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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NEW HAMPSHIRE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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VOLUME III.
JUNE, 1895, TO JUNE, 1899.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

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PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.
1902.

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TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY :

This volume consists of two parts, printed respectively in 1897 and 1902.

In binding the volume the title pages to the different parts should be omitted.

PUBLISHING COMMITTEES.

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NATHAN F. CARTER,
SAMUEL C. EASTMAN.

Part 2, pages 175-534. { SAMUEL C. EASTMAN,
NATHAN F. CARTER,
JOHN DOWST.

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SEVENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING.

CONCORD, Wednesday, June 12, 1895.

The seventy-third annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held in the rooms of the Society at Concord, Wednesday, June 12, 1895, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, Hon. Amos Hadley, President, in the chair.

On motion of Hon. J. C. A. Hill, the reading of the records of the several meetings of the Society during the past year was omitted.

On motion of Rev. C. L. Tappan,

Voted, That a committee for the nomination of officers for the ensuing year be appointed by the chair.

The following-named gentlemen were appointed :

HON. ALBERT S. WAIT,
HON. P. B. COGSWELL,
REV. C. L. TAPPAN.

On motion of the same gentleman,

Voted, That a committee be appointed to report on the names of applicants for membership.

The chair named for such committee :

REV. N. F. CARTER,
COL. J. E. PECKER,
JOHN C. ORDWAY, ESQ.

The report of the Librarian was then presented :

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

To the Annual Meeting of the N. H. Historical Society :

The Librarian respectfully presents his fifth and last annual report for the year ending June 12, 1895 :

Accessions to the Library have been as follows :

Bound volumes	163	
Unbound volumes and pamphlets	395	
		558
Town reports of N. H.	210	
Maps, etc., from Mrs. C. H. Bell.		

The Library now contains 12,063 bound volumes.

Books and pamphlets received during the year 1894-5 :

From Historical Societies	87
Government, Washington	60
Rev. F. D. Ayer	53
Mrs. Josiah Sanborn	48
Vermont State Library	23
New Hampshire Societies	23
J. C. A. Hill	22
State of New Hampshire	21
Dr. S. A. Green	20
Hon. S. C. Eastman	19
Franklin P. Rice	18
Massachusetts Historical Society	18
Worcester Society of Antiquity	17
City of Boston	17
City of Concord	10
Rev. S. L. Gerould	7
William S. Appleton	6
Books purchased	8
City of Providence	4
Hon. William C. Todd	5
A. B. C. F. Missions	3
A. H. M. Society	2
Republican Press Association	2
Hon. Ezra S. Stearns	2
New England Hist. Gen. Society	2
American Education Society	2
Miss Lucy E. Dow	1
Rev. H. A. Hazen	1
Connecticut State Library	1
Phillips Exeter Academy	1
Tennessee State Board of Health	1
Macmillan & Co.	1
Mrs. Cora K. Bell	1

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BOOKS PURCHASED AND FREE.

Sketch of town of Nelson in newspaper	\$0.28
Sketch of Phillips Exeter Academy	2.50
Johns Hopkins University Studies, 2 vols.	8.35
Sir William Phipps devant Quebec	1.00
Granite Monthly, vols. 1 and 2	3.50
Wiley's Nutfield in Nos.	6.60
History of Hampton	0.00
	<hr/>
	\$22.23

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS BOUND.

7 vols. Granite Monthly	\$3.50
56 Historical pamphlets	15.56
6 N. E. Historical Genealogical Registers	3.60
114 N. H. Registers, Magazines, etc.	57.00
	<hr/>
	\$79.66

BOOKS SOLD.

Proceedings of the Society, vol. I, 2 copies	\$3.25
“ “ vol. II, part 350
Collections of the Society, vol. X, 3 copies	4.00
Norris Family	1.50
Supplement to History of Windham	1.00
Colonial Papers, vol. II	3.50
State Papers, vols. XVI-XXIV	31.50
	<hr/>
	\$45.25

INCIDENTAL EXPENSES.

Express on books and pamphlets	\$9.10
Books purchased	13.10
Post-office box	3.00
Postage stamps and postals	2.55
Cleaning clocks	3.75
Washing floors and windows	9.58
	<hr/>
	\$49.08

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

Presented by publishers :

Book Reviews, New York.*Canaan Reporter*.*Daily Advertiser*, Boston, from J. B. Walker.*Exeter Gazette*.

Free Press, Somersworth.
Granite Monthly, Concord.
Hamptonia, New Hampton.
Independent, Contoocook.
Littleton Courier.
Manifesto, East Canterbury.
Manufacturer and Builder, New York.
Merrimack Journal, Franklin Falls.
Mirror and Farmer, Manchester.
New England Historical and Genealogical Register.
Notes and Queries, Manchester.
People and Patriot.
Plymouth Record.
Travellers' Record, Hartford, Conn.

For the last five years I have given all my time, and done what I could for the benefit of the library, though not what I would have done under more favorable circumstances. The library was not in the best condition, and is not now, and cannot be until the rooms are remodeled, or more space furnished, which will doubtless be brought about in due time. I find myself unable to take care of the library as it should be, so cheerfully leave it to other hands, trusting it will be given to some one of superior adaptability to the work, and superior mental training. The library requires the best work that can be done, and the undivided attention of the librarian, aided always by every member of the Society.

Respectfully submitted,

CHARLES L. TAPPAN,
Librarian.

By vote, the Librarian's report was accepted and placed on file.

On motion of Hon. S. C. Eastman,

Voted, That the list of books received by the Society during the year be omitted from the proceedings of the Society when printed, and so much of a former vote as required the librarian to report, other than a list of names of donors, be rescinded.

The following report of the Treasurer was then given :

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer respectfully submits the following report of receipts and expenditures for the year ending June 11, 1895 :

RECEIPTS.

Balance from last year	\$13,958.02	
Cash received from initiation fees	115.00	
assessments	381.00	
interest on funds	668.05	
books sold	45.25	
state appropriation, two years	1,000.00	
loans paid	1,100.00	
	<hr/>	\$17,267.32

EXPENDITURES.

Balance of last year's salary of Librarian	\$250.00	
Paid salary of Librarian	500.00	
Edson C. Eastman	7.00	
Republican Press Association	226.60	
Ira C. Evans	19.65	
postage	28.16	
coal and wood	23.25	
J. B. Clarke Co., Manchester	355.94	
Eastman & Merrill, insurance repairs	20.82	
repairs	6.02	
expenses on the Sabine papers	7.35	
books purchased	11.85	
expenses of Roswell Farnham	7.45	
expenses of Pres. S. C. Bartlett	5.00	
N. F. Carter, making index to pro- ceedings	12.00	
investment in loan	1,025.00	
accrued interest	40.56	
sundry expenses of Librarian	41.08	
sundry expenses	8.65	
	<hr/>	\$2,596.38
		<hr/>
		\$14,670.38
Permanent fund	\$11,000.00	
Current funds	3,670.94	
	<hr/>	\$14,670.94

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM P. FISKE, *Treasurer.*

Concord, N. H., June 12, 1895.

The report was accepted, and ordered to be placed on file.

The report of the Publishing Committee was then presented, accepted, and ordered to be placed on file.

The following report of the Secretary was then read :

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

Number of new members voted in during the year	33
Number who have qualified	17
Number removed by death	4

ISAAC K. GAGE,
EX-GOV. B. F. PRESCOTT,
DEA. DANIEL SECOMB,
GEORGE OLCOTT.

Whole number of resident members at the present time, 180

JOHN C. ORDWAY, *Secretary.*

Report accepted to be placed on file.

The report of the Standing Committee, embracing three plans of repairs and improvements to the Society's building, was presented by J. C. A. Hill. The report was accepted, and on motion of Hon. S. C. Eastman, it was

Voted, That the second plan recommended by the committee be adopted, and the Standing Committee instructed to carry the same into effect.

The Committee on the Nomination of Officers, by its chairman, Hon. A. S. Wait, presented the following list, which was by vote accepted and adopted, and the following-named persons were declared elected officers for the ensuing year :

President.

HON. BENJAMIN A. KIMBALL.

Vice-presidents.

HON. GEORGE L. BALCOM,
HON. LYMAN D. STEVENS.

Recording Secretary.

JOHN C. ORDWAY.

Corresponding Secretary.

HON. SYLVESTER DANA.

Treasurer.

WILLIAM P. FISKE.

Librarian.

REV. NATHAN F. CARTER.

Necrologist.

DR. ELI E. GRAVES.

Auditor.

HON. JOSEPH B. WALKER.

Standing Committee.

HON. J. C. A. HILL,
HON. P. B. COGSWELL,
HON. JOHN KIMBALL.

Library Committee.

HON. AMOS HADLEY,
REV. C. L. TAPPAN,
MRS. FRANCES E. STEVENS.

Committee on Publication.

HON. ALBERT S. WAIT,
REV. NATHAN F. CARTER,
EDSON C. EASTMAN.

Rev. N. F. Carter, for the Committee on New Members, recommended the following names of applicants :

GEORGE ALBERT WORCESTER, Milford ;
FRANK A. COLBY, Berlin ;
FRED MYRON COLBY, Warner ;
AUGUSTUS WOODBURY, D. D., Concord ;

and they were severally elected to membership by ballot.

On motion of J. B. Walker,

Voted, That the usual tax of three dollars be levied for the ensuing year.

Voted, That the procuring of an orator for the next annual meeting, and for the quarterly meetings, be left with the Standing Committee.

The President, Hon. Amos Hadley, Ph. D., then delivered the annual address, taking for his subject, "New Hampshire in the Fourth Decade of the Passing Century."¹

At the close of the address it was

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the retiring President for his very able and carefully prepared address, and that a copy of the same be requested for publication.

The report of the Committee to Encourage the Publication of a Naval History of New Hampshire followed :

REPORT OF COMMITTEE.

To the New Hampshire Historical Society :

Your committee appointed to encourage and promote the formation of an association of the men of New Hampshire connected with the naval service of the United States, with the object, among others, of securing the preparation of a history of the efforts of the state and its citizens in that service, have the honor to report that they early corresponded with Admiral Belknap upon the subject, who expressed much interest in the enterprise, and gave assurance that he would lend his aid in its promotion. At his suggestion, the committee caused to be published in the several newspapers of the state a notice embodying the resolution, and containing, among other things, the following :

As preliminary to the work of actual organization, it has been suggested by a gentleman high in the naval service, that a list of the naval men of the state be made by the committee, and thereupon to invite appropriate action for the accomplishment of the object in view.

Following this suggestion, the committee earnestly invite all men of New Hampshire who have served in the navy in any capacity, to communicate the fact to some member of the com-

¹ The address was continued at a later meeting, and will be found printed in its proper place.

mittee as early as convenient after this communication shall come to their notice, and thus give their aid to a movement for the preservation of the history of our state in a branch of the public service with which they are themselves so honorably identified.

The responses to this invitation of the committee have not been so numerous or so ready as they had hoped, and the contemplated organization has not yet been effected. It is hoped, however, should the committee be authorized to continue its work, that the organization will be completed so that steps towards the chief object in contemplation may be proceeded with in the course of the present season.

Respectfully submitted,

A. S. WAIT,
P. B. COGSWELL,
J. C. A. WINGATE,
Committee.

By vote, the report was accepted, and the committee continued.

The committee to consider the subject of a catalogue of the books in the library made a verbal report, which was accepted, and the committee continued.

On nomination of Col. J. E. Pecker it was

Voted, That a committee of three be appointed by the chair to make arrangements for the annual Field-day.

The following gentlemen were named as such committee :

COL. J. E. PECKER,
HON. B. A. KIMBALL,
JOHN C. THORNE, ESQ.

On motion of Hon. S. C. Eastman it was

Voted, That the report of the committee on the printing of the Plumer Memoirs be accepted, and the Standing Committee authorized to adjust any expense incurred.

On motion of Rev. C. L. Tappan it was

Voted, That the Library Committee be requested to hold monthly meetings.

On motion of Hon. J. B. Walker, the same committee were

requested to procure some suitable form for the acknowledgment of books, etc., presented to the library.

On motion it was

Voted, That Hon. J. B. Walker and John C. Ordway be a committee to procure a seal for the use of the Society.

At 2 : 15 p. m. the Society adjourned.

THE FIRST ADJOURNED SEVENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING AND FIELD DAY.

PORTSMOUTH, N. H., October 10, 1895.

The first adjourned seventy-third annual meeting and Field-day of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held at Portsmouth, Thursday, October 10, 1895.

The Field-day arrangements were made by a special committee appointed for that purpose, consisting of Col. J. Eastman Pecker, Hon. Benjamin A. Kimball, and John C. Thorne, Esq., all of Concord, to which subsequently Hon. Wallace Hackett of Portsmouth, and Hon. J. S. H. Frink of Greenland, were added.

Under the marshalling of Colonel Pecker, a party of thirty or more left Concord at 7 : 40 a. m., receiving accessions at Manchester, Rockingham Junction, and other places, and arrived at Portsmouth at 10 o'clock in the forenoon. There the party were received by Hon. Mr. Hackett and his wife, and Rev. Mr. Hovey, rector of St. John's Church, of Portsmouth, who kindly served as escort during the day. An interesting visit was made to the quaint old Wentworth mansion, erected in 1749, of great historic interest as the home of the royal governor, and the seat of great splendor in colonial days, where the party were hospitably received and entertained by J. T. Cooledge, Esq., the present owner of the estate; also at Fort William and Mary, now Fort Constitution, and other points of interest in and about Newcastle; after which the party returned to Portsmouth, and dined together at 2 o'clock at the Rockingham House. After

dinner, a brief business meeting was held in the old colonial dining-room, the president, Hon. B. A. Kimball, in the chair. On nomination, the following persons were elected resident members of the Society :

FREDERICK E. POTTER, M. D.,
 THOMAS P. SALTER,
 JAMES R. STANWOOD,
 J. ALBERT WALKER,
 ARTHUR W. WALKER,

all of Portsmouth, and

MISS H. MARIA WOODS,
 REV. E. J. AIKEN,

both of Concord.

On motion of Hon. L. D. Stevens,

Voted, That the cordial thanks of the members of the New Hampshire Historical Society be tendered to Rev. Mr. Hovey and Hon. Wallace Hackett for the many thoughtful and generous courtesies shown to the party during the day.

Afterwards an adjournment was made, subject to the call of the president.

The balance of the afternoon was spent in a delightful visit to St. John's church, and an examination of the historic relics belonging to that Society, the ancient baptismal font, the "Vinegar Bible," 1716, the chair in which Washington sat, 1789, the bell captured at Louisburg and recast by Paul Revere, 1806, and other interesting souvenirs of the past. Visits were also made to some of the oldest private residences, ante-dating the Revolutionary period. Returning, the party left Portsmouth at 5:15, and reached Concord a little past 8 o'clock, p. m., all agreeing that the outing had been one of the most interesting and pleasing the Society had ever enjoyed.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,
Secretary.

THE SECOND ADJOURNED SEVENTY-THIRD
ANNUAL MEETING.

CONCORD, N. H., February 13, 1896.

The second adjourned seventy-third annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held in the Society's rooms in Concord, Thursday, February 13, 1896, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, sixteen members in attendance, and the president, Hon. B. A. Kimball, in the chair.

The report of the Standing Committee covering the improvements and repairs in the Society's rooms was presented by the chairman, J. C. A. Hill.

REPORT OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE ON FINISHED IMPROVEMENTS.

Mr. President, and Members of the New Hampshire Historical Society:

At the last annual meeting of this Society, a plan was presented by the Standing Committee of last year for some changes and improvements in the first story of this building, and at that meeting it was voted to have the work done, and referred to the Standing Committee just chosen, consisting of Hon. J. C. A. Hill, Hon. P. B. Cogswell, and Hon. John Kimball. As all will remember, on the north side of the office room were cases for newspapers; on the east side, a small room in which were newspapers, and the stone safe or vault. The vault and partitions were removed, making the room as you now see it.

A fire-proof vault, 20 x 14, was built on the east side of the building, well lighted and with iron doors.

The south room had been used as a store or lumber room. That has been cleaned up and cases for the newspapers placed there, making room for a larger number of papers than we now have.

A cellar was made under the vault, and under part of the building, in which is placed a good furnace for heating the office room.

Your committee had a number of meetings, and decided to have cases for books built on all sides of the office room, as you now see them, making, as it seems to us, a fine library room. New hard wood floors were laid in it, and in the hall as well. A good stairway was also made to the cellar.

The cost of repairs was \$2,667.21.

One member of the Standing Committee, Hon. P. B. Cogswell, has left us, and gone forward to the better life, but not till all the repairs had been decided upon. Mr. Cogswell was very much interested in the work, and was a frequent visitor at the rooms before his death, and in his last will proved that he had the interest of the Society in his heart.

J. C. A. HILL,
JOHN KIMBALL,
Standing Committee.

On motion of Hon. L. D. Stevens, the report was accepted and ordered to be placed on file. A vote of thanks was tendered the committee for the excellent manner in which they had performed the duty assigned them.

The following resolution, presented by Hon. J. B. Walker, was adopted by a vote of the Society:

Resolved, That a monthly meeting of the Society be held at its library on the first Wednesday of March, April, and May next, and that the librarian and Standing Committee be hereby requested to procure a speaker to address the Society on some historical subject at each of said meetings.

Afterwards, Hon. Ezra S. Stearns offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee of four be appointed by the chair to examine and report upon the unpublished documents and manuscripts deposited with the Society, and that such committee be requested to make such recommendation concerning the preservation and publication of any documents and manuscripts as a careful examination may suggest.

The resolution was adopted, and the following persons appointed such committee:

HON. EZRA S. STEARNS,
REV. N. F. CARTER,
HON. A. S. BATCHELLOR,
OTIS G. HAMMOND.

On motion of Rev. N. F. Carter, a vote of thanks was tendered to J. C. Thorne, Esq., for the presentation of a new sign for the Society's building; also to B. Billsborough for a similar favor.

The committee on new members presented the names of Isaac N. Abbott, of Concord, and Herbert W. Eastman, of Manchester, who were unanimously elected to membership.

On motion of Rev. C. L. Tappan, William P. Fiske was elected a member of the Standing Committee to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Hon. P. B. Cogswell.

Hon. L. D. Stevens presented the following resolutions :

WHEREAS, the Society has been informed that a bequest of five hundred dollars was made to it in the will of Hon. P. B. Cogswell, late of Concord, deceased, therefore,

Resolved, That this Society accept the bequest of Mr. Cogswell upon the terms expressed in his will, with a grateful appreciation of his interest in the welfare of the Society, and the valuable service rendered by him while he was a member thereof.

Resolved, That this Society improve this first opportunity to express its sorrow for the death of Mr. Cogswell, and the high esteem in which he was held by its members, as an upright, honorable, and eminently useful citizen, and a faithful and incorruptible public officer.

These resolutions were unanimously adopted, and the secretary instructed to forward a copy to the family of the deceased.

After finishing the business routine, Hon. Amos Hadley delivered the concluding portion of his address on "New Hampshire in the Fourth Decade of the Passing Century," the first portion having been given at the annual meeting in June last.

NEW HAMPSHIRE IN THE FOURTH DECADE OF THE PASSING CENTURY.

When the fourth decade of the nineteenth century began, New Hampshire, one of the original thirteen, was one of twenty-four sister states of the American Union. It so fell out, too, in notable and auspicious coincidence, that, on the first month of this period, the true nature of that Union was defined by New Hampshire's greatest son, on the floor of the nation's senate, in eloquence of classic immortality. The thrill of that matchless effort has ever since throbbed in the heart of the American people. For even now after the lapsing years of peace and of war, and since slavery is dead, more significant and inspiring are the mighty words, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and

inseparable,"—than they were when uttered by Daniel Webster, on the twenty-sixth of January, 1830.

In this year 1830,—the opening one of the decade over which historical glances are now to be cast,—there dwelt on the diversified surface of New Hampshire, from the sea to the yet undefined Canadian limit, a population numbering somewhat less than two hundred seventy thousand. Owing largely to the constant drain of Western emigration, the number hardly increased fifteen thousand during the period. This population mainly occupied two hundred twenty-one incorporated towns, in eight counties; Belknap and Carroll not having yet been carved from Strafford. Within these towns, in detached homes, or in hamlets and villages more or less compact, lived and labored the people, in varying numbers, during the ten years.

Portsmouth and Dover, the seats of the earliest civilized occupation of New Hampshire, led in population throughout the period; the former having 8,082 at the beginning, and 7,837 at the end; the latter numbering, at the same dates, 5,549 and 6,458. In 1830, Gilmanton, with 3,816 inhabitants, was, in population, the third town in the state; but in 1840, with 3,485, stood the fifth, having been displaced by Nashua, which, during the same time, increased its numbers from 2,417 to 6,054. Concord, the capital since 1808, was, in 1830, with its 3,727, the fourth in rank, and so continued to be; reaching at the end of ten years, 4,903. In 1840, Meredith, with 3,344, stood the sixth; Somersworth, with 3,283, the seventh. Manchester, which at the beginning of the period numbered 887, could at the end count 3,235, and ranked the eighth. Of the twenty other towns which, in 1830, contained each between 2,000 and 3,000 inhabitants, the three highest were Exeter, Newmarket, and Sanbornton, which held throughout the decade the same absolute and relative rank. Four others of the twenty, in decreasing order, were Haverhill, Sandwich, Hanover, and Rochester.

These figures of the census mark somewhat the changes in industrial currents and other features of enlightened occupation which occurred during the ten years. Outside the older towns on or near the seaboard, centres of condensing population had

formed, and were still forming, inland throughout the state ; as, at the state capital, at county seats, at "bridges" or "corners," at any places, in short, where centrality, with other favoring circumstances, promised special advantages from compactness of settlement. The hamlets and villages, old and new, thus formed, were, for the sparsely populated agricultural neighborhoods, both profitable marts and radiant centres of other beneficial influences. For in them was that society which encourages superior intelligence and achievement in thought and action. There commercial endeavor, mechanical effort, and manufacturing enterprise found ampler range. There banks of discount lubricated the movements of business, and savings banks held, for steady gains, the earnings of thrifty labor ; the former growing in number from twenty-one to twenty-eight ; the latter, from two to eight. There insurance companies—increasing from two to eleven—came into organization to relieve individual loss by fire. Thence the printing press issued its impressions for the enlightenment of the people. Thither was attracted superior talent in the professions of law, medicine, and divinity. There centered movements and organizations for promoting intellectual, moral, and religious advancement. There education found more generous nurture in the common school and the frequent academy ; while the one college, which already had many sons to "love it,"¹ continued with increasing power, to allure still upward to liberal culture. In fine, there was there that blending of the rural and the urban which tends to constitute the enlightened, well-ordered, happy community.

At this time, the people of New Hampshire were living under state and national constitutions nearly half a century old, and with laws, customs, and institutions sanctioned by experience, and subject to such changes and additions only as the public good, under new exigencies of advancing civilization, might demand.

The conduct of civil affairs was of annual tenure. The second Tuesday of March was a great day in the calendar. Then it

¹ "It is, sir, as I have said, a small college, and yet there are those who love it."—DANIEL WEBSTER, before the Supreme Court of the United States, in the Dartmouth College case, March 10, 1818.

was that not only the business of each town was yearly regulated, and the requisite officers chosen, but also the official lists of the executive and legislative departments of the state government, and a county register of deeds and treasurer, were newly filled,—as were, moreover, biennially, the New Hampshire seats in the lower house of the national congress, six for the first term of the period, and five for the four succeeding terms. Then and long afterward, the New Hampshire election, coming earliest in the year and often turning upon issues in national politics, had special national significance.

When the decade began, the administration of the popular Revolutionary veteran, Benjamin Pierce, as governor, was in the last half of its second term; the administrations of Matthew Harvey, Samuel Dinsmoor, William Badger, Isaac Hill, and John Page filled out the remainder of the period. Five councilors advised "the governor in the executive part of government." A senate of twelve members, and a house of representatives, averaging two hundred and forty, made up the legislative branch of the government. A secretary of state and a state treasurer, elected annually by the legislature, were permanent occupants of the state house.

The General Court met annually on the first Wednesday of June, and, with haying not far ahead for the farmer majority of legislators, and with slow means of conveyance, enforcing continuous stay at the capital, it met for short sessions. Quadrennially it held an extra fall session, with the primary purpose of apportioning the state tax. In the pleasant state house, luxuriously shaded by the elms and maples of "leafy June," the general court was in working order by the third day, with its organization effected on Wednesday, and the governor inaugurated on Thursday. This was "Election Day," and one of more or less holiday concourse and display. Since 1784, one feature of the occasion had been the "Election Sermon" preached before the newly installed state government. For some years the executive and both branches of the legislature had been wont to repair in procession to the North church, where the service was held. But on Thursday, the second day of June, 1831, the venerable custom was observed for the last time, and the series of

sermons which begun with that of Samuel McClintock, Stark's chaplain at Bunker Hill, closed with that of Nathan Lord, president of Dartmouth College.

With the talent of Jared W. Williams, Franklin Pierce, Charles G. Atherton, and Ira A. Eastman, in the chair; with the practical efficiency of Anthony Colby, Nathaniel S. Berry, Ichabod Goodwin, John L. Hadley, Charles H. Peaslee, Thomas P. Treadwell, Thomas M. Edwards, Joel Eastman, Levi Chamberlain, Thomas E. Sawyer, Josiah Quincy, and George W. Nesmith, as well as the eloquence of Ichabod Bartlett and James Wilson, Jr., on the floor,—the general court of that period had the men, while the times afforded the occasions, the questions, and the measures, to render the legislative record in some respects one of special historic interest. To some points of that record subsequent attention will be directed. It may, however, here be said that a rigid spirit of economy characterized legislation. To make the appropriations for salaries and everything else bear as lightly as possible upon present and future taxpayers was a matter of pride. The annual state tax was kept at forty-five thousand dollars. In 1833, no state tax was laid; for, in the rapid extinguishment of the national debt, the three per cent. stock of the state in that debt was returned to the state, amounting to about sixty thousand dollars. An attempt was made to establish therewith a bank at the capital; also, another to distribute it to the towns. Both schemes failing, the legislature put the money into the state treasury, and thus relieved the people from one year's taxation for state purposes.

For some years and until 1833, the judicial system of New Hampshire embraced a superior court of judicature and a court of common pleas,¹ each consisting of a chief justice and two associates. After that time, throughout the decade, the justices of the superior court, comprising an additional associate, presided *ex officio* in the common pleas, together with two special justices appointed for each county. The latter were not of the legal profession, and were commonly called "side judges," though, not unfrequently, the "flower-pots." The ordinary business of the superior court was thus transferred to the com-

¹ While this court was distinct, Arthur Livermore was its chief justice.

mon pleas; while the justices of the former had chancery powers, and held a law term annually in each county. William Merchant Richardson, who had presided over the highest judicial tribunal of the state for twenty-two years, enjoying the popular confidence even to reverence, as "the great and honest judge," was removed by death¹ in 1838. Joel Parker, one of his worthy associates, succeeded him as chief justice of the superior court of judicature. The same year, George Sullivan, the gifted son of a gifted father, also died.² Three years before he had resigned³ the office of attorney-general, which he had filled for nearly twenty years with signal ability, and graced with a most fascinating eloquence.

Of course, the judicial department had its eight solicitors, and its eight high sheriffs with their deputies; also, its clerks of courts, its coroners, its notaries public, and its multitude—which no man can easily number—of justices of the peace, and of the peace and quorum, "within and for" their respective counties, and "throughout the state." Early there were county criers to proclaim the will of the court, in opening, adjourning, and other matters; but after the first three or four years of the period, this "oyes"⁴ function was devolved upon the sheriffs. Down to the middle of the decade, and possibly beyond, there were also in each county, commissioners of jail delivery; for imprisonment for debt still lingered as a bad relic of the past.

As a penal institution, the state prison has connection with the judicial department, and facts concerning it may here be mentioned. When the state prison was built in 1812, "ideas of penitentiary discipline were comparatively crude, and accommodations were limited so that prisoners were confined at night, two in a cell. This afforded means of communication between prisoners which was found unfriendly to the moral improvement of the convicts,"⁵ and facilitated escape. Governor Harvey, in 1830, and Governor Dinsmoor, the next year, suggested the

¹ At his residence in Chester, March 23, aged 64.

² At Exeter, June 14, aged 65.

³ He was succeeded by Charles F. Gove, of Goffstown.

⁴ The old opening expression in a court proclamation, and signifying "Hear ye!" which finally took its place.

⁵ Gov. Dinsmoor, Message, 1831.

enlargement of the prison. The suggestion was carried out in 1833, by the addition of a new wing. In the years 1832, '33, '34, the management of the institution was in politics, and was bitterly complained of by the political party in opposition to the state administration. In the last year, John McDaniel was appointed warden in place of Abner P. Stinson; and, as one complaint was that the prison did "not pay its way," the system of "letting the labor of convicts" to contractors was commenced, to be continued through the decade and beyond, with temporary interruption. In 1836, a law was passed which provided for the election of the warden by the legislature. This law remained in force between twenty and thirty years, and then the power to appoint was restored to the governor and council. And it is also worthy of remembrance, that, in 1836, was made the first appropriation—one of fifty dollars—for the humane purpose of purchasing books for the use of the convicts.

The probate system was commended by competent authority, as "admirable."¹ The registers, as well as the judges, could hold office till the age of seventy years. In 1836, the tenure of registers was limited to five years, by a law requiring resignation and new appointment. This law, however, found some delay in its full execution, for its requirement of resignation could not be enforced by removal on legislative address. But new legislation finally accomplished the end desired, by limiting to August 1, 1839, the tenure of office of any register of probate appointed prior to the 28th of June, 1817.

The Bar numbered, on an average, two hundred members. It ranked high in professional ability and achievement; and matched well with the learned and distinguished Bench. Indeed, its scroll of fame, bearing the names of William Plumer, Jeremiah Smith, Daniel Webster, Levi Woodbury, and Jeremiah Mason, from former decades, only unrolled itself into this to receive, in fit addition, such names as Ichabod Bartlett, George Sullivan, James, Joseph, and Samuel Dana Bell, Daniel Miltimore Christie, John James Gilchrist, John Parker Hale, James Wilson, Jr., Ira Perley, and Franklin Pierce.

