemed a righteous cause.

In August, 1852, Mr. Choate delivered an oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of the University of Vermont; also, at later periods, various lectures and addresses. The most important literary labor, however, was his eulogy on Daniel Webster at Dartmouth College in 1853, in which he has embodied all that he had seen or thought of his great master. After the criticism of thirty years, it remains a very noble production. In the same year Mr. Choate was a member of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention. He made speeches on the Basis of Representation and on the Judiciary. The last is a fine specimen of practical and persuasive eloquence, well worthy of study.

It is not necessary to go farther with details. Such as Mr. Choate's life had been, it continued till, as was inevitable, his health broke down finally in the early summer of 1859. Determining to pass the season in England, he sailed from Boston, June 29, 1859; but, becoming worse, he left the ship at Halifax, where he died July 13, not yet sixty years old, worn out. In those last days he heard the books read that he loved best,—Shakespeare, Bacon, Macaulay, Gray, Luther, the Bible. He looked out upon the sea, where to his soul so much "Romance" hovered.

He said: "If a schooner or sloop goes by, don't disturb me; but if there is a square-rigged vessel, wake me up." His much-beloved son Rufus was with him, and received his last sigh. His remains were brought back to Boston, and buried at Mount Auburn.

Reference must be made, in a single line, to the many public meetings held in his honor, and the numerous beautiful, eloquent, and heartfelt tributes paid his worth and genius. They were offerings tendered, not to wealth or high station, but to a beautiful life, adorned by splendid powers, conscientiously employed.

In the preparation of this imperfect memorial, constant use has been made of that excellent book, "The Life of Rufus Choate," by Professor Samuel Gilman Brown. Edward G. Parker published a volume of "Reminiscences." Edwin P. Whipple has written much and discriminatingly of Choate. James T. Fields, Causten Browne, Irving Browne, George S. Boutwell, and others have written or delivered essays or lectures. The Albany Law Journal, in 1877 and 1878, published a series of interesting sketches, edited by Judge Neilson of Brooklyn. The bar is still full of stories of Choate's wit and quickness and eloquence, mostly spoiled in the telling.

Mr. Whipple says that in his youth Choate's "face almost realized the ideal of manly beauty." As most remember him, it was sad, strange, deeply lined, but lighted up by a great eye, susceptible to express all of triumph or of pathos.

As has been intimated more than once, Mr. Choate's great pleasure was in buying and reading books. His private library contained seven thousand, his law library three thousand volumes. About his unintelligible handwriting many jokes were made, and he made more than anybody else. To the young he was uniformly kind, and the Junior Bar found him always gracious and benignant. There were many who said, "He is the best senior coun-

sel that ever lived." At his home and with his family he was playful, gay, and affectionate. There seems no question that his temper was amiable. Above all things he was placable and magnanimous. Mr. Choate's wit, like his mind, was full of subtlety, delicacy, and unexpectedness. His witticisms must, of all men's, lose in repetition; to set them out in cold print is like breaking a butterfly; yet even so, some of them are delicious.

There is a portrait by Ames, at Dartmouth College, a bust by Thomas Ball, and an engraving from a photograph in Professor Brown's volume, — very like Mr. Choate in his last years.

By his marriage with Helen Olcott, March 29, 1825, Rufus Choate had children: (1.) Catherine Bell, born May 26, 1826; died May 24, 1830. (2.) An infant child, born Oct. 25, 1828; died Oct. 25, 1828. (3.) Helen Olcott, born May 2, 1830; married Joseph M. Bell, who died Sept. 10, 1868: they had no children. (4.) Sarah, born Dec. 15, 1831; died March 11, 1875. (5.) Rufus, born May 14, 1834; died Jan. 15, 1866. (6.) Miriam Foster, born Oct. 2, 1835; married Edward Ellerton Pratt: they have two children, — Helen Choate, who married Charles A. Prince, June, 1881, and Alice Ellerton, unmarried. (7.) Caroline, born Sept. 15, 1837; died Dec. 12, 1840. Mrs. Bell and Mrs. Pratt are the only surviving children of Mr. Choate. Charles A. and Helen Choate Prince have a child, Helen Choate, born April 6, 1882.

There remains no space, nor is there any necessity, to attempt an analysis of Mr. Choate's intellectual characteristics or attainments. Copious extracts have been made from his journals, so that the reader for himself can observe Choate's process for the building of a mind. From the time he learned his letters, till the hour of his death, he read the best books, and remembered an unusual portion of what he read. Thus he acquired remarkable knowledge, particularly in the direction of general

and political history. The classics he loved, and studied assiduously. Poetry, romance, biography had fascinations for him; so had moral and mental philosophy. Thus his mind became stored with useful facts and beautiful images, his style grew rich and exuberant. His fancy was vivid, and his imagination prolific. Nature had given him many gifts for an orator. He had an attractive presence, great personal magnetism, a voice deep, rich, pathetic, an eye wooing, winning, magical; above all, he had the indescribable, kindling, swaying temperament that is born, not made. His earliest efforts, on the rostrum and at the bar, proclaim his possession of these beautiful endowments; but his style tended to extravagance, was even bizarre. That was the turning-point of his career. Would he rest satisfied with nature's gifts? On the other hand, he sought the best models, to chasten as well as to enrich his style. He studied law as an exact science. If he did not become a learned lawyer, his acquisitions were at least competent for his purpose as a consummate advocate. He got to be a master of logic. Nobody was keener, for analysis or for discrimination. He exhausted the law of every case which he investigated. He argued to the jury just as the jury ought to be addressed, and he reasoned to the court in the highest and most effective manner. If, in his early manhood, anybody queried if he were a good lawyer, that doubt was laid at rest long before his death; and, upon the whole, it may be safely said that, for all sorts of eases, he was not alone the most brilliant advocate at the American Bar, but excelled by none in efficiency.

Through life Mr. Choate was governed by deep religious feeling and respect for things sacred; but he was never a member of any church. Like most men educated under Puritan influences, he never escaped entirely from the impressions of his youth.

He was admitted an honorary member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, September 10, 1847.

Choate worked too hard and suffered the consequences in ill health, and positive pain and suffering; but it may be supposed his life was, on the whole, self-rewarding. He had ever before himself an ideal of excellence,—to make the most of himself, and, under all circumstances, to do the best possible. Can such a life be unhappy? He had, too, high consolations and noble pleasures ever at his command. Read that beautiful passage in which he himself has described the exhausted lawyer come home to his library:—

With a superhuman effort he opens his book, and in the twinkling of an eye he is looking into the full "orb of Homerie or Miltonie song;" or he stands in the crowd—breathless, yet swayed as forests or the sea by winds—hearing and to judge the Pleadings for the Crown; or the philosophy which soothed Cicero or Boëthins in their afflictions, in exile, prison, and the contemplations of death, breathes over his petty cares like the sweet South; or Pope or Horace laughs him into good humor; or he walks with Æneas or the Sibyl in the mid-light of the world of the laurelled dead; and the court-house is as completely forgotten as the dreams of a pre-Adamite life. Well may he prize that endeared charm, so effectual and safe, without which the brain had long ago been chilled by paralysis or set on fire of insanity!

PAYNE KENYON KILBOURNE

PAYNE KENYON KILBOURNE was a descendant in the sixth generation from Thomas Kilbourne, who was born in the parish of Wood-Ditton, County of Cambridge, England, where he was baptized May 8, 1578; married Frances——, and had eight children. On the fifteenth of April, 1635, Thomas Kilbourne, with a portion of his family, embarked from London for New England in the ship Increase, Robert Lee, Master, and settled in Wethersfield, Connecticut.

Payne Kenyon, son of Chauncey and Hannah Chapman (Kenyon) Kilbourne, was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, on the twenty-sixth day of July, 1815. The father died in early manhood, leaving three children — John, aged six and a half years, Payne, aged four, and Giles Chauncey, aged two — to be provided for by their mother. The mother was not unequal to the task which devolved upon her. With true Christian courage and fortitude she determined to keep her family together, and the growing minds of the boys could have been intrusted to no worthier direction! A woman of rare intelligence, and endowed with steadfastness and a high sense of honor, she trained up her sons in the way they should go, and they did not depart from it.

Mrs. Kilbourne was a member of the Congregational church, then under the pastoral care of the Rev. Lyman Beecher, D.D., by whom Payne Kenyon Kilbourne was

baptized. Years after, in the prime of his manhood, her son wrote to the mother whom he dearly loved these lines:—

Dear Mother! I bethink me how, with mingled smiles and tears, Thou guardedst well my infancy and watched my growing years; And how thy voice of gentle love led up my thoughts in prayer To Him, pure fount of bliss above, and quenched my longings there.

The little family, contented and happy in their humble surroundings, lived just out of the town of Litchfield. The boys went to the red schoolhouse near by; and there the subject of our sketch gleaned what there was to be taught—perhaps the greater part of the schooling which he received. Standing in the doorway of the schoolhouse, Litchfield—the wealthy and beautiful county town—could be seen plainly; and on a hill within its borders rose the dignified residence of the governor of the State.

The story of six years is one of brave struggle and heroic fortitude on the part of the mother. When Payne was ten years old his mother married a second time; the house in Litchfield was abandoned; and with his mother and stepfather he went to live in Kent, and afterwards in Salisbury, Connecticut. Although the members of the family were separated more or less after their mother's marriage, whenever the absent ones wished they found a good and a pleasant home with their stepfather, Deacon Nathaniel C. Bates. At the age of fifteen the step was taken which decided, in great part at least, his future career. There was published at that time, in the city of New Haven, "The Religious Intelligencer," one of the oldest religious newspapers in the world. This paper had for its editor Deacon Nathan Whiting, the publisher of Fleetwood's "Life of Christ." To him the young man was apprenticed, to learn the trade of printing, until he should reach his majority. Mr. Whiting was well and widely known; and while here Payne met many gentlemen

of culture and intelligence, and, having a pleasant room in his master's house, was enabled to supplement his district-school education. Most of his time he spent in reading and writing. He was an earnest member of the Young Mechanics' Institute of New Haven, becoming a pupil in its Latin class, and taking part in its debates and literary exercises.

All this could have but one natural result. Payne commenced writing for the press when he was seventeen years old. His first-published article was in verse, "On the Existence of a God," and was signed Sylvan. It was published in the "Intelligencer," on the twelfth of May, 1832. From that day his life was pre-eminently a busy one, and the promise held out by the poem which was not a mere jingle of words, but, rather, full of sense and homogeneous — was fulfilled. He was never idle. When not otherwise employed, the pen was ever in his hand. He wrote much, both in prose and verse, grave and gay, thoughtful and humorous. His pseudonyms, besides Sylvan, were Harp of the Vale and, for his humorous poems, Peregrine Pepperpod. As an example of his perseverance, there is extant an extract from a letter, written in his eighteenth year, to his brother John Kilbourne, then a member of the academy in Sharon, Connecticut, in which he says: "I have commenced a poem entitled 'The Conquest of Poland.' It now contains about five hundred lines, and I intend to add two or three hundred more to it."

Just before he was out of his time, Mr. Storer, the editor and proprietor of the "Literary Emporium," published in New Haven, offered a series of prizes for the best tales and poems that should be written for that paper. The committee of award consisted of the editor himself, David Francis Bacon, M.D., and the Rev. Oliver Ellsworth Daggett, D.D. It was not without a struggle that his natural modesty was overcome, and our friend wrote

and submitted an article in Spenserian stanzas, entitled "New England." The committee, after due deliberation, decided that the best poem presented for their examination was one written by the Rev. Joseph II. Clinch, of Boston, Massachusetts, and that the second prize belonged to the writer of "New England."

In December, 1837, when but little over twenty-two years of age, he became editor and proprietor of "The New Havener," a weekly paper which numbered among its contributors while under his management, Professor Gibbs of Yale College, the Rev. J. H. Clinch, D.D., Noah Webster, LL.D., Mrs. Sigourney, and other writers of established reputation.

In the autumn of 1839 he removed to Philadelphia, and soon after became associated with Mr. Naudain as joint editor of "The Delaware Sentinel," a large triweekly political journal, published in the city of Wilmington, Delaware. He remained in that city through the Harrison campaign, in which as editor he took an active part, and had the satisfaction of believing that his services were generally acknowledged and appreciated. In the mean time he had been a frequent and well-known correspondent of several of the most popular magazines and literary papers in the Union, in several of the prospectuses of which his name had been widely heralded as a principal contributor.

In the summer of 1841 Mr. Kilbourne left Wilmington with the intention of seeking his fortune in the West, but his meeting with his future wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Warren and Laura (Jones) Cone, and subsequent marriage on the third of August, 1842, caused him to change his plans and his destination.

Soon after he left Wilmington he became associated with E. B. Greene, Esq., in the editorship of "The New England Weekly Review," at Hartford, Connecticut, a paper which had been edited previously by the celebrated

poets, John Greenleaf Whittier and George D. Prenti-In June, 1842, he published a volume entitled, "1. Sceptic, and other Poems," which was well received by the public. He remained in Hartford until the summer of 1845, as one of the editors of the "Review," and of the "Columbian." He then returned to Litchfield, which he had left in his boyhood, twenty years before, and became the editor and proprietor of the county paper, "The Litchfield Enquirer." Now, for the first time, he was able to follow his inclination, and pursue his studies and researches in the direction in which he was greatest. As a student of local history, and as an authority in that sphere and in genealogy, he stood easily in the front rank. He was remarkably accurate, and seemed to know almost by intuition just where a person belonged, and to what branch of his respective family he should be credited. He was constantly in receipt of letters from various parts of the United States and from Europe, and was ever liberal in the distribution of his information. In 1847 his "Kilbourne Family Memorial," an octavo of one hundred and fifty pages, was published. To one who has engaged in a similar undertaking there is no need to mention the time or the labor involved, nor the rejoicing when a new member of the family was found and placed. Such work, it should be remembered also, was more than it is to-day. Much, if not all, of the research had to be made after long journeys by carriage or coach, and the result, if any, culled from original sources: parish, town, and county records in all degrees of preservation, generally without the aid of indexes; from tombstones covered with mosses, and from musty family-trees. Of course many items of value to others were gleaned, and these were all billeted ready for reference.

The "Family Memorial," consisting of four hundred and forty-four pages, was issued at New Haven in 1856, in

a more complete form; matter was added, and the various lines brought down to date of publication.

In February, 1850, Mr. Kilbourne was commissioned by Governor Trumbull as a notary-public; and in January, 1851, he was appointed and sworn as a commissioner of deeds for the State of Vermont. During the year last named, his poem "Bantam" was given to the public in a pamphlet form. Bantam was the early name of Litchfield. A river and lake still preserve the name. The poem was read before the village lyceum, and published by request.

It should be borne in mind that Litchfield was long one of the most important and — with, perhaps, the exception of Cambridge, Massachusetts — the most widely known of all the towns of New England. It was the home of the Wolcotts, father and son: the one a signer of the Declaration of Independence, the other a member of Washington's Cabinet; and both, in their respective times, governors of the State of Connecticut. It was the home of men of wealth and education, of men eminent in the councils of the State and Nation; and it was the seat of the celebrated Litchfield Law School. It was amid such ancient, aristocratic, literary, and historic influences that Mr. Kilbourne spent the last fourteen years of his life — a man of real influence. From 1846 to 1853, a period of seven years, he was annually elected clerk of the borough of Litchfield. In 1854 he was again chosen, and filled the office for two years, when, in 1856, he was elected to the presidency of the borough. He was also several times a member of the town board of education. From 1855 to 1858 he was clerk of the court of probate, and in 1858, a Justice of the Peace. Between the period of his presidency of the borough, 1856-57, and his becoming Justice of the Peace, he was the executive secretary of the governor of the State, Alexander H. Holley.

His work, and the researches which he made con amore,

resulted in his writing and publishing a "Biographical History of Litchfield County," - an octavo of four hundred and sixteen pages, containing upwards of one hundred and fifty biographies,—and, finally, a "History of Litchfield." This latter is a work of superior merit. It displays the ripened fruit of his labor, and contains almost everything in the annals of the town worthy of preservation. It is not too much to call it a classic, as well as a standard authority. The first edition, it is proper to note, was put in type entirely by the hand of the author. This volume is much in demand at the present day, but it is very rare, and has not been reprinted. Of his biographies it is scarcely necessary to speak. They are accepted as entirely trustworthy; and his service to his town, by the preservation of the personal histories of her sons eminent in state and national affairs, is acknowledged by all students and historians. But work such as this, so steady, so engrossing, no constitution could endure. In March, 1853, in consequence of too close application to business, Mr. Kilbourne's health became so impaired that he disposed of the Enquirer office to Mr. II. W. Hyatt. In this same year, at the annual Commencement of Union College, in August, the President and Trustees of that institution conferred upon Mr. Kilbourne the honorary degree of Master of Arts.

In the summer of 1855 Mr. Kilbourne took a trip to the Old World, as the agent of the Kilbourne Historical and Genealogical Society. An account of his tour through England and Wales, in several chapters, was published in the Enquirer, in the summer and autumn of that year, under the title of "Rides and Rambles in the Fatherland," and also in the "Family History."

In politics Mr. Kilbourne was uniformly recognized as a Whig, and a strong antislavery man. Though the life of a politician was far from being congenial to his tastes, his position of editorial-writer necessarily compelled him to take a somewhat active part in the contests of the day. He was frequently a delegate to Senatorial, Congressional, and State conventions, and often officiated as secretary of these conventions, as well as a member of the committees on resolutions. In March, 1855, he was president of the Senatorial Convention, which convened at Winsted, Connecticut.

Mr. Kilbourne died in Litchfield, Connecticut, on the nineteenth of July, 1859. The immediate cause of his death was enlargement of the heart, which was induced by overwork and constant activity, more particularly in the preparation of his "History of Litchfield County."

The funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Leonard Woolsey Bacon, D.D.

Mr. G. H. Hollister, the accomplished author of the "History of Connecticut," thus speaks of Mr. Kilbourne:—

Most especially do I acknowledge an indebtedness, which I can never repay, to my excellent friend P. K. Kilbourne, A.M., of Litchfield, for more than two years of uninterrupted toil by day and by night, in reading over, copying, collating, and indexing the records of the Colony of New Haven, as well as of Connecticut; in gathering all the fragmentary evidence, so valueless in its crude state, of fifteen of our old towns, and placing it at my disposal; in compiling and arranging the appendix to both volumes; in preparing the major part of the notes to be found in this work; in searching printed authorities and miscellaneous manuscripts; and writing letters, scrutinizing the evidenees which have been woven into the text; and in short, doing what I had neither the time nor ability to do in adding to the historical value and to the completeness of the work. I should have been unable to do even the little that I have done, without him, and am not willing to let this occasion pass without attempting to do him justice. As a genealogist I have never seen his superior.