The inhabitants of New Hampshire still well-nigh homoge-

¹ Gov. Isaac Hill, Message, June 6, 1836.

neously English in descent—with the Scotch-Irish element assimilated—were also well-nigh homogeneously Protestant. Only two small Roman Catholic societies existed in the State—one at Dover, the other at Claremont. Nine denominations—exclusive of a few Sandemanians at Portsmouth, and two families of Shakers—shared among them the Protestant population. There were Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Calvinistic Baptists, Freewill Baptists, Christians, Methodists, Universalists, Unitarians, Episcopalians, and Friends. The Congregationalists were the most numerous, and the Presbyterians, who were few, affiliated with them. Each sect of Baptists—the Calvinistic and the Freewill—counted goodly numbers; the Christians were fewer. Of the Universalists, Unitarians, and Episcopalians, the first had, at the end of the period, about thirty preachers; the second had sixteen churches; the third, nine. The Friends were included in twelve small societies, and were the only sect showing decrease during the decade. The frequent meeting-house gave opportunity to “every individual to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience and reason;” and of those thus worshipping, “between thirty and forty thousand were communicants in churches of different denominations.”¹ The Sabbath school was an established institution; and in it, thousands pursued the study of the Scriptures, the diffusion of which Bible societies earnestly strove to promote. For power in the pulpit, for efficiency in pastoral duty, and for devotion to the general welfare of the people before whom they “went in and out,” the ministry held worthily the continuous line of well-doing on which worthy predecessors had stood and worthy successors were to stand. The attempt, in a brief and general sketch like this, to characterize, by the selection of individual names, so large a body of comparatively local workers, would be unsatisfactory, and, probably, deemed invidious.

To aid in the preparation of young men for the ministry, a theological school under Calvinistic Baptist patronage was connected with the literary institution at New Hampton, and another under Congregational auspices was opened at Gilman-

¹ Whiton's New Hampshire, p. 202.

ton in connection with the academy there. The former was a more successful venture than the latter. But Newton was stronger than one, and Andover than the other. To assist the ministry in the inculcation and enforcement of the truth as held by the different denominations, as well as to enliven, energize, and unify denominational efforts and movements, resort was naturally had to the newspaper as an organ. Thus, the Congregationalists had their *Observer*; the Calvinistic Baptists, their *Register*; the Freewill Baptists, their *Morning Star*; the Christians, their *Journal*; the Unitarians, their *Monitor*; the Universalists, their *Star in the East*.

And so, with an aggregate of untold resultant good, the sects conscientiously sought "to save"—but each in its own way; except in special "revival" efforts, one of which Whiton, a Presbyterian clergyman of that day, and a candid historian, thus records: "By far the most extensive religious attention known in the state occurred in 1831. Unusual numbers resorted to the places of public instruction; meetings of three or four days' continuance were holden in most of the towns, in which christian ministers of different denominations united in the religious services with great harmony; and the salutary truths of the Bible were deeply impressed on a multitude of minds. The accessions to the churches were numerous; the moral aspects of society were in many places essentially improved; and a new impulse was given to the cause of Christian benevolence."¹

Now, all the while, the physician and the surgeon were upon their professional rounds for the relief of diseased or disabled humanity. The accurate diagnosis, the fit prescription, the deft handling of splint and scalpel, were not unknown in those days. The standard of professional merit was high, and kept so by an excellent medical college and a vigilant, efficient state society with county branches. One hundred, at least, of the medical practitioners were fellows of this society, and a large majority of them held diplomas as doctors of medicine. Successful professional achievement was the natural average result. The allopathic school of medicine had the field to itself; for the botanic, homœopathic, and eclectic systems had not yet appeared in strenuous contention.

¹ Whiton's New Hampshire, p. 200.

The medical practice of the period, though duly skilful, was mostly of that every day character to which publicity does not much attach, nor of which general history can take special note. No epidemic or pestilence smote the people, to render historically famous the names of physicians who might cope with it by successful methods. Narrowly, however, was so undesirable a test of medical ability escaped in 1832, when the cholera threatened New Hampshire from almost all points of the compass, and close at hand, but set not its dire foot upon her soil. However, the originality and nerve of Reuben Dimond Mussey, a native of the state and a professor in its medical college, enabled him to do honor to the profession and win fame for himself, by finding out new devices and operations in practical surgery. He bearded Sir Astley Cooper, by practically proving that "intra-capsular fractures could be united,"¹—an operation which that eminent British authority had pronounced impossible; and he "was the first person to tie both carotid arteries."¹ He was also the first, in a case of osteoid cancer, to remove successfully "the entire shoulder-blade and collar-bone."¹

In the ranks of the medical profession were found, as always have been, men fit to be summoned to important official positions in civil life. Notable among these were Joseph Hammons, Robert Burns, and James Farrington, who had seats in congress in course of the decade. In 1838, death summoned from the same ranks Josiah Bartlett, of Stratham, ripe in years and crowned with honors, civic and professional. He bore the name of his father, who signed the Declaration of Independence, was the first governor of New Hampshire under the amended constitution of 1792, and moreover, an eminent physician, who did much to promote the elevation of the medical profession in his state.

But the lawyer, the minister, the doctor,—each, ten chances to one, could and did remember gratefully the school-house of his elementary training. Such remembrance could and did inspire men and women of whatever calling or duty in life with the purpose to afford children and youth advantages like those which had been theirs. Hence, education was cherished.

¹ Appleton's Cyclopædia of Biography, Vol. 4, p. 471.

Hence, more than two thousand district schools were supported at the public expense. Hence, too, those elementary advantages were, through private contribution, supplemented by the instruction of seventy academic institutions, and crowned by that of Dartmouth college.

In the district schools of that day there was much of excellent instruction and wise management. There were men and women who knew how "to keep school"; how to make the most of a difficult position; how to awaken the dormant powers of thought and lead them forth into the light; how to inspire by character, as well as precept, an earnest, reverent desire for knowledge and for right and noble living. Improved and improving text-books contributed to the aggregate of accomplished good, as did also the more enlightened views of management, which, without sacrificing order, made discipline smack less of birch and more of conscience.

In the academic institutions and the college were eminent teachers who made of instruction a life-work—a profession. Such were Benjamin Abbott, rounding out, in 1838, his fifty years' service at Phillips Exeter; Cyrus Smith Richards, classicist, and Alphonso Wood, botanist, at Meriden; Charles Guilford Burnham, mathematician, at Pembroke; Dyer H. Sanborn, text-book author, at Sanbornton and elsewhere; Catherine Fiske, philanthropist, in her Ladies' Seminary, at Keene—one of the oldest institutions of the kind in the country; Edwin David Sanborn, Latinist and orator, Ira Young, astronomer, and Alpheus Crosby, Grecian, at Dartmouth college. And lastly, but outside of academy or college, diligently wrought Dudley Leavitt, "Teacher of Mathematics and Astronomy," according to the inscription upon the title-page of his "Farmer's Almanack," famous among hand-books.

Now, while the educational system of 1827 was accomplishing much good, progressive minds came to think that such addition should be made to it as would tend better to unify efforts in the cause, awaken, and keep awake, a due popular interest, as well as to collect such statistical and other information as would indicate desirable improvements. With this view, an attempt was made in the legislature of 1838 to establish a state

board of education ; but the bill was postponed to the next session—a session that never came for that measure, or any one like it, during the decade. In fact, Horace Mann's "tingle of reform," which was to pervade New England some time hence, had not yet fairly set in anywhere.

Newspapers,—those potent educators,—existed in creditable numbers, and creditably met their obligation to enlighten the public mind. In 1835, there were one hundred and thirty¹ printers in New Hampshire and one of these was a State officer, annually elected by the legislature. Twenty-two newspapers were published weekly, and sent out over the state, through three hundred post-offices or other channels of transmission ; bringing to thousands of homes their welcome contents of varied intelligence and editorial lucubration. Four of these have been already named, as the organs of religious denominations ; the remaining eighteen were attached, more or less closely, to the one or the other of the two political parties of that day—save the *Herald of Freedom*, which supported the anti-slavery cause. Among those classed as political, there were issued,—the *Patriot* and the *Statesman*, at Concord ; the *Gazette* and the *Journal*, at Portsmouth ; the *Gazette* and the *Enquirer*, at Dover ; the *Gazette* and the *Telegraph*, at Nashua ; the *Sentinel*, at Keene ; the *Eagle*, at Claremont ; the *Argus*, at Newport ; the *Republican*, at Haverhill ; the *Cabinet*, at Amherst ; and the *News-Letter*, at Exeter. Of these, the *New Hampshire Patriot* led in circulation and influence ; still retaining much of the prestige won for it, during the two preceding decades, by the remarkable ability of Isaac Hill. Such representative names as Cyrus Barton, John Prentiss, Edmund Burke, John Kelly, and Nathaniel Peabody Rogers, suggest a high average of capacity in the journalistic corps, and an editorial power competent to treat effectively pro and con, the important questions which occupied the public thought in that day and generation.

Those were the days when all "free, able bodied, white male citizens, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five" were embodied in the Militia, and liable with some exceptions, to do military duty.

¹ N. H. Register, 1836.

The exceptions included "officers and students of colleges, preceptors of academies, ministers of the gospel," and conditional exempts, or persons between forty and forty-five, "exhibiting their arms, *et cetera*, for inspection in May" of each year. The militia comprised an average force of nearly thirty thousand men, "armed and equipped"—save in special branches of the service,—with guns, spare flints, cartridge-boxes, canteens, priming wires, and brushes. This force was distributed into companies of infantry not in uniform and light-infantry uniformed, and those of cavalry, artillery, and riflemen provided with appropriate arms and equipment. These companies were compacted into thirty or forty regiments; the regiments, into five brigades; the brigades, into three divisions. Each division had its major-general; each brigade, its brigadier; each regiment, its colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, and adjutant; each company, its captain, lieutenant, and ensign. Of course the governor was commander-in-chief. He appointed the adjutant-general, who was removable only by legislative address; but the commissary-general was elected annually by the legislature. The office of quartermaster-general was sometimes held separately, and sometimes its duties were performed by the adjutant-general.

The law required an annual company training in May, and a regimental muster in September or October. These were occasions of considerable interest—especially the latter. Muster-day was one not only of exciting activity for officers and soldiers, in regiment assembled for parade, drill, evolution, inspection, and review, but of holiday enjoyment for a multitude of spectators, drawn from the region round to the muster field, by military operations within the sentry-line, and miscellaneous attractions without.

But the military spirit was declining through the ten years; though it was somewhat enlivened, here and there, by independent and uniformed companies of excellent drill and discipline. The sentiment, "The militia is the sure and safe defense of the State," could not be deeply appreciated by an infantry company, clad in the varied, sometimes dilapidated, garb of every day, provided with time-worn, weather-beaten equipments,

and bungling flint-locks, and nicknamed "String-beans" or "Slam-bang." Nor could the appeal, "In peace, prepare for war," be expected to stir profoundly the universal heart in that "piping time of peace," with only a "speck" of Indian Stream¹ war, of which Colonel Ira Young, of the twenty-fourth regiment, with Captain James Mooney's detachment of forty-two privates, and under the wise direction of Adjutant-General Joseph Low and Governor William Badger, could and did take care. Hence, in view of existing conditions, it is not strange that military ardor burned low.

The retrospective glance now finds Agriculture in its range. It was the leading pursuit, having between three and four times as many persons engaged in it as in all others—embracing trades, manufactures, commerce, and the professions. These were the farmers—"the yeomanry of the state," as Governor Hill called them. Their farms, of sizes proportioned to the means of the proprietors, and variously allotted to tillage, pasturage, and woodland, lay upon the hill-tops, along the slopes, or on the narrow levels of the rivers. There stood the homestead houses, substantial in material,—wood or, rarely, brick,—moderate in dimension, unpretentious in architecture, unadorned in finish,—even with outside painting sometimes left to the weather brush of time,—modest in inside furnishment—briefly, in all respects consulting beauty less than utility. There stood the barns of strong and simple structure, duly parted into space for fodder storage, and into stable, stall, and cote, and taken, by their relative length and tidiness, to indicate the relative worth of premises, as well as the thrift of their possessors. These main farm-buildings, and others appurtenant, with convenient appendages, inclusive of the tall well-sweeps, which, with simple leverage, brought up the dripping buckets of pure, cold water, often stood among the pleasant apple-trees, which, though mostly ungrafted, and sweeter in May blossoming than in October ripening, produced a fruitage sometimes toothsome, generally of various culinary use, and always yield-

¹ Judge Aldrich's recent exhaustive paper on the Indian Stream Controversy, published in the Society's Proceedings, renders unnecessary anything but allusion to the subject in this address.

ing abundant cider, then not made for vinegar alone. As these hasty glances fall mainly upon the farmers of average means and opportunities, mere allusion is here made to the fact, that, within or near populous centres, and sometimes elsewhere, more ambitious and elaborate homestead establishments existed, as allowable to their possessors, from more abundant means and superior advantages, inherited or self-acquired.

Upon the open acres of each homestead farm, the possessor applied the stress of labor. He found work, however, in the woodland, for the fireplaces were still open, and voracious of fuel; though the stove was coming in to serve economy at the expense of chimney-corner sentiment and associations. Sometimes, too, lumbering gave variety to his occupation, or the clearing of a bit of forest, with ax and fire, to enlarge his open lands. His cattle, sheep, and family horse grazed the pastures; the patient oxen, to help him at cart or plow; the healthy cows,—"gone after," at the day's decline, by barefoot boys or girls, and gathered at the barn,—to fill the brimming milk pails; the harmless sheep, to put on the thick, soft coats, of which each year their master's shears should fleece them; the steady horse, but not often of "blood," or "struck with speed," to give safe lift in work or ride.

Tillage was the farmer's chief dependence; and that, practised upon the reluctant granitic soil of New Hampshire, exacted hard toil; and not only hard but tedious; since, though the period was an inventive one, yet new devices to relieve and expedite agricultural labors were not much in vogue among our granite hills. These labors fell largely upon the tilling and harvesting of the staple cereals together with the potato, and upon securing the hay crop, the most profitable of all, but which, appropriating the advantages of former tillage, could mature under favoring suns and rains, without the husbandman's nurturing care. Occasionally, however, a field of azure-blossoming flax was seen, but serving for little more than a reminder that the day of "tow and linen" had virtually departed, vanishing before that of cotton. Here and there, the hop-vine clambered the straight-rowed poles, and shook out its ringlets of aromatic catkins to the September sun.

But a conservative selection of objects of culture, according to conditions of soil and climate, and other circumstances, was then,—as it must always be,—a requisite to success. Hence, when in the latter half of the decade, somewhat earnest attempts were made to enlarge the cultivation of the beet, with an eye to the manufacture of sugar, and beet sugar companies were accordingly incorporated in several counties,—the efforts to extend agricultural production in that direction came to little. Then, too, the cultivation of the mulberry tree, to secure its ultimate product, silk, was seriously essayed. Silk farms and silk companies existed; mulberry trees, silkworms, and cocoons, were much in people's thoughts, and some sporadic success flattered expectation. In 1835, the Stark sisters, granddaughters of the hero of Bennington, had, on their estate in Dunbarton, a mulberry orchard of twenty-five acres, and presented, at the fair of the American Institute held in New York, specimens of silk of their own manufacture, of excellent quality and in six colors, and were awarded the medal of highest honor. The next year, an enterprising lady¹ of Hopkinton, wearing a dress of silk, presented at the Merrimack County Agricultural Fair, a silk web of eleven yards; both web and dress having been spun and woven by her own hands, from the attenuated fibres of twenty thousand cocoons, wrought by as many silkworms from the foliage of mulberry trees of her own culture. But distrust of the adaptation of soil and climate to the growth of the mulberry, and the lack of competent labor in the delicate manufacture,—especially, in competition with the attractive wages in the woolen and cotton mills,—were among the causes that operated to give silk culture its quietus in New Hampshire.

Obedient to his lot, the farmer, daily and throughout the year, went forth to his labors in the field. There he held the plow, and sowed the wheat with steady stride and not ungraceful swing of brawny arm. There he planted the corn, and nurtured it by thrice hoeing. There he made hay and gathered it; mowing with deft sweep of scythe the luxuriant grasses, combing with hand rake each inch of the shorn hayfield, and with

¹ Mrs. Betty Kimball.

heavy pitchfork piling the made hay in "jag," and thence storing it in loft, or mow, or bay. There with sickle, he bent to the reaping of the white harvest of grain, later to be beaten out with twirling flail upon the threshing-floor, and gathered into his garner.

But the farmer—the husband and father—thus going out to his work, left within that home the faithful wife and mother, evenly and capably bearing with him the yoke of toil. Her care was over the children—in goodly number, not unlikely. She washed, on Monday, standing over the steaming tub, scrubbing, wringing, and using the soap made by herself from greasy savings "eaten up" by lye that "bore up an egg." She ironed and starched. On Saturday, or oftener, she baked the wheaten loaves in the big oven, specially heated with choice fuel. Every day, she cooked over the kitchen fire, boiling, broiling, frying; three times, she set and "cleared off" the wholesomely laden table, and once, at least, swept the frequented rooms, with broom sometimes extemporized from boughs of hemlock. At times she sewed, either in making new garments, or mending old, and more frequently she darned. Then, again, she spun, at the great wheel, the "rolls" of mill-carded wool, making the woof of a web that she would anon weave upon the heavy loom, with strong arms, and with fingers adroit at the shuttle. Then, too, at busy leisure, she knit the family hose, even into the night,—with or without the candle she herself had "dipped." Now she patiently churned, and cunningly manipulated the butter, to which the buttercups gave their color, and the rich grasses of stony pastures, their sweetness; and, moreover, by many a skilful operation, she transformed the curdling milk into delicious cheese that held the tint and virtue of the cream.

Occasionally,—as may here be noted,—the farmer found an off day, and, passing with horse and wagon over the highway along which lay his homestead,—a highway once, perhaps, a turnpike with its tolls,—carried to mill his grist of corn and grain, and returned home with meal and flour. Or, oftener, his load consisted of farm products to be bartered for articles of family use, at the country or village store—a frequent establish-

ment, and stocked by the wide-awake tradesman with more or less "of everything" from the "hogshead" of molasses to the sugar drop flavored with peppermint, or the lucifer match, just coming into use. Sometimes, however, "going to the store" was made unnecessary; for the peddler came with his jolting "cart" of miscellaneous freight, and stood before the door. Then the thrifty housewife could exchange for tin dipper, pail, or milk-pan, the contents of her "rag-bag"—contents, which, having supplied a present need, might yet come back to her from paper-mill and printing-office in the sheet of her favorite newspaper.

Now, though the tasks of the farmer and his wife were, in the main, exacting and toilsome, yet there was recompense in the independent competence thus secured. That competence was for the farmer an abiding security against "revulsion and revolution in property,"¹ sometimes fatally affecting the "other great interests—manufactures, commerce, and trade."² This was verified in the great financial crisis of 1837—that sequence, rather than result, of the Jacksonian policy of national finance. Over-extension of credit, headlong speculation in Eastern and Western lands, and other reckless ventures brought widespread disaster and bankruptcy, involving the downfall of many banks, and the suspension of specie payment by those still standing solvent, with the consequent hardship of money scarcity. But in all that storm of ruin, it is in evidence, that "there was less distress in the farming towns of New Hampshire than almost anywhere else throughout the country. The farmers were out of debt, and had some spare means laid by;" were, in fact, "substantially prosperous and thriving."

The farmer's gains, slow but sure, helped to quadruple the savings banks in ten years. They helped to support schools and academies, where his children were brought into the light of that knowledge which directs and exalts life. They helped to support that college, too, where the sons of the household might receive the more liberal training suited to their tastes and aspirations. They helped to build churches and maintain

¹ Governor Hill's Message, 1837.

² *Ibid.*

in them such ministrations as seemed most promotive of true religious thought and action. In fine, they helped to forward any effort for the good of individual or society that heart and reason concurred in pronouncing worthy.

The farmer found other compensations. The newspaper was a light in his household; as were also books—few, to be sure, but better read than if they had been more. Though he could not be a “traveled man,” journeying afar to see the world, yet, from the gradual condensation of population and intelligent enterprise at frequent centres, he found himself in those wider and more liberal relations which tended to elevate the view and broaden the horizon of his life. His pursuit was no bar to the official position to which his general capacity and the confidence of his fellow-citizens might invite him; a fact attested by the mention of such names as William Badger and John Page, governors; Thomas Chandler, John W. Weeks, Joseph M. Harper, Benning M. Bean, and Tristram Shaw—members of congress.

In fact, agriculture was steadily rising in estimation, and the most intelligent minds, of whatever calling, devoted thought to its improvement. To this end, Isaac Hill, after years of distinguished service as a political editor, United States senator, and governor of the state, issued the *Farmers' Monthly Visitor*—a welcome visitant indeed in many a farmer's home. A geological survey of the state was authorized largely in the interest of the farmers, and agricultural societies strove to encourage and stimulate the best agricultural effort. The farmers of New Hampshire, at that period, were, indeed, in a situation to appreciate the discernment of Andrew Jackson, and could largely appropriate his praise, when he remarked, on his visit in 1833, that “The people of the state ought to esteem it a blessing that their soil and climate are such as to make industry necessary, as it gives vigor to the physical constitution, activity to the mind, and contributes not only to the correct morals everywhere prevalent, but to the cherishing of that spirit of liberty so common in this part of the country.”

From her earliest civilized occupation, her waterfalls had predicted for New Hampshire manufacturing pre-eminence. Her

rapid streams, dashing from the mountain to the sea, while finding disport with the ancient saw- and grist-mills, and other simple works, reserved their strength for the modern factory. Modern manufacturing enterprise, in some of its manifold operations, including the woolen and cotton industries, had, by 1830, taken some advantage of the power offered by the main rivers and their tributaries; as at Dover, Great Falls, Exeter, Newmarket, Peterborough, Nashua, and Amoskeag. The Midas touch of development was beginning to be felt. During the ensuing ten years, manufacturing companies were incorporated,—twenty-eight in the years 1835 and 1836 alone,—along the Merrimack, Piscataqua, and Connecticut, with their tributaries, the Contoocook, Nashua, Newfound, Winnipiseogee, Pemigewasset, Cochecho, Bellamy, Lamprey, Swamscott, Ashuelot, Sugar, Mascomy, and Ammonoosuc.

In 1810, Benjamin Prichard, who, seven years before, had set up the spinning-jenny at New Ipswich,—the first in New Hampshire,—removed to Amoskeag, a hamlet of Goffstown, and there resumed his work in a mill built by himself and three partners. This was contemporaneous with the establishment of cotton spinning at Peterborough, but antedated by more than ten years the similar operations in Dover and Somersworth, and by nearly the same time those of Nashua. At Amoskeag, too, in 1819, the power-loom was first put to use in New Hampshire. The Prichard partnership became a little joint stock company, of a hundred shares, and was the origin of the great Amoskeag Manufacturing Company.

The pioneer organization, under the name of "The Amoskeag Cotton and Wool Factory Company," did not thrive, and in 1825 a large share of the property came into the hands of Oliver Dean and other Boston gentlemen, of "abundant means and great experience." Soon the light of prosperity shone upon the enterprise; Amoskeag became a flourishing village, and the sheetings, shirtings, and tickings of its mill became famous in the markets. The hydraulic capacity of the "mighty falls of 'Skeag" becoming more adequately appreciated, Boston capital was forthcoming to promote "manufacturing there upon an extended scale." Receiving a charter in 1831, "The Amoskeag

Manufacturing Company" devised a wise and comprehensive plan of operations. This was:—To erect mills, and run them on its own account; to furnish other companies with sites for their mills and boarding-houses, and with propelling power; "to put its lands into market in lots for houses, shops, and stores, and thus build up a manufacturing town," to the great enhancement of the value of its own property. The east bank of the Merrimack was decided to be more feasible than the west for the contemplated purposes, and so the most of the lands upon that side, which in "any contingency might be necessary," were secured.

To prevent troublesome competition, negotiation succeeded in merging with the Amoskeag stock the seventy-two shares of the Hooksett company; in securing a controlling interest in the locks and canals at Manchester and Hooksett; and finally, the merger, by the Concord Manufacturing Company at Garvin's Falls, of its stock of \$100,000 at \$100 a share. The long power canal was excavated, and other preparations were made. In 1838, the "Amoskeag" erected for a new company that year incorporated under the name of "The Stark Mills," a mill of 8,000 spindles, with six blocks of boarding-houses for the use of operatives. The next year the "Stark" went into operation, being the first to do so in Manchester proper, on the east bank of the river. And so, at the greatest fall of the Merrimack, had arisen the powerful rival of the prosperous Lowell, at the river's great eastward bend.

Meantime, the site of a town was regularly laid out with lines of streets, and reserved public squares. In October, 1838, occurred the Amoskeag Company's first public land sale. One hundred and forty-seven lots were sold, and building commenced in earnest. In January, 1839, was erected—and by a woman¹—the first house "built upon private account upon lands sold" by the "Amoskeag" within the limits of Manchester proper. Hereto attaches the history of a marvelous growth which belongs not here.

Though from the beginning to the end of our decade, the subject of Railroad Construction had more or less prominently

¹ Mrs. Anna Hayes of Londonderry.

engaged public attention in our state, yet the year 1839 went out with but six miles of finished iron road on New Hampshire soil. For a quarter of a century, the Middlesex canal, twenty-seven miles long and four feet deep, had connected Charles river at Boston, with the Merrimack above Lowell, thus opening to the capital of New Hampshire a continuous water route of eighty miles, through a series of dams, locks, and shorter canals, to overcome the rapids and falls of the river. The most difficult of these works was the canal at Amoskeag, constructed through the untiring, nay, heroic efforts of Samuel Blodgett, after he had reached his threescore years and ten. For a long time, this line of canals in the ownership or control of the "Middlesex," was the principal channel of heavy transportation between Boston and Concord; not, however, effectually competing in passenger carriage with the stages on the turnpikes and other roads. But at last the time came when the waterway of the "Middlesex" was suspended by the steam way laid out beside it. The proprietors of the canal might strenuously oppose, and remonstrate, as they did, declaring that "railways would never be the thing in a country so young as this," yet in 1830 the Boston & Lowell railroad received its charter, and in 1835 was opened for use.

Though there had been not a little conservative incredulity and opposition in New Hampshire, which found expression in meetings and newspapers, even to the extent of urging the suggestion, "Let it be demonstrated that railroads are adapted to this frosty climate," yet the legislature in 1835, incorporated two railroads—the Nashua & Lowell and the Concord; and the next year, two more—the Eastern and the Boston & Maine. On the 8th of October, 1838, the Nashua & Lowell railroad was opened for use from Lowell to a temporary station, less than a mile from the village of Nashua; and, on completion of the bridge over the Nashua river, and a permanent depot, the cars, on the 23d of December, commenced running to the village itself.

The talented Charles J. Fox, treasurer of the corporation, in his report for 1839, doubtless voiced the sentiments and expectations of all intelligent and progressive minds in the state, in

saying: "When we consider how much trade and travel have always been increased by increased facilities of communication, and that railroads are destined to be the great thoroughfares of our country, binding the East and the West, the North and the South, in stronger bonds of mutual interest, confidence, and kindness, we cannot doubt of the public and private advantages of these enterprises, nor of their success. The mines now unworked, the waterfalls unemployed, the farms untilled, the timber unused, the quarries unopened,—all that constitutes the material out of which enterprise creates wealth, and prosperity, improvement,—will be brought by these means into requisition, furnishing employment for thousands and food for tens of thousands. These improvements must and will go forward, developing the hidden resources of the state, furnishing markets for all kinds of produce, and making the interior an extended suburb of the city. . . . This is the first railroad in New Hampshire. Its opening will form an epoch in the history of our internal improvements, and its success, encourage further effort to increase and extend the facilities of communication between different sections of the state."

Of the fifteen miles of this "first" railroad, only six, as already mentioned, were within the limits of New Hampshire. In the first year, however, of the next decade, this number was to be swelled to fifty-three, by the opening of the Boston & Maine to Exeter, and the Eastern to Portsmouth; and the completion, in 1842, of the line from Nashua to Concord was to give the state eighty-eight miles.

While the railroad corporations were proceeding to act under their charters, the legislature, in the June session of 1836, made provision that damages for lands taken by them, might, upon petition of the aggrieved owner, be assessed by three commissioners in each county, appointed by the governor and council, the report of whom, returned to the court of common pleas and accepted, should be final. The law was attacked as arbitrary and unconstitutional; arbitrary, because the government undertook to provide a way for a private corporation to take property without the owner's consent; unconstitutional, because the owner might be excluded from the right of trial by jury. Gov.

Hill, in his message at the June session of 1836, presented the following liberal view of the question: "There are persons who are distrustful of railroads and other corporations for carrying forward public improvements, considering them to be monopolies. Guarded, as I hope all the charters of railroad corporations have been and may be, by a vigilant legislature, I cannot believe there is danger of monopoly or oppression from those corporations. The worst case of hardship to me seems to be that of cutting through the land of the owner without his consent, and awarding him not in all cases such damage as he asks, but such as disinterested persons shall assess. Hard as the case may be, this is a principle which has been in force from time immemorial, in laying out and constructing all turnpike roads and other public avenues, and it is one that the public good imperiously requires. It is the yielding of an individual right to secure an indispensable public accommodation; and the consideration which the individual receives for the sacrifice is to be found in that protection which government extends for his benefit."

At that session a new law was substituted, and the corporation or landowners were authorized to petition the court of common pleas for a committee to assess damages, with appeal to a jury. Thus the matter rested, but was not finally settled till the next decade, for there had been and continued to be a prejudice against railroad corporations; and many still believed that a railroad corporation was a private one, and could not be authorized to take land save upon the owner's terms. Consequently, in 1842, it was explicitly declared in section 1, chapter 142, of the Revised Statutes: "No railroad corporation shall take any land for the use of such corporation without the consent of the owner thereof."

But the railroad had come; it must have way. It could be barred by no statute. The dominant political party had its "Conservatives" and "Radicals." The former,—as well as the united Whig party,—were *for* recognizing the "public" character of these new thoroughfares, the latter, *against*. The fight went on with increasing intensity, till, in December, 1844, the legislature met the issue,—or got around it,—in the passage of "an act to render railroad corporations 'public' in certain cases,

and constituting a board of railroad commissioners," with competent authority in the premises.

Jealousy of corporate power, and of the undue extension of the doctrine of "vested rights," led, in 1835, to inserting in every act of incorporation, a section authorizing the legislature "to alter, amend, modify, or repeal the same at pleasure." The insertion of such a condition became a party question. The Democrats claimed that they consented to the creation of corporations from motives of public good, and insisted that the power which made them could afterwards control them, or even uncreate or repeal them. They charged the Whigs with not only approving of their creation, but with insisting upon their entire independence of the creating power, and thus supporting corporations or monopolies, in opposition to the power of the government or the rights of the people.¹

In 1837, stringent and wordy resolutions on this subject were introduced in the house by Mr. Samuel Swazey, of Haverhill. They declared it "to be lawful and competent for the legislature to alter, amend, or abrogate any act of incorporation heretofore granted, or which might hereafter be granted, or which was, or might be, found to exist within the territorial jurisdiction of the state, whenever, in the opinion of the legislature, the public good might require such alteration, amendment, or abrogation,—any law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding: provided that in case of the abrogation of any act of incorporation hitherto granted, not containing a declaration of the right of such abrogation, if the personal rights of individuals were injuriously affected, the legislature should make such provision, upon due information thereof, for compensating such individuals for said injuries, as justice and equity might demand."

The resolutions, having been earnestly supported in debate by the mover, and Mr. Thomas P. Treadwell, of Portsmouth, and Mr. Josiah Quincy, of Rumney, and as earnestly opposed by Mr. Ira Perley, of Concord, Mr. Thomas M. Edwards, of Keene, and Mr. Henry A. Bellows, of Littleton, were passed by a heavy majority, and the senate concurred. It was argued by

¹ Democratic address, published in *N. H. Patriot*, Oct. 10, 1836.

the opposition: That the practical tendency of such legislation was to create the impression that the dominant party was so hostile to corporations, that it was unsafe, from fear of inimical legislation, to invest in enterprises calculated to develop the resources and improve the advantages with which New Hampshire was endowed by nature. It was a profitless, not to say dangerous, obtrusion of abstract theories which was not likely to find opportunity for verification. It was a species of bugbear legislation. In itself, the theory might be true, but the expediency of harping upon it was much to be doubted. The insisting too strenuously upon the principle that the legislature was only for one year, and that its acts might be abrogated at pleasure by a subsequent one, tended to render capital somewhat ticklish as to investment under corporate combination.

In the June session of 1836, the "soulless corporations,"—using the favorite appellation of certain opponents,—received another legislative nudge in a bill introduced by Mr. Treadwell, of Portsmouth, and intended to subject the private property of stockholders to the payment of the debts of the corporation. It received reference to the judiciary committee, but no further action was taken during that session. A bill to incorporate the Sullivan County bank, at Claremont, passed the house, but not the senate, containing a clause, moved by Mr. Zenas Clement, of that town, making the private property of the stockholders liable, to the amount of their stock, for the debts of the corporation in case the corporate property should be insufficient for their payment. At the second, or fall session, the judiciary committee, by Mr. Jared W. Williams, of Lancaster, reported a resolution indefinitely postponing the bill of the previous session,—or one similar,—and the recommendation was adopted by yeas, 106, to nays, 105.

When the senate would insist upon personal liability amendments to sundry acts incorporating manufacturing companies, the house refused concurrence, and the bills were lost. Even in the case of the "Turkey River Manufacturing Company," though the proposed grantees were willing to accept a charter with personal liability, the house would not concur in imposing that condition, being unwilling to yield the principle for which

it had been contending through the session. In the earnest debate, Mr. Treadwell, of Portsmouth, and Mr. John L. Hadley, of Weare, favored the amendment proposed by the senate, while Mr. Joel Eastman, of Conway, Mr. Edwards, of Keene, Mr. Josiah Stevens, of Newport, and Mr. John J. Gilchrist, of Charlestown,—the first two Whigs and the last two Democrats,—opposed it, and expressed the views of the majority.

During the next three years the principle, denounced by its opponents as “suicidal to the interests of the state,” made no headway in legislation. Whigs were solidly opposed to it; Democrats were divided in opinion. And so this question of making the individual liability of stockholders in corporations commensurate with that of partners in partnerships, went over unsettled into the next decade, and would not down for years in the politics of the state. In 1842, the principle was fully embodied in statute enactment; but in 1846 that enactment was repealed, and the liability of stockholders reasonably limited in a law which the experience of half a century has found satisfactorily promotive of public security, and of the faithful fulfillment of corporate trusts.

National affairs, during the period under review, were of stirring moment, for Andrew Jackson was President during the first six years, and his positive, aggressive, unbending policy sanctioned his sobriquet, “Old Hickory,” and made significant his oath, “By the Great Eternal.” State parties bore names from national relations,—Democratic Republicans or Democrats, National Republicans, or after 1834, Whigs.

Jackson’s strong and original administration had enemies,—the Whigs; it also had friends,—the Democrats. Of friends, none were stronger, steadier, or more enthusiastic than those of New Hampshire. “Hurrah! for Jackson” meant nowhere else so much genuine devotion,—hero-worship, indeed,—as when ringing among the Granite hills. Two gifted sons of New Hampshire were in the inner circle of his intimate advisers,—Levi Woodbury and Isaac Hill. He tested the popular confidence and admiration in his visit to the capital of our state in 1833,—a visit that found a welcome only equaled in enthusiasm by that accorded to Lafayette in 1825.

Throughout the decade, his supporters and those of Van Buren, his successor, carried by heavy majorities all branches of the state government and the entire congressional delegations. Every annual election was a testimonial of confidence in the national administration, with the Democratic gubernatorial standard-bearers, Harvey, Dinsmoor, Badger, Hill, and Page, against the National Republican or Whig antagonists, Upham, Bartlett, Healey, and Wilson,—or no combined opposition, as in 1833, 1834, 1836, and 1837.

In all Jackson's proceedings to divorce the government from banking: his veto of the bill to re-charter the United States bank; the death-blow, aimed on his "own responsibility" at that powerful institution, in removing the government deposits to the state banks; the treasury circular, trying to stem with gold the ruinous flood of paper money; in all the consequent fearful assaults of foes in congress and out, New Hampshire stood by her favorite President.

When, on the 10th of December, 1832, he issued that proclamation which was the death-warrant of anti-tariff nullification, a resolution approving of the President's course promptly and unanimously passed the New Hampshire legislature, only eleven days later. This was one of the few acts of Andrew Jackson that did not encounter partisan opposition in this state or elsewhere; this struck the key of the Union, and vibrated in all hearts. James Wilson, Jr., of Keene, the eloquent opposition leader, voicing the sentiment of his party, said: "On the doctrine of nullification there is but one sentiment in this section of the country. It should every where meet decided disapprobation. If argument can destroy it, it is destroyed. If argument cannot, force must."

The President's "heroic" financial measures naturally produced some financial disturbance, upon which much stress was laid by the U. S. Bank, and its friends, in their efforts to force a re-charter. "Distress petitions" poured in upon the President and congress. Some of this "distress" was probably manufactured for political effect, and, at any rate, was not much felt in New Hampshire, whose farmers needed little bank accommodation.

Governor Badger, in his first message, in June, 1834, suggested to the legislature to express its views as to the struggle going on between the President and the United States bank. Such expression was soon and very decidedly given in a series of resolutions, offered by Mr. Charles F. Gove of Goffstown, which, after an able discussion, were passed in the house by a vote of 163 to 62; and in the senate, unanimously and without debate. These resolutions not only approved of the President's course respecting the bank, but instructed the senators in congress to vote for expunging the record of the resolution passed by the U. S. senate on the 28th day of March, 1834, in the following terms: "That the president, in the late executive proceeding in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the constitution and laws." On the 23d of June, Mr. Hill of New Hampshire presented the resolutions in the senate. But the bank majority in that body, claiming that such presentation was "irregular and unprecedented," summarily tabled them on motion of Mr. Webster of Massachusetts. The senate subsequently refused to take them from the table for the purpose of giving them the usual direction of reference, thus virtually refusing even to receive the resolutions of instruction of a sovereign state.

In 1835 the national public debt had been totally extinguished, and a surplus still remained in the national treasury. Congress in 1836 passed an act to *deposit* with the states all of that surplus found on hand, January 1, 1837, except \$5,000,000; this deposit to be held till recalled by the general government. President Jackson, who was opposed to outright distribution, gave his assent to the deposit, though with misgiving and subsequent regret. The amount thus to be disposed of was \$35,000,000, and, upon the prescribed ratio of representation in house and senate, New Hampshire's share was about \$800,000.

It remained for the state to decide whether or not it would accept the trust, and what should be done with it, if accepted. These questions came before the legislature at the November session of 1836, and engaged for seven weeks its earnest deliberation and able discussion. Gov. Hill, in his message, favored

the acceptance of the deposit, and wisely recommended that the state should invest it, and use the proceeds in paying state expenses, to the relief of state taxation; or should loan a portion of it, on easy interest, for the promotion of enterprises of public value. A bill to accept met some opposition, led by Mr. Thomas P. Treadwell, of Portsmouth, but early passed the house by 204 yeas to 7 nays.

The bill for the disposal of the accepted deposit was not so easily agreed upon. As it came from the select committee it had provided for the deposit of the money with such towns as might vote to receive it and pledge faith for the safe keeping and return of the same, on the basis of the new apportionment of public taxes, "to be made at the present session of the legislature." Mr. George W. Nesmith, of Franklin, proposed an amendment basing the distribution upon the number of ratable polls. Much debate ensued, in which the mover was supported by Mr. Joel Eastman, of Conway, and others, while Mr. Charles G. Atherton, of Nashville, and Mr. John J. Gilchrist, of Charlestown, were prominent in opposition. Finally, on the 30th of December, after reference to a special committee, the bill passed the house, with provision for a compound ratio of division, one half on the apportionment of public taxes, and one half on the ratable polls. The senate refused to concur; Mr. Nathaniel S. Berry, of Hebron, advocating a division on ratable polls, and Messrs. Noah Martin, of Dover, and John Woodbury, of Salem, one on valuation. The bill passed with the latter provision, and with another forbidding towns to distribute it among the polls; and, having gone to a committee of conference, it was reported on the 12th of January, 1837, by Mr. Ira A. Eastman, of Gilmanton, with a recommendation that the division be made, "one half on the apportionment, and the other half on the polls, as returned at the present session." The bill, as reported, passed both houses and received the signature of the governor, rather in deference to the judgment of the legislature than in obedience to his own convictions, for he knew that a mistake had been made in depositing the money with the towns. The reception and disposal of the revenue had not been made a party issue, the Whigs and a large majority of the Democrats having

given it support. But the latter did not let the occasion pass without expressing, in resolutions, their opposition to the protective tariff alleged to be the cause of the overplus of revenue.

Preparations were made to receive the "proffered boon," and the state treasurer, Zenas Clement, was required to furnish a bond of \$200,000. During the year 1837 three instalments were received, each \$223,028.93—the third, or July payment, being payable in bank bills of the state. The October instalment was suspended by congress till January 1st, 1839,—in fact, was indefinitely postponed; for it was wisely decided, in view of the condition of the treasury, that "money should not be borrowed by the government for the sake of making a deposit with the states."

Portsmouth, for a little while, refused to have anything to do with her share, but relented in course of the year. Some of the towns permitted the state treasurer to lend their shares on their account. Others lent their shares to individuals or corporations. Thus various disposition of the principal was made; while the interest was variously applied to ordinary town purposes, to constituting school funds, or in other ways. From the June session of 1837 to that in 1841, the constant tendency of legislation was to turn the *deposit* into *absolute distribution*. Finally, at the last date, the legislature authorized towns to make such disposition of the public money deposited with them as by a major vote they might determine. And so was finally settled the vexed question of the Surplus Revenue. The money found a various disposition, but never accomplished the good it might have, had it not been distributed, in the first instance, to the towns.

Another notable measure was adopted at this session of 1836, which was indicative of the prevalent distrust of banks and their paper money. It took the form of a bill which, having been presented at the June session and reported by a special committee to this, prohibited the issuing of bank bills of the denomination of one dollar after July 1, 1837, and their circulation after January 1, 1838. It also forbade other bills of denomination less than three dollars to be issued after July 1, 1838, or circulated after the lapse of one year. A penalty of

ten dollars was also provided for passing, after the first day of July, 1837, one dollar bills of banks out of the state.

This measure was in line with the hard-money policy of the national administration. In December, 1835, Levi Woodbury, secretary of the treasury, declared the circulation of small bills to be "an evil to the community, which should be universally discountenanced," and this declaration was followed by action tending to prevent the issuance of paper money of denominations less than five dollars.

It was asserted in support of the measure, that there was "not one specie dollar in bank, for every ten paper dollars in circulation—the great mass of circulating medium"¹ being founded "on credit and not on capital;" that "this credit" could answer "the purpose of substantial capital" only until it should "suit the interest or caprice of those" who managed banks "to make money scarce, as it had been plenty, or until overtrading on paper credit should have blown up the bubble to bursting;" that "if gold and silver could be substituted for paper,—or even if one half of the ordinary circulation could be in metal instead of paper,—it would be impossible for the managers of banks to control the currency, and make money plenty or scarce at pleasure;" and that, since of "two circulating mediums, the one of lesser value crowds out" the one of greater, "specie could not circulate" in connection "with paper of the same denomination." Hence, it was urged that "every practicable step should be taken to introduce specie;" since, if the lower denominations of bank notes should be inhibited, metallic currency would come in to supply their place;" and "with hard money once introduced, banking would assume a different shape, and trade and business would have substantial foundation."

In opposition to this hard-money scheme, were earnestly urged, among other considerations, the danger and general inexpediency of such financial tampering, and the injustice done the banks and their investors. At the next session of the legislature, in June, 1837, petitions were presented, requesting suspension or repeal; but the petitioners had leave to

¹ Gov. Hill's Message, 1836.

withdraw by a majority, in the house, of nearly two to one. The measure was, however, destined to signal failure. The financial crisis, impending when it was enacted, and bursting upon the country before any of its provisions became of force, and the isolation of the "new departure," in having the coöperation of no neighboring state, tended to frustrate the purpose of its authors. It increased financial stringency. Speculation sought profit by collecting specie and sending it out of the state, replacing it by the depreciated bills of other states. With the silver dollars disappeared also the half dollars and the quarters, the place of the fractional metal being taken by fractional paper from abroad. To "make change" became a difficult operation. Hence, necessity became stronger than statute, the law was generally disregarded, and, in 1838, was suspended for two years. Banks were required to redeem in specie any bills made and issued by them, of any denomination less than five dollars. This provision made money somewhat easier, as it rendered possible the obtaining of specie in small amounts when absolutely needed. In 1840, the Small Bill Law was suspended for two years more, and remained suspended "until dead;" presenting a remarkable case of continuous "suspended animation" from birth to death.

It only remains to note, in connection, the reasonable enactment of 1837, prohibiting banks from having in circulation at any one time, bills to a greater amount than four fifths of their capital stock actually paid in; and providing also for a board of bank commissioners, with large powers of examination and process. The first to serve upon that board were Jonathan Harvey, John Chadwick, and James Clarke.

Early in the decade, the question of Slavery took hold of popular thought in New Hampshire, with a grasp destined to grow firmer and closer till "the great moral, social, and political evil" perished in the lurid years of the third decade beyond. Neither of the political parties took kindly to abolition agitation. Love for the Union, in itself so noble, tended to blind the heart of the North to the great fact that liberty was the only safe concomitant of union, and that, with the latter, slavery could not permanently coëxist.

Hence, such words as these from the powerful pen of Nathaniel P. Rogers, put forth in 1835, in the columns of the *Herald of Freedom*,—already named as the anti-slavery, or abolition, newspaper organ in the state,—seemed almost sacrilegious to the average conservative mind of the period: “People are thinking for themselves. They begin to see, dear as the Union is to them [that] there are other things still dearer. They begin to see that the same God that commands them to preserve the Union commands them also ‘to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free.’ They begin to see that the vulture which is preying upon the heart of this nation, which is battenning on our religion, and our civil and political institutions, is far more to be dreaded than the vague shadow of the lion which selfish fears have conjured up in the path of duty. They begin to see that whatever evils may attend emancipation, horrors three-fold wait upon the continuance of the accursed system of slavery. They love the Union as does every Abolitionist. They heartily desire its continuance; but for the sake of it they would not compromise the sacred and inalienable rights of humanity, the everlasting and immutable demands of God. The question has not yet arrived, whether we will have slavery or disunion. . . . At present, we have only to go forward with Christian kindness and forbearance, and Christian fortitude, knowing that the cause of righteousness shall prevail, not through human strength, but through the power of the living God.”

The relative positions of the Abolitionists and their most decided opponents may be illustrated by offsetting the denunciatory words of Charles G. Atherton, an able Democratic leader, uttered before a convention in January, 1836. He said: “Every one who hears me will, I am confident, coincide in the sentiment that it is the duty of all who have the welfare of their country at heart, to discountenance and check on all occasions, and by every legal method in their power, all measures the design of which, or the direct tendency of which, is to produce a dissolution of the Union. There have arisen among us a few wicked or misguided men, whose course has this direct

tendency. Reasoning, entreaty, and expostulation are lost on the Abolitionists. They have scoffed at warning, and despised reproof; they have insulted a community which has patiently borne their outrages on its intelligence; they have slandered, with fiery malignity, the best and purest of our public men, and trampled, with ferocious sacrilege, on the ashes of the benefactors of our country. . . . With the spirit of demons, rather than of men, they are willing to persist in acts which may result in servile insurrection, and in scenes of horror which humanity shudders even to imagine. . . . They say they are prompted by regard for Christianity. . . . Admit that their motives are good, still their delusions have all the tendencies, and may produce all the effects, of the most heinous wickedness."

The abolitionists,—or those persons with whom anti-slavery was the predominant idea, were not numerous in our state; but, though few, they had that conscientious conviction of "the truth in them" which, persistently enforced by fit argument and effort, could not fail ultimately, if slowly, to work conviction in many others. The combined voice of agitation in newspaper, lecture-room, conventions, and anti-slavery societies, set many to pondering seriously these things in their hearts. That agitation was not a lullaby, putting to sleep the conservative conscience with gentle euphemisms; it was, on the contrary, an alarm cry, clear and precise,—though sometimes harsh,—that always waked up the hearer. The opponents of abolitionism could, and did, give hard blows, and call hard names; hence there was excitement; but in it the public conscience was by degrees aroused. Friction elicited truth, albeit with fire. There was a decided warming up by 1835, and not much cooling down for years. Slavery was becoming,—as Henry Hubbard, strongly anti-abolition, declared in the United States senate,—“the all-absorbing subject.” Those promulgating anti-slavery opinions were audaciously aggressive, and mercilessly exposed the iniquity of the slave system and its incompatibility with the maintenance of free institutions. Their opponents indignantly showered upon their doctrines the epithets, “fanatical,” “fearful,” “fratricidal;” while they bitterly denounced “the unholy

crusade against the South" as tending "to involve the nation in the undesirable horror of a servile war," and to produce "the inevitable result of promiscuous amalgamation."

The years '35 and '36 were marked by attempts to check anti-slavery effort, and to silence its free speech, by violent intimidation, both with and without the forms of law. The outrage upon William Lloyd Garrison, of the *Liberator*, dragged through the streets of Boston with the rope of mob violence about his neck, essentially exemplifies the anti-abolition spirit, of the time, in its intimidating phase; as it existed, too, even among the free hills of New Hampshire.

So, one August day in '35, after much resolving and threatening, three hundred men of Canaan and the towns round about, convened in Canaan Street, with ninety-five yokes of oxen, but without law or license, to do a negrophobic deed. Straightway, the Noyes academy,—in which, under the auspices of the New England Anti-Slavery society, students, without distinction of color, were allowed co-education,—was lifted bodily upon its shoes," and moved half a mile away to its selected dumping-place. The dumping duly accomplished, the teacher ordered out of town, and the pupils scattered, there was rest in Canaan and the neighborhood, from the fear of "amalgamation." Though the establishment of such an institution, in defiance of the known hostile sentiment of the community, may have been indiscreet, yet philanthropic indiscretion is infinitely better than vindictive lawlessness.

And now, once more, in the same August, George Thompson,—lately a member of the English Parliament, and an effective champion of the recent emancipation in the British West Indies, and whom Lord Brougham pronounced to be "the most eloquent man he ever heard,"—spoke in Concord, and stirred the wrath of the opponents of anti-slavery agitation. On the evening of the 3d of September, they held a large meeting, which was addressed by Gov. Hill, Ichabod Bartlett, and others. Resolutions, strongly condemnatory of the Abolitionists and their sayings and doings, were adopted. These, while deprecating "all riotous assemblies" and "violent proceedings," expressed "indignation and disgust at the introduction of foreign emissaries

ries * * * traversing the country and assailing its institutions." This thrust at Mr. Thompson, already the object of bitter obloquy in the columns of the anti-abolition newspapers,—obloquy, rounded off not unfrequently with significant allusions to the "coat of tar and feathers,"—was hardly adapted to enforce suggestions of "law and order."

The Abolitionists were now, in turn, aroused. On the morning of the 4th of September, they notified, by hand-bill, a meeting to be held at the court-house, on the evening of that day, at which George Thompson and John G. Whittier would be present, and "where the principles, views, and operations of the Abolitionists would be explained, and any questions proposed, answered." Thereupon, trouble began to brew. Chairman Robert Davis, of the board of selectmen, warned George Kent and other prominent Abolitionists that "a popular tumult is threatened." The constable was ordered to lock up the town hall; and the court-house, in the same building, was in like manner secured by the sheriff.

At evening, friends and foes of "abolition" gathered about the appointed place of meeting—to find the doors shut! Ere long, three men approached, one of whom—those "on mischief bent" were quite sure—must be the "incendiary Thompson"! The three were received with insulting clamor, emphasized by handfuls of "dirt and gravel," as the record has it, and being hotly pursued through sundry streets, narrowly escaped serious injury. Two of the men were Joseph H. Kimball, of the *Herald of Freedom*, and John G. Whittier, the Quaker poet, but the third was *not* George Thompson. *He* did not appear—and fortunately, it may be presumed, both for his own personal safety, and for the good name of Concord, quite badly enough smirched by other features of the "disorderly" affair. But the howling mob of two hundred, turning from their false scent, now put themselves upon the track of Thompson, and after a mile or so of keen and noisy search, found him not—even at the house of George Kent, where he was entertained. The game was up, Thompson was safe, no "tarring and feathering" of the "foreign emissary," that night. The baffled pursuers appeased their disappointment by parading an effigy through the streets,

and afterwards burning it in the state house park, with display of fireworks and discharge of cannon.

There came no whisper of prophecy to those engaged in the scenes of that night, or to those sympathizing with them, to tell what miraculous revenges Time would ere long work: Slavery utterly destroyed, the Union gloriously saved; Whittier, the Abolitionist, pelted with dirt, now wearing the poet's immortal chaplet of fame, and singing the requiem of Southern oppression; Thompson, revisiting the country,—now free America indeed—received with acclaim, where he had been persecuted as unto death, heard gladly in New Hampshire's capital, and honored as the welcome guest of Abraham Lincoln, the great emancipator.

Again, during the same year, the members of the anti-slavery society of Sanbornton and Northfield would fain listen to a lecture from George Storrs, a Methodist minister, then employed as agent by the American Anti-Slavery Society. Though the selectmen of Northfield had, at the suggestion of certain gentlemen resident at the "Bridge," issued warning to avoid trouble by dispensing with the meeting, yet those interested saw no good reason for desisting from their purpose, and an audience had convened at the Methodist church on the 14th of December. The services had commenced, and the lecturer was on his knees in prayer, when Samuel Tilton suddenly appeared, with menacing face, in the pulpit. Laying his hand heavily upon the suppliant's shoulder, he loudly proclaimed the arrest of "George Storrs, as a vagrant and idler," and ordered the accused to appear at once with him as sheriff, before a legal tribunal. Compelled thus abruptly to break off his petition to the Almighty for the Southern master and his slave, Mr. Storrs accompanied the sheriff into the presence of a justice of the peace, in whose court he was tried "for his *anticipated* anti-slavery lecture"—as Rogers happily puts it—and, after some delays, was discharged.

Nothing daunted, however, Mr. Storrs accepted the invitation of the Pittsfield anti-slavery society,—extended through Jonathan Curtis and John Richardson, respectively pastors of the Congregational and Baptist churches, to deliver two lectures in that town, on the 31st of March, the Fast Day of 1836. On

his arrival, a letter was handed him, signed by thirty-seven citizens, and warning him against addressing the people "upon the dangerous and all-exciting subject of the immediate abolition of slavery in the Southern States." He did not hesitate, however, to meet his engagements, and lectured, in the morning, in the Baptist church. Joining on his knees in the concluding prayer led by Mr. Curtis, he was summarily arrested by a deputy sheriff. The latter had rushed into the pulpit, and interrupting the prayer, had announced that he held a warrant of arrest, and that Mr. Storrs must go with him; adding an impatient "Come," while giving him a "shake," to hasten compliance. Mr. Storrs demanded the reading of the warrant, which was addressed to Reuben T. Leavitt, a justice of the peace, and complained of "George Storrs, a transient person," as "a common railer and brawler, against the peace and dignity of the State." The sheriff declined bail offered by Caleb Merrill and others, and took Mr. Storrs off with him in search of magistrate Leavitt, who opened court at half past twelve. After responding "not guilty," Mr. Storrs requested postponement till the next morning; but Moses Norris, Jr., counsel for the prosecution, objected, and the request was denied. The magistrate, however, adjourned court for an hour and a half, for dinner, and, with some reluctance, allowed the respondent to go on bail for that time. This respite Mr. Storrs did not spend at dinner, but took advantage of it to get in a lecture at the Congregational church, where he was welcomed by a large audience. Remarking upon the Scripture text read in the opening service—"Remember those that are in bonds as bound with them"—he good-naturedly reminded his hearers that he was literally in bonds with the oppressed at that moment,—being "under bonds for appearance in court in an hour and a half." He did not forfeit his bail; he appeared in court, but made no defense. Mr. Norris supported the prosecution; and the justice, taking the night "to think of it," pronounced, the next morning, the following uniquely ridiculous sentence: "That the said George Storrs be committed to the house of correction in said town of Pittsfield, there to be put to hard labor for the term of three months, and pay the costs of prosecution taxed at fifteen dollars and sixty-five cents."

Of course, Mr. Storrs took appeal to the higher court, where, at the ensuing September term, the prosecuting party was called without response; and the attorney-general knowing nothing about the case, it was dismissed.

The exactions made by the slaveholding South upon the free North became more and more cruel. Anti-slavery societies and publications must be suppressed; the "peculiar institution" must have more territory; it must be protected in the District of Columbia, and so on—such were some of its demands with their climax of wickedness capped by an infamous "gag," whereby all petitions, remonstrances, or memorials touching the "dangerous topic" of slavery, must be laid upon the table of the nation's house of representatives, without discussion, reference, or even reading. And that an Atherton, of free New Hampshire, should have associated his otherwise fair name in odious prominence with the atrocious outrage upon the sacred right of petition is a painful historical illustration of the fearfully debauching power of Southern slavery over the Northern mind.

These growing pro-slavery exactions of the "Southern brethren," with anti-slavery agitation constantly directing public attention in the North to the evils of the "peculiar institution," greatly embarrassed the dominant or Democratic party in the state, by putting it upon an ugly defensive, and keeping it there. Its position, however, it pluckily held, against an opposition comprising Whigs opposed to the general Democratic policy, state and national; conservative anti-slavery men, alarmed at the aggressions of the slave power, and affiliating, at the polls, with those inclined to resist them; and the Abolitionists, though not as partisans, or appealing to the ballot. The Whigs, being in the minority and naturally wishing to secure party ascendancy, made the most they could of anti-slavery sympathy, especially in the last two years of the decade, when they fought a vigorous fight against the Democracy, who "set their faces as flint" against "all abolitionism." James Wilson, Jr., the gubernatorial candidate, against Governor Hill, in '38, and John Page, in '39, hesitated not to declare strongly for the abo-

lition of slavery in the federal district, and as strongly against the annexation of Texas with slavery, and other pro-slavery schemes. These views he vigorously enforced upon the stump, but without captivating victory for himself and his party. Slavery had not yet become a paramount issue in politics.

Another subject much occupied the public thought in this period. The spirit of Temperance reform had come from the preceding decade into this. It had been aroused and was kept awake by concerted action, by such effective productions, as Jonathan Kittredge's "Address on the Effects of Ardent Spirits," already circulated, and then circulating, by thousands of copies over the land, and by other propagandic means. What manner of spirit it was, is evinced by these two sentences from a stirring appeal put forth in 1830, by Andrew Rankin, secretary of the New Hampshire Temperance society: "Let New Hampshire come out boldly and manfully, and publish the death-warrant of that monster which has exhausted her energies, stolen her treasures, corrupted her morals, shed her blood, and slain so many of her sons. Let her declare herself free from the greatest abomination that ever cursed the world."

The purpose was to discountenance even moderate drinking; and the pledge of total abstinence was sought. Temperance societies, town and county, existed in large numbers; temperance periodicals were issued; temperance lectures were delivered, and temperance sermons preached. Women engaged zealously in the work of reform, and had their special societies. In one of these, holding its annual meeting in Concord, on the Fourth of July, 1835, eighty-eight of its one hundred and fifty members being unmarried, it was resolved, "That we will form no matrimonial connection with any man who drinks ardent spirit, or even wine." In 1836, a resolution of the State Temperance society declared "total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors, as a beverage, to be the only sure and permanent basis for temperance effort."

License was then the principle of temperance legislation, as it always had been; and statutory regulation of the sale of intoxicants, was, as it always had been, and probably always

will be, under any system, especially subject to evasion and violation. Thus, one finds the young lawyer, Mr. John P. Hale, of Dover, on the third day of the June session of 1832, presenting a resolution for the appointment of a committee "to inquire what, if any, alterations might be necessary in the law of 1827, regulating retailers and licensed houses," and speaking in this wise: "This is a subject which I approach with diffidence, for it is one upon which the public mind is feelingly alive. Strenuous exertions have been made, and are now making, by philanthropic individuals, not only in this state, but throughout the country, for the suppression of intemperance, which all acknowledge to be a great and crying evil. Appeals have been made to legislative bodies to interpose the strong arm of the law, in aid of these efforts. We have on our statute book laws against the retailing of ardent spirits, yet they are openly and unblushingly violated. During the last session of the superior court in Strafford county, huts for selling ardent spirits were erected on the right hand and the left of the very doors of the court-house. During the two days which the legislature has been in session in this town, the law has been violated, probably in the presence of every member of the house. There is something wrong somewhere. The resolution simply proposes an inquiry into the causes of an evil which, no one can deny, exists."