Mr. Kilbourne had a slender, erect figure. His height was five feet eleven inches. His eyes were large and

grayish blue. His forehead was full and well shaped. His face combined delicacy and manly beauty, indicating refinement and purity of life. He was ever gracious and sympathetic. It is narrated, by those who knew him best, that a frown never found its place upon his countenance, and seldom, if ever, was he known to speak an unkind word to any one. He was very industrious and persevering in all of his labors. From poverty he rose to comparative ease, from adversity to influence. To one looking at this life, part by part, the philosophy of its history is clearly manifest. Scarcely an action but had its antecedent cause plainly discernible. It stands, a monument - the result of heredity, of innate principle, and of early training. The whole is a grand, calm, modest, logical, reasonable life, made stronger by chosen associations and balanced by a strong Christian faith and hope. He was a man courteous and true, a man to trust, an honest man.

Such is the bare account of Payne Kenyon Kilbourne as he was seen of men. Other summaries of his life have been published in the following works: Payne Kenyon Kilbourne, A.M., by Payne T. Kilbourne, Sve., pp. 2; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xiii. p. 372; Drake's Biographical Dictionary.

At the time of his death Mr. Kilbourne was a member of the Connecticut Historical Society; Corresponding Secretary of the Kilbourne Historical and Genealogical Society; Secretary of the Litchfield County Historical Society; Corresponding Member of the Historical Societies of Massachusetts, New York, and Wisconsin; Fellow of the American Statistical Association, and others. He was admitted a Corresponding Member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, on the eighteenth of May, 1847.

Payne Kenyon Kilbourne had two daughters: Julia Elizabeth, born, Norfolk, Connecticut, August 9, 1843,

was married in Litchfield, Connecticut, to William Henry Braman, on the 10th of June, 1862; and Lelia Kenyon, born, Litchfield, Connecticut, May 1, 1850; died May 9, 1861. Mrs. Braman now lives in Litchfield, Connecticut. Mr. Kilbourne's wife, Mrs. Elizabeth A. (Cone) Kilbourne, survived him, and was married the second time on the 13th of January, 1869, to Mr. James H. Hoyt, of Stamford, Connecticut. Mr. Hoyt died on the 14th of December, 1873. Mrs. Hoyt at present resides in Stamford.

The writer of this article desires to return thanks to his cousin Mr. John Kilbourne, A.M., the elder brother of Payne, who is now living with his son, the Rev. John Kenyon Kilbourne, A.M., Pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Mendon, New York. With great labor he compiled and arranged a mass of items and statistics, so that the author's task has rather been to omit, than to find additional matter. Especially are thanks due him for the poems which he has sent, and which would have been inserted had the limits allowed.

GEORGE WASHINGTON BURNAP

George Washington Burnap, son of the Rev. Jacob Burnap, D.D., and the youngest of thirteen children, was born at Merrimac, New Hampshire, November 30, 1802. He was a lineal descendant of Isaac Burnap, who, with twelve others, bought and settled the town of Reading, Massachusetts, in 1639. His father, born in Reading, and graduated at Harvard College in 1770, was ordained the first minister of Merrimac, in October, 1772, and remained the faithful pastor of that church till his death, December 21, 1821, a period of almost fifty years. Scholarly in his habits, and kind and catholic in his disposition, he was a diligent student of the Scriptures in their original languages, and belonged to the liberal branch of the Orthodox church. Dr. Burnap believed his family to be of Welsh extraction, — ap, the final syllable of his name, indicating its origin. His mother, Elizabeth Brooks, a sister of John Brooks, LL.D., for seven years Governor of Massachusetts, - died when her son was but seven years old, and he passed the remainder of his childhood under the charge of an elder sister. He spent his youth in work upon his father's farm, - in winter attending the district school during the short period of its continuance, which was usually about six weeks. In this school, and at home with occasional assistance from his father, he acquired the elements of knowledge; and in the autumn of 1818, when he was sixteen years old, he was sent for

a few months to Groton Academy to complete his educasion. Here, inspired by the example of several of his young companions who were preparing for college, he determined to meet all the difficulties that lay in his way to a collegiate education; and, procuring a Latin grammar and Testament, he resolutely set himself to work to learn the elements of that language.

On leaving the Academy, in March, 1819, he continued his studies in the grammar and Testament without other aid than an occasional word from his father. His elder brother, Horatio Gates, had graduated at Harvard in 1799; but his father's small salary, and the heavy expenses of a large family, deprived him of the power to send another son to college. Still he was ready to render his son such assistance as he could give, in the way of instruction, to prepare him at home for a college course. This plan had been fixed upon, and the work of education had already begun, when the young man received a letter from his brother-in-law, Mr., afterwards Judge, Read of Thetford, Vermont, informing him that a new academy, which he had helped to build, had just been opened in that village, and inviting him to make his sister's house his home till his preparatory studies should be completed. Looking upon this as a providential occurrence he eagerly accepted the offer, and set out early in May, 1819, with his clothes and books upon his back, to walk the distance of eighty or ninety miles to his sister's house, his father carrying him a few miles in his carriage to give him a start. He soon became the leading scholar of the school, and remained in it two years and three months, when he entered the Sophomore Class at Harvard College in the summer of 1821. His father's death in the following December greatly embarrassed him, and for a time he feared that he might be compelled to leave college for want of means; but by the kind assistance of friends, and by keeping school during the winter vacations, he was enabled to finish his

college course, graduating with honor in 1824. Among his classmates were the Rev. Dr. Richard Fuller, a distinguished Baptist clergyman of Baltimore, the Rev. Dr. Newell of Cambridge, the Rev. A. B. Muzzey, and Mr. Nathaniel Silsbee, the future treasurer of Harvard College, the Hon. George Lunt, and the Hon. John C. Park.

From the moment when he had determined to seek a college education, he had had but one idea as to his future profession, and that was to become a Christian minister; but now that the final decision was to be made, he carefully reviewed the whole subject; and, not without serious embarrassment from the controversies then raging between the Liberals and the Orthodox in the theological world, he finally decided to enter the Cambridge Divinity School, though he had not yet satisfactorily settled in his own mind many important theological questions. He had been educated in the Westminster Catechism, and his mind still clung to many of its doctrines. He was still a Trinitarian, and a believer in the doctrine of the Atonement as taught in the Catechism; and only during his second year in the school - after long and patient investigation and severe mental struggles, going critically through the entire Bible from Genesis to Revelations in the original languages — did he give up these doctrines and become a Unitarian.

In June, 1824, some months before his graduation, he was appointed master of the public school in Cambridge, and he held this office till the end of his first year in the Divinity School. As he was compelled to spend six hours a day in his school, it seriously interfered, not only with his studies, but with his recitations and lectures. In this way he lost, during the last term of his School year, the lectures of Professor Edward Everett on Greek literature, which he never ceased to regret. Language had always been his favorite study; and he had so far mastered Latin and Greek in college as to be able to read with ease any

of the ancient authors in those languages. In college he had also begun the study of Hebrew, which he continued in the Divinity School, and he was soon able to read the Bible in that language; but he never gave to it the study, nor did it win from him the love and enthusiasm, which he bestowed on the classical languages. He also studied French, and, at a later period, learned so much of German as to be able to read the Biblical criticisms which were poured forth so profusely by the great German scholars of that day. His life in the Divinity School, after he had given up the town school and settled the great theological questions satisfactorily to his own mind, became very attractive to his religious nature and scholarly tastes. The new Hall was dedicated in 1826, and supplied the students, during his last year in the School, with more quiet and commodious rooms than they had previously occupied, - among the undergraduates, in the college buildings. He entered with zeal into the debating and other societies of the school, and greatly improved his power of extempore speaking; while he formed life-long friendships with his teachers and many of his fellow-students, and laid up in his great heart a respect and an affection for the college which never waned to his dying day. He found that, while the writing of sermons was comparatively easy to him, he felt "oppressed by an invincible diffidence whenever he came before the public, which almost paralyzed his faculties;" and this "diffidence, or nervousness," he says, he never could entirely overcome.

In March of his last year at the Divinity School in received an invitation to preach in Baltimore, immediately after his graduation, as a candidate for settlement. After "long and solemn deliberation" he accepted this invitation; and, during the delivery of his graduating part, he was greatly agitated by the presence of some this future parishioners from Baltimore. He obtained in

license to preach from the Boston Association of Ministers, which met for this purpose at the house of Dr. Gray in Roxbury; preached his first sermon in Hingham, in the pulpit of the Rev. Charles Brooks; and, after a short vacation, set out, in August, 1827, for what was to be his future home.

He began to preach, at the First Independent Church of Baltimore, early in September; and the last week in October he received a call to settle over that society as successor to Jared Sparks, its first settled minister, who had resigned his charge in 1823. During the intervening years the pulpit had been supplied by a succession of ministers, each remaining but a few months. Among those who remained the longest and left the deepest impression upon the people were Drs. Greenwood, Francis, and Walker; and it was by the urgent advice of the last of these that Mr. Burnap was invited to preach in Balti-The ordination was fixed for April 23, 1828. Meantime Mr. Burnap returned to Boston, and arranged for an ordaining council to meet in Baltimore at the appointed time, - a matter of some difficulty, when it required a week to make the transit between the two cities. This council—consisting of Dr. Bancroft of Worcester, Dr. Ripley of Concord, Dr. Porter of Roxbury, Dr. Walker of Charlestown, Mr. Stetson of Medford, Mr. William Ware of New York, Mr. Briggs of Lexington, Dr. Furness of Philadelphia, together with George Ticknor the scholar and William H. Prescott the historian — accompanied the young minister in a body to Baltimore, and ordained him at the appointed time.

Young and without experience, Dr. Burnap began his ministry in a city without sympathy with his views, without a clergyman with whom he could converse on professional subjects, and at a distance from all exchanges, with a stock of sermons so small that he was compelled to write two every week during the entire spring and summer,

till his vacation of six weeks began, on the twentieth of July. It is not a wonder that he felt quite exhausted, and needed release from work, change of air and scene, and recreation. To obtain these he planned a trip to Virginia, where he visited the Springs, the University of Virginia, and other noted places, - calling upon Madison at Montpelier and the family of Jefferson at Monticello. He was everywhere received with the greatest kindness, and especially enjoyed the conversation of Madison, with whom he spent a day; but the coarse food, the hot weather, and the fatiguing modes of travel prevented him from deriving the benefit he expected from the change, and he returned to his duties little improved in health or in spirits. From this time on he was a confirmed dyspeptic, - always suffering, not only the pain, but at times the terrible depression, that comes with that complaint. Though usually cheerful and often merry, full of fun, and hearty in the enjoyment of good-fellowship, indigestion was the bane and the torment of his life. He always attributed its beginning to his hard work and meagre diet while obliged to teach six hours a day and keep up with the studies of his class during his first year in the Divinity School.

For thirty-two years, from 1827 to 1859, Dr. Burnap remained the pastor of the First Independent Church. His scholarly attainments, his dignified bearing, his sound judgment, his prudence, his wisdom, and his warm-heartedness won for him the respect of the community in which he lived. His influence as a thinker extended far be the limits of his own little society. He was in the stant receipt of letters asking for counsel and direfrom young men in the distant parts of the South West, who had been attracted and excited by reading books. He was consulted on all important literary scientific movements in the city, and he was calleful many important trusts. He was the intimate

confidential friend of Moses Sheppard, the founder of the Sheppard Insane Asylum. He was one of the founders of the Maryland Historical Society, of which he was always an efficient, active member, - in 1853 giving the annual address. He was one of the Regents of the University of Maryland, and occupied the chair of Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy, - a nominal position, in that partially developed institution. He was always present at the meetings of the Board of Regents, and took an active part in their deliberations. He was one of the original trustees of the Peabody Institute, - the only clergyman appointed, — and was most active and influential in the organization of that great institution during the three years that he survived this appointment. As a thinker, as a scholar, and as a man of letters, he stood foremost among the clergy of the city. Scarcely an intellectual enterprise of any kind was started in which he had not some share; and the number of lectures and addresses he gave before societies, associations, and literary clubs was something remarkable.

Dr. Burnap was a man of great independence of thought, of sturdy integrity, and unflinching determination, but of almost childlike frankness and simplicity of character. He was a foreible and impressive, but not what is called an eloquent or impassioned speaker. His voice was a little harsh and unsympathetic, and his manner cold; but his style was chaste and scholarly, and his matter always good, his sentences often loaded down with weighty thought. His death created an intellectual void in the city that has never been filled.

On the 18th of July, 1831, he married Nancy Williams, a highly educated, accomplished, and agreeable woman, with a high social position; whose father, Amos Adams Williams, and seven brothers, went from Roxbury, Massachusetts, to Baltimore, about the beginning of the present century, and became successful and influential

merchants there. The daughter of one of these brothers became the wife of Jerome Bonaparte, — the American son of the King of Westphalia, by his first wife, Elizabeth Patterson of Baltimore. Mrs. Burnap was born in Baltimore, July 7, 1804, and died April 25, 1876, surviving her husband nearly seventeen years. Her mother was Nancy Williams, daughter of Henry Howell Williams of Chelsea, Massachusetts, and own cousin of her husband. She died when her daughter was but six weeks old, and her husband never married again. The young child was brought up by Miss Susan Williams, her father's sister, a woman of great energy, of an amiable disposition, of strong good sense, and a firm will, who lived and died in Dr. Burnap's family, and was the only mother that Mrs. Burnap ever knew. The marriage was a happy one in every way except in the loss of children. The brilliant conversational powers and fascinating manners of Mrs. Burnap were just the qualities needed to arouse the thoughtful, often silent student, and help him in his pastoral visits; and her presence became a comfort and a light in every household. Their children were: Amos Williams, born, July 23, 1832, died July 30, 1832; Susan Williams, born October 30, 1833, died October 3, 1834; Elizabeth Williams, born March 18, 1842, and still living.

In early life Dr. Burnap had been fond of hunting, fishing, and trapping; and at one period these field-sports occupied much of his time. At school and college excelled in athletic games of all kinds then in use; the he often said he never saw two persons playing contains without pitying them from the bottom of his soul, they could not find something better to do. He we excellent story-teller, was fond of a good joke or a heavy witticism, and had an honest, hearty laugh which was contagious, and which seemed to pour itself out from the immost being. He had a genial smile, was a sympater.

listener, and a wise counsellor in all eases of perplexity and trouble; and nothing excited his sympathy and his enthusiasm more than the resolute purpose of an openhearted, courageous young man just starting in life. His mind was ever open to the reception of new ideas and new truths in all branches of human knowledge. He accepted the general principles of phrenology as taught by Gall and Spurzheim; he became an early convert to homœopathy, employing it exclusively in his own family during the last twenty years of his life; and he believed, after repeated private examinations of the phenomena, that there is a reality, of great scientific importance to psychology and religion, beneath the extravagant pretensions and foolish charlatanry of Spiritualism.

The first publication of Dr. Burnap was made in 1821, while a student at the Academy in Thetford, Vermont. One of his schoolmates, of great brilliancy and promise, had suddenly died of the spotted fever, then raging in that vicinity; and young Burnap, not yet nineteen, was appointed by the students to deliver a commemorative discourse on the occasion. At the request of the parents of the young man, a copy of this discourse was sent to them, who had it printed without the knowledge of its author; and it was several years before he saw a printed

copy of it.

Beside his duties, faithfully performed, as a parish minister, Dr. Burnap prepared and delivered many courses of theological lectures on the doctrines of Christianity, and in defence of the tenets of his own denomination. His first course of lectures, on the doctrines in controversy between Unitarians and other Christians, was delivered to large audiences in his own church, during the winter of 1834–1835, and published in 1835. These lectures gave evidence of his careful scholarship, and placed him at once among the foremost theologians of that day. Other courses followed in 1842, 1845, 1850, 1853, and 1855, which were also published in separate volumes, and

confirmed the high opinion, entertained among Biblical students, of his fairness, his honesty, his sound judgment, and his exact scholarship. The thought is always clear and strong, the style simple, direct, and logical, without much ornament, and with no effort at impassioned eloquence or fine writing.

During the winter of 1839–1840 he gave, in the Masonic Temple, to large and appreciative audiences, a course of lectures to young men, on the cultivation of the mind, the formation of character, and the conduct of life; and in 1840–1841, another course, on the sphere and duties of women. Both of these courses were printed at the request of those who heard them, and had a large sale among all denominations of Christians. These volumes passed through three editions, and greatly increased his reputation in all the cultivated circles of the city. He became thenceforth an authority, especially to the young, on all intellectual and moral subjects.

Beside the eight courses of lectures already mentioned, he published a life of H. A. Ingalls and a life of Leonard Calvert; while twenty printed sermons and addresses on special occasions, a volume of miscellanies, and fourteen articles in the Christian Examiner attest the great activity of his mind, his unwearied industry, and his ever growing reputation and influence. He often said he wished to "die in the harness." He had no desire to outlive his ability to work.

The death of Dr. Burnap was very sudden and so what mysterious. He had returned from his summare vacation in his usual health and spirits, and had begun work for the winter. On the afternoon of Wedness September 7, he took tea and spent the evening wiparishioner who lived on the borders of the city. He very little at tea, and was in remarkably good spirits. The came home early, and went to bed without suffering inconvenience from his supper; but he awoke all the four o'clock in the morning, with exeruciating pains in the

chest. Physicians were called in, and all known remedies resorted to, to relieve his terrible sufferings, but without the slightest effect. From the moment of the attack he grew constantly worse, till at six o'clock on Thursday, September 8, 1859, about two hours after the beginning of the attack, he breathed his last, having been quite unconscious for a short time previous to his death. He was in the fifty-seventh year of his age. His family have always believed that he died of angina pectoris, though they had no previous knowledge of any trouble with his heart.

His sudden death, in the full vigor of his powers and usefulness, spread a gloom over the city; and from distant parts of the country it called forth many words of sorrow, and expressions of deep sympathy with his bereaved family. The funeral took place at the church, and was attended by a large concourse of people, including many elergymen of different denominations, and the Roman Catholic archbishop, — the Rev. Ezra S. Gannett, D.D., of Boston, preaching the funeral sermon. He was buried in Greenmount Cemetery, that beautiful city of the dead; and a monument, with the following inscription, written by the Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., was placed by his congregation over the grave.