The temperance legislation of those days was conservative; there being reluctance "to coerce the public morals" by legislative enactment. The most stringent law passed was that of 1838, imposing a fine of not more than \$50 and not less than \$25 for each offense of selling, without license from the selectmen, wine, rum, gin, brandy, or any spirits in any quantity, or any mixed liquors, any part of which is spirituous. Sterner restrictions were urged, from time to time, by zealous friends of the reform. Thus, in 1835, the Young Men's State Temperance convention, by resolution, denounced "licensing the sale of intoxicating liquors" as "throwing over immorality the shield of legislative sanction," and as "inconsistent with the good of society." That declaration embodied the prohibition principle; but in legislation the conservative view prevailed, that a single step in a direction that should be deemed an invasion of indivi-

dual rights would do more harm than good. Whether that view had just application to the case in hand or not, the fact remains that the combined temperance effort of the period won considerable advantage over the alcoholic evil.

It would be pleasant to record, to the honor of our decade, the complete wiping of that blotch of cruel absurdity—Imprisonment for Debt—from the statute book of New Hampshire. In 1830, Governor Harvey, in his message, urged the desirableness of such action, being the first to make, officially, the sensible and humane recommendation. But to procure immediate abolishment was impossible. The rigors of the system were, however, somewhat mitigated by the provision made in 1827 for the intervention of commissioners of jail delivery, by making the limits of the jail yard those of the county, and by exempting women from arrest on mesne process, or on executions founded upon contracts. So the system lingered, and Governor Page was impelled, in 1839, to renew the recommendation of his predecessor in 1830, to abolish it, “reserving imprisonment as a punishment for fraud or crime, and leaving the credit of the individual to depend wholly upon his honesty and ability, instead of the power of the creditor to deprive him of his liberty.” But the suggestion was not immediately heeded, and the “relic of barbarism” lived just long enough to breathe its last gasp at the opening of the next decade.

The Abolition of Capital Punishment was much discussed during the period. It was favored by Governors Hill and Badger; but all attempts to effect it failed, the people, by a large majority, holding strongly to the death penalty. Murder, however, to which this penalty was attached, became now distinguished into classes, and the publicity of executions was limited. This wise legislation was suggested by the untoward event now to be briefly related.

In 1833, occurred, in Pembroke, the startling murder of Mrs. Cochran at the hands of the youth, Abraham Prescott. The case is a celebrated one in our criminal annals. Prescott was twice tried, twice convicted, and twice sentenced to be hanged. Upon the unanimous recommendation of the three judges of the highest court,—Richardson, Parker, and Upham,—who had sat

at the trial, and upon the petitions of others, Gov. Badger ordered the execution postponed from the 23d of December, '35, to the 6th of January, '36. A great crowd of spectators had gathered at the jail on the former day, and, disappointed at the reprieve, had resorted to such threats of mob violence as caused the death, by fright, of Jailer Leach's invalid daughter. The members of the court, who had doubts as to Prescott's "soundness of mind," at the time of committing the deed, recommended to the governor a continuance of the reprieve,—if the council should consent,—till legislative relief might be obtained. The council would not consent, and so the demented youth—a fitter subject for a lunatic hospital than the gallows—was executed on the cold January day, dangling in the sight of thousands who had gathered from all the region round. But Charles H. Peaslee and Ichabod Bartlett, fully convinced of the moral irresponsibility of the victim whom they had strenuously defended at his trial, found in this result new incentive and argument in their eminently effective efforts to establish an asylum for the insane—the question of doing which was then engaging the earnest attention of the people and their legislature.

It was Gov. Samuel Dinsmoor who, in his message in 1832, made the first official recommendation for the establishment of a "State Lunatic Hospital." That suggestion initiated a regular movement for the relief of the insane, which went on and on to the accomplishment of its great philanthropic purpose.

The legislature at once requested the governor to take means to ascertain the number of insane persons in the state. Imperfect returns from selectmen showed the number of unfortunates bereft of reason to be about two hundred, half of whom were paupers. Seventy-six of the whole number were in close confinement, twenty-five were in private houses, thirty-four in poor-houses, seven in cells and cages, six in "chains and irons," and four in jails. At the fall session of 1832 these facts were considered by a committee, a member of which, Mr. Samuel E. Coues, of Portsmouth, made an able report. Many cases of intense suffering, and even of barbarity, were recited. "In the extremity of the disease," proceeds the report, "the maniac is

withdrawn from observation. He is placed out of sight and forgotten. The prosperous look not in upon the secrets of his prison-house. They who have the custody of the wretched being are too prone to forget their duty and his claims upon their kindness and forbearance. Their sympathy is exhausted, and their kindness becomes blunted by familiarity with misery." The report concluded with a resolution, "that it is expedient that an asylum for the insane be established." The resolution was not adopted.

At the session of 1833 Mr. Charles H. Peaslee, of Concord, offered a resolution appropriating \$10,000 to establish the hospital whenever a like sum should be subscribed by individuals or corporations. The resolution was eloquently supported by the mover, but was postponed till the next session of the legislature.

In 1834 Gov. Badger recommended the favorable consideration of the subject; but a resolution appropriating \$12,500, when a like sum should be obtained by private subscription, and ably supported in speech by Mr. John Sullivan, of Exeter, and others, was, on the second reading, postponed to the next session. This "next session" was getting to be a stereotyped disposition of the measure. A resolution was, however, passed, instructing selectmen to make returns of the number of insane, but, for some reason, only forty-eight towns reported.

The measure had the favor of the newspaper press, as well as of enlightened individual opinion all over the state; still, in 1835, much opposition was manifested in the legislature. Mr. Peaslee made another trial, by offering a resolution providing for the sale of the twenty-five shares owned by the state in the New Hampshire Bank, the proceeds to be applied to the erection of the proposed hospital whenever \$12,500 should be obtained by private subscription. This received reference to a select committee and a favorable report, but, finally, met the fate of its predecessors, and was postponed to the next session; while a resolution to take the sense of the people at the next election passed the house but not the senate.

There being many who wanted "more light," Messrs. Peaslee, of Concord, Sullivan, of Exeter, and Ira Perley, of Hanover,

were appointed to collect information as to the number and condition of the insane in the state. Vigorous efforts were put forth to enlighten the people and stir up their interest, through the newspapers, and by meetings held in most of the larger towns. Governor Hill urged the measure, by message, at the June session of 1836; numerous petitions came in; and the legislature was persuaded to take the sense of the people, at the ensuing presidential election, upon the question, "Is it expedient for the State to grant an appropriation to build an Insane Hospital?"

It was estimated that, there were three hundred and fifty insane persons in the state; a third part of whom, with the aid of an asylum, could be cured, or their condition materially improved. Eighty-one were reported to be "in jails, cages, cells, chains, or handcuffs." At the opening of the second session of '36, Governor Hill announced that less than half the legal voters had expressed an opinion, and that the unofficial returns indicated nearly an equal vote for and against the proposition. He thought that the form in which the question was put to the people led them to understand that the state should exclusively erect and support an insane hospital; and that, with this understanding, it was surprising the question received so large an affirmative vote as it had. "If the question had been, 'Is it expedient for the State to grant an appropriation *in aid* of the building of an Insane Hospital?'" he thought "the expression of public opinion would have been more decided." For though "the citizens of this state, who are careful, especially, of burdens to be entailed upon those who are to come after us, may not be disposed to add another considerable item to the permanent state expenditures, yet there cannot be a doubt of their willingness to afford temporary aid, from time to time, in so laudable a public charity as that which alone can secure a comfortable asylum for the most distressed and most helpless among our fellow-mortals." But no action was taken on the matter at that session, and were at the next, in 1837; one reason for this inaction being found in the troublous condition of financial affairs at that time.

In the spring of 1838, an association of prominent gentlemen of all parts of the state issued a call to the friends of the enter-

prise to contribute ten or twelve thousand dollars, and thus, perhaps, induce the state to complete a noble work, in which all her New England neighbors already had the start. The legislative session of that year came, and after some attempts to delay action, the question of establishment which had been pending for six years, was settled by the passage of the "Act to incorporate the New Hampshire Asylum for the Insane." Thirty shares of the State's New Hampshire Bank stock—about \$18,000—were to be made over to the asylum, whenever an additional \$15,000 had been secured from "sources other than this grant."

The asylum was incorporated; but delay in raising the requisite subscription prevented organization under the charter till January, 1839, when eight persons were chosen as trustees on the part of the subscribers to the fund, and known as the "Corporation"; and four on the part of the state, constituting, properly, the "Board of Trustees." There was friction. The "Corporation" assumed powers which the "Board of Trustees" deemed derogatory of theirs—especially, as to location, which now became the burning question. The legislature of 1839 passed an act additional to that of incorporation, intended to settle contending claims, and avoid "endless collision." The committee of location selected Portsmouth. The trustees under the amended charter were so nearly equally divided upon the question of accepting the report of the committee that the matter went over to next year.

At the June session of 1840, another "additional" act was passed, providing for the appointment of a board of twelve trustees, with all the powers, rights, and duties of the existing "Board" and "Corporation"—thus placing the institution entirely under the control of the state. Moreover, at its second session in '40, the legislature itself settled the troublesome question of location, by an act establishing the asylum in Concord, and authorizing the trustees to proceed to the erection of a building, sufficient for the reception of one hundred and twenty patients, whenever Concord should have given security for the payment of \$9,500.

All this had not been accomplished without much hard feeling and acrimonious discussion. Portsmouth had previously

withdrawn her contribution of \$23,000 of surplus revenue; and at the same session at which the location was fixed, a bill was introduced for establishing another asylum at Portsmouth. This went over to the next session—and was never heard of more. The centrality of Concord made it a desirable location for the asylum, and certainly matched two of the considerations urged in favor of the rival town, to wit,—in substance,—a better supply of fish, and better society! The location being fixed at Concord, the trustees had to settle the special site therein, and finally did so in 1841, by selecting, from several sites shown with no little local rivalry, the feasible one, upon which building was soon commenced, and where the institution was opened to patients in 1842. In the varied perplexities of the later years, arising from conflicting interests, the wise straightforwardness of John H. Steele, as a trustee, was eminently commendable.

Thus, to the fourth decade belongs the honor of establishing the Asylum for the Insane, that benign institution of blessed ministry to "mind diseased," though the effectuation of the act of establishment fell partly to the fifth. It only remains to note here the significant fact that the asylum established by law in 1838, and opened for use in 1842, had received in 1837 its first legacy—a prenatal gift—attesting the faith of Catharine Fisk in the happy outcome of the lingering philanthropic effort, and proving the auspicious exemplar of many another noble benefaction.

But with all the busy cares of varied occupation, public and private; with weighty questions, political, industrial, moral, financial, and philanthropic, arising in an age of progress, our decade was not devoid of means for higher culture and progressive intellectual improvement. It had its literary hours, that contributed, with other instrumentalities, to better thinking and nobler doing. Lyceums and other literary institutions, state and local, existed. One of these, at its sixth anniversary, in 1834, could report "an increased attention to the arts and sciences, and the cultivation of the mind." Governor Hill is mentioned as a disputant in a discussion held by one of these organizations; and the venerable jurist, Jeremiah Smith, as a lecturer before the New Hampshire Lyceum.

The state had its library at the capitol ; Portsmouth, its well-supplied Atheneum. Many towns, even the smaller, had their "social" libraries, not unfrequently well selected, and generally well read. Bancroft, Bryant, Channing, Cooper, Irving, Longfellow, Whittier, and other gifted ones, whose genius was making American literature, wrote for the men and women of New Hampshire; while England's classic masters from Milton to Macaulay found due appreciation.

Appropriately, the last of these historic glances rests upon the state's Historical Society, then in comparative youth, but strong in the high quality of its membership, and fulfilling well its laudable function of preserving pure the fountains of New Hampshire history. That glance falls upon this chair, then occupied by Ichabod Bartlett, Salma Hale, Matthew Harvey, Charles H. Atherton, and Joel Parker. It falls, too, upon the corresponding secretary's vacant seat, whence was called by death, one August day of 1838, John Farmer, the profound historical student, the peerless antiquarian, and the blameless man who "had no enemies and many friends."

And now, with the memories of the fourth decade left to twine with the actualities of the tenth, with the wish that our noble Society may live and flourish ten times ten decades, and with a grateful appreciation of honors conferred, I yield the chair to my successor.

A vote of thanks was tendered Mr. Hadley for his very interesting address, and a copy requested for publication.

The address was followed by brief but very interesting remarks, reminiscent in character, by Woodbridge Odlin, Esq., Judge Sylvester Dana, Hon. J. B. Walker, Rev. C. L. Tappan, and William Yeaton, Esq.

After concluding the remarks, at 5 p. m. the Society adjourned to the call of the President.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,
Secretary.

CONCORD, N. H., March 11, 1896.

An adjourned meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held at the Society's rooms in Concord, Wednesday, March 11, 1896, at 2 o'clock p. m.

In the absence of the President and Vice-President, Hon. J. C. A. Hill was called to the chair *pro tem.*, but subsequently Hon. L. D. Stevens, Vice-President, came in and relieved him.

On motion of Rev. C. L. Tappan,

GILES WHEELER, of Concord, and

ALBERT P. DAVIS, of Warner,

were elected resident members of the Society.

The matter of providing a seal for the Society came up for consideration, and a sample was shown. After some discussion, it was voted that the matter be left with the special committee with full power.

Hon. Joseph B. Walker then delivered an address on "Major Daniel Livermore, a Citizen Soldier of the Revolution."

MAJOR DANIEL LIVERMORE.

1748-1799.

During the period of her French and Indian wars and the succeeding one of her Revolution, America originated a product unlike any which the world had before known,—a citizen soldier; a man intelligent and active in peace, valorous in war and patriotic in both, always a citizen, and a soldier when necessary. You will seek in vain for such a personage in the military squads by which the Louises of France laid desolate in fire and blood our early frontiers; you will not find such an one among the soldiers of the fatherland, by whom George the Third, seeking to subdue our ancestors, drove them to independence and nationality; least of all, among the low-born soldiers of Hesse Cassel, whom his stubborn majesty had hired to aid him in his vain attempt. He existed only in the narrow tier of states which in 1775 skirted the Atlantic coast from the Piscataqua to the Savannah,—the rarest incarnation of war and citizenship which humanity had then produced, and of which, even now, but few nations of the world can boast.

To some of the most salient passages in the life of such a personage, I beg leave to call your attention to-day; not because he attained to high military rank, for he did not rise beyond that of a captain, until the close of the Revolution, when he was honored with the brevet title of major; not because he possessed wealth or great influence; not because he was a learned man, for his learning was only that of a common school; but because he was a good citizen and a good soldier.

FIRST PERIOD—1749-1775.

Captain Daniel Livermore, to some passages in whose life I now invite your attention, was the son of David and Abigail Kimball Livermore, and was born in Watertown, Mass., in 1749. He came to Concord in early life and learned of his relative, Deacon John Kimball, the trade of a house carpenter and joiner. We know nothing of his childhood and very little of his youth. It is, however, a recorded fact that, after coming to this town and just after he had attained his majority (December 24, 1771), he was intrusted by the judge of the probate court of Middlesex county, in Massachusetts, with the administration of his mother's estate. Up to the beginning of the Revolution, he doubtless wrought at his trade, and the little of his early life which tradition has preserved, indicates that his youth gave promise of a useful manhood.

SECOND PERIOD—1775.

He was twenty-five years old when the Battle of Lexington occurred. Three days after the news of it had reached Concord (April 23, 1775), he enlisted as a soldier in the company of Capt. Gordon Hutchins and went immediately to join the patriot forces around Boston. He was made second lieutenant of this company, which was assigned to the regiment of Col. John Stark.

He participated in the Battle of Bunker Hill, where, for the first time, he was under fire, in the line between the redoubt and the shore of Mystic river. He used afterwards to intimate that, as he lay with his comrades behind the rail fence, with his

face upraised and his musket cocked, reserving his fire until the enemy had reached the stake which Stark had set up in front of them, his feelings were more interesting than agreeable. When, however, the British column, drawing near, commenced firing and a bullet severed the stalk of a small bush above his head, which descending endwise "barked his nose," he "got mad," as he was wont to say, and from that time onwards put in his best work and in such manner as he thought would do the most good.

Upon the retreat from the hill, he entered a deserted house on Charlestown neck for a drink of water. Hardly had he raised a window and propped it up by his empty gun, when a shot from the *Glasgow*, or some other craft lying in the stream, crashed through the wall with such havoc as in his opinion to render the place unhealthy. He therefore speedily left it for one more salubrious.

After the Battle of Bunker Hill, Colonel Stark's regiment was quartered on Winter Hill, and probably remained there until the evacuation of Boston by the army of General Howe, on the 17th day of March, 1776. Soon afterwards, it was ordered to accompany General Washington to New York, and thence sent to support the American army in Canada. Our efforts in that direction had proved abortive, and our forces, as you well remember, retired down Lake Champlain to Ticonderoga, which they reached early in July.

Early in the following winter, Stark's regiment joined General Washington's forces on the right bank of the Delaware, reaching there on the 20th of December. It was important that something should be done, if possible, to remove the despondency which our reverses at Long Island, White Plains, and Fort Washington had caused to pervade all patriotic hearts.

The commander-in-chief rose to the exigencies of the occasion. Crossing the Delaware in company with General Green and our own Sullivan, on the night of the 25th of December, he fell suddenly the next day on the enemy at Trenton. Stark's regiment led the vanguard of the American right wing; and where Stark was, there was usually fighting. You recall the result,—the capture of one thousand prisoners with arms and stores. Eight days later, on the third day of January, 1777,

Stark and his regiment were present at the Battle of Princeton. Here a second time victory perched upon our banners, and the citizen soldier whose career we are trying to trace, again smelled the smoke of burning gunpowder, and again "got mad."

Some years ago, your speaker saw in the college library at Princeton, a framed canvas which hung there during this battle, bearing the face and shoulders of George the Third. During the action, a cannon-ball entered the building and went directly through his majesty's head. Some years afterwards, the picture was sent to one of the Peels, in Philadelphia, for repairs. In due time it was returned, fully restored, but bearing not the head of George the Third but that of George Washington,—a most significant improvement of the original, which had changed to history, an incident which at first had been but prophecy.

After these engagements, the army of Washington retired to winter quarters at Morristown, and the campaign of 1776 was ended.

Up to November 7, 1776, Livermore had served as first lieutenant of Captain Woodbury's company in Stark's regiment, having been appointed by the delegates of the United Colonies in the previous January.¹ At this date, his rank was raised to that of captain, a rank which, for the next seven years, and until his retirement from the service, he maintained with fidelity to his country and with honor to himself.

1777.

Early in 1777, New Hampshire raised three new regiments composed of men enlisted to serve three years or during the war, and Alexander Scammell was commissioned colonel of the Third. Of this, Captain Livermore's company formed a part, and was ordered to rendezvous at Ticonderoga. It subsequently moved south with the army and participated in the Battle of Stillwater, on the 19th of September, and eighteen days later, in that of Saratoga, in which its gallant colonel was wounded. On the 17th of October, as you remember, General Burgoyne and his whole army, to the number of nearly six

¹ N. H. Hist. Soc. Colls., Vol. 5, p. 3c8.

thousand men, surrendered to General Gates, who, by intrigue unworthy a soldier, had recently secured command of the northern army and captured temporarily the laurels belonging to Schuyler and Arnold and Scammell and Stark,—laurels which history has since torn from his undeserving brow.

1778.

After the surrender of Burgoyne, the New Hampshire regiments moved southward, and late in the season (1777) went into winter quarters with Washington at Valley Forge. Here they remained until the following June.

One of the darkest periods of the American Revolution was the winter of 1777-78, which Washington and his army passed at this encampment. The terms of enlistment of many of the soldiers had expired, and the army was being continually weakened by their return to their homes. Many, urged to enlist, were kept from doing so by a withholding of the supplies of food, clothing, and camp furnishings which congress had provided, by the inefficient officers recently placed at the heads of the quartermasters and commissary departments.

Hundreds, yes, more than two thousand of our brave men were barefooted and in rags. Huddled in log structures, many had neither blankets nor straw between them and the earth floors upon which they were expected to sleep. The wonder is, not that they became discouraged and homesick even to occasional desertions, but that they did not all throw down their arms in disgust and retire from the service. To the fact that they were *patriotic citizens* as well as soldiers, and to the presence of Washington, who shared their fortunes, must we mainly attribute the patient endurance of their privations.

If there was any time in the life of this great commander when the grandeur of his character rose to a higher elevation than at any other, it was during this dreary cantonment of his army in the gorge of Valley Forge. Overpowering sympathy for his men, whose sufferings he daily witnessed but could not alleviate, the machinations of the wretched cabal which sought to supersede him by the incompetent Gates who, by the aid of Conway and others of like character, sought to thrust himself

into the important place he could not have filled, the supineness of congress, almost as powerless to aid him as they were slow to appreciate the gravity of their country's situation,—such a combination of adverse conditions were enough, surely, and more than enough, to crush the stoutest heart. Why they did not, we wonder, until a scene meant to be hidden is unveiled, and the great commander, sad but not in despair, is revealed to view alone in his tent and upon his knees before his country's God. There is, indeed, a limit to human endurance, but the supporting power of Omnipotence is as measureless as eternity.

At length, however, the winter wore away and the sun rose higher in the heavens and shone with warmer rays upon the encampment of our army. The thinned ranks of the regiments had been filled with new recruits, and, a fact of immense consequence to the effectiveness of our troops, Baron Steuben, a soldier from his youth and for years an aid-de-camp of Frederick the Great, brought to the camp his long experience as an organizer and tactician. Day after day he drilled our imperfectly taught soldiers, increasing their effectiveness, and from chaos evolving order. Occasionally their greenness was too much for the good German's patience. On one occasion it is said that, disgusted with the imperfections of their evolutions, having sworn at them, first in German and then in French, the only languages which he knew, he called upon an attendant to damn them in English, a language which they could understand.

The baron was a godsend to our army from that time onward. He became an American citizen, and the value of his services was subsequently recognized by the gift of a pension. New York also granted him a township of land, near Utica, upon which he built him a house and cleared him a farm. Here he died on the 22d of November, 1795, and, in compliance with his wish, was buried on his own land, with his military cloak about him and the star of honor, which he always wore, upon his breast.

Why, during this long winter, Sir William Howe, only twenty miles away, at Philadelphia, with forces well clothed and fed and fat, did not swoop down upon our weakened remnant of an army, is a mystery which supreme generosity leaves unex-

plained. We can express no surprise at his supersedure by Sir Henry Clinton in the spring. Fit is it to thank God, not only for the patient valor of Washington, but for the frivolous incompetency of Howe as well.

Captain Livermore, having enlisted for three years, or during the war, was a witness and sharer of the doleful experiences of this dismal winter. Letters written there to his friends in Concord are still preserved.

Upon the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British troops on the 18th of June, 1788, where, under Sir William Howe, they had wasted the winter and spring in dissipation and frivolity, Washington followed them in parallel columns as far as Monmouth, where, but for the treachery of Charles Lee, who led the advanced division, the engagement at that place would have been, instead of a drawn battle, an American victory. In this contest more or less of our New Hampshire soldiers participated. The British army afterwards escaped to New York, while that of Washington passed on to White Plains, where it remained until late in autumn and then went into winter quarters at Middlebrook, in New Jersey.

1779.

The campaign of 1779 was not designed to be an active one except in the chastisement of the Indians and Tories in north-eastern Pennsylvania and western New York. Their more than barbarous butcheries in the Wyoming and neighboring valleys had been so atrocious as to convince Washington that they should be stopped at all events. He therefore determined to dispatch an expedition to that section, to burn their houses and lay waste their fields to such an extent as to prevent a repetition of like cruelties. An army of some three thousand men was accordingly sent thither for that purpose, under command of General Sullivan of this state.

Captain Livermore's company made a part of it. His journal, published in the sixth volume of our collections, gives a vivid account of its operations from the time it left Soldier's Fortune, near North river and twelve miles from Fishkill, on the seventeenth day of May, until its return to a place called Wild

Cat, in the vicinity of Danbury, on the second day of the following December.

This journal is an itinerary of the expedition, together with such observations upon its work and the character of the country through which it passed as a thoughtful and intelligent New England soldier would be likely to make, and is a valuable contribution to the history of this important enterprise.

1780.

On the sixth day of April, 1780, after an unpleasant winter at Wild Cat, and, as he remarks, "after going through many disagreeable scenes, which circumstances have prevented my keeping a minute of," Captain Livermore and his company were ordered to West Point, and remained near North river during much or all of this year.

There was little fighting at the North during this period to vary the tedious monotony of army life. Drills, guard mountings, and dress parades had long before lost their novelty and become but a dull routine. Captain Livermore's *Orderly Book*, commenced at Orangetown (near North river) on the twenty-fifth of September, 1780, and ended at New Hampshire Village, February the 16th, 1781, details the daily life in camp during this period.

This book is now in the possession of Mr. William P. Fiske. A printed copy of it may be found in the ninth volume of our Collections. Besides the daily orders, it contains facts of much historic interest. Against the date of October 1, 1780, is the following sharp and terse entry in relation to Major André, who had been captured a few days before within our lines, tried before a candid commission as a spy, found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged. It reads as follows:

The Board of General Officers appointed to examine into the case of Major André have reported,

1st. That he came on shore from the *Vulture*, sloop of war, in the night of the twenty-first of September last, on an interview with General Arnold, in a private and secret manner.

2d. That he changed his dress within our lines, and under a feigned name and disguised habit, passed our works at Stony

and Verplanck's Points, the evening of the twenty-second of September last, and was taken on the morning of the twenty-third of September last, at Tarrytown, in a disguised habit, being then on his way to New York, and when taken he had in his possession several papers which contained in them intelligence for the enemy.

The Board, having maturely considered these facts, do also report to his Excellency, General Washington, that Major André, Adjutant-General to the British Army, ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy and that, agreeably to the law and usages of nations, it is their opinion that he ought to suffer death, the Commander-in-Chief directs the execution of the above sentence in the usual way this afternoon at five o'clock precisely.

André, whose manly candor excited the admiration of every one in the American camp, requested, as you will remember, that he might not be hanged, but shot; but it was found impossible to grant his request, and his sentence was executed in the manner ordered by the commander-in-chief.

Sorrow oppresses the heart of the American as he reads the inscription upon his monument in the nave of Westminster Abbey, erected by George the Third. But while his generosity does not grudge him a lasting repose in this grandest mausoleum of English speaking heroes, he regrets that his friends saw fit to adorn that monument with fulsome decorations which André's good sense would have declined.

Among the most interesting entries in this book are the records of the court martials, held from time to time. They afford conclusive evidence that frivolity and laxity of discipline were not regarded with lenity by the commander-in-chief. Captain Livermore was called from time to time to sit upon these. Against the date of October 5th, 1780, we find the following entry:

Regimental Orders, October 5th, 1780.

At a Regimental Court Martial, held in camp this day, whereof Capt. Livermore was President, Joseph Avery, a soldier in Capt. Frye's Company, 3d New Hampshire Regiment, was tried for staying out of Camp on the night of the fourth inst. and not giving sufficient reason for his conduct.

The prisoner being brought before the Court, plead guilty of being out of camp one mile and a half, at eleven o'clock at night, the Court find him guilty of the 1st Article, 13th Section of the

Articles of War, and do sentence him to receive thirty-five lashes on his naked back.

The commanding officer of the Regiment approves of the sentence and orders it put in execution this evening at roll call.¹

Of the same character is the original order for the execution of John Powell, for repeated desertions, now in the possession of Mr. Fiske. It reads as follows :

To Capt. Daniel Livermore Esq.

Whereas at a Brigade Court Martial, whereof Major Scott was president, held in Camp the 27th of April, 1781, pursuant to orders issued by Col. Christopher Green—

² John Powell, Soldier in the New Hampshire line, charged with "repeated desertions" was by the judgment of said Court found guilty and sentenced to suffer Death which was afterwards by me approved and his execution ordered this day.

You are therefore to take the said John Powell from the place of his present confinement and carry him to the place appointed for his execution and there hang him by the neck till he be dead, for which this shall be your Sufficient Warrant.

Given under my hand and seal at Head Quarters New Windsor this eleventh day of May Anno Domini 1781.

G^o Washington.

By His Excellency's Command
D. Humphreys Aide de Camp.

1781.

In 1780 the seat of war was transferred to the South. There were few engagements in the North from that time onward. The movements of the New Hampshire troops therefore afford little to interest us until the fall of 1781, when Col. Scammell and his regiment is found at Yorktown, a short time before the surrender of Lord Cornwallis.

Col. Scammell had been appointed adjutant-general in the Continental Army the year before, but preferring activity at a post of danger, he was given the command of a regiment of light infantry, his own, it appears, augmented, perhaps, by additional

¹ N. H. Hist. Soc. Colls., Vol. 10, p. 204.

² It appears by the Revolutionary Rolls that Powell was from Henniker.—J. B. W.

companies. On the thirtieth of September he was the officer of the day, and, while reconnoitering the British position, was taken prisoner and brutally wounded, after his capture, by a Hessian soldier. Gen. Cornwallis permitted his removal to Williamsburg, a few miles away, where he died on the 6th of October and was buried. A monument marks the place of his repose in this former capital of Virginia.

“ Which conq'ring armies, from their toils returned,
Reared to his glory while his fate they mourned.”

It was thus the privilege of Capt. Livermore to witness for a second time the surrender of a British army, when, on the 19th of October, 1781, Gen. O'Hara transferred that of the British commander-in-chief to Gen. Washington.

The surrender of Gen. Cornwallis virtually closed the war, although the armies of the contending powers were not disbanded until two years after and some desultory fighting was maintained. But the loss of two armies, numbering some fifteen thousand men, proved sufficient to bring pig-headed King George the Third to a sense of his situation. Lord George Germain was dismissed on the 20th of March, 1782. Lord North retired, a new ministry was formed, and on the 3d day of September, 1783, England acknowledged our nationality.

Capt. Livermore retained his command until the 19th of December, 1783, when the American army was disbanded; having previously, on the 10th of October, been honored by the Continental Congress with the brevet rank of major, a title which he had honestly earned by a faithful service of nearly nine years in his country's cause.

He returned to Concord in 1783, as he went out in 1775, poor in material wealth, but rich in the possession of a patriotic sword and an honor as bright as the stars. The little flag which the Grand Army of the Republic annually plants at his grave in yonder cemetery symbolizes at once a soldier's love and the great nationality which his arm had helped to gain and maintain.

THIRD PERIOD.

Upon his return to Concord, Major Livermore took to farming and to matrimony. He built him a house. He cleared fields for his crops and a pasture for his cattle. In 1785 or 1786, he married a young lady whose loyalty to the American cause had ever been as true as the temper of his sword.