DURING HIS LONG MINISTRY

HE WON AND ENJOYED THE CONFIDENCE AND ESTEEM

OF THOSE WHOM HE SERVED IN THE GOSPEL.

WAS AN ACCOMPLISHED CHRISTIAN SCHOLAR,

AND A PROFOUND THEOLOGIAN.

HE SOUGHT TO LEARN AND TO TEACH

THE TRUTH AS IT IS IN JESUS,

RIGINAL SIMPLICITY AND IN ITS ENDURING POWER.

VELUENCE WAS LARGELY FELT AND APPRECIATED

THE LIMITS OF HIS OWN RELIGIOUS COMMUNION,

THROUGH HIS VARIOUS LITERARY LABORS,

AL IN THE CAUSE OF GOOD MORALS AND EDUCATION,

THE PROMOTION OF AN IMPROVED PUBLIC SPIRIT

IN ALL THE BEST INTERESTS OF SOCIETY.

From Harvard College, to which he felt the ardent attachment of a devoted son, he received his bachelor's degree with his class in 1824, his master's degree in 1827, and the honorary degree of Doctor in Sacred Theology in 1849. He was graduated in 1827 at the Harvard Divinity School.

He was admitted a Corresponding Member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, June 9, 1859.

The following is believed to be a complete list of his separate publications; but it does not include his numerous contributions to the "Christian Examiner," to the Baltimore newspapers, especially to the "Sun," for which he was engaged as an occasional writer for several years, and to other periodicals. Of the ten books that he published separately, more than twenty-five thousand volumes were sold during his lifetime.

- 1. Lectures on the Doctrines of Christianity in Controversy between Unitarian and other Christians. Boston, 1835. Second edition, 1848.
- 2. Lectures to Young Men, on the Cultivation of the Mind, the Formation of Character, and the Conduct of Life. Baltimore, 1840. 3d edition, 1848.
- 3. Lectures on the Sphere and Duties of Women. Baltimore, 1841. 3d edition, 1849.
 - 4. Lectures on the History of Christianity. Baltimore, 1842.
- 5. Expository Lectures on the Principal Passages of the Scriptures which relate to the Doctrine of the Trinity. Boston, 1845.
- 6. Miscellaneous Writings, collected and revised by the author. Baltimore, 1845.
- 7. A Life of Leonard Calvert. In Sparks's American Biography, Second Series, Vol. ix, 1845.
- 8. A Memoir of H. A. Ingalls, published by the Metropolitan Association. New York, 1845.
- 9. Discourses on the Rectitude of Human Nature. Boston, 1850.
- 10. Popular Objections to Unitarian Christianity Considered and Answered. Boston, 1848.

- 11. Christianity, its Essence and its Evidence. Boston, 1855.
- 12. Sectarianism both Catholic and Protestant—a Lecture. Baltimore, 1835. 42 pp. Reprinted in the Lectures on the Doctrines of Christianity.
- 13. The Voice of the Times. A Sermon delivered in the First Independent Church of Baltimore, May 14, 1837. Baltimore, 1837. 16 pp.
- 14. Commemorative Discourse on the Death of the Rev. F. W. P. Greenwood, D.D., delivered September 17, 1843. Baltimore, 1843. 16 pp. Reprinted in Miscellaneous Writings.
- 15. Discourse on the True Principles involved in the Pusey Controversy. Baltimore, 1844. 24 pp.
- 16. The End of the World. A Discourse suggested by the Miller Doctrine. Baltimore, 1844. 32 pp. Reprinted in Miscellaneous Writings.
- 17. A Discourse on the Duties of Citizen Soldiers. Delivered July 21, 1844. Baltimore, 1844. Reprinted in his Miscellanies.
- 18. Church and State, or the Privileges and Duties of an American Citizen. Delivered December 12, 1844. Baltimore, 1844. 24 pp. Reprinted in his Miscellanies.
- 19. Address delivered at the Funeral of Henry Payson, December 28, 1845. Baltimore, 1845. 8 pp.
- 20. Position of Unitarianism defined. Delivered February 28, 1848. Baltimore, 1848. 31 pp.
- 21. Christian Worship, a Discourse at the Dedication of the Unitarian Church at Wheeling, Virginia, May 15, 1852. Baltimore, 1852. 25 pp.
- 22. Philosophical Tendencies of the American Mind. An Address at Dickinson College, July 7, 1852. Baltimore, 1852. 31 pp.
 - 23. The Flight of Years. An Address on the Twenty-fifth ary of his Ordination. Baltimore, 1853. 16 pp. igin and Causes of Democracy in America. The Eighth Discourse of the Maryland Historical Society. Decem-853. Baltimore, 1853. 29 pp.
 - ndication of the Unitarian Faith. Delivered at the on of the Unitarian Church in Charleston, South Caroil 2, 1854. Charleston, 1854. 27 pp.
 - ne Uses and Abuses of War. Delivered before the and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston, June 5, oston, 1854. 31 pp.

27. The Influence of Literature in a Republic. Delivered at Pennsylvania College. Gettysburg, September 16, 1857. Gettysburg, 1857. 20 pp.

28. A Discourse on Prejudice. Delivered November 15, 1857.

Baltimore, 1859. 19 pp.

29. A Lecture on the Social Influences of Trade. Reprinted from Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, for May, 1841. Baltimore, 1841. 8 pp.

30. Review of the Life and Writings of Elias Hicks. Reprinted from the Christian Examiner. Boston, 1852. Three editions published.

Dr. Burnap left in manuscript an autobiography, beginning with his earliest recollections, and coming down to the end of his visit to Virginia in 1828, the first year of his pastorate. It was not intended for publication, but for the information of his wife and daughter, and was written at different times, from 1843 to 1852. It contains one hundred and thirty-eight closely written pages, and from it all the incidents of his early life contained in this sketch have been drawn. Beside the manuscripts of a course of Twelve Lowell Lectures on Anthropology, delivered in Boston in 1857, and repeated in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1858, and the manuscripts of many other lectures and occasional discourses, he left seven hundred manuscript sermons. He possessed one of the largest private theological and miscellaneous libraries in the city. During his whole pastorate he lived in the same house, — No. 45 North Calvert Street.

Notices of Dr. Burnap may be found in Dr. G Sermon on the Death of Dr. Burnap, Boston, 18 Burnap's Sermon, The Flight of Time, Baltimor Men of the Time, New York, 1852; American pædia, 1858; Allibone's Dictionary of Author Drake's Dictionary of American Biography, 1872; History of Baltimore City and County, 1881. of his father, Dr. Jacob Burnap, is in Allen's I Biographical Dictionary, 1857.

WASHINGTON IRVING

Washington Irving, essayist and historian, was born in a house on William Street, half-way between Fulton and John streets, in the city of New York, April 3, 1783. At the time of his birth the Revolutionary army occupied the city, and the war was practically ended. "Washington's work is over," said the infant's mother, "and the child shall be named after him." Subsequently, when General Washington was again in New York, as first President of the Republic, his namesake was taken into his presence by the Scotch nurse, and the great man put his hand on the boy's head and gave him his blessing. This incident may have had some influence in inducing the bearer of Washington's name to become his biographer.

The father of Washington Irving was William Irving, a Scotchman, born on the island of Shapinshay, who traced his descent from William De Irwyn, secretary and armorbearer of Robert Bruce. At the time of William's birth Americanily was in reduced circumstances, and he became

During the French War — while serving as an iteer in a packet plying between Falmouth, English New York — he met Sarah Sanders, a beautiful y anghter of John and Anne Sanders, and grander of an English curate. William and Sarah were in 1761, and two years after embarked for New there they landed July 18, 1763. The fruit of ppy union was eleven children, three of whom died

in infancy. Washington was the eighth son. The year after his birth the family moved across William Street into a quaint brick structure of the time, built with its gable-end to the street, after the Holland model. This homestead, in which the boy grew up, was not pulled down till 1849.

Washington's father was a devout, God-fearing man, a deacon in the Presbyterian Church, strict in his religious observances as a Scotch Covenanter, and opposed to all amusements and to anything like frivolity in life. His mother, by birth an Episcopalian, had conformed to her husband's religion, but she was of a more tolerant and amiable disposition. Washington inherited from his mother his temperament, his cheerfulness and vivacity, his love of art, and his affectionate nature. The cool religious discipline of the father repulsed all the children, and all of them except one became members of the Episcopal Church. Washington, when a mere lad, stole away and was confirmed in Trinity Church. William and Sarah Irving were stanch patriots during the war, doing everything possible to relieve the sufferings of the American prisoners in English hands, and suffered severe pecuniary losses for their sympathy with the right side.

New York, in Washington Irving's boyhood, was a small rural city clustered about the Battery, with few advantages for education or amusement. The boy, who was not very robust, was little inclined to study, fond of music and the theatre,—to which he paid stolen visite annetted given to the reading of the lighter literature, and annetted given to the reading of the lighter literature, and same the sund travels. His school education was desubry, Poursued under incompetent instructors, and ended at the age of sixteen, when he entered a lawyer's ofice. A few months only had been devoted to Latin, and his education was without discipline or solidity. His brithers Perter and John had been sent to Columbia, formerly King's, College, and Washington would have enjoyed the same

advantage but for his disinclination to any methodical study or pursuit. He had very early exhibited a turn for literary composition, and he was an unmethodical reader of the scant literature accessible to him. Good-natured, gay, with a loving disposition and an artistic temperament, he read and dreamed and wandered about, assimilating the material congenial to him. In the law-office he was a heedless student and made little progress in legal knowledge, but read literature and made some progress in self-culture. Never very strong, he passed much of his time in the country, hunting in Westchester County and exploring Sleepy Hollow. In 1800 he made a voyage up the Hudson, whose beauties he was the first to celebrate. In 1802 he was a clerk in the law-office of Josiah Ogden Hoffman, and began his intimacy with the refined Hoffman family, which so strongly influenced his life. Still in delicate health, and now showing signs of pulmonary weakness, his physical disability no doubt partly accounted for his disinclination to methodical study. Two or three years were spent in travelling, in exploring the wilds as far as Ogdensburgh and Montreal, and in enjoyment of the social life of Albany, Schenectady, Ballston, and Saratoga Springs. This seemingly idle life benefited his health, and enabled him to lay in a store of materials for fature use. His first literary effort was a series Cr satirical letters, signed Jonathan Oldstyle, published in 1802 in the "Morning Chroniele," a newspaper then recently established by his brother Peter.

re satires upon town life, and especially upon the and caused some local irritation. They were is of the English "Spectator," of no permanent though they were promising work for a boy of the who had received no literary training.

Irving came of age, in 1804, his health was so that his brothers determined to send him abroad; ook passage in a sailing-vessel, which reached the

mouth of the Garonne, France, the 25th of June. He lingered several months in France studying the language; made his way south, through Avignon and Nice, to Genoa. where he made another long halt, enjoying the social life of the place; and, crossing over to Messina, spent most of the winter in Sicily, and reached Rome in March, where he made the acquaintance of Washington Allston and Madame de Staël, and indulged to the full his passion for music, painting, and society. In May we find him in Paris, whence he travelled through the Netherlands, and reached London in October; tarrying there till January, when he returned to New York, with re-established health. His journey was that of an idle man seeking health and amusement, and was not immediately fruitful in a literary way, although his private correspondence shows good observation and power of description.

On his return, in February, 1806, he was admitted to the Bar, but did not devote himself seriously to his profession. He led rather the life of a society man, for which his congenial manners and cultivated tastes fitted him, and was one of a knot of young fellows, of literary proclivities and convivial habits, who called themselves the Nine Worthies, who had celebrated suppers at the city taverns, and real or pretended revelries at an old mansion on the Passaie River, called Cockloft Hall. Among these youthful associates, who afterwards attained distinction, were John and Gouverneur Kemble, Henry Brevoort, Henry Ogden, James K. Paulding the author, and Peter Irving. For some time longer Irving was content to distinguish himself only in society, and he was a favorite, not less in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington than in New York; but on the 24th of January, 1807, there a ppeared the first decided indication of his adoption of literature as a profession. He hated the law and was weary of idleness; but this first effort was only tentative. It was the "Salmagundi," a small semi-monthly periodical, p rojected

in association with his brother William and James K. Paulding. In form and manner it was an imitation of the "Citizen of the World" and the "Spectator," but its wit, whimsical humor, and satire were original. Its audacity and vivacity made it instantly and immensely popular, and imitations of it sprang up all over the country. It continued, with tolerable regularity, through twenty numbers, and stopped in the full tide of success, with the same funny indifference to the public which had all along characterized it. The "Salmagundi" may be read today with pleasure as a picture of the social state of New York at the time, and as a prophecy of Irving's powers as a writer and a humorist. But Irving's pen was again idle after this; he cultivated society, dabbled a little in politics on the Federal side, and played at the practice of law. In 1807 he accepted a retainer from the friends of Aaron Burr and attended the latter's trial at Richmond, but more in the capacity of a sympathetic observer than as counsel.

The book that made him famous was projected a short time after the discontinuance of "Salmagundi," in connection with his brother Peter. At first nothing more was intended than a burlesque upon the pedantry of a work by Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchell, called a "Picture of New But before it had advanced beyond the introductory chapters, Peter was called to Europe on business, and Washington recast the introductory matter, changed the plan, and wrote "A History of New York, by Diedrich The volume was published, without Knickerbocker." Irving's namé, in Philadelphia, and at once created a great sensation. The Dutch resented it keenly as a satire upon their ancestors, but it was hailed generally as the most original piece of humor that the New World had produced. This reputation it has never lost. It may be said without exaggeration that Irving's creation of the "Knickerbocker world," together with his idealization of the Hudson River

by his legends and sketches, stands prominent among the most important achievements of humor and imagination of this century. Irving's reputation as a writer would rest securely upon that creation, if he had written nothing else.

It was during the composition of the "History of New York" that Irving met the cruel bereavement which saddened his whole after life. This was the death, in her eighteenth year, of Matilda Hoffman, the second daughter of Mr. Josiah Ogden Hoffman, to whom Irving was engaged. She was a young lady of great charms of person and mind, to whom Irving was tenderly attached. Her loss was a crushing blow, from which he never recovered. Thenceforward the world lost for him much of its color and hope, and a vein of melancholy was developed in his originally sunny disposition. Many years afterwards he met at Dresden an English lady to whom he became much attached, and it is possible that marriage would have resulted if her affections had been free. But Irving never married. He always cherished as sacred the memory of Matilda Hoffman, the first and most constant object of his affection; and after his death there was found, in a private repository of which he kept the key, a lovely miniature, a braid of fair hair, and a slip of paper on which was written, with his own hand, "Matilda Hoffman;" and with these treasures, in faded ink, was a memorandum, the story of his love. He kept through life her Bible and Prayer-Book, and they were the inseparable companions of all his wanderings.

Irving's social popularity was greatly increased by the success of the "Knickerbocker," and he was more than ever a favorite in Washington and Philadelphia. He did not at once pursue his literary calling, but seemed waiting for something to turn up,—perhaps some Federal appointment, although he personally sought none. In 1812 he accepted the editorship of a periodical in Philadelphia

called "Select Reviews," - afterwards changed to the "Analectic Magazine," - for which he wrote many reviews and biographies of naval characters, and some of the sketches afterwards incorporated in the "Sketch Book." About this time he wrote also a short biography of the poet Thomas Campbell, to be prefixed to an American edition of "Gertrude of Wyoming." In 1814 he offered his services in the war to Governor Tompkins of New York, and was made aid and military secretary, with the rank of colonel. He served only four months, when Governor Tompkins was called to Albany, and Irving started for Washington, intending to obtain a commission in the regular army; but he was detained in Philadelphia by the business of his magazine until February, 1815, when peace was declared with England. The following May he embarked for Europe on a visit to his brother Peter. intending to remain only a short time. He was absent from his native land seventeen years.

This period of Irving's long residence abroad, the most fruitful period of his literary life, can only be briefly sketched. The first years of it were consumed in attention to the business of his brothers, who were in the hardware trade, which had become much embarrassed. All efforts, however, were in vain; and, after great annoyance, increased by the continued invalidism of Peter, bankruptey was accepted as the only escape, and Irving was enabled to devote himself to letters,—which afterwards became his support and that of his brothers Peter and Ebenezer, and of the latter's children. In his days of idleness and ill health he had accepted aid from his brothers, which he as freely extended to them when their circumstances were reversed.

In May, 1819, appeared in New York the first number of the "Sketch Book," when Irving was thirty-six years old. The series was completed in September, 1820. Its success in America was instantaneous and universal. It was

speedily known and applauded in England, and Irving was obliged to republish it there in order to protect himself. Murray, the publisher, at first declined the venture, but he gladly undertook it later, when success was assured, and continued thereafter to be the publisher of most of Irving's works. When he published the two volumes of the "Sketch Book," he gave the author two hundred pounds At about the same time he issued an for the copyright. edition of the Knickerbocker History. Irving remained in England five years, mingling with the best literary and artistic society of the capital, and enjoying the friendship of Walter Scott, and of many of the notable men and women of the day. In 1820 Irving passed over to Paris, where his reputation had preceded him. In this year he published "Bracebridge Hall," a series of tales and sketches which was well received, but did not add much to his fame. This was followed in 1824 by the "Tales of a Traveller," which contains some of the most charming productions of his pen, and in which appear some of the results of his early sojourn in Italy and his travels in Germany. From 1820 Irving was always more or less an invalid, suffering from an eruptive malady which prevented any literary activity for long periods, and sent him to medicinal springs and on long journeys, in the hope that change of air and scene would restore his powers. He passed the winter of 1821-1822 in London in a delightful society, and returned to Paris in 1823, full of literary projects; and it was at that time that he seriously contemplated writing the Life of Washington. But in the fall of 1825 his imagination was kindled by a new theme that was proposed to him; and in February, 1826, we find him domiciled at Madrid, beginning his studies for the "Life of Columbus." His stay in Spain was prolonged till September, 1829, during which he made a journey into Andalusia, and resided for some time in the precincts of the Alhambra at Granada. For the production of the "Alhambra," the "Conquest of Granada," and the "Legends of the Conquest of Spain," — which were the rich fruits of this sojourn in a land of romance, which he made the property of the whole world, — Spain owes his genius an eternal debt. The "Life of Columbus" was published in February, 1829, and Murray paid him for the English copyright £3,150. Subsequently, in order to forestall an inferior abridgment of the Life, Mr. Irving wrote one himself and presented it to Murray, who realized a large sum for its sale, the first edition, of one thousand copies, being sold immediately. For the "Conquest of Granada" he received from Murray two thousand guineas. For the "Alhambra," which was published in 1832, just before Irving's return to America, by Bentley, the author received one thousand guineas.