The soldier again became a citizen. In addition to their regard, his neighbors, from time to time, bestowed upon him a share of the public honors at their disposal, and in 1794 and 1795, sent him as their representative to the peripatetic legislature, which held sessions those years at Exeter, Amherst, Concord, and Hanover.

Persons who had known him, have represented him as a man of more than ordinary mental ability and of much intelligence; as tall and slender in person; of easy manners and very courteous; as a good citizen and an ardent patriot; ever ready to make any personal sacrifice which the welfare of his friends or of his country might require.

Whether or not the exposures of his army life may have lessened prematurely his natural vitality does not appear. It is only known that he died on the 22d day of June, 1798, at the early age of forty-nine years.

No children were the fruit of his marriage. His widow ere long sold the real estate which had been his and removed to Boston. It is a singular fact and an interesting one that most of this is now devoted to public uses. The library building of the New Hampshire Historical Society stands upon land which was once a part of his house lot; the city's high service reservoir occupies ground which was once a part of his pasture, and upon the elevation to the north of this, where he had fields and sowed grain, a majority of Concord's families bury their beloved dead.

As stated at the beginning, Major Livermore is not presented as a hero of his land and generation; not as a great leader of men, for he was not; not as a man of broad learning, for he had it not; not as a man of large wealth, and possessed of the power attaching thereto; nor as a man without faults, for he

was human ; but as a fair type of the honest, energetic, sensible, middle-class men of his generation, who did most in gaining our liberties and in establishing our civil and religious institutions. He loved his country and his countrymen, and if, as Coleridge tells us,—

“He prayeth best, who loveth best,”

he was not only patriotic, but devout.

On motion of Rev. C. L. Tappan it was voted that the thanks of the Society be tendered Mr. Walker for his admirable address, and a copy be requested for publication.

Voted to adjourn to Wednesday, April 1, 1896, at 2 p. m.

CONCORD, N. H., Apr. 1, 1896.

An adjourned meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held at the Society's rooms in Concord, Wednesday, April 1, 1896, at 2 p. m., Vice-President L. D. Stevens in the chair.

Col. John C. Linehan delivered an address on “The Irish in America.”

On motion of Hon. J. B. Walker, it was voted that the thanks of this Society be tendered to Col. Linehan for his very able and interesting paper, and that a copy of the same be requested for preservation in the Society's Library.

The matter of obtaining a seal for the Society was again brought up and referred to the special committee appointed at a previous meeting with full power.

At 4 p. m. adjourned to Wednesday, May 6, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,
Secretary.

CONCORD, N. H., May 6, 1896.

An adjourned meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held in the Society's rooms, Wednesday, May 6, 1896, at two o'clock in the afternoon, Hon. B. A. Kimball, President, in the chair.

Hon. J. C. A. Hill, chairman of the Standing Committee, presented a plan of shelving to be placed in the vault of the Society's building, and the whole matter was put over to a future meeting.

On motion of Rev. C. L. Tappan, the name of George Franklin Willey, of Manchester, was presented for membership, and he was unanimously elected.

This was followed by the presentation by Hon. Ezra S. Stearns of a biographical sketch of the Thornton family, prepared by Mr. Woodbury of New York, since deceased, and presented by Mr. Gordon Woodbury of Bedford.

NEW YORK, December, 1891,
33 Pine Street.

Mr. Joseph Donald, St. Stephen, Charlotte County, New Brunswick :

MY DEAR SIR: I inclose you to-day a formidable-looking document. When Mrs. Woodbury in October last, prevailed upon me to prepare for her the genealogy of the descendants of Matthew Thornton, the signer of the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, I supposed all that was required would be to cast in the usual form the family tree; but when this was done, it occurred to me that it would be more satisfactory to supplement it by a brief sketch of the signer himself, his position in life, his profession, who were his associates, the character of his children, and their families,—in short, such a statement of who he was, and in what relation he stood to the events in which he figured so prominently, that you might see for yourself that it would have been a moral impossibility for him to have become a Loyalist, and if there is any probative force in evidence, an actual impossibility for him to have removed to the Province of New Brunswick, and be there buried.

I have, therefore, in the intervals of time I could take from my business, collected and set in order some of the many facts relating to him, which presumably have not fallen within your observation, and I have referred you to various standard publi-

cations where biographical sketches of his life may be found. I also enclose a sketch made by ex-Governor William Plumer, a personal acquaintance of Matthew Thornton, which, as it has never been published, would escape you altogether. In the same spirit I have given you some facts relating to his nephew, Matthew Thornton, whom I suppose is the same person who emigrated to New Brunswick as a Loyalist, and whom you have supposed to be the signer himself. I am not able to say positively that he was the nephew of Matthew Thornton, but the facts are so cogent to that effect that I have no doubt of it. But, as it is clear he was not the signer, I have thought it better to demonstrate that fact now, without waiting to ascertain the exact relationship between them.

I may not be able to do this until another summer on my return to New Hampshire, when I intend to exhaust every source of information open to me to ascertain the full family pedigree of the brothers and sisters of the signer. I hope you will not find what I have written to be tedious, but if you do, I can only urge my good intentions, and pray an easy judgment.

With this explanation, I proceed to state who Matthew Thornton, the signer of the Declaration of Independence of the United States, was, where he lived, where he died, and who were his descendants, giving at the same time the authorities for all my statements, so that you may, if so disposed, examine the original sources of information for yourself. I also add some slight reference to some of his descendants, that you may know briefly who they were.

First. Matthew Thornton, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, was born in Ireland in 1714. His father's name was James Thornton, and his mother's maiden name was Elizabeth Jenkins. They are said to have removed from England to Ireland; but this I cannot affirm, and for reasons hereafter to be given, I am disposed to doubt the correctness of that statement. They came to this country in 1717, and landed at Wiscasset in the state of Maine. In a few years thereafter, the family removed to Worcester, in the state of Massachusetts, where a Scotch-Irish settlement was then being made. Here Matthew Thornton was educated. He afterward studied medi-

cine with Dr. Grout of Leicester, Mass. In 1740, the family removed to Londonderry, in the state of New Hampshire, and there Matthew Thornton resided and practised medicine until 1779, when he removed to Exeter in the same state. He remained there until the following year, 1780, when he removed to Thornton's Ferry in the town of Merrimack in the same state, where he continued to reside until his death, which took place June 24, 1803, at the age of eighty-nine years. I took this from the stone at the head of his grave, in the graveyard at Thornton's Ferry. He was buried in the graveyard at that place, which had been a part of his farm, and which he had given to the town for a graveyard. He died at Newburyport in the state of Massachusetts, at the house of his daughter, Hannah Thornton, wife of John McGaw, while upon a visit to her. She was living there at that time. His body was taken to Thornton's Ferry, and buried there on the Sunday following his death. The next Sunday, Rev. Dr. Burnap, the minister settled in Merrimack, preached a funeral sermon commemorating his life and services. In a letter to me from R. C. Mack of Londonderry, N. H., dated December 11, 1891, he says that Matthew Thornton passed his father's house in Londonderry on horseback in the early summer of 1803, on his way to Newburyport, Mass., to make this visit, and stopped and had conversation with his father; and in a few days thereafter his body was carried back by the same way to Thornton's Ferry for burial.

Matthew Thornton, the signer, married Hannah Jack of Londonderry, about the year 1760-62. She died December 5, 1786, at the age of forty-four years. This I took from the stone at the head of her grave, in the graveyard at Thornton's Ferry. This would make the date of her birth to be in the year 1742. Their children were as follows,—James Thornton, Andrew Thornton, Mary Thornton, Hannah Thornton, and Matthew Thornton.

James Thornton, the eldest son of the signer, married Mary Parker of Merrimack, and had children. He died July 3, 1817, aged fifty-four years. This I took from the stone at the head of his grave in the family lot at Thornton's Ferry. This would make the date of his birth to be in the year 1763.

Andrew Thornton, son of the signer, died unmarried April 22, 1787, aged twenty-one years. This I took from the stone at the head of his grave in the same place.

Mary Thornton, daughter of the signer, married Silas Betton, of Salem, N. H. She died in 1845 or 1846. The date of her death is given me by her grandson, George E. Betton, a lawyer, now living in Boston, Mass.

Hannah Thornton, daughter of the signer, married John McGaw of Merrimack, and when first married lived in Newburyport, Mass. She subsequently removed from Newburyport to the town of Bedford, N. H., and lived there for many years, but before her death removed to Concord, N. H., and died there in the year 1846. She is buried in the lot of her son, John Andrew McGaw, in the cemetery at Mt. Auburn, Cambridge, Mass.

Matthew Thornton, son of the signer, was graduated from Dartmouth college at Hanover, N. H., in the class of 1797. He studied law, practised his profession, married Fanny Curtis of Amherst, N. H., and died December 5, 1804, aged thirty-four years. I took this from the stone at the head of his grave in the family lot at Thornton's Ferry.

For the descendants of these children, I refer you to the enclosed family register.

Matthew Thornton, the signer, did not leave a will, but died intestate. Letters of administration were granted upon his estate, and his property was divided between James Thornton, Hannah McGaw, wife of John McGaw, Mary Betton, wife of Silas Betton, and Abigail C. Thornton and Hannah Jack Thornton, the last two being minors and children of Matthew Thornton, son of the signer, who died in 1804, before the settlement of the signer's estate. My authority for this is the register of probate for Hillsborough county, N. H., whose office is at Nashua, N. H. By referring to the family register, you will notice that the foregoing were the children and grandchildren of Matthew Thornton, the signer.

James Thornton, son of the signer, resided in the town of Merrimack until his death. He was held in high esteem by his townsmen, and represented the town in the legislature for several sessions.

His son, James Bonaparte Thornton, was a lawyer, and practised his profession in Merrimack; represented the town in the legislature, and was speaker of the house of representatives in 1829 and 1830; was second comptroller of the United States treasury under President Andrew Jackson; was appointed charge d' affaires at Callao in Peru, South America, in 1836, where he died in 1838. His body was brought home and interred in the family lot at Thornton's Ferry. A short sketch of his life will be found in "Biographical Annals of the Civil Government of the United States," by Lannan, published in New York, 1887, and another in "Drake's Dictionary of American Biography," page 907, where he is said to be a grandson of the signer.

His son, James Sheppard Thornton, was in the naval service of the United States. He was the executive officer of Farragut's flag ship at the Battle of New Orleans and at the passing of Vicksburg; and he also held the same position on the Kearsarge, which, in the naval fight with the Alabama in the War of the Rebellion, sunk the latter off Cherbourg. He is said to have been an officer of great gallantry, and of prime seamanship. He received for his gallantry on the last occasion a vote of thanks from congress, and was advanced thirty numbers in the line of promotion. He was subsequently raised to the rank of captain in the navy, and in July, 1866, was commissioned as commander. A short sketch of his life will be found in "Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography," Vol. 6, page 104, and in "Johnson's Universal Cyclopaedia," Vol. 8, page 1. He is buried in the cemetery at Souhegan village, in the town of Merrimack, about two miles north from Thornton's Ferry.

Mary P. Thornton, daughter of James Bonaparte Thornton, was the ward of Franklin Pierce, president of the United States. She married for her first husband, Charles A. Davis, M. D., who had charge of the Marine hospital at Chelsea, Mass; and for her second husband, William Sewall Gardner, justice of the supreme court of the state of Massachusetts.

Hannah Thornton, daughter of James Thornton and sister of James Bonaparte Thornton, married Col. Joseph Greeley, and their son, James Bonaparte Greeley, M. D., now owns the Mat-

thew Thornton farm at Thornton's Ferry, and occupies it as his summer home. His wife, Arabella McGaw Wood, has in her possession the Bible of Matthew Thornton, the signer. I saw it this last summer. She remembers it when it was owned by her grandmother, Hannah McGaw, and often saw her shed tears when it recalled her father, the signer, to mind.

Silas Betton, the husband of Mary Thornton, daughter of Matthew Thornton, the signer, was graduated from Dartmouth college in the class of 1787. He was a lawyer. He was a representative in the United States congress from 1803 to 1806, and afterwards was appointed high sheriff of Rockingham county, N. H., a position which he held for many years.

Thornton McGaw, the eldest son of Hannah Thornton, daughter of the signer, was graduated from Dartmouth college in the class of 1820. He was an eminent lawyer, and practised his profession in the city of Bangor, in the state of Maine, where he resided for many years. He died in 1859.

John Andrew McGaw, her second son, was a shipping merchant, and resided in the city of New York. He died in 1871.

Henry Wood, the husband of her daughter, Harriet Frances McGaw, was graduated from Dartmouth college in the year 1822, which also conferred upon him the degree of D. D. He was a Congregational clergyman. He edited for many years the *Congregational Journal*, a religious newspaper published at Concord, N. H. He was appointed consul of the United States at Beyrout, in Syria, in 1854, and afterwards was chaplain in the United States navy. He is also buried in the cemetery at Souhegan village.

As before stated, the Thornton family, after leaving Wiscasset, removed to Worcester, Mass., and in 1740 removed from Worcester to Londonderry, N. H. The reasons for these two removals were as follows: There were two Scotch-Irish settlements in New England in the year 1719, one of them at Worcester, Mass., and the other at Londonderry, N. H. These Scotch-Irish immigrants arrived here from Ireland the year previous, and landed at Falmouth, now Portland, Me. They endured much hardship. The following year a part went to Worcester, and the remainder to Londonderry.

Londonderry at that time was a wilderness. It was beyond the western frontiers of the settlements in New Hampshire. The Scotch-Irish heard of this unoccupied land, and sent some of their number to examine and report. The report being favorable, the company of settlers set out through the woods from Haverhill, Mass., on the Merrimack river, whither they had come from Falmouth by water. They immediately bought the township from John Wheelwright, who had bought it from the Indians, and in 1722 obtained a town charter by the name of Londonderry from the Provincial government. Worcester at that time was settled by the English.

It is a historical fact that the English in New England were exceedingly hostile to the Scotch-Irish, and so continued until the Revolutionary War, when the enthusiasm of the common effort to achieve political independence, carrying with it the endurance of common dangers, suffering, and sorrows, brought them into mutual acquaintance and esteem, from which time all the old bitterness completely disappeared.

The basis of this hostility had its origin in the Congregational policy of the church government as distinguished from that of the Presbyterian church. The Congregationalists seemed to discover in the presbytery, prelacy in another form. To such extent was this hostility carried, that an attempt was made to dispossess by force the Londonderry settlers immediately after they arrived at their destination. An armed force was sent from Haverhill, Mass., which arrived at the time the settlers were holding, under a large tree, a religious service preparatory to the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Making known their purpose, they were requested to wait until the service was concluded, which they agreed to do. But such was the contrast between the solemnity of the service and the monstrous character of their design, that they were conscience-smitten, and at the close of the service departed without attempting to enforce their purpose. Subsequent efforts were made to starve them out by attempting to carry off the natural hay, cut for winter use from the Beaver meadows, under fictitious claim of superior title, which was only prevented by the settlers, with arms in their hands ready for bloodshed. This hostile feeling was duly

reciprocated (for whatever else a Scotch-Irishman may be, he is a good hater), and but little intercourse between the two classes existed. Marriage between them seldom occurred, and though Cupid occasionally entangled the hearts of the young, such alliances were discouraged by the elders. When they did take place, they were endured, and the usual festivities incident to such occasions were noticeable by their absence.

The Londonderry settlement thrived in its isolation. At the time of the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, although it was strictly an agricultural town, it had become second in population and taxable wealth in the province, the town of Portsmouth only exceeding it. Not so the settlement at Worcester. In 1740 the ill feeling culminated by the burning of the Presbyterian church by the English, and thereupon the Scotch-Irish removed from that place. Some went to Colerain, Mass., a Scotch-Irish settlement west of the Connecticut river; some went to Palmer, and some, among whom was the Thornton family, came to Londonderry.

It is the identification of the Thornton family with these Scotch-Irish settlements, and the marriages of Matthew Thornton with Hannah Jack and of his sister with William Wallace, that caused me to doubt the statement that the father and mother of Matthew Thornton were English and removed from England to Ireland; rather, it induces the belief that they, whatever they might have been in their remote ancestry, were so identified in Ireland with the Scotch-Irish as to be in all essential respects Scotch-Irish in character and purpose.

Be this as it may, Matthew Thornton in his new home rose to distinction and eminence. He was not only a successful physician and surgeon, but he discovered an aptitude for civil and military affairs as well; he became wealthy also. He accompanied the expedition to Cape Breton in 1745, which resulted in the capture of Louisburg, as a surgeon in one of the New Hampshire regiments, and although the army was subjected to extraordinary exposure and fatigue, he lost only six men in his regiment. He was active in town and public affairs. He was chosen one of the selectmen in 1770, and moderator in 1770, 1771, and 1776; he was also appointed in 1771 one of his Majes-

ty's justices of the peace. He represented the town of Londonderry in the Provincial Capital legislature from 1758 to 1762, and, what was more remarkable for a man of his profession, was duly commissioned by the Royal government as colonel of the Londonderry regiment, which commission he continued to hold down to the breaking out of the Revolutionary War. Upon the division of the province into counties in 1771, he was appointed chief justice of the court of common pleas for Hillsborough county, which position he continued to fill until 1776, when he was appointed second justice of the superior court of judicature, as hereinafter stated.

The town of Thornton was named for him, and was granted to him by the Royal government in 1763. The town of Thornton should not be confounded with Thornton's Ferry, in the town of Merrimack. They have no connection with each other. Merrimack is in the southerly part of the state, whereas Thornton is in the northerly part of the state, and one hundred miles, more or less, distant therefrom. I enclose a township map of the state of New Hampshire and Vermont, which will assist in the location of the different towns mentioned in this paper. The boundaries of many of the towns have been changed since the times of which I am writing,—Londonderry among others. Originally, it was ten miles square, and embraced the present towns of Londonderry and Derry, and parts of Manchester, Chester, Salem, Windham, and Hudson.

Owing to the non-fulfilment of certain conditions attached to the grant of Thornton, it was forfeited. In 1768 the boundaries of the original grant were enlarged, and it was regranted to him with others, including his two brothers, James and Andrew Thornton, and his wife's relatives, Andrew Jack and Andrew Jack, Jr., with others. As originally granted, it contained 23,000 acres; in the second grant it contained 40,071 acres. His petition for this regrant will be found in Vol. 15, pages 566 and 567 of "Town Papers and Documents relating to Towns in New Hampshire," compiled by Isaac W. Hammond, and published in 1884 by authority of the New Hampshire legislature. He was largely interested in the grants of other town-

ships, notably of the towns of New Chester, Wilmot, and New London. Others might be mentioned.

The most important part of his public life and services is associated with the political events connected with the American Revolution, and here he appears to great distinction.

At the time of the Battle of Lexington, which took place April 19, 1775, there was no Provincial or other legislature in session. There had been, in the year 1774, what was called the First Provincial congress, a wholly unconstitutional and irregular body. It was composed of delegates from the different towns, convened upon their own motion and without authority. Their business, as appears from their records, was simply to observe public transactions and to be prepared for any emergency that might arise. The First Provincial congress met on July 21, 1774, and sent delegates to the Continental congress. It does not appear how long this congress was in session.

The Second Provincial congress, of the same character as the First, met on the 25th of January, 1775, and Matthew Thornton represented the town of Londonderry. After appointing a committee to call another congress when in their judgment the exigencies of public affairs should require, and issuing an address to the inhabitants of the province, it adjourned. These two congresses were held at the time when the Royal Provincial government, with its legislature, was in full control of the province, but such was the condition of public affairs that the Royal government had neither power nor moral influence sufficient to prevent their assemblage.

From this time forward it is safe to say that the history of the state of New Hampshire to the close of the Revolutionary War cannot be written without mention of the name and services of Matthew Thornton. They do not seem to be exceeded by those of any man in the state of New Hampshire, except it may be of Meshech Weare, of Hampton Falls, and it is questionable which of these two men was the most prominent.

As before stated, the Battle of Lexington occurred on the 19th of April, 1775, and such was the celerity of action on the part of the committee appointed to reconvene the members of the Second Provincial congress and the action of the delegates

themselves, that they assembled at Exeter on April 21, 1775. This reassembling of the delegates constituted the Third Provincial congress of New Hampshire. That congress adjourned from the 21st day of April, 1775, to the 25th day of April, 1775. Matthew Thornton did not appear on April 21st, but on April 25th he did appear as a delegate from Londonderry.¹ The reason was this: The people of Londonderry met in town-meeting on April 23, 1775, and chose Matthew Thornton moderator; and after voting to give every soldier who should go to war seven dollars a month until it should be known what the Provincial government would do, and every officer as much as was given by the Bay (Massachusetts) government, chose Matthew Thornton to go on May 31, 1775, to Watertown (near Boston, Mass.) to attend the Provincial government of that colony.²

On reassembling of the congress on April 25, 1775, there was laid before it a letter received from the Massachusetts committee of safety, detailing the Battle of Lexington; the resolution of the Massachusetts committee of safety that 30,000 men ought to be raised by the New England colonies, of which Massachusetts would raise 13,600; and requesting assistance from the province of New Hampshire. On the same day, Matthew Thornton was appointed one of the committee to answer that letter. On the next day, the committee submitted its reply for approval, in which they said that before the receipt of the committee's letter, the Provincial committee had called a new congress to meet May 17, 1775, to which the whole matter would be referred, which no doubt would coöperate in all measures thought best for the common safety; that in the meantime this Provincial congress was heartily willing to contribute in every advisable method for the common safety and would recommend the different towns to supply the men already gone to the assistance of Massachusetts with provisions and other necessaries. This letter was adopted by the congress and forwarded to the Massachusetts committee. On April 26, 1775, this congress adjourned until May 2, 1775, and on that day, when congress

¹ See Matthew Thornton, Provincial Papers, Vols. VII, VIII, and X, for much of the following data.

² See "History of Londonderry."

reassembled, the president being still absent, Matthew Thornton was chosen president *pro tempore* thereof. It does not appear when this congress adjourned.

The Fourth Provincial congress was held on the 17th of May, 1775, and Matthew Thornton again represented the town of Londonderry, and on that day was chosen president thereof. On May 18, 1775, he was appointed one of a committee to prepare a plan of ways and means for furnishing troops, which on May 20th reported that 2,000 effective men be raised to serve until December 21, 1775, and that every member pledge his honor and estate, in the name of his constituents, to pay the expense thereof, which was adopted. On the same day he was appointed one of the committee of safety, which during the recess of congress was to have full executive and legislative power in the colony, except in the matter of the appointment of field officers.

As president of this congress, he was in active correspondence with other public bodies and officials. On May 23, 1775, he addressed a letter to the Continental congress, in which, according to the statement of ex-Governor Charles H. Bell, of New Hampshire, in his history of the town of Exeter, N. H., national independence was first officially suggested. It would be beside my purpose to detail even a short account of what he did. It would appear as if his time was more than fully employed. His duties were multifarious. On one occasion it seems as if he were worn out with his labors. He had just returned from Cambridge, Mass., the headquarters of the army; his clothes had not been off but once in ten nights; his wife was ill; and the committee of safety again desired him to go to Cambridge to meet a committee of the Continental congress and gentlemen from the other New England colonies, and consult with them on public affairs. On the 8th day of November, 1775, his regiment was divided into two; the boundary lines between the two being the towns of Chester and Londonderry, and he was appointed colonel of the new Londonderry regiment. It was subsequently enlarged by the addition of the town of Pelham. He was also, on November 13, 1775, chairman of the committee to prepare a plan of representation for the people of the colony in the future, whose report made the following day

was adopted. On November 15, 1775, this congress, after presenting a vote of thanks to him for his able and faithful conduct as president, dissolved.

The Fifth Provincial congress met on the 21st of December, 1775, and Matthew Thornton again represented the town of Londonderry, and was chosen president thereof. On December 27th he was appointed chairman of a committee to draw up a plan of government for the colony. On the 5th day of January, 1776, the committee reported a plan of government, which was on the same day adopted. This was the first written constitution adopted by any of the American colonies, and it continued to be the constitution of the State of New Hampshire until the adoption of a second constitution in 1783, after the war was over. This constitution contained as one of its provisions that the Fifth Provincial congress should assume the name, power, and authority of a house of representatives or assembly for the colony of the State of New Hampshire, and that the said house should at once proceed to choose twelve persons to be a distinct and separate branch of the legislature, by the name of a council; and that no resolve or act should be valid unless agreed to and passed by both branches of the legislature. Accordingly, upon the adoption of that plan of government, the congress resolved itself into a house of representatives, and elected Matthew Thornton to be the speaker of the house. On the 6th day of January, 1776, the house proceeded to choose twelve councilors, and chose Meshech Weare the first councilor and Matthew Thornton, Esq., the second councilor, which necessitated the choice of a new speaker, and accordingly on the 8th day of January, Philips White was chosen speaker. It is not to be supposed that the election of Meshech Weare to be the first councilor was in any sense a displacement of Matthew Thornton in relative position or honor, as respects the position hitherto filled by him, for the subsequent act of the legislature in electing him to represent the state in the Continental congress effectually disproved such idea. It really placed him in the line of higher promotion.

The adoption of this constitution was such a pronounced act of independency that many delegates voted against it. So that

later, on the 27th of January, 1766, the committee of safety were directed to obtain the opinion of the Continental congress as to the wisdom of the measure. Accordingly, such a letter was written to congress, and another to the then delegates to congress, requesting immediate attention to it; for the committee say, "We expect uneasiness will remain until the same is obtained, which *we hope will settle the dust.*" Accordingly, on May 15, 1776, congress replied by a resolution applicable to all the colonies, recommending them "To adopt such government as in the opinion of their representative would best conduce to the safety and happiness of their constituents in particular, and America in general. This reply did "*settle the dust,*" for on June 15, 1776, both houses of the legislature adopted unanimously a resolution instructing their delegates in congress to declare "The thirteen united colonies a free and independent state; solemnly pledging our faith and honor that we will on our parts support the measure with our lives and fortunes." This in turn was followed by the historic Declaration of Independence, adopted by the Continental congress July 4, 1776. On the 10th of September, 1776, the Provincial legislature, having reassembled, resolved that thereafter the colony assume the name and style of New Hampshire, and all commissions, writs, and processes be issued in the name and style of the State of New Hampshire. In the meantime, however, and on January 9, 1776, Matthew Thornton was appointed on the committee to revise the laws lately in force, and to report whatever additions were necessary in the present circumstances, and on the 10th and 26th day of January he was chosen to be the second justice of the superior court of judicature for the colony. On the 12th day of June, 1776, he took the oath of office. He continued to be appointed upon all the important committees, and on July 5, 1776, was appointed one of the committee of safety, "with power to transact all the business of both houses during recess." On the next day, July 6, 1776, the congress not having heard then of the adoption on July 4, 1776, of the Declaration of Independence, adjourned to September 4, 1776.

Congress reassembled on September 4, 1776, and Matthew Thornton was again appointed upon all the important commit-

tees. On September 12, 1776, he was chosen delegate to represent the state in the Continental congress for one year then ensuing. He arrived in Philadelphia on November 3, 1776, and on the day following presented his credentials,¹ and signed the Declaration of Independence, the right to do which was reserved until January 1, 1777, to delegates not then present or chosen.

On the 23d of December, 1776, he was again appointed a delegate to the Continental congress for the term of one year from January 23, 1777. While acting as such delegate he was inoculated for small-pox, and at page 445 is a letter from him dated Baltimore, January 1, 1777, stating that owing to the weakness of his eyes, resulting from this illness, he had been unable to write oftener and more at large. There is another letter from him, dated Baltimore, January 23, 1777, thanking the Provincial congress for the second election, and advising them that a frigate is to be built at Portsmouth, etc.² He is said to have been assiduous in the performance of his duties as a delegate to the Continental congress. He declined a second election and returned to New Hampshire and resumed the performance of judicial duties as justice of the superior court.

On February the 25th, 1778, an act was passed providing for the election of delegates to meet at Concord, N. H., on June 8, 1778, to form a new plan of government. Upon the assembling of the delegates to that convention, Matthew Thornton appeared as a representative from Londonderry. This convention did not complete its labors until June 5, 1779, when it submitted a constitution to the people for adoption, and appointed Matthew Thornton and Josiah Bartlett to print and transmit the same to the different towns, and also to publish the same. On November 3, 1779, he resigned his commission as colonel of the Londonderry regiment, and on the 16th day of December, 1779, he was again chosen to his old position as councilor for the years 1779 and 1780. On the 29th of December, 1781, he wrote to Meshech Weare, president of the council from Merrimack, to which place he had removed the year previous, with

¹ See Vol. 2, "Journal of Continental Congress."

² See Vol. 1, pages 87 and 91, "Collections Topographical, Historical, and Biographical, Relating Principally to New Hampshire," by Farmer & Moore.

respect to the existing difficulties between Vermont and New Hampshire, urging in the strongest manner that armed hostilities against Vermont be not undertaken. Enclosed with this letter are some elegiac lines upon Colonel Scammell, who was killed at the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, October 6, 1781. In June, 1782, he resigned his commission as justice of the superior court, but such was the esteem in which he was held that he was immediately reappointed to the same position, which reappointment, however, he felt himself obliged to decline.

On December 8, 1783, he was chosen by the towns of Bedford and Merrimack to be their representative in the legislature, and in 1785 he was chosen from among the members of the legislature to be a member of the governor's council. It was at this session that ex-Governor Plumer, the writer of the enclosed sketch, made his acquaintance. In 1785, he was appointed a justice of the peace, and so continued until the time of his death, in 1803. He again represented the town of Merrimack in the legislature in 1786, and he was also chosen a senator, which position he held for two years. His wife's death in 1786, and that of his son in 1787, together with his own infirmities, caused his retirement from public life. He was affected with a slight palsy of the vocal organs, which affected articulation to some extent; but, nevertheless, such was its remarkable tone, as one of his biographers states, that when he did speak universal attention was given. In private life, he continued until the time of his death to be the delight and esteem of his friends and acquaintances; another biographer states that he possessed the esteem and shared the confidence of General Washington. His tastes were simple and unaffected. He was hospitable to all, and his table was seldom without guests.