Towards the close of Irving's residence in Spain, he accepted the appointment of secretary of legation to the Court of St. James, at which Louis McLane was American Minister, although in doing this he postponed his "Life of Washington," and put by other literary projects, among them the "History of the Conquest of Mexico," which he subsequently, after he had written some chapters of it, generously surrendered to Mr. Prescott. In April, 1830, the Royal Society of Literature awarded him one of the two annual gold medals, the other going to Hallam, placed at the disposal of the society by George IV., to be given to authors of eminent merit; and this distinction was followed by the degree of D. C. L. from the University of Oxford. He was made an honorary member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, April 21, 1847.

Irving returned to New York in May, 1832, and was welcomed by the American public with a genuine burst of enthusiasm; public dinners were offered him in many cities, but he only accepted one in his own town. For some time the author devoted himself to a study of the changes in his native land during his long absence. He

made a long tour into the Far West, the result of which was a delightful volume of adventure, called "A Tour on the Prairies." He built a house and made himself a charming home at Sunnyside, on the Hudson, near Tarrytown, where he resided till his death. The income from his books was considerable, but not enough for the support of his brothers Peter and Ebenezer, and his many nieces, which had devolved upon him, and he took up his pen with sustained enthusiasm in his literary work. The retreat at Sunnyside became the home of his brothers and nieces, and Irving was the centre of delightful domestic society. This happy place he always left with reluctance, and returned to eagerly. His longest absence from it began in 1842, when he accepted the unsolicited mission to Madrid. In the preceding ten years his chief published works were "A Tour on the Prairies," "Recollections of Abbotsford and Newstead Abbey," the "Legends of the Conquest of Spain," "Astoria," a work undertaken at the instance of W. B. Astor, most of the labor on it being done by his nephew, Pierre Irving, "Captain Bonneville," and a number of graceful occasional papers contributed to the Knickerbocker Magazine, and afterwards collected under the title of "Wolfert's Roost," In accepting the mission to Spain he expected to have leisure to go on with the "Life of Washington," in which he was engaged. In this he was disappointed. He was not able to continue it, until his return to Sunnyside in September, 1846. The period of his second residence in Spain was a revolutionary one in that distracted kingdom. In all the embarrassments of his situation Irving conducted himself, and the affairs entrusted to him, with great tact and good sense, maintaining the honor of his own country, retaining the admiration of the country to which he was accredited, and exhibiting conspicuous diplomatic ability.

The remaining great work of his life was the "Life of Washington," which was finally finished and passed through

the press just before his death. But in the mean time, and when he was in his sixty-sixth year, he laid it aside for a time, and rapidly threw off the delightful biographies, "Goldsmith" and "Mahomet and his Successors,"—books that had all his vigor and charm of style. The "Life of Washington" was received by scholars and critics with great satisfaction. Its mature judgments of historic characters have been little disturbed by subsequent revelations, and its calm and dispassionate narrative is grateful to the readers of later books, which seem to strive for brilliant effects.

Washington Irving died from a sudden stroke of disease of the heart, at his home in Sunnyside, on the 28th of November, 1859. He had for a long time been afflicted with chronic asthma, which at times caused him great suffering; but his infirmity was always borne with manly fortitude. His early life had been full of vicissitudes, and much discouragement mingled with his sunny enjoyment of life. His last days were serene and peacefully happy.

Irving has a still unique place in American letters. His creative genius is shown in his invention of what may be called the Knickerbocker Pantheon; the fine quality of his humor is visible in all his purely literary writings; while his Columbus and his Washington testify to his industry, sense of proportion, ability to generalize, and to his possession of many of the highest powers of the historian. But there is in everything he did a certain charm, which is one of the rarest things in literature. He was not only a pioneer in our world of letters, but his creations ensure for him continued admiration and affection.

GARDNER BRAMAN PERRY

GARDNER BRAMAN PERRY, D. D., was the son of Nathan and Phebe (Braman) Perry, and was born in Norton, Massachusetts, August 9, 1783. The following facts of his lineage were given by his nephew, John Taylor Perry, Esq., of Exeter, New Hampshire. Dr. Perry was a descendant of Anthony Perry of Rehoboth. This Anthony Perry was on the Grand Inquest, 1654; took the oath of fidelity, 1658; freeman's oath, 1665; had lands in the First Division, North Purchase, afterwards Attleborough, June 22, 1658; freeman, May 29, 1670; Deputy from Rehoboth, 1673; died, March 1, 1682. His wife Elizabeth lived into the eighteenth century, dying at Rehoboth. Anthony's will, dated on the twentieth of February preceding his death, gives his age as about sixty-seven years. He divided his lands between his eldest son, Samuel, who was born in 1648 and died 1706, and his only other surviving son, Nathaniel, who was born in 1660. They were directed to provide for their mother, giving her as much corn as she should need for bread during the remainder of her life; to keep two cows, and fatten a swine for her annually. They were to cut her wood, and bring it to her door; and make her all the eider she required. She was to have an end of the house, and the use of half the Two daughters were given fifteen and ten pounds in silver respectively, and some grandchildren thirty shillings each in silver. The wife was constituted

"sole executrix. Anthony's personal inventory foots up at £198. 0s. 6d., and his landed estate was not far from two hundred acres.

Samuel, his oldest son, married Mary Millard, October 29, 1678. They had seven children. The oldest son, Jaziel, was born May 6, 1682, and married Rebecca Wilmarth, January 3, 1706-7. They had eight children. Of these Ichabod was grandfather of Dr. G. B. Perry. He was born April 3, 1722, and died 1795. He was three times married: first, to Sarah Haskins, November 27, 1746; second, to Ruth Fisher; and third, to Experience Braman, March 4, 1784. The second son of Ichabod by his first wife was Nathan, father of Dr. Perry. He was born in Attleborough, in March, 1750, but lived most of his life in Norton. He died September 6, 1836, aged eighty-six. His wife Phebe, daughter of Sylvanus Braman, and sister of the Rev. Isaac Braman, D.D., sixty-one years pastor of the First Church in Georgetown, Massachusetts, - was born January 30, 1750, and died March 19, 1822, aged seventy-two. They were married May 20, 1773.

Their children were: (1) Phebe, born 1774; died 1838; married a Patten; (2) Nathan, born May 27, 1776; died August 16, 1857; (3) Anna, born 1778; died 1846; married a Wilmarth; (4) Salome, born 1780; died 1847; married a Richmond; (5) Gardner Braman, born August 9, 1783; died December 16, 1859; (6) Alvan, born 1785; died 1827; (7) William, born December 20, 1788; still living in Exeter, New Hamphire; (8) Sally, born September 4, 1794; (9) and Sophia (twins) born September 4, 1794; died 1870; married a Perry.

Dr. Perry spent the early part of his life on his father's farm. Desiring an education, his father made great exertions to aid him. He fitted for college in the High School of Norton, then under the care of Abner Alden, A.M., and entered Brown University, of which Jonathan

Maxey, D.D., was then President. When Dr. Maxey removed to Union College, in 1802, young Perry — with a number of other students, among whom was Bishop Brownell of Connecticut — followed him. After his graduation Mr. Perry went to Ballston, New York, where he took charge of an academy for a year; and on leaving there he returned to Schenectady, and commenced the study of divinity. Soon after, he was invited to take the position of tutor in Union College, which he retained two years. From Schenectady he went to Kingston, New York, where he was at the head of an academy for five years. At the end of that time he removed to Albany, to prosecute his study of theology under President Nott.

While residing in Albany Mr. Perry received a call to the Congregational Church in East Bradford, now Groveland, Massachusetts, and was ordained there on the twentyeighth of September, 1814, and continued as sole pastor until 1851, when a colleague was called. Dr. Perry was a man of very amiable disposition, and his agreeable manners won respect from all with whom he came in contact; and his advice and counsel were often sought in civil and ecclesiastical difficulties. He had a deep interest in all matters pertaining to education, and did much to elevate the character of the public schools in his own town and county, and his opinion on all educational matters was greatly valued. He also worked with great success in the interest of Temperance; and, as long as his physical strength would allow, he was a most efficient officer in various societies. The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by Union College. He was an invalid the last years of his life, and died peacefully at his home in Groveland, Massachusetts, December 16, 1859.

Dr. Perry married, May 22, 1816, Maria P. Chamberlain of Exeter, New Hampshire. She was the daughter of Samuel and Mary (Tilton) Chamberlain. She died March 11, 1817, aged twenty-nine; leaving one child, Maria Parker, born March 1, 1817, who married William Henry Shackford, a graduate of Harvard University, 1830, Professor at Phillips Academy, Exeter; he died in 1842.

Dr. Perry was married a second time, in Acton, Massachusetts, July 20, 1819, to Eunice Tuttle, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Leighton) Tuttle, of Acton. She died June 15, 1824, aged thirty-one, leaving four children: (1) John Kirby, born May 24, 1820; died February 11, 1837; (2) Sarah Campbell, born September 2, 1821; she married Peter Parker of Groveland, Massachusetts; (3) Phebe Braman, born January 12, 1822; married Alvan H. Perry of Boston; died May 4, 1851; (4) Elizabeth Leighton, born May 8, 1824; married Burton E. Merrill of Groveland, Massachusetts, June 1, 1862; died 1882.