He was six feet in height, had black eyes, a fine countenance, and was admirably proportioned. His portrait in oil hangs upon the wall of the upper hall in the state library at Concord, N. H. He was one of the most companionable of men. His great-grandson, John Thornton Wood, formerly of Philadelphia, now of Washington, D. C., has informed me that as late as 1863 the tradition of this phase of his character still existed

in Philadelphia. His society was sought for, notwithstanding his advancing years; and when driving to Londonderry to see again his old friends and associates, it is related that he was not permitted to undergo the difficulty of alighting from his carriage, but all, both old and young, stood around to enjoy his conversation. United to these qualities were those of great dignity of demeanor and character. Thornton's Ferry, the place of his residence, was not so called prior to the time when he removed to Merrimack. Prior to that time it was called Lutwyche's Ferry. The Merrimack river forms the eastern boundary of the township, and the Ferry is across the river to the town of Litchfield on the east bank. The Ferry had been granted to Edward Goldstone Lutwyche in 1767. He was the colonel of the Fifth Provincial regiment, and at the breaking out of the hostilities was a Loyalist. He refused to call out his regiment at the time of the battle of Lexington, and on the night of April 20, 1775, left Merrimack for Boston within the British lines, and never returned. His mother remained. She claimed to be the owner of both the farm and the Ferry, but the committees of safety for Merrimack and Litchfield forcibly took the Ferry from her, on the ground that it was her son's property, and therefore should be forfeited for the public good. She, on October 24, 1775, appealed to the congress then in session at Exeter, and they, on November 2d, promptly ordered it, together with the intermediate profits, to be restored to her. During the remainder of her life she remained in undisturbed possession. She died September 7, 1778, aged seventy-seven years, and the state committee of safety, on September 10, 1778, directed Colonel Nichols, Mr. Underwood, and Major Chase to take an inventory and possession of her estate. Her name was Sarah Lutwyche, and she is buried in the family lot of Matthew Thornton at Thornton's Ferry, where the stone at the head of her grave may still be seen.

Matthew Thornton bought the Lutwyche farm, and in 1784 petitioned the legislature for a grant of the Ferry. Many of the inhabitants of Litchfield, Merrimack, and Amherst petitioned in remonstrance, but on April 14, 1784, the legislature, by an act passed that day, granted the Ferry to him, since which time the

place has been and is now known and called by the name of Thornton's Ferry. You will find the account of these matters in Vol. 11, "Town Papers," published by the legislature in 1882, at page 93; and Vol. 12, "Town Papers," published in 1883, at pages 239, 586-591. In this last volume you will find at the pages named that this Matthew Thornton was the signer of the Declaration of Independence, and that he died June 24, 1803, at the age of eighty-nine years. The Lutwyche farm was a beautiful one, lying upon the intervalle of the river. The house was of frame, large, double, with two stories, and a peaked roof. I have seen it many times. When the Concord railroad was built, in 1842, it was condemned, with the strip taken for the track, and for many years was the railroad station. My father-in-law, John Andrew McGaw, has told me interesting incidents of his boyhood connected with it when he was visiting his uncle, James Thornton's family. Within a few years it has been taken down. Some of the magnificent elms yet remain.

While living at Thornton's Ferry, and as late as 1797, a dispute arose respecting the boundary lines of the town of Thornton, before mentioned, concerning which Matthew Thornton addressed a long letter to the legislature then in session, dated Merrimack, June 6, 1797, relating to the merits of the controversy. In this letter he states the reasons why he allowed the first grant to be forfeited, and his efforts in obtaining settlers and building grist- and saw-mills after obtaining the second grant. This letter will be found in Vol. 13, "Town Papers," published in 1884, at page 572. At page 566 of the same volume it is stated that this Matthew Thornton was the signer of the Declaration of Independence. While living at Thornton's Ferry many conveyances of land were made to him. In a letter addressed to me by the register of deeds of Hillsborough county, N. H., he says that more than a score are recorded, the last of which was in the year 1803.

In addition to the authorities to which I have already-referred, I give you the following, where you will find biographical sketches of his life, residence, time and place of death, and place of burial: "Biographies of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence," by Sanderson, published by R. W. Pomeroy, 1824,

Vol. 5, page 33; "Biographies of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence," by Carroll Judson of Philadelphia, published at Philadelphia, 1839; "Sketches of the Lives of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence," by N. Dwight, published at New York by J. & J. Harpers, 1830; "Lives of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence," by B. J. Lossing, published in 1870, at page 20; "Lossing's Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution," Vol. 2, page 660, wherein at page 80 will be found a facsimile of his signature; "Sketches of the History of New Hampshire," by John M. Whiton, published at Concord, N. H., 1834; a sketch of Matthew Thornton in "Collections Topographical, Historical, and Biographical, Relating Principally to New Hampshire," by J. Farmer and J. B. Moore, published by Hill & Moore, Concord, N. H., 1822, and reprinted in 1831, in three volumes, Vol. 1, pages 87-91, in the last of which you will find a fragment of the funeral sermon preached by the Rev. Dr. Burnap, the clergyman settled at Merrimack, upon the occasion of the death of Matthew Thornton the Sunday after his burial, and an anecdote of his related in 1799; "History of Londonderry, New Hampshire," by Edward Lutwyche Parker, D. D., published about 1850; "Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography," published by D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1887, Vol. 6, page 104, with his portrait; "Biographical Annals of the Civil Government of the United States," by Lannan, published in New York, 1887, at page 499; "Drake's Dictionary of American Biography," page 908; "Dictionary of the United States Congress," published in 1868; "Johnson's Universal Cyclopaedia," vol. 8, page 2, and the sketch of ex-Governor Plumer of New Hampshire herewith inclosed. Governor Plumer was accustomed, whenever a prominent man died with whom he had acquaintance, to write a brief sketch of his life. Upon his death, his large collection of papers and manuscripts was presented to the New Hampshire Historical Society at Concord, N. H. I obtained this copy from the librarian. The sketch is peculiarly valuable in this instance, for he had personal acquaintance with the subject, and occupied the same chamber with him during the session of the legislature in 1785.

I have not given this long list for the purpose of cumulating

authorities, but that you might find some out of the whole number at your command, whereas if I made the selection, I might not choose those which you might find. I think you will find the first sketch mentioned the best for portrayal of his personal characteristics. In addition to the foregoing, I myself have additional authority. It is this: Matthew Patten of Bedford, one of its early settlers, kept a diary from 1752 to 1788. I have that diary. This Matthew Patten represented the town in the Provincial congress at Exeter; was one of the committee of safety and judge of probate for Hillsborough county. He was well acquainted with Matthew Thornton. I find in the diary several references to him after he removed to Merrimack, in which he speaks of him as then living at Thornton's Ferry. On one occasion Patten surveyed some land for him, being accompanied by his son, James Thornton. On another, he was at his house. On another, his mare escaped, and after much search word was brought to him that she was at Col. Matthew Thornton's, at Thornton's Ferry. One entry in particular is worthy of mention, as it gives independent evidence that the maiden name of Matthew Thornton's wife was Hannah Jack. Matthew Patten had a law suit with one William Moore of Bedford, which was to be tried before the superior court at Amherst, in that county. When the case was called for trial, Judge Thornton announced that he would not sit in the case, because the wife of William Moore was an aunt of his (Judge Thornton's) wife, and in consequence the case was continued until the next term, much to Patten's disgust. The "History of the Town of Bedford," published in 1851, gives the genealogy of the Moore family. I find it there stated that William Moore came from Londonderry to Bedford, and that his wife's maiden name was Molly Jack, of Londonderry. My father-in-law, before mentioned, lived one winter, in his early boyhood, with a son of this William Moore, at the old Moore house at Bedford. He used to call this son Uncle Billy.

It is now time to pause. I have written more than enough to demonstrate that Matthew Thornton, the signer of the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, from that day in April, 1775, in that town-meeting in Londonderry,

when as yet he did not know what the Provincial congress of his own province of New Hampshire would do, voted to give pay to the soldiers and officers who should go to war, and thereupon was chosen to meet the Provincial government of Massachusetts at Watertown, Mass., was, and continued to be all through the vicissitudes of that contest and after, down to the day of his death, as certain as the eternal verities, loyal only to the Declaration of Independence, to which he set his hand and thereby made himself immortal and his descendants honorable. Equally as certain is it, that he lived at the Thornton Ferry farm from 1780 to the day of his death; that he died at Newburyport, Mass., while on a visit to his daughter, Mrs. John McGaw, and that he is buried in the graveyard at Thornton's Ferry.

Two generations of children and grandchildren, and many of the third generation, have passed away since he died, without any intimation from any source that they were in ignorance of their lineage; and now that it is given, let him answer who can, for whom did that company of mourners away back in 1803 shed their tears; over whose grave did Dr. Burnap preach that funeral sermon; and to whose memory was that stone standing at the head of his grave erected, if not to the memory of the man whose loss they deplored and whose name is inscribed thereon? If any one, with all this weight of evidence before him, can prove the contrary, it is incumbent upon him to do it. If doubts still remain, let him, if possible, reconcile them with the spirit that has caused this monument to be erected to his honor by the state, for who ever heard of a people honoring by public tribute the memory of one who expatriated himself because he did not like, and would not live with them under, a government which, above all things else, they passionately love and adore!

In fine, it is as irrational as it is impossible to suppose Matthew Thornton, the signer, to have been a Loyalist, and as such to have received a grant of land from the Crown, for by the terms of the definite treaty of peace between His Majesty and the Thirteen Colonies, dated September 3, 1783, and ratified January 14, 1784, Loyalists were only allowed to stay in this country for twelve months thereafter, during which time, and afterwards

as late as and later than 1786, he was holding offices of public honor and trust in the New Hampshire legislature. If he had been so base as to approach the British government for a grant of land on the ground of his loyalty to the Crown, he would have been justly spurned as an impostor, and no one would care to number him among his ancestors.

Second. I now proceed to state who I think the Matthew Thornton who emigrated to New Brunswick as a Loyalist was. I believe him to have been a nephew of Matthew Thornton, the signer. Matthew Thornton, the signer, had two brothers and one sister. Their names were James, Andrew, and Hannah. I can give the names of the children of the sister. I have not been able to ascertain yet the names of all the children of these brothers; I can only conjecture the names of some of them. Those of the sister are on the inclosed register, and they can be verified by looking at the histories of Londonderry and Bedford, from which I have taken them.

James Thornton and Andrew Thornton, the brothers of Matthew Thornton, the signer, were co-grantees of the town of Thornton with him in 1768. At that time there were only four men dwelling in that town.¹ Settlements began to be made in 1770, and in 1773 there were 18 polls—that is, 18 adult males, 3 horses, 1 two-year-old colt, 6 oxen, 15 cows, 2 two-year-olds, and 35 acres of land—that is, cultivated. On September 20, 1775, according to the census then taken, there were 26 males under 16 years, 26 males from 16 to 50 years of age, not in the army; 5 males above 50 years of age, 8 males in the army, and 52 females. There were also 6 firearms and 3 pounds of powder. In 1786 the number of inhabitants had increased to 302. It is much to be regretted that the names of the inhabitants in these three censuses are not given.

In 1775 there lived in the town of Thornton a certain Capt. Matthew Thornton, whom I suppose to be the nephew of Matthew Thornton, the signer, and who afterwards emigrated to New Brunswick. John Wallace, the son of Hannah Thornton and William Wallace, was there at that time also. James Thornton, Andrew Thornton, and William Thornton were also there

¹ See "Petition," "State Papers," Vol. 13, page 567.

at a very early period. James was a selectman as early as 1779 William Thornton, who was a son of either James or Andrew, appears to have been an inhabitant of Londonderry in 1774, but between 1768 and June, 1776, I believe the brothers of Matthew Thornton, the signer, with their families, had all removed to Thornton, and resided there. This conclusion is almost irresistible from the two facts that the "Association Test," which was on June 24, 1776, returned by the selectmen of Londonderry to the committee of safety, did not bear the signature of any person by the name of Thornton except that of Matthew Thornton, the signer; nor was the name of any person by the name of Thornton reported as refusing to sign it. The other of the two facts is, that there is not to be found upon the rolls of soldiers who went into the army from Londonderry any person by the name of Thornton.

The "Association Test" was as follows: "We, the subscribers, do hereby solemnly engage and promise that we will to the utmost of our power, at the risque of our lives and fortunes, with arms, oppose the hostile proceedings of the British Fleets and armies against The United American Colonies."

This test was sent to the selectmen of the different towns, requesting them to desire all males above twenty-one years of age, lunatics, idiots, and negroes excepted, to sign the same, and to return the same together with all the names of those who refuse to sign the same to the "General Assembly or Committee of Safety." In the whole state, 8,199 signed and 773 refused to sign. The names of those who signed and who refused to sign are to be found in Vol. 8, "State Papers," pages 204 to 296. The returns from some towns were lost, among them the town of Thornton. The inference, therefore, that the Thornton family, other than that of Matthew Thornton, the signer, had removed to the town of Thornton, would seem to be established.

As before stated, there was in 1775 resident in Thornton a certain Capt. Matthew Thornton, and he was elected a delegate to the Third Provincial congress, which met at Exeter, April 21, 1775. In the list of delegates he is given the title of Capt. Matthew Thornton, whereas Matthew Thornton of Londonderry

is given the title of esquire. Ever afterwards, in the Journal of this and the succeeding congresses, the former is called Capt. Matthew Thornton, and the latter is called either Colonel Thornton or the Hon. Matthew Thornton, Esq., or President Thornton. In a foot-note at the bottom of the page of the list of delegates, Captain Matthew Thornton is said to be an early settler in the town of Thornton and a nephew of Matthew Thornton, Esq., of Londonderry. He was returned as a delegate from the towns of Thornton and Holderness to the Fourth Provincial congress, which met at Exeter, May 7, 1775. He was appointed to various committees, but always by his title of captain; for instance, on the 30th of June, 1775, he was one of the committee to take from the custody of Colonel Fenton, who was declared at the same time to be an enemy of his country, the files and records of the court of common pleas, etc., of the county of Grafton (in which county the town of Thornton is located), and deliver them to Col. John Hurd. Again, on July 4, 1775, he was added to a committee for bringing in a plan for regulating the militia. On July 6, 1775, he was recommended to be the lieutenant of a company which Capt. James Osgood was authorized to enlist. His name does not appear afterwards in that congress. That congress dissolved November 15, 1775, and he was not present to receive his fees for travel and attendance. He attended only eleven days, and he, as Capt. Matthew Thornton, of Thornton (so stated in the roll), was entitled to three pounds, seventeen shillings, and this was receipted for as follows: "Rec'd for Matthew Thornton per M. Thornton." I presume "M. Thornton" was Matthew Thornton of Londonderry, for the reason that, so far as I know, there was no other Thornton than these two whose Christian names had that initial letter; whereas, according to the same roll, Hon. Matthew Thornton, Esq., of Londonderry, was entitled to thirteen pounds, one shilling, four pence, and he receipted for the same himself. This is the congress of which, as before stated, Matthew Thornton was elected president.

The reason why Captain Thornton's name does not appear in the proceedings of that congress after July 6, 1775, was that he was commissioned as first lieutenant of Captain Osgood's com

pany, and was mustered into the Continental army. Thus, on June 23, 1775, he was recommended by the name of Captain Matthew Thornton, by David Hobart, David Webster, and Samuel Sheppard, of Plymouth, to the committee of safety as a fit person to enlist a company. Immediately following is this note: "The foregoing relates to Matthew Thornton, of the town of Thornton, who was arrested in 1777 for toryism. He enlisted a company, as per the following roll recently found by the editor in Washington." That roll was copied from the original in the pension bureau at Washington, and is found on the next page and is headed "A Muster Role of the Company enlisted by Matthew Thornton, Captain, A. D. 1775." In the records of the committee of safety, of which, it will be recollected, Matthew Thornton, the signer, was chairman, appears the following entry: "July, 1775, gave Matthew Thornton orders to enlist forty-three able-bodied men as soldiers."¹ This volume is an exact copy of the records of the committee of safety.

He enlisted a company, which was mustered in July 24, 1775, as appears by the said roll, to be found in Vol. 17, "State Papers," page 14, among whom was John Wallace, of Thornton, presumably his cousin, son of William Wallace and Hannah Thornton; Thomas Crawford and Jonathan Crawford, of New Chester, farmers, aged respectively twenty-six and twenty-eight years. This company of forty-three men formed the major part of Capt. James Osgood's company, of which Capt. Matthew Thornton was the first lieutenant. The names of the officers and privates of that company are to be found in Vol. 14, of "State Papers," at pages 166-168. He served in that capacity under Colonel Timothy Bedell in the expedition against Canada. Between enlistment and going into actual service, it would seem as if Capt. Matthew Thornton had been at the headquarters of the Continental army at Cambridge, Mass., for in a letter dated August 7, 1775, by Matthew Thornton, chairman of the committee of safety, to Colonel Bedell, in which Captain Thornton is mentioned as the bearer thereof, it is said that he also bears a letter from General Sullivan, and he is requested to take Captain Thornton with him to General Schuyler at Crown

¹ Collections of the N. H. Historical Society, Vol. 7, p. 12.

Point, and endeavor to get the three companies, of which Osgood's was one, into the Continental service. General Schuyler had command of the northern department of the Continental army. This was accomplished, for the three companies marched from Haverhill, N. H., about September 8, 1775, and on November 2, 1775, captured the Fort St. John, and took some six hundred prisoners and munitions of war. His term of enlistment having expired, he was discharged December 21, 1775. On January 27, 1776, the General Assembly voted that the account of Capt. Matthew Thornton, amounting to 7 pounds, 11 shillings, 6 pence, be paid. On February 3, 1776, the committee of safety gave directions to pay off Colonel Bedell's companies, Lieutenant Thornton's, and Ensign Wheeler's, and on the 10th of February, 1776, it ordered the treasurer to pay Capt. Matthew Thornton his wages and price or rations as made up in the roll, amounting to 18 pounds, 19 shillings, 2 pence.¹

Nothing further is to be found in the printed records from this time concerning Capt. Matthew Thornton until September 30, 1777, when Col. John Hurd, writing to the committee of safety from Haverhill, N. H., advises them of his being present at Plymouth, when Capt. Matthew Thornton was arrested as a traitor. In this letter he says that at the Battle of Bennington, which took place August 16, 1777, Col. Charles Johnston informed him that Capt. Matthew Thornton was captured with the Hessians, inside the breastworks. Thornton claimed at this examination that he had been over to Otter Creek to see his land and had been captured by the Hessians, who made him go with their army to assist in driving wagons, but that he did not bear arms; that when he was captured he was taken with the wagoners. Col. John Hurd adds that Colonel Johnston assured him that when Thornton was captured there was not a wagon near him. There was testimony of suspicious conversation by Thornton with a man by the name of John Way, of Haverhill, when Thornton was going out to Otter Creek and of his sudden disappearance, which seemed to have weight.

The result of the examination was adverse to Thornton, and he was sent to Exeter and confined in the jail at that place. On

¹ N. H. Historical Collections, Vol. 7, pp. 38, 39.

August 19 1778, a committee was appointed to examine into and consider the cases and circumstances of the several prisoners in Exeter jail, and to report what measures were best to be taken with them in the future, and they reported that Matthew Thornton be confined in jail until the superior court should sit in the county of Grafton, and then carried there and tried, agreeable to the laws of the state, which report was received and accepted. In a foot-note the editor says,—“this Matthew Thornton was of the town of Thornton in Grafton County.”

On November 7, 1778, congress voted that Mr. Thornton, brother to Matthew Thornton, Jr., now in the prison at Exeter, be admitted to visit his said brother in prison, the prison-keeper attending him. On December 24, 1778, upon petition of Matthew Thornton, Jr., prisoner, to the General Assembly, he was granted the liberty of the prison yard upon giving bond in 2,000 pounds, with two sureties, that he would remain a true prisoner and not escape until further orders of the General Assembly or committee of safety, or be discharged according to law.¹ On April 3, 1779, an act was passed for the trial of Matthew Thornton in the county of Strafford. On June 3, 1779, a vote was passed “that Capt. Ebenezer Webster be and hereby is directed to repair to Boscawen, or elsewhere, and see what evidence he can procure against one Matthew Thornton, a State prisoner now in the jail at Exeter, for treason against this State and the United States, and make return of his success therein to the House or Committee of Safety of this State as soon as may be;” and on the 26th day of June, 1779, another vote was passed “that Ebenezer Webster be and hereby is directed in behalf of the State to collect all the evidence that he can find against Matthew Thornton, a State prisoner for treason against the United States, and have him before the Superior Court of the County of Rockingham in July next.” These two votes are expressed more fully in Vol. 10, of the “Manuscript Records,” in the office of the secretary of state than they are in the printed records. On the 26th day of June, 1779, an act was passed repealing the act for the trial of Matthew Thornton in

¹ Manuscript Records of the House of Representatives, in the secretary of state's office at Concord, N. H., Vol. 10.

the county of Strafford and authorizing the superior court to try the said Matthew Thornton in the county of Rockingham.

Accordingly, at the September term of the superior court of judicature held on the first Tuesday of September, 1779, the superior court met. Present, Hon. Meshech Weare, chief justice; the Hon. Matthew Thornton, Leverett Hubbard, and John Wentworth, Esqs., associate justices. Matthew Thornton, of the town of Thornton, in the county of Grafton, gentleman, was indicted for traitorously levying war and conspiring to levy war against the state of New Hampshire and the United States at a place called Bennington, on the 6th of August, 1777, to which indictment he pleaded not guilty. Evidence was given both for and against the prisoner, and the jury found him not guilty, whereupon he was discharged and set at liberty. I have a certified copy of the record and herewith enclose a copy. You will observe that the initials of Matthew Thornton do not appear in the margin of the indictment underneath the title of the case, whereas the initials of the three other justices do appear. This shows that he did not sit in the case. As he was present at that term of the court and sat in other cases tried before and after this particular one, the only inference is that he was disqualified to act by reason of kinship. The names of the twelve men given in full on the margin of the indictment are the jurors who sat in the case.

Now whatever may have been the merits or want of them in the arrest and prosecution of Capt. Matthew Thornton, the verdict of the jury must be accepted as final. Yet much can be said. It might have been that the adoption of the plan of government in January, 1776, followed by the association test and the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, did not commend themselves to the judgment of Capt. Matthew Thornton, who up to that time could have considered himself as fighting within legitimate opposition to tyrannical measures. After those acts, he could not have fought without really intending independency, and therefore he might have desired to make his peace, as the advance of Burgoyne's army gave promise of success to the British arms. We cannot say. One thing is cer-

tain, to have been with the Hessians and captured at Bennington, was an exceedingly ugly fact. There was in that battle an armed contingent of Tories who participated in the fight. One hundred and fifty-seven were taken prisoners *alive*. David Hobart, of Plymouth, who had recommended Captain Thornton in 1775 as a fit person to raise a company, was in command of the Twelfth regiment of the New Hampshire militia. He, with Colonel Stickney, led the detachment against the Tory breastworks, where the fighting was most desperate. The truth is, no quarter was given by either to the other, and the work of death was finished by bayonets and clubbed muskets. It was fortunate for him that he escaped with his life. Probably old acquaintance with Hobart saved him.

There were many soldiers from Londonderry, some from Thornton, and some from towns near by, and these two might have passed him by. At any rate, he was not killed. The reason given by him explaining his presence there, seems to me to be doubtful. He was already settled in a frontier town with a wife and young family, and what could such a man be doing with land 150 miles distant, on Otter Creek, in Vermont, and at a time, he must have known, he would be directly in the path of Burgoyne's army. I am inclined to believe that the lapse of the two years of time during his stay in Exeter jail, his relationship to Matthew Thornton, the signer, and a natural clemency of feeling which is opposed to capital punishment, served him in good stead on the day of his trial. The name of the wife of this Capt. Matthew Thornton, of Thornton, was Mary. This appears from the records of the committee of safety, under date of January 5, 1779, where the following entry appears: "The Committee met and ordered one John Chandler of Boscawen to deliver to Mary Thornton, wife of Matthew Thornton, now in the Exeter jail, a sleigh belonging to the said Thornton, in his custody." ¹

Another circumstance may be mentioned. In your letter to Mrs. Woodbury, you say that the name of the fifth child of Matthew Thornton and Mary Crawford, is Jane Livermore. She was undoubtedly named for Jane Brown, the wife of Samuel

¹ See "Collections of the N. H. Historical Society," Vol. 7, p. 173.

Livermore, of Holderness, N. H., a town in the near vicinity of Thornton, N. H., which town together with the town of Thornton, Capt. Matthew Thornton represented in the Fourth Provincial congress.

Samuel Livermore married Jane Brown of Portsmouth, N. H., and settled in Holderness about the year 1765, and was a very important man. He was chief justice of the superior court of the state from 1782 to 1790; member of the United States house of representatives, 1790 to 1793; and also United States senator for six years. He died in 1803.¹ There was doubtless more or less intimacy between the families, which justified the name for the child. In the history of Londonderry, it is stated that Samuel Livermore resided in that town for some time before he settled in Holderness, and the acquaintance probably began there.

It seems to me to be pretty clear that this Capt. Matthew Thornton is the Matthew Thornton who emigrated to New Brunswick. My reasons are the following :

First. They have the same name.

Second. They are from the same state, New Hampshire.

Third. The Christian name of the wife of both of them is the same.

Fourth. The daughter, Jane Livermore, is named for a person who must have been favorably known to them both.

Fifth. That they had the same political principles, for if Capt. Matthew Thornton was justly imprisoned, then he was a Loyalist; and if he was unjustly imprisoned, I think the two years, confinement in Exeter jail would have made him one. At any rate, life in Thornton thereafter would have been unpleasant, and the thought of it would have tended to make him emigrate.

Sixth. The absence of Capt. Matthew Thornton and his family from the town of Thornton, immediately following the war.

It seems also to me to be reasonably certain that this Capt. Matthew Thornton was the nephew of Matthew Thornton, the signer.

First. He must have been some relation or he would not have settled in the town of Thornton immediately upon its regrant.

¹ See Collections of the "N. H. Historical Society," Vol. 5, p. 221.

Second. The fact that Matthew Thornton the signer, receipted for his pay, as a member of the Fourth Provincial congress, is consistent with relationship and the confidence arising therefrom.

Third. The fact that during his imprisonment, he styled himself junior, which word signifies the younger of two men bearing the same name, belonging to the same family, and is not confined to distinguish father and son.

Fourth. The fact that Matthew Thornton, the signer, did not sit upon his trial for high treason, for which there would have been no good reason, if they were not related to each other.

Fifth. He could not have been an uncle, for, as he was married in 1768, he was too young to be an uncle; besides there is no evidence that James Thornton, the father of Matthew Thornton, the signer, had any brothers who came to this country.

Sixth. He could not have been a brother, for he bore the same name.

Seventh. He could not have been a son, for Matthew Thornton, the signer, had a son named Matthew Thornton, born 1773.

Eighth. He could have been a nephew, or

Ninth. He could have been a cousin.

In the absence of any knowledge that any brother of James Thornton, the father of Matthew Thornton, the signer, ever came to this country, it is more reasonable to suppose that Captain Thornton was a nephew.

I have made some endeavors to ascertain who Mary Crawford, the wife of Capt. Matthew Thornton was, but I have not found anything satisfactory. The names of James and Jonathan Crawford of New Chester, who enlisted in Captain Thornton's company of forty-three men, suggested a clue, but I cannot work it out until I go back to New Hampshire.

The old town of New Chester has been divided into three towns, and is now known by the names of Hill, Bristol, and Bridgewater. The farms of Thomas and Jonathan Crawford were in that part now called Bridgewater. Their records do not precede 1788, and the earliest marriage of any one by the name of Mary Crawford was on May 16, 1790, when a person

by the name was married to Nathaniel Cummings, which was solemnized by Thomas Crawford, justice of the peace. Could Mary Crawford be a sister to Thomas and Jonathan, and an aunt to this Mary Crawford who married Cummings? There is no stream there now known as Crawford Burn.

New Chester was settled largely from the town of Chester, which adjoins Londonderry. There were Crawfords residing there, and in the history of the town, it is stated that there was a large brook upon which a Crawford had mills, presumably grist- and saw-mills. Was this brook the Crawford Burn? In the genealogy of these Crawfords, no mention is made of a Mary Crawford. There was a Crawford family which lived at Worcester, Mass., some members of which were Loyalists, and after the war settled in New Brunswick. It is possible that Capt. Matthew Thornton married one of this family, and that they emigrated to New Brunswick together. I find mention of this in a book called "American Loyalists," written by Sabine, an American, where may be found the names of many of those who emigrated after the war, but I do not find any mention of Matthew Thornton. Our literature is exceedingly meagre upon this subject. If you know of any work which purports to give any complete list of such emigrants who settled in New Brunswick or Nova Scotia, or any work which makes mention of Matthew Thornton, when he emigrated, or where he settled, I would be much obliged to you, if you would give me its title, and where it may be purchased, and I will immediately send for it. I judge from your letter to Mrs. Woodbury, that there is such a work, and I hoped to find it in our public libraries here, but none such can be found.

Upon a review of the whole case, it has occurred to me that there may be a solution to your belief that your Matthew Thornton was the "signer." That solution depends upon the word "signer." "Signer" of what? I think it very probable that he "signed" the Association Test, and that he was called "signer" for that reason. That test was circulated through all the colonies, and either signed or refused by every one. It is a historic act, and was regarded as of the utmost importance. It was intended for two reasons: First, to know just how the people

felt, upon whom to rely, whom to fear ; and second, to fix firmly in their position those who did sign it. There were, undoubtedly, many who signed it under mental and physical compulsion, and also by some who afterwards changed their views. My examination of the records, in looking up this matter, has discovered some such instances. It is possible that your Matthew Thornton was such a "signer," and claimed so to be and was so recognized ; but, somehow or other, by bearing the same name as he who actually did sign the Declaration of Independence, in the lapse of time the idea has, by those who are not familiar with the distinction, become transferred from signifying the signing of the Association Test to that of the Declaration of Independence. If this be not the true solution, I have none other at present to offer. I think, however, that it is.

The foregoing is all the information I have at present upon the subject of the identity of Matthew Thornton, the signer, and of his nephew, Capt. Matthew Thornton. If it in any respect increases your stock of information, I shall be glad. Above all things, what we want most is truth. If you have any facts which throw light on the subject, I shall be pleased to receive them. At any rate, if you can get me the dates of the birth and death of your Matthew Thornton, when he left New Hampshire, when he arrived in New Brunswick, the names of his father and mother, of his brothers and sisters, their residence, births, and deaths, and the same of his wife, Mary Crawford, the dates of the births and deaths of their children, so that an intelligent comparison can be made between him and his family and the signer and his family, it would be exceedingly helpful, and serve to complete the family register.

In conclusion, let me say that your letter to Mrs. Woodbury was the first intimation to the present representatives of the family in New Hampshire of the existence of any relative in New Brunswick, except it may be some correspondence with Mrs. William H. Fenn, of Portland, Me., which, for some reason, was not continued. The memory of the collateral branches had completely disappeared.

If now it shall be restored, and we can become known to each other, it will be a source of gratification to us all.

Mr. Stearns accompanied the presentation with a brief address on Col. Matthew Thornton, one of the New Hampshire signers of the Declaration of Independence, and Capt. Matthew Thornton, the Loyalist who was confined in Exeter jail as a Tory, and subsequently emigrated to New Brunswick. These two persons, conspicuous in the history of the State at the same time and bearing the same name, having been the cause of confusion in some instances in the historical literature of the State, the members of the Society were urged by Mr. Stearns to make systematic efforts to correct such inaccuracies and obtain a correct history of the lives of each of the men, the one a patriot and the other under suspicions for a time at least of disloyalty, and their relationship to each other.

The thanks of the President and other members of the Society were tendered to Mr. Stearns for his interest in the matter, and the wish expressed by Mr. Stearns and others that the research might be carried further by members of the Society generally.

At 3 o'clock p. m., voted to adjourn to the date fixed for the annual meeting, the second Wednesday in June next.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,
Secretary.

CONCORD, N. H., June 10, 1896.

The seventy-fourth annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held in the Society's rooms in Concord on Wednesday, June 10, 1896, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, about thirty members being in attendance, and the president, Hon. Benjamin A. Kimball, in the chair.

The records of the several meetings held during the past year were read by the secretary and approved by the Society.

Pending the receipt of the auditor's report, the report of the treasurer was read as follows :

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The treasurer respectfully submits the following report of receipts and expenditures for the year ending June 9, 1896 :

RECEIPTS.

Balance from last year	\$14,670.94	
Cash received from initiation fees	50.00	
assessments	381.00	
interest on funds	583.73	
state appropriation	500.00	
sale of books	68.39	
	<hr/>	\$16,254.06

EXPENDITURES.

To paid account salary, N. F. Carter, librarian	\$500.00
incidentals, N. F. Carter	62.20
postage	30.50
insurance, Eastman & Merrill	45.82
fuel, A. N. Day	45.50
printing and binding, Republican Press Association	407.07
John B. Clarke Co.	131.49
Ira C. Evans	19.95
Stockbridge & Sanders books purchased	111.34
incidentals	19.00

SPECIAL REPAIRS.

To paid account Damon Safe Co., vault doors	\$125.00
stove and repairs, F. H. George	11.00
furnace, Williams & Green	133.48
work, E. B. Hutchin- son Building Co.	2,092.35
grading, George W. Chesley	14.00

To paid account painting, B. J. Bil-		
borough	\$94.25	
furniture, H. A. Mac-		
donald	45.45	
plumbing, Lee Bros.	146.68	
		\$4,045.73
		<hr/>
		\$12,208.33
Permanent funds	\$11,000.00	
Current funds	1,208.33	
	<hr/>	\$12,208.33

Respectfully submitted,

W. P. FISKE, *Treasurer.*

Concord, N. H., June 10, 1896.

Next followed a verbal report of the Corresponding Secretary, Hon. Sylvester Dana, and the same was accepted.

The report of the librarian was then called for, and presented as follows:

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

To the Members of the New Hampshire Historical Society:

The work of the past year has gone on under many disadvantages and much confusion, and made luminous revelation of the Library's needs. The vote at the last annual meeting to make extensive alterations and improvements in the Society's rooms, to meet imperative demands in view of its increase and prospective growth, and not fully consummated till the following December, necessitated repeated removals to and fro of its large accumulations of newspapers and relics, till the papers were placed in the new room fitted up to receive them, or packed away where convenient space, not needed for books and pamphlets, offered. These had to be brought together, classified, and arranged as far as practicable, to be ready for future use.

The plans resulting from these improvements also necessitated a rearrangement of the Library proper, a work involving, before it is completed, long and painstaking patience. This has been begun, and in course of time, we trust, will be satisfactorily accomplished, and bring the Library into such shape as its importance deserves, and make it readily and wholly accessible for such reference as may be desired by its many patrons. After the much-needed and proper classification is completed, a renumbering and new cataloguing will be necessary. This will follow as fast as time will allow. Not till finished will the Library be in best running order.

As there are no means of comfortably heating the two upper floors, after the room in which we are assembled was fitted up with cases, the books oftenest needed for consultation, such as histories, genealogies, state papers, government publications, and publications of the different historical societies, were brought down stairs, and, as you see, arranged in some order, becoming a prophecy of what we hope the entire Library will be by and by.

The accessions to the Library the past year have been 236 bound volumes and 851 pamphlets, a total of 1,117, exclusive of several hundreds of magazines, catalogues, and town reports received from various sources. Adding to the 12,063, as given in the Librarian's report for 1895, those received and bound during the present year, 390 in all, the Library has to-day 12,453 bound volumes.

During the past year contributions have been received from the following persons :

Edward Atkinson,	1	Samuel C. Eastman,	2
Albert S. Batchellor,	3	Frank G. Edgerly,	1
Henry M. Baker,	5	John C. Emerson,	1
George L. Balcom,	1	Trueworthy E. Fowler,	1
Charles P. Bancroft,	2	Edward Frossard,	1
James G. Barnwell,	1	Samuel L. Gerould,	3
John O. Barrows,	1	George C. Gilmore,	1
H. H. Bellas,	1	John M. Glidden,	1
Henry W. Blair,	5	Samuel A. Green,	28
Henry C. Blinn,	9	Otis G. Hammond,	1
John B. Bouton,	1	Anthony C. Hardy,	2
Miss M. Brown,	1	Charles W. Hardy,	5
Charles C. Carpenter,	2	Mrs. S. W. Hale,	1
N. F. Carter,	22	John T. Hassam,	1
Emily E. Chaffee,	1	Henry A. Hazen,	1
J. P. Chittenden,	1	Miss Alma J. Herbert,	2
J. P. Cilley,	27	Fred Hildreth,	1
Frank G. Clark,	8	William L. Himes,	65
George P. Cleaves,	2	Henry E. Hovey,	1
William R. Cochrane,	1	J. Elizabeth Hoyt,	17
G. P. Conn,	1	William Hurlin,	16
Howard M. Cook,	1	Joseph C. A. Hill,	111
Sylvester Dana,	1	Samuel P. Leeds,	1
J. W. Dean,	2	A. Leffingwell,	1
B. F. DeCosta,	1	P. H. Larkin,	6
Miss Lucy Dow,	1	Charles C. Lord,	1
Edson C. Eastman,	2	Horace P. McClary,	1

Edward McDonald,	1	Lucien Thompson,	1
Miss Annie A. McFarland,	1	John C. Thorne,	1
C. B. Miller,	1	Henry Walker,	1
Miss Sarah J. Mooney,	9	Isaac Walker,	1
M. L. Montgomery,	1	Joseph B. Walker,	7
R. A. Musgrove,	1	Irving A. Watson,	1
Hiram Orcutt,	1	W. Seward Webb,	1
Miss Mary E. Osgood,	9	Henry B. Wicom,	1
Daniel Pepper,	1	E. R. Wilkins,	49
George A. Pillsbury,	1	Mrs. D. E. Willard,	3
Eben Putnam,	1	D. E. Willard,	5
Joseph B. Sawyer,	1	A. W. Whelpley,	1
Mrs. Aaron Smith,	7	Augustus Woodbury,	1
Ezra S. Stearns,	3	Mrs. A. Woodbury,	1
George F. Stone,	1		

Books and pamphlets were received from historical and other societies as follows :

American Antiquarian,	2	Oneida,	4
American Catholic,	8	Pennsylvania,	4
American Humane,	2	Presbyterian,	1
Buffalo,	2	Rhode Island,	4
Essex Institute,	1	Western Reserve,	4
Fairfield County,	1	Wisconsin,	5
Iowa,	1	Yonkers,	2
Louisiana,	1	Historical Register Co.,	1
Knox County, Me.,	4	Iowa Geological Survey,	1
Maine,	3	Johns Hopkins University,	8
Massachusetts,	6	Record Com's, Providence,	1
Montana,	1	Smithsonian Institution,	9
New England,	11	Worcester Soc. of Antiquity,	15
New York,	2	Government,	117
Nebraska,	1		

The following books, papers, reports, and pamphlets have been received as gifts, or in exchange :

From Miss Frances M. Abbott, Vassar Miscellany, 10 vols., and Vassar catalogues, 17.

Mrs. Charles H. Bell, a large box of pamphlets.

American Bible Society, Annual Reports, 11 numbers.

A. P. Carpenter, old plans of Bath and other towns.

Henry L. Cobb, Church Building Quarterly, 21 Nos.

Dartmouth College, Congregational Quarterly, 2 vols.; Atlantic Monthly, 1 vol.; North American Review, 6 Nos.; and several Nos. of African Repository, and catalogues.

- From Drew Theological Seminary, several books and catalogues.
 Alfred L. Elwyn, a box of John Langdon's commercial papers.
 Mrs. George E. Jenks, State Papers, vols. I-XIII, and duplicate of vol. X.
 Allan Folger, various reports and magazines.
 Mrs. Isaac K. Gage, map of New Hampshire, 1784.
 Samuel L. Gerould, Public Opinion, 11 vols.; Panoplist, vol. 1, and miscellaneous pamphlets.
 Benjamin A. Kimball, Atlantic Monthly, 298 Nos.
 John Kimball, Harper's Monthly, 27 Nos.; Century, 6 Nos.; Missionary Herald, 6 vols.; and 72 miscellaneous pamphlets.
 Mrs. Asa McFarland, Congregationalist, 2 vols.; American Missionary, 2 vols.; Life and Light, 7 vols.; and Missionary Herald, 6 vols.
 Seth W. Miner, annual reports, Lyman, 7 Nos.
 Mt. Holyoke college, books and catalogues, 61.
 Oberlin college, Church History, catalogues, and pamphlets, 64.
 Office of Minister of Justice, Ottawa, Canada, Canadian Archives, 5 vols.
 Charles T. Page, Christian Union, 43 vols.; several imperfect vols. Missionary Herald, American Missionary and Home Missionary, and 30 miscellaneous pamphlets.
 Royal Academy, Stockholm, Sweden, magazines and plates, 57 Nos.
 State, Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Rebellion, and State Papers, 50 copies each, and Histories of the Second and Ninth Regiments, 5 each.
 Charles L. Tappan, Congregational Quarterly, 66 Nos.
 Vermont University, books and catalogues.
 Mrs. J. B. Walker, three baskets of African Repositories and various missionary publications.
 E. R. Wilkins, Zion's Herald, 3 vols., bound.
 Claudius B. Webster, The Dartmouth, 22 Nos., and The Outlook, 2 vols.

We have also received the following volumes by gift:

- From Mrs. Nancy S. Dudley, the Dudley Family.
 Warren R. Cochrane, History of Francestown.
 John T. Hassam, The Hassam, Hilton, and Cheever Families.
 Charles R. Keyes, Missouri Survey, 5 vols.
 Zebina Moses, The Moses Family.

- From Estate of George Olcott, Illustrated History of Charlestown, N. H., 2 vols.
 George A. Pillsbury, Fires of Minnesota.
 Miss E. W. Sargent, Hitchcock's Analysis of the Bible, and History of Londonderry.
 James A. Searight, The Searight Family.
 Selectmen of Claremont, History of Claremont.
 Henry B. Wicom, Goffstown Annual Reports, 25 consecutive years.

BOOKS PURCHASED.

By direction of the Library Committee, the following books and magazines have been purchased :

American Historical Review,	\$3.00
Americans of Royal Descent,	10.00
Books of George E. Littlefield,	12.60
Dartmouth Class Book, 1853,	2.50
History of Manchester, Mass.,	1.50
History of Scottish Civilization, 4 vols.,	5.00
History of Windham,	8.00
Facsimile Letter of Columbus,	.25
Lincoln's Assassination—Official,	3.75
History of Deerfield, Mass., 2 vols.,	9.00
Magazine of American History, 6 Nos.,	2.10
Milford Centennial,	.50
Munsell's Index to Genealogies,	3.60
Record Books,	1.00
Rowley, Mass., Records, vol. 1,	2.00
Vassar College Souvenir,	1.00
New Hampshire Register, 1896,	.25
Whitney Genealogy,	10.00
Worcester, Mass., Records,	19.00
	<hr/>
Total	\$95.05

BOOKS SOLD.

Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Rebellion, 3 copies,	16.15
Collections and Proceedings, 20 vols.,	41.99
Bound volumes of Proceedings in Exchange,	5.00
	<hr/>
Total,	\$63.14

More than a hundred duplicate numbers of the *North American Review*, through the courtesy of the Boston Book Company, have been exchanged for an equal number to fill up gaps in the completion of our set.

Also, by the gift of Hon. B. A. Kimball, our file of the *Atlantic Monthly* approximates completion.

The following magazines and newspapers are regularly received from the publishers, except the *Daily Advertiser*, from Hon. J. B. Walker :

American Historical Review, by purchase,
Book Reviews,
Canaan Reporter,
Contoocook Independent,
Exeter Gazette,
Granite Monthly,
Daily Advertiser,
Littleton Courier,
Manifesto,
Merrimack Journal,
New England Historical and Genealogical Register,
Official Gazette, Patent Office,
Printer's Ink,
Somersworth Free Press,
Weekly News,
Weekly Patriot.

BINDING.

The binding of the year includes 39 volumes of newspapers and 120 volumes of books.

It may be proper here to say that we have a large collection of newspapers and pamphlets which need to be bound for their better preservation.

During the year the patrons and visitors of the library have averaged 109 per month.

Respectfully submitted :

N. F. CARTER,
Librarian.

The report of the librarian was accepted and ordered to be placed on file.

On motion of John C. Thorne, the Standing Committee was authorized to complete the shelving in the vault of the Society.

The report of the Secretary as to membership was presented,

showing the whole number of members at the beginning of the year to be 180. During the year, sixteen new members have been voted in, but only nine have qualified. Five have died, leaving the present membership 184.

Following the report of the Secretary, W. P. Fiske, in the absence of the chairman, Hon. J. C. A. Hill, made a verbal report for the Standing Committee.

Rev. N. F. Carter then made a report for the Committee of Publication, recommending the publication of the proceedings of the Society from the date of the last issue to the present time.

On motion of Rev. C. L. Tappan, the Committee were authorized to carry such recommendation into effect.

Hon. J. B. Walker, for the Special Committee appointed to secure a seal for the Society, reported progress, and asked for further time, which was granted.

The name of Prof. H. D. Foster of Hanover was presented by the membership committee for resident member of the Society, and he was accordingly elected.

On motion of Rev. C. L. Tappan, it was

Voted, That a committee be appointed to nominate a list of officers for the ensuing year. The chair appointed

Rev. C. L. TAPPAN,
Hon. J. B. WALKER,
Hon. EZRA S. STEARNS,

for such committee.

After retiring for consultation the committee reported the following names for the respective offices :

President.

Hon. BENJAMIN A. KIMBALL.

Vice-Presidents.

Hon. GEORGE L. BALCOM,
Hon. LYMAN D. STEVENS.

Recording Secretary.

JOHN C. ORDWAY.

Corresponding Secretary.

Hon. A. S. BATCHELLOR.

Treasurer.

WILLIAM P. FISKE.

Librarian.

Rev. N. F. CARTER.

Necrologist.

ELI E. GRAVES, M. D.

Auditor.

Hon. J. B. WALKER.

Standing Committee.

[Hon. J. C. A. HILL,
Hon. JOHN KIMBALL,
WILLIAM P. FISKE.

Library Committee.

Hon. AMOS HADLEY,
Rev. CHARLES L. TAPPAN,
Mrs. FRANCES C. STEVENS.

Publication Committee.

Hon. ALBERT S. WAIT,
Rev. N. F. CARTER,
Hon. EZRA S. STEARNS.

On motion of Col. J. E. Pecker, it was

Voted, That the annual Field-day be observed by a trip to Laconia and the vicinity of Lake Winnipiseogee.

On motion of Hon. Woodbridge Odlin, the committee of last year, Col. J. E. Pecker, Hon. B. A. Kimball, and John C. Thorne, was reappointed with power to add associates, and the committee was further requested to provide badges, and confine

the attendance to members of the Society, their families, and personally invited friends.

On motion of Hon. Amos Hadley, it was

Voted, That the annual tax of three dollars be levied upon members for the ensuing year.

On motion of Judge Sylvester Dana, it was

Voted, That the selection of orator for the next annual meeting be left with Standing Committee.

Voted, That Rev. N. F. Carter be a committee to confer with the Trustees of the Orphans' Home at Franklin to see if the date of holding the annual meeting of that Society cannot be changed so as not to conflict with the time fixed by the Constitution for the annual meeting of this Society.

Opportunity being given, Rev. Alfred Langdon Elwyn of Portsmouth presented the Society valuable manuscripts belonging to the late John Langdon Elwyn relating to the Langdon and other prominent Portsmouth families, and the Society voted to accept the same with a grateful appreciation of the honor conferred, and a vote of thanks to the donor. The manuscripts were received to be placed for preservation in the vault of the Society. Mr. Elwyn, who was present, gave an interesting account of the manuscripts and the author, and other objects of historic interest in Portsmouth.

On motion of Hon. Amos Hadley, it was

Voted, That the committee on new members of last year,
 Rev. N. F. CARTER,
 Col. J. E. PECKER,
 JOHN C. ORDWAY,

be continued another year.

The President then introduced to the Society Hon. Albert S. Wait of Newport, who delivered the annual address on "The Life, Character, and Public Services of Governor William Plumer":

WILLIAM PLUMER.

William Plumer, whose name is among the most distinguished in New Hampshire history, was descended from an ancient family residing in the west of England. He was the fifth in descent

from Francis Plumer, whose name appears in the records of Boston as early as May 14, 1634; who the year following that date settled permanently in the township of Newbury, Mass., and is said to be the common ancestor of all bearing the name now widely dispersed throughout the North American states.

William, the subject of our sketch, was the eldest of six children born to Samuel and Mary (Dole) Plumer, who, on their marriage in April, 1755, settled in what is now Newburyport, and he was born there on the 25th day of June, in the year of grace, 1759. At the age of nine years, namely, in 1768, his father, having acquired a moderate competency in a mechanical calling, removed with his family to Epping, New Hampshire, where he devoted himself to agricultural pursuits during the remainder of his life. William possessed a comparatively slender constitution, and in his youth seems to have been disinclined to those athletic sports which are delighted in by young men of firm constitutions and capable of continued physical endurance. As he grew towards manhood, however, he discovered an inclination to the study of books, was superior to others of his age in his studies at school, and, as his mind developed with advancing years, he gave evidence of the possession of mental powers of a higher order than the average of young men of the surrounding community. At the school which he attended he was, many years afterwards, represented by one who attended with him, as "learning faster and more easily than any of his mates, and as going far before them in all that was taught there." "He excelled in arithmetic," says his biographer, "and would sometimes carry up to the master a sum of his own stating. The teacher, after looking at it for a while, would say, 'I am busy now, but will show you how it is done some other time.' As the time never came, and the boy was himself able to do the sum, his companions were not long in coming to the conclusion that he knew more than the master."

Before his removal from Newburyport to Epping, his father was strongly advised by his teacher, and also the clergyman of the parish, to give William the advantages of a college education. The advice was not followed, however, the reason as-

signed being, besides the inadequacy of the parent's means, that he had already devoted his son to agricultural pursuits. His school advantages were limited to a term of not more than ten or twelve weeks each year, and these were wholly discontinued before he reached the age of seventeen. His mind was therefore left to its own inherent capabilities for its development, and we can only conjecture what, with academic advantages, would have been the achievements of mental powers which without them accomplished so much.

"Books," it is said, "now became the greatest object of his desire, and were from that time his never-failing companions." Possessing few of his own, he availed himself of the kindness of his neighbors and friends, who, with the minister of the parish, loaned him such as they possessed. This was a scanty supply, and he soon exhausted it, the effect being to widen his mental horizon and awaken a more ardent desire to grasp what he became sensible lay beyond. If he heard of a book, although miles away, and possessed by a person he had never seen, he would allow himself no rest till he had visited the owner and obtained its loan, often going great distances on foot for the purpose. His earnest and youthful ingenuousness of manner on those occasions always gained him admission to the favor of the possessor of the coveted treasure, and never going away with his wish ungratified, "he remembered with gratitude to the close of life these early benefactors." Aside from the holy Bible, which he read through and through in the daily family service, we are not informed as to the books in particular which he thus read, excepting the *Morals of Epictetus*, a copy of which (an English translation, of course,) his father possessed. This, as all others, he studied assiduously, and made himself thoroughly acquainted with its contents, and this being among the books of his earliest reading, and while he had few others, "gave," it is said, "by its lessons of severe virtue and stern endurance, something of a stoical turn, heathen rather than Christian, to his cast of thought, strictness of moral principle, and an energy and decision of character which remained with him to the close of life." Again says his biographer: "It cannot be doubted that these two books, long

and almost exclusively studied, entered largely into the formation of his moral character, and molded strongly the peculiarity of his mind." To one acquainted with his after life, the impression is hardly to be avoided, that some of the strongly marked features of his character were the result of early impressions communicated to his mind from these two sources.

Although less than sixteen years of age at the opening of the Revolution, he took much interest in the events and discussions which led to it, and was an ardent sympathizer in the American cause. On the 17th of June, 1775, while employed in the field, although nearly fifty miles away, he distinctly heard the cannon of the British at Bunker Hill. At the second discharge, he left his work and joined his neighbors, assembled for consultation at the meeting-house. Following Lexington, as it did, no doubt was entertained as to the cause, and the next morning several of the townsmen marched for Boston. Young Plumer desired to make one of the party, but his father, who, although in sympathy with the earlier opposition to the arbitrary measures of the British crown and parliament, had no faith in the success of armed resistance, asserted his parental authority, and refused his assent, and, as a consequence, William never joined the Revolutionary army, but remained at home during the entire struggle for independence.

Mr. Plumer's attention was drawn early to the subject of religion, and he speculated upon it with independence and more or less profoundness, but he appears to have adopted no settled religious views until the spring of the year 1779. Prior to that time, a Baptist church had been established in the three towns of Epping, Brentwood, and Stratham, of which his father had become a member, and the meetings of which the son naturally attended. At this time there was a series of meetings held by the pastor of this church, one Samuel Shepherd, and under his preaching there occurred what was then called a reformation, or revival. Young Plumer attended these meetings, was greatly moved by the powerful preaching of the minister, became converted to his doctrines, experienced a religious hope, and, with twenty others, was baptized by immersion. In the spring of 1780, from a conviction of duty he entered upon the ministry,

and, besides Epping, he visited other parts of the state, preaching to numerous and attentive congregations, and with marked effect. Attentive study and sober reflection, however, wrought a change in his views, and he thereupon abandoned the ministry and returned to labor on his father's farm. This episode in his career is narrated by himself in a most interesting and graphic manner, in a paper which has been preserved, and is published in the account of his life by his son, William Plumer, Junior. Both his father and mother were deeply disappointed at this change, and earnestly desired that he should continue a preacher, but he felt it inconsistent with the views he had been led more lately to adopt, and therefore persisted in his change of purpose.

He now devoted himself for a time to manual labor, though, from his tastes for learned pursuits, coupled with a feeble condition of health, it was unwelcome and irksome to his sensibilities, and much of his time was devoted to the acquisition of knowledge and an interest in the politics of the state and nation in their unsettled condition consequent upon the pending Revolution.

The constitutional convention assembled in 1781, having sent to the people of the state the instrument which received their ratification in 1783, Mr. Plumer early in 1782 wrote for publication a communication in which he strongly opposed the religious tests of the proposed constitution. The publisher of the paper to which it was offered, not being in sympathy with the views expressed, refused to print it until he paid him three dollars for the work. While the instrument was still before the people, he wrote another address, enforcing the same views, which was published in 1783, and in September of the same year, being chairman of a committee for the purpose, he brought the subject, in a written report, before the people of his town.

So highly had he come to be esteemed by his townsmen, that in March, 1783, he was chosen one of the selectmen of Epping, and held the office by successive elections for many subsequent years, managing the affairs of the town with prudence and sagacity, and much to the satisfaction of the people.

The direction of affairs seems to have been chiefly confided to him, one of his colleagues saying to him, "We will hold the candle, squire, and you must do the work." For his services in the office his charges were three shillings per day, which were payable in town orders at twenty-five to fifty per cent. discount. "He never, however," it is said, "regretted as lost or misapplied the time devoted to these services. They made him acquainted with the people, gave him business habits, and prepared him for more important duties."

Dissatisfied with the life of a manual laborer, and convinced that he possessed powers of intellect capable of winning success in a profession, he at length determined to adopt that of the law, and in May, 1784, he entered as a student the office of Joshua Atherton, of Amherst, a lawyer of ability, and afterwards attorney-general of the state. He was the father of Charles H. Atherton, and grandfather of the late distinguished senator, Charles G. Atherton. On entering the office, Mr. Plumer was given as the first text-book for his study Coke upon Littleton. This proved too much for him, as it has for many another even better prepared for it by previous training in the schools, and, after a few weeks, he threw it down in disgust and returned to his father's house, determined, however, to resume the study under some other teacher.

His parents had from the first been averse to his becoming a lawyer, and their prejudices, especially those of his father, against the profession, now became so decided that he for some time hesitated to resume the study. While thus at home he was in March, 1785, elected to represent his town in the general court of the state. There were three sessions of the body during the year. In the first of these he was attentive to the transactions, but took little part in the debates. At the second session there was a bill introduced for the recovery of small debts in an expeditious manner. Against this bill he entered his protest, "singly and alone," he says, principally on the ground that it was unconstitutional. The court afterwards so pronounced it, thus vindicating his superior judgment, and the law was repealed by the next legislature.

He now returned to his purpose of entering the profession

of the law, but only in case he could obtain the parental consent. This, although with much reluctance, was finally accorded, and on November 14, 1785, after the close of the session of the legislature, he entered the office of John Prentice, Esq., of Londonderry, this time commencing with Blackstone's Commentaries, which, as with students in general, he found better adapted to his tastes and more easily to be mastered. The third session of the legislature, to which he had been elected, occurred in February, 1786, and, taking his seat in it, he this time bore an active part, displaying those talents which later in life made him so conspicuous a figure and gave him such commanding influence in public affairs. He then returned to his law studies.

During this period some scenes of disorder occurred among the people in some parts of the state, consequent upon the unsettled condition of affairs following the War of the Revolution, in the allaying of which Mr. Plumer took an active part, but the details of which must, in a sketch like the present, be necessarily passed over.

The court being in session at Exeter in November, 1787, the bar, without any previous examination, and, without his knowledge, recommended him to the court for admission to practice, and he was accordingly at that time admitted. He thereupon returned to Epping, where he opened an office and entered upon the practice of the profession. His acquired experience in public affairs, and the wide circle of acquaintances which he had made, insured him a considerable business from the first, and it soon became extensive, increasing during all the years of his active practice at the bar.

In February, 1788, he was married to Miss Sally Fowler, whose charms had some time before captivated his heart. She was the only daughter of Mr. Philip Fowler, a respectable farmer of Newmarket. She was a lady of much beauty, and of a most amiable character, and the union proved one of unbroken happiness through many enduring years. She survived him for the space of fifteen months.

The great question now before the people, both of the state and nation, was the adoption of the federal constitution, the

draft of which had been agreed upon by the convention assembled at Philadelphia. It is familiar to our day, that opinion was greatly divided, many thinking the powers it proposed to concede to the federal government encroached too much upon the sovereignty of the several states, and were fraught with danger to the public liberties. In these views Mr. Plumer did not share, and he was an earnest advocate for the adoption of the proposed constitution, devoting much of his time and all his energies, to discussions of the subject. He was a candidate for delegate to the convention to be chosen to decide the question for New Hampshire; but the sentiment in Epping opposed to the ratification largely preponderated, and he was not elected. The convention met at Exeter on the 13th of February, 1788, when there appeared to be a majority of the delegates inclined to vote against the adoption of the proposed federal plan. After a session of ten days, however, an adjournment was agreed upon, and again assembling at Concord on the 21st of the following June, after much discussion the convention finally agreed to the ratification on the part of New Hampshire, which being the ninth state so to decide, was the decisive act which consummated the Federal Union.

Notwithstanding the prevailing sentiment of the people of Epping against his federal sentiments, Mr. Plumer was, in March, 1788, elected to represent his town in the legislature of that year. Taking his seat in the house, he was active and influential, speaking often, though never at great length, and always confining himself strictly to the question under discussion. The proposed federal constitution having been finally ratified by the requisite number of states, it devolved upon this legislature to choose two senators to represent the state in the congress of the United States. A difference of opinion arose as to the manner of making the choice, some holding that it should be by the two houses meeting in convention, and upon a joint ballot, while others contended that it should be by a concurrent vote of the two houses acting separately. Mr. Plumer held the latter opinion, which finally prevailed, and established the practice which has ever since followed. At the presidential election in the following November, no electors for New Hampshire were

chosen by the popular vote, and, by the law of the state, the election thereupon devolving upon the legislature at its session in December, a question arose similar to that relating to the choice of senators. An extended and animated discussion followed, Mr. Plumer contending for the method previously adopted. He was finally successful, as in the former case, which gave him a very marked prominence, not only as an able debater, but as a shrewd and successful manager.

In 1789, Epping sent no representative to the legislature, but in March, 1790, Mr. Plumer was unanimously elected to represent the town. He was again elected in 1791, and in the latter year he was chosen speaker of the house. A convention having been called in that year to revise the constitution of the state, he was elected also a member of that body. Among other acts in this convention, he made a motion to abolish the requirement of the old constitution that persons in order to hold office should be "of the Protestant religion." It was finally adopted by the convention, but it failed of ratification by the people, the popular vote for it, although a majority, being less than two thirds. It was largely by his exertions that the provision was inserted in the constitution framed by this convention, that "No member of the general court shall take fees, or be of counsel or act as an advocate before either branch of the legislature;" and also the one excluding from seats in the legislature persons holding offices under the United States. Regarding his services and influence in this convention, we transcribe the following from the biography before us, which, although from a source necessarily partial, there is every reason to believe is warranted by the truth of history, and substantially just:

"Though there were, in the convention of 1791, many older, and, at that time, more distinguished men than he, there was no one who took so active a part, or who had greater influence in that body. By his industry and perseverance, his energy and decision, and, above all, by the force and accuracy of his discriminating mind, he acquired, before the close of the convention, a weight and authority in that body which no other man possessed. 'He was,' said Judge Livermore to me, 'by all odds, the most influential man in the convention; so much so, that those who disliked the result, called it Plumer's constitution, by way of

insinuating that it was the work of one man, and not the collective wisdom of the whole assembly.' From the journal of the convention, it appears that he was on nearly all the most important committees, and chairman of several of them. Several reports made by others were drawn up by him. The amendments were all submitted to him for revision, and such of them as he favored received from him their most effective support. In the manuscript volume, which remains of the papers and documents relating to the convention, there is little, except the journal, which is not either in his handwriting, or in that of Jeremiah Smith—about three times as much of the former as of the latter."