Dr. Perry was married a third tir 2. May 22, 1827, to Sarah Brown of Groton, Massachu. She was the daughter of Aaron and Elizabeth (Swell) Brown, formerly of Beverly, Massachusetts, She was born March 18, 1794, and died June 28, 1872. She had four children: (1) Gardner Blanchard, born July 9, 1829; (2) Edward Hale, born October 1, 1831; died February 5, 1860; (3) Charles French, born June 3, 1833; (4) Mary Sophia, born August 16, 1835; she married, October 25, 1866, at Groveland, George W. Griffin of New Orleans; died December 4, 1868.

Dr. Perry sustained a long and useful connection with the church at Groveland. He was in active service thirtysix years, the Rev. D. A. Wasson being settled as his colleague in 1851.

The subject of this memoir was admitted a member of the Essex North Association, October 12, 1819, and his funeral was appointed on a day of its meeting. Those who knew Dr. Perry best, placed the highest estimate upon his many excellences of character.

He was a man of strong common-sense, and showed unusual tact in filling with success the posts of teacher,

tutor, and pastor. Entering the ministry late in life, he carried into it a large experience with men in various professions.

As a preacher he was clear and effective in reasoning, but more inclined to the practical application than to the metaphysical analysis of truth. He considered theology a social science, informing all other sciences, and borrowing illustration from all. Some thought he injured his powers of concentration by this diffusion; but perhaps there were few who could be so much of a preacher and pastor amidst such a multiplicity of cares. He made everything subservient to his main channel of thought. Hence his discourses had a detail in them, and a surprising novelty of illustration, which marked the cast of his studies and the comprehensive character of his mind. It was curious to see how he threw the huge dragnet of observation over all the incidents of common life, and compelled them to subserve his important theme. His preaching was characterized by variety; and none of his brethren could exchange with him, without being pretty sure that he would fill a place to be supplied by no other colaborer. He took a deep interest in the cause of education in the town, the county, and the State. It is said that Horace Mann was greatly indebted to him for valuable statistics in regard to education in Essex County.

He was a reformer, a politician, and a political-economist, as well as an educator. He also turned his attention to farming, gardening, and all the common arts of life.

As a reformer he was decided and judicious in his influence against slavery and intemperance, and other evils of society. Dr. Perry diffused his influence through more diversified channels than most elergymen. It was mainly due to him and his associate, Dr. Withington, that the exercises of the Essex North Association were made so profitable; and the plan for this was cast

on the muster-field at Georgetown, where the two were officiating as chaplains.

On Forefathers' Day, December 22, 1820, he delivered at East Bradford an historical discourse containing a history of the town, which was published in 1821, at Haverhill, in an octavo pamphlet of seventy-two pages. It was reprinted in 1883, in a pamphlet of sixty-nine pages, under the title of "History of Bradford, Massachusetts." Occasional sermons, addresses, and lectures by Dr. Perry were also published.

He was admitted a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, June 24, 1856.

By special request, the Rev. D. T. Kimball, of Ipswich, officiated on the Sabbath, December 25, 1859, with special reference to the death of Dr. Perry. Mr. Kimball was nearly of the same age, but was settled in the ministry nearly eight years earlier. They had been intimate friends, as well as fellow-soldiers in the same division of the Church Militant.

JOHN FROST

John Frost was born in Kennebunk, Maine, the twenty-sixth of January, 1800. He was the son of Nathaniel Frost of that town, by his wife, Abigail Kimball. His grand-father, the Hon. John Frost, who served in the expedition against Canada in 1760, was colonel and brigadier-general in the Revolutionary Army, and a representative, senator, and councillor of Massachusetts.

In early life John Frost showed a fondness for study. In 1818 he entered Bowdoin College, where he remained one year, when he left and entered the sophomore class at Harvard College. Here he was graduated with high honors in 1822. In the winter immediately subsequent to leaving college he taught school in Cambridgeport. In 1823 he was appointed principal of the Mayhew School in Boston. In 1828 he removed to Philadelphia, passing the winters of 1827-28 and 1828-29 in Cuba, to recover from severe attacks of bleeding from the lungs. From 1828 to 1838, he conducted a school for young ladies; and at the latter date accepted the situation of Professor of Belles-Lettres at the Central High School in Philadelphia, which he resigned in 1845, to devote himself entirely to literary pursuits. He was, during a great portion of his life, a book-maker, probably the most prolific our country has yet produced. To that pursuit he sacrificed everything else. He made his pupils his assistants, and thus lost from his female school the patronage

of some of the wealthy families. He mingled the . pursuit with his teachings in the High School, and wi The two re incongruous, similar result. the passion for literature triumpned. It is impossible give a list of the numerous works he wrote and compara They were principally histories, many of them bearing fictitious name on the titlepage. History was his s ciality, and this exhaus mine he worked up in every shape. His Pictorial B ry of the United States sold largely, upwards of fif. housand copies having been disposed of some years disposed of some years fore his death. Next to his historical works, his bi be phies fill the largest space. a regular workshop for production of 1 theless his the archite the architect of everythe. By unceasing industry in his vocation, the volumes of his compilation numbered upwards of three hundred. He was a scholar of ripe attainments, well versed in the Spanish and French languages, and his talents and attainments were universally admitted to be of a high order. His love of study and reading never flagged. Every new publication, from which he hoped to derive fresh information, was read with attention, and his wonderfully fine memory treasured up all of interest. In 1843 the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by Marshall College in Pennsylvania. He was admitted a corresponding member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, February 3, 1847.

He married, May 4, 1830, Sarah Ann Burditt, daughter of John White and Mary (Rhoades) Burditt, of Boston. They had ten children, all born in Philadelphia: (1) Mary Cordelia; (2) Caroline Augusta; (3) James W. Burditt; (4) Sarah Annie; (5) George Frederie; (6) Frances Emily; (7) Morton; (8) Charles William; (9) Arthur Burditt; (10) Francis Burditt. Three sons and three daughters—

one of whom, Caroline Augusta, was the wife of Dr. J. R. Rowand — survived hir.

Mr. Frost's domestic elations were those of a sincere Christian, a most loving husband, and kind parent. A long life of incessant study and labor ended at Philadelphia, December 28, 1859, with a peaceful and happy death. Weighed down in his last years by business perplexities and troubles, his perfect trust in a protecting Providence, and his gentle, loving kindness in his family, were never disturbed by worldly difficulties. His last illness was very short, and his death sudden; yet, though often in severe bodily pain, his mind was, through all his sickness, calm, quiet, and peaceful,—seeming to have laid aside all earthly cares, to wait in perfect love and hope the release from his burdens here.

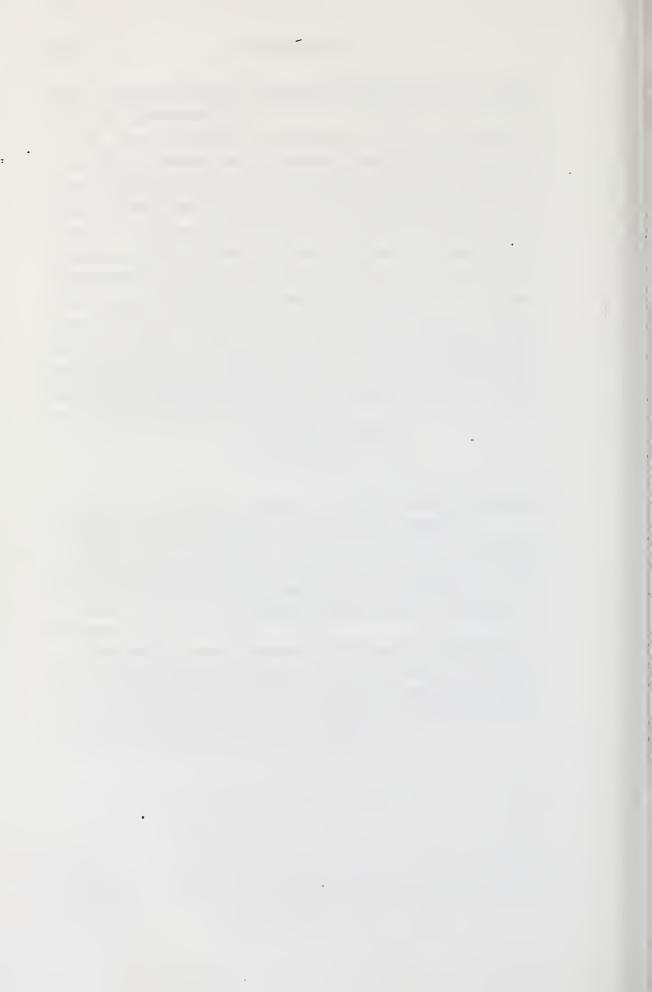
NOTE TO PAGE 265. — Since this article was printed, the situation of the claimants has been changed as follows:

The Comte de Chambord, last of the Bourbon line, died at Frohsdorf, August 24, 1883, — all his claims to the throne merging in the Comte de Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe.

John L., only son of Eleazer Williams, died in Wisconsin in October, 1883.

Naundorff, the second pretender of the name, who styled himself Prince Charles of Bourbon, died in poverty at Bleda in November, 1883, maintaining to the last his assumptions, and bequeathing his claims to his four children. He was the son of the original Naundorf, who died in 1845.

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