It is necessary here to state, that Judge Smith, being at the same time a member of congress, was present in the convention only during the first session, which was only ten days, while Mr. Plumer "was present to the end, and busy from the first."

His labors in this convention and in the legislature of which he was at the same time a member, together with his business in the courts of law, which, it is said, "was limited in amount only by his power of performance," proved too much for his constitution, and after his return home he was confined for some time to his bed by illness. He therefore determined to abandon public life and confine himself to his profession, and in pursuance of this purpose he declined an election to the legislature in 1792, and during the following six years he held no public office, though losing none of his interest in public affairs.

In March, 1797, however, in his absence, he was again elected to the legislature, and on the meeting of that body in the following June, he was chosen speaker of the house. The next year, 1798, he was again elected to the house, but it was thought that he could be more useful on committees and on the floor than in the speaker's chair, and accordingly another was chosen to that position. Wishing to relinquish politics and devote himself to his profession, he declined an election to the legislature the next year, but in March, 1800, he again consented to an election to the house. He was at this time urged by his friends to become a candidate for representative to congress, but declined on the ground of ill health. He was also proposed as a candidate for the Federal senate, but declined that also, in favor of his friend James Sheafe, who was elected.

Resolving now to retire to private life, he thus announced his purpose in a letter to a friend, bearing date June 18, 1801: "As a legislator, I now bid you adieu. I have served eight years in the general court and one in the convention. I have spent no inconsiderable portion of the best years of my life in the public service; and may now, I trust, fairly claim my discharge, for the present, at least, if not forever." The purpose was not destined, however, to be realized. Mr. Sheafe, after serving one session in the United States senate, resigned, and Mr. Plumer, without his knowledge, and before he was even aware of the resignation of Mr. Sheafe, was elected to fill the vacant place. He declared that, had he been aware of the transaction, he should have declined being a candidate. He was, however, not indifferent to the honor thus conferred upon him, and finally concluded to accept the position; and he accordingly took his seat in the senate at Washington, on the second day of December, 1802.

Mr. Plumer's political sentiments were, from the first, those of the Federal party, and the great ability which he displayed in defense of the doctrines and measures of the party, obviously designated him for the high position he had now reached. Daniel Webster, then a young man, was in Concord at the time of his election, and, a short time before his death, stated that he well remembered the opinions expressed by the leading men there; "that the new senator was by all odds the ablest man in the Federal party; that it was thought a great object to have secured his election, though it was doubted whether he would accept; that his superiority was acknowledged even by those who disliked him on account of some favorite measures of theirs which he had defeated; that the opposition nominated Nicholas Gilman, who, though not an avowed Republican, was less Federal than his brother, the governor; but that Mr. Plumer was elected on the first trial by a strong majority in both houses." But, though a Federalist in sentiment, acting with that party on all leading measures throughout his senatorial term, he was influenced far less by that spirit of party rancor which generally prevailed amongst members of both houses of congress at that period, and he labored to introduce habits of

personal intercourse and courteous demeanor among them irrespective of party distinctions. In this he so far succeeded, it is said, that "before the close of the session, he was upon speaking terms with nearly all the members of both houses, and intimate with many of the most distinguished of both parties."

Our limits will not admit of an account of his action in the senate upon the many important measures which came before it while he was a member; it must suffice to say, that by his ability and his manner throughout his term, he did honor to his state as a constituent member of the Union, and contributed his full proportion towards upholding the interests and honor of the nation, as well at home as abroad. His senatorial services closed with the session of congress on March 3, 1807, the Republicans having gained the ascendancy in the state, and elected Nahum Parker his successor.

He now returned to New Hampshire, fully believing his public career finally ended; and, not inclined to return to the active practice of the law, he formed the design of writing a history of the United States, from the discovery by Columbus to the close of Mr. Jefferson's administration. To the composition of such a work he devoted himself for a time, collecting material, and making such progress as, had it not been interrupted, promised the production of a work of importance to the political, as well as the literary world, and a lasting monument to his industry and ability.

Late in the year 1806 and during that of 1807, occurred the famous British Orders in Council, and the Berlin and Milan Decrees of the Emperor Napoleon, besides also the attack on the American ship *Chesapeake*. The combined influence of these occurrences upon our commerce, as well as our American pride and self-respect, was such as to awaken a high degree of resentment in the minds of most of the American people. The sense of their gravity was such, as, in the minds of many reflecting men, to call for a modification, if not an entire change, of political sentiment, and by a large number it was deemed that true patriotism justified a change in party affiliations. Mr. Plumer found himself much in sympathy with these sentiments. He felt that the Federal party had not only outlived its useful-

ness, but, under the influence of repeated defeats and exclusion from office, had allowed itself to espouse unpatriotic and unwarrantable views of public policy, and his impartial mind disapproved their indiscriminate opposition to all the measures of the national administration. It is not to be forgotten, moreover, that the Republicans had, under the responsibilities of office, abandoned, silently, indeed, some positions which they had occupied, finding them, when charged with the administration of public affairs, because impracticable, to be untenable. Following the dictates of his better judgment, Mr. Plumer found himself, at length, acting with the Republican party, and against his old associates, the Federalists, and at the election of members of congress in August, 1808, he voted for the Republican candidates, and at the presidential election in the following November, he voted for the Madison electors.

As the state election of March, 1810, approached, his new friends came to feel that he was of such importance to their success that they put him in nomination as their candidate for senator. He was unwilling to enter again the field of party politics, but the unanimous call of the party with which he had now become identified, finally overcame his scruples, and he consented to accept the nomination. The canvass was an animated one, and, it is necessary to say, the Federalists were especially anxious to accomplish the defeat of the man who, having acted with them for so many years and received office and honors at their hands, had left their ranks and gone over, as they put it, to the enemy. The rancor poured upon him was bitter and unrelenting, and no effort was spared to compass his overthrow. "He received," said Nahum Parker, his successor in the national senate, "as many curses as a scapegoat could wag with." He was elected, however, by a triumphant majority, as was also the Republican ticket in general, with majorities in all the branches of the state government.

On the meeting of the legislature in the following June, he was chosen president of the senate—"an office," says his biographer, "whose duties he discharged to the entire satisfaction of that body, from which he received, at the close of the session, a unanimous vote of thanks."

As the state election of 1811 approached, Mr. Plumer was urged by his friends, and also by Governor Langdon, who wished to retire from office, to allow himself to be made the candidate of the Republicans for governor. To this proposal he declined his assent, and at his urgent request Langdon, much against his own feelings, consented once more to accept the nomination. He was elected in the following March, and Mr. Plumer was again elected to the senate, which, on meeting in June, chose him a second time president. In his journal, under date of June 19, he writes :

I had two questions, to-day, to decide in the senate, in which the earnest requests of my friends were opposed to what I thought my duty. In both, I voted according to my own judgment. I cannot consent either to acquire or hold office by so base a tenure as the sacrifice of my opinions ; and those who expect it from me will be disappointed. It, in general, requires less information to discover our duty, than firmness to perform it.

A Republican caucus, held during the session of the legislature, unanimously nominated Governor Langdon as the candidate of the party for another election, but this time he positively declined. Some days after this, a meeting was held, which unanimously nominated Mr. Plumer for the office. He had neither sought nor desired the nomination, and at first he expressed some unwillingness to accept it, but at length concluded not to decline it. The candidate of the Federalists was John Taylor Gilman, who had been elected to the office several times while his party was in the ascendant, a man of refined and dignified manners well becoming the high office, and in every way suited to the discharge of its duties. The opposition to Mr. Plumer was intensified by the recollection of his having once been the leader of the Federalists of the state, and although he was assailed on other grounds, this was the chief consideration urged against him throughout the canvass. The Federalists were reminded by the Republicans that, as there was no office which they once thought too good for him, they could not wonder that the Republicans, now that he acted with them, should think equally well of him. When the election took place

in the following March, there was no choice of governor by the popular vote. The legislature elected at the same time, however, had a majority of Republicans in both branches, and when it assembled in the following June, Mr. Plumer was elected on a joint ballot of the two houses, by one hundred and four votes against eighty-two for Governor Gilman. He was waited upon by a committee of the legislature at his house in Epping, and informed of his election. The following, from his journal of the date June 5, is interesting, not only as a personal reminiscence, but as a reminder of the great changes which the sequences of less than a century have wrought :

After taking breakfast, I rode with them on horseback to Concord. At Nottingham we were met by Gen. Butler and Col. Cilley, with about twenty gentlemen, who escorted us to Deerfield. There I was importuned to wait for a company of cavalry; but my time was not my own, and duty forbade delay. About a dozen gentlemen escorted me from thence to Epsom, where I met Gov. Langdon. When he took leave of me, he was much affected; tears filled his eyes and impeded his utterance. Having dined at my sister's, I mounted my horse, accompanied by some twenty gentlemen. Two miles from thence, I was met by about eighty more on horseback. The first six were mounted on gray horses, followed by the marshal of the day, and the sheriffs of Strafford and Rockingham. I came next to them with two captains of the United States army, one on each side, and after me the remainder of the escort. On passing the bridge at Concord, we were met by an additional escort. The procession proceeded to Baker's tavern, where we arrived at four in the afternoon. I ordered refreshments for all who attended. The day was favorable to the journey; and though I had not, for many years, rode so far in one day on horseback, I was less fatigued than I had expected.

His inauguration as governor took place only a few days before the declaration of war by the Federal government against Great Britain, and the domestic interests of the state were overshadowed and nearly lost sight of, in view of the wider interests it affected and the sentiments it awakened. Unlike the governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut, who refused compliance with the requisition of the president for calling out the militia of their states in aid of the American cause, he promptly,

on receiving it, issued orders in conformity with the requisition, and in all his official conduct afforded aid and encouragement to the national administration. This course intensified the hostility of the Federalists, and was not so universally pleasing to his own party but that it was criticised by some, and so far disheartened others in their enthusiasm in his favor, that the next year he was defeated, his opponent, Governor Gilman, being elected by a small majority. In a letter to President Madison, written soon after the election, he attributed the result of the canvass to the absence in the army of a sufficient number of Republicans to have turned it in his favor, had they been at the polls.

The Federalists held the power in the state during the whole continuance of the war, each year electing Governor Gilman; but after it was over, in March, 1818, they found themselves again in the minority, and Governor Plumer was then elected to the office by a majority of 2,326 over James Sheafe, the opposing candidate.

While the Federalists held the ascendancy in the state, in order to get rid of the judges of the courts, who were Republicans, and place men of their own party upon the bench, by an act of the legislature they abolished the then system of courts, and established a supreme court and a court of common pleas, supplying the new courts with judges of their own appointment. Of the new supreme court, Jeremiah Smith was appointed chief justice, and Arthur Livermore and Caleb Ellis, associate justices, all very able and learned lawyers, capable of gracing any judicial bench in the land. But no personal merit, however adorned by learned accomplishments, could with the Republicans sanctify a bench thus created, or atone for preferments so acquired; and no sooner was the new state administration inaugurated than the late system of courts was abolished and the former system substantially restored. For the courts now established, Governor Plumer, against the protests of the Republican members of the council, who were three in number against two Federalists, insisted that a portion of the judges to be appointed should be of the latter party.

Much difficulty arose in consequence, in agreeing upon the

appointments to be made, and then all but one of the Federalists to whom places were offered refused to accept them. One of these, to evince his contempt for the party presuming to confer office upon him, nailed up his commission in a drinking shop, thus to expose it to public derision. The judges finally agreed upon for the superior court were William M. Richardson, chief justice, and Samuel Bell and Levi Woodbury, associates. The court thus constituted vindicated the wisdom and cool judgment of the executive in the selections made, and by the accurate learning and profound judgment of these men the jurisprudence of the state reached a higher level than it had before attained. The publication of the reports of judicial decisions began in New Hampshire with this court, and its judgments thus promulgated have from the first been everywhere accorded a weight of authority not inferior to any tribunal of the country. In his journal, referring to the subject of the appointment of these judges, the governor says :

These appointments have relieved me from much anxiety. Our courts of law were never before filled by men so well qualified for their places as are the present judges. I have had great trouble, and incurred great odium ; but the intolerance of others has been, and shall be, no rule for me. My liberality gains me no credit with either party. But I will do my duty ; and when I retire to private life, I shall enjoy a richer reward than that of office.

His independent action in several matters arising before the executive, offended some of his Republican friends, and it was feared by some that the favor of the party would be withdrawn from him. When, however, in December, 1816, a meeting was held for the nomination of a candidate for governor to be voted for in the following March, of ninety-three votes cast, all but seven were for Governor Plumer, thus showing that his course was approved by the great body of those who had previously been his supporters. At the election he received a majority of over three thousand of the popular vote. The year which followed was a quiet and uneventful one in the politics of the state, though it is memorable in the jurisprudence of both the state and nation, for the commencement, in the state court, of the

suit which opened the great Dartmouth College controversy, so important in its influence upon the educational interests of New Hampshire, and so wide in its consequences by the settlement of one of the great doctrines of federal constitutional law.

In 1818 he was again elected governor, and this time by a majority of over six thousand in the popular vote. In his message to the legislature of this year, he discussed at much length the subject of imprisonment for debt, and urged the modification of the law so as to limit materially the cases allowing such imprisonments, and lessening their hardships in those cases where it should be permitted to continue. He evidently intended these as first steps toward the entire abolishment of the system, and it was not many years before the purpose was fully realized, and New Hampshire relieved from this relic of the imperfect civilization of former times.

Before meeting the legislature in June of this year, he had made up his mind not to continue longer in office, and he made this known to his Republican friends. He was, however, at a full meeting, unanimously renominated as their candidate, but, on being informed of this, he declined the honor, and Judge Bell was then put in nomination as his successor. He was strongly urged to accept a nomination for United States senator, an election for which was then about to be made. He declined this also, but notwithstanding, when the election took place, many votes were cast for him. There is little reason to doubt, that had he consented to it, he might have been elected with great unanimity. But his health, never firm, had become still more impaired by the cares and responsibilities of office, and he longed for that rest and that quiet which private life could alone afford. At the close of his official year, in June, 1819, he assisted, as his last official acts, in organizing the legislature, and in inducting his successor, Judge Bell, into office. He then took formal leave of the two houses by a message in which he referred to his course in office, and made an exposition of the views and principles which had governed his action. In closing he said, among other things :

I never accepted office for its emoluments. The great object of my official labors has been to promote the interest and pros-

perity of the state, not those of any religious sect or political party. I have, whenever they came in collision, preferred the public to my private interest; and been more anxious to *serve* than to *please* the people. But how far my efforts have succeeded, it is for others to decide. I am satisfied with the honors of office, without being disgusted with its duties; and having rendered this account of my administration, I retire to private life, to share, in common with my fellow-citizens, the effects, prosperous or adverse, of my official measures.

His friends desired to form an escort to attend him to his home. But this honor he declined, "as undesirable to him while in office, and improper now that he was a private citizen." But many of the leading men of both political parties accompanied him a short distance from Concord, and then he parted from them, not without strong emotions, and took his way, attended by his eldest son and biographer, to that home which was to be the retreat of his declining years. From this he was never afterwards withdrawn, except for a single day. In 1820, he was chosen one of the presidential electors, his name having been placed at the head of the ticket of his party without consulting him as to how he would cast his vote. He was dissatisfied with some of the acts of President Monroe's first administration, and so expressed himself. Acting now from a high sense of public duty, and exercising the same degree of independence which had distinguished his whole public life, although every other vote of the entire electoral college was cast for Mr. Monroe, Governor Plumer declined to be of the number, and cast his vote for John Quincy Adams. The act called forth many criticisms at the time, but no one ever questioned the honesty of the motive by which it was prompted.

In order not to break the continuity of our account of Governor Plumer as a public man, we have thus far made little reference to his professional and private career. These were quite as remarkable as was his public life, and without some account of them this sketch would be far from complete, and would fail to satisfy the just requirements of the interested reader.

When he entered the office of Mr. Prentice as a student, the law library of that gentleman, probably in its number of volumes

and general scope about a fair average with those of the leading lawyers of the state, consisted of "Blackstone's Commentaries," "Wood's Institutes of the Laws of England," "Hawkins's Pleas of the Crown," "Jacob's Law Dictionary," Salkeld's, Lord Raymond's, and Strange's Reports; the "New Hampshire Statutes," and a manuscript volume of "Pleas and Declarations,"—in all, as then published, probably not over eighteen or twenty volumes. They contained, however, the great body of the English law, as it then stood, and the expansion of which, legislation aside, and its application to constantly growing interests and ever increasing complications in business relations, constitutes the body of the law, both English and American, of to-day. These books he studied thoroughly, mastering their principles and acquiring a clear comprehension of their doctrines. And this came to be so well understood by the members of the bar, that, with his known ability, he was admitted to practice, as has been already stated, before he had himself expected, and without the usual requirement of an examination, in November, 1789.

The number of lawyers in the state at that time did not exceed thirty, but several of them were able and distinguished men. Among those of Rockingham and Strafford counties, where he chiefly practised, were John Pickering, afterward chief justice; John Sullivan, the celebrated major-general in the Revolutionary Army, and attorney-general, president of the state, and district judge; John Prentice, afterwards attorney-general, with several others. Theophilus Parsons and Samuel Dexter, then approaching that celebrity for which they are so well known to later times, with some others, of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, were in the habit of attending the courts of New Hampshire and conducting the trial of cases. The brothers, Edward St. Loe and Arthur Livermore, came a little later to the bar, and Jeremiah Mason settled in Portsmouth, in 1797.

The amount of his business soon became such as to bring Mr. Plumer into professional relations, either as associate or opposing counsel, with all these members of the profession, and with such uniform success did he sustain himself, that his business

constantly increased, until, when he finally retired from practice, it was limited only by his physical capacity of performance. The jurisprudence of the state had, at the time when Mr. Plumer came to the bar, partially emerged from the state of confusion and disorder, not to say chaos, which had characterized it in primitive times, but it had by no means risen to that matured and systematized condition which it afterwards, under the influence of Judge Smith, with the aid of other able, though less distinguished jurists, came to assume. During the whole period of his practice at the bar, the profession was without the certain light afterwards afforded by the publication of the judicial decisions of the court of last resort, and it may be believed that the judges themselves felt but slightly bound by former decisions, after conceiving that they had acquired better light. As an example of the absence of respect in those times for judicial precedent, we are told that one of these judges, being reminded of the inconsistency of one of his decisions with a former one, replied by the homely simile that "every tub must stand upon its own bottom."

Mr. Plumer early adopted the habit of making notes of decisions of the court, with other transactions of legal interest occurring in his practice. These he methodized, and transcribed into a book alphabetically arranged, enlarging it from time to time with the accumulations of current experience and increasing knowledge, and this he carried constantly with him, and found often useful in his professional labors.

In his professional business, as in everything else, Mr. Plumer was methodical and systematic to a degree which made him conspicuous among the members of the bar. Every case to be brought before the court was prepared with all the details, and every contingency which could be foreseen was anticipated and provided for. Nothing was overlooked which could be made to influence the result, nothing was left to take care of itself or to be determined by chance, but his case as opened and presented to the court or jury, was made to assume the similitude of a maturely planned structure, firmly grounded, and carried to completion with every appropriate ornamentation of a completed edifice. He was thus always prepared for whatever

might be presented on the part of the opposing party, and was seldom taken by surprise by anything developed in the course of a trial. This thoroughness of preparation was accompanied also by promptness in action, and readiness as each occasion arose. He never came into court unprepared, and postponements or delays were never by him asked, where avoidable by human foresight or unremitting labor.

As an advocate, he combined clearness of statement and systematic and forcible logic, with a persuasiveness of manner which always commanded the attention, if not the assent, of the court, and generally won to his side the verdict of the jury.

While a member of the state legislature, his legal business continued to absorb most of his time not necessarily given to public affairs, though he at no time lost his interest in history and general literature. On leaving the national senate, he did not return to active practice at the bar, and from the close of his public life in June, 1819, he occupied himself with private pursuits and literary composition. The purpose of writing a history of the United States, to which allusion has been made, was not resumed, but, from his long connection with public affairs and his extensive acquaintance with persons who influenced the course of public events and contributed to the general character of the times, he was naturally led to contemplations of the lives and characters of such of those as he deemed most interesting from a public point of view. Accordingly, he left in manuscript biographical sketches, more or less extended, of a large number, amounting to several hundreds, indeed, of persons living in his own or in preceding times, who had either filled public stations, or whom he deemed worthy, from other considerations, to be mentioned in public connections. Since his death these manuscripts have been, by his descendants, presented to the New Hampshire Historical Society, which has caused them to be bound, and they now comprise five large volumes, which are, perhaps, as much sought for and consulted with as much interest, as any of the books in the Society's growing and valuable library.

In addition to these biographical sketches, Governor Plumer composed many essays upon a great variety of subjects of pub-

lic interest, which were published in several contemporaneous prints. These appeared over the pseudonym of Cincinnatus, and they attracted wide attention at the time, for their originality of thought and the clear exposition of the views of the writer. They may be found in the New Hampshire *Patriot* of the time, a file of which is in the library of the Historical Society, and will be consulted by the student of the present time with an interest far above that of curiosity.

These literary pursuits engrossed the major portion of Governor Plumer's time after his retirement from office, until, as age grew upon him, he at length passed to a condition of physical inactivity. His wants were then administered to by a devoted wife, who had shared his early joys and participated in his accumulating honors, and by children and grandchildren, who by every attention smoothed the descent of his closing years. Though retaining to a remarkable degree his mental faculties, his physical powers gradually—almost imperceptibly—declined, until the evening of the 22d of December, 1850, in the ninety-second year of his age, he passed quietly away.

Governor Plumer was widely known in learned and literary circles, as well as in the political and business world. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Statistical Association, the Academy of Languages and Belles-Lettres, the American Antiquarian Society, and the Danish Royal Society of Northern Antiquities. He was one of the projectors, and the first president of the New Hampshire Historical Society, formed in 1823, on the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the state. In this Society he always took a deep interest, and did much for its early prosperity. He presented to it his earlier and more valuable state papers, consisting of nearly three hundred volumes, which, at present, probably compose the best collection of the early American state papers to be met with in our state.

At the time of his decease, the convention for revising the constitution of New Hampshire was in session at Concord. On receiving intelligence of the event, on motion of the Hon. Ichabod Bartlett, introduced by an appropriate address, the

convention adopted, by unanimously rising, the following resolutions :

Resolved, That in the death of the Hon. William Plumer the state has lost an eminent statesman, a patriotic citizen, and an honest man.

Resolved, That for his long and faithful public services and exemplary virtues as a citizen, the whole people should cherish his memory with affectionate regard.

As a further mark of respect for the high character of the illustrious deceased, after passing these resolutions, the convention adjourned.

At the conclusion of the address, on motion of Hon. L. D. Stevens, Voted that the thanks of the Society be tendered Mr. Wait for his very learned and entertaining address, and that a copy of the same be requested for publication.

Afterwards, the librarian called the attention of the Society to the offered sale of the Chadwick property adjoining the Society's building, and the desirability of purchasing the same. After some discussion it was voted to leave the matter to the Standing Committee to investigate and report upon the matter at some subsequent meeting.

Voted at 1 : 30 p. m. to adjourn to the call of the President.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,
Secretary.

THE ANNUAL FIELD-DAY.

The first adjourned seventy-fourth annual meeting and field-day of the New Hampshire Historical Society was observed by an excursion to Laconia and vicinity, Wednesday, September 30, 1896.

The party, numbering about twenty-five, left Concord on the 9 : 45 train, receiving accessions to their number at Laconia, and reached Lakeport about 11 a. m., where the steamer *Eagle*, tendered by the courtesy of Col. J. Alonzo Greene, was taken for a two hours' ride on Lake Winnepiseogee. The weather,

which in the early morning had been very unfavorable, was now all that could be desired, and the ride in and out among the many islands under a clear sky and a refreshing breeze, was much enjoyed. The only stop was a brief one at The Weirs, and a return to Lakeport was made at half past one in the afternoon, where street-cars were taken for Laconia, where an excellent dinner was served at the Eagle hotel at two o'clock.

Following the dinner a brief business meeting was held, the president, Hon. B. A. Kimball, presiding.

A communication was presented from Mr. Otis G. Hammond, requesting permission to copy certain records in the possession of the Society of early marriages in Nantucket, Mass., for publication in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," and on motion of Hon. J. B. Walker the request was granted.

On motion, Dr. J. Alonzo Greene of Long Island, and Orran W. Tibbetts of Laconia, were elected resident members, and Dr. William H. Hotchkiss of New Haven, Ct., an honorary member of the Society.

President B. A. Kimball presented a communication from Mr. L. Beach of Lawrence, Mass., offering to donate to the Society the family carriage of Daniel Webster, and the letter was referred to the Standing Committee with power to act.

Brief addresses followed, relating to the history of the Indian tribes in the Merrimack Valley and kindred subjects, by Hon. E. P. Jewell and Rev. Lucius Waterman, of Laconia.

Resolutions were offered and passed, tendering the thanks of the Society to Dr. Greene for the free use of his steamboat for the lake excursion; to the members of the committee of arrangements in Laconia for their untiring efforts for the success of the excursion; and to Judge Wallace of the supreme court for the adjournment of the forenoon session of the court to enable members to join the excursion.

A further vote of thanks was tendered Mr. Jewell for his very entertaining and valuable sketch of Indian history, and an invitation given him to deliver a more formal address before the Society at one of its monthly meetings to be held the coming winter.

After a brief discussion upon the great desirability of providing a more permanent means of approach to the ancient boundary mark which the Society had visited at The Weirs, the following resolution, introduced by Hon. J. B. Walker, was passed by a unanimous vote :

Resolved, That a committee of this Society be appointed to memorialize the legislature at its next session to take measures to provide for the construction of a suitable foot-bridge from the mainland to the Endicott Rock at The Weirs, the committee to be appointed by the President at his pleasure.

President B. A. Kimball replied that he would make such appointment, to be announced at a later meeting.

The meeting then adjourned, subject to the call of the President.

The party afterward, through the courtesy of the rector, Rev. Lucius Waterman, was shown through the very tasteful Episcopal chapel, and made a brief visit to the rooms of the Masonic Fraternity and other points of interest in the vicinity.

The Concord members returned home on the 5 : 30 p. m. train.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,
Secretary.

CONCORD, January 13, 1897.

The second adjourned seventy-fourth annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held in the rooms of the Society in Concord, Wednesday, January 13, 1897, at two o'clock in the afternoon, about fifty members and friends being present, and President B. A. Kimball in the chair.

Hon. Erastus P. Jewell of Laconia, according to previous announcement, delivered a very able and interesting address on "Passaconaway and the Indian Tribes of the Merrimack Valley." At its conclusion, on motion of Hon. Amos Hadley, the thanks of the Society were tendered the speaker, and a copy of his address was requested for publication in the proceedings of the Society.

Following him, Hon. John G. Crawford of Manchester briefly addressed the Society on the early Indian history of the state.

Hon. Joseph B. Walker of Concord presented to the Society six handsomely bound volumes containing a transcript of the inscriptions upon the tombstones in the Old North cemetery of Concord, prepared by Dr. William H. Hotchkiss of New Haven, Conn., and offered the following resolution, which was adopted by a unanimous vote :

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society are due and are hereby tendered to our honorary associate, Dr. William H. Hotchkiss of New Haven, Conn., for his very valuable and accurate transcript of the more than two thousand inscriptions upon the tombstones in the Old North cemetery of Concord, N. H., from 1736 to 1896, this day presented to the Society; and that the secretary be requested to send Dr. Hotchkiss a copy of this resolution.

On motion of Miss Jane Elizabeth Hoyt, M. D., the thanks of the Society were tendered to Mr. Walker for his thoughtful interest and assistance in connection with the gift before mentioned.

Hon. Joseph B. Walker offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the chair to take into consideration the present means and wants of the Society, and make such report thereon as to them shall be deemed expedient.

The resolution was adopted and the chair appointed as such committee :

JOSEPH B. WALKER,
EZRA S. STEARNS,
JOHN C. ORDWAY,
A. S. BATCHELLOR.
WILLIAM P. FISKE.

On motion of the chairman of the committee on new members, the following-named gentlemen were elected resident members of the Society :

HON. NEHEMIAH G. ORDWAY of Warner,
PROF. JOHN K. LORD of Hanover,
FRANK G. EDGERLY of Concord,
FRANK E. BROWN of Concord.

On motion, the thanks of the Society were presented to the South Church society of Concord for the gift of a chapel desk, and to Cummings Brothers for the gift of a marble floor slab.

At 3 : 30 p. m. voted to adjourn to the call of the President.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,
Secretary.



FRANCIS L. ABBOT.

NECROLOGY

OF THE

NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ELI E. GRAVES, M. D., NECROLOGIST.

FRANCIS LEWIS ABBOT.

FRANCIS LEWIS ABBOT died at Manchester-by-the-Sea, Mass., July 21, 1896. He was the youngest son of the late J. Stephens Abbot, and was born in Concord, May 20, 1843.

He attended the public schools of his native place, and afterwards, entering St. Paul's School as a member of one of the first classes, graduated at that now famous seat of learning.

Not desirous of a college course, he at once went into the office of his father's world-wide established coach manufactory, where he remained until his death. Mr. Abbot was for many years the secretary of the Abbot-Downing Company, as well as secretary of the board of trustees of the Margaret Pillsbury Hospital, in which institution he always manifested great interest.

In religion he was an Episcopalian, being a member of St. Paul's church, and one of its vestrymen. In the state legislature of 1893, Mr. Abbot represented Ward six, of Concord, an honor somewhat conspicuous, inasmuch as the politics of the ward were generally Republican, while he was of sound Democratic faith.

Few citizens were more generous in thought and work or more gentle and courteous in manner than the subject of this brief sketch, and his decease was the cause of deep and genuine sorrow.

C. R. C.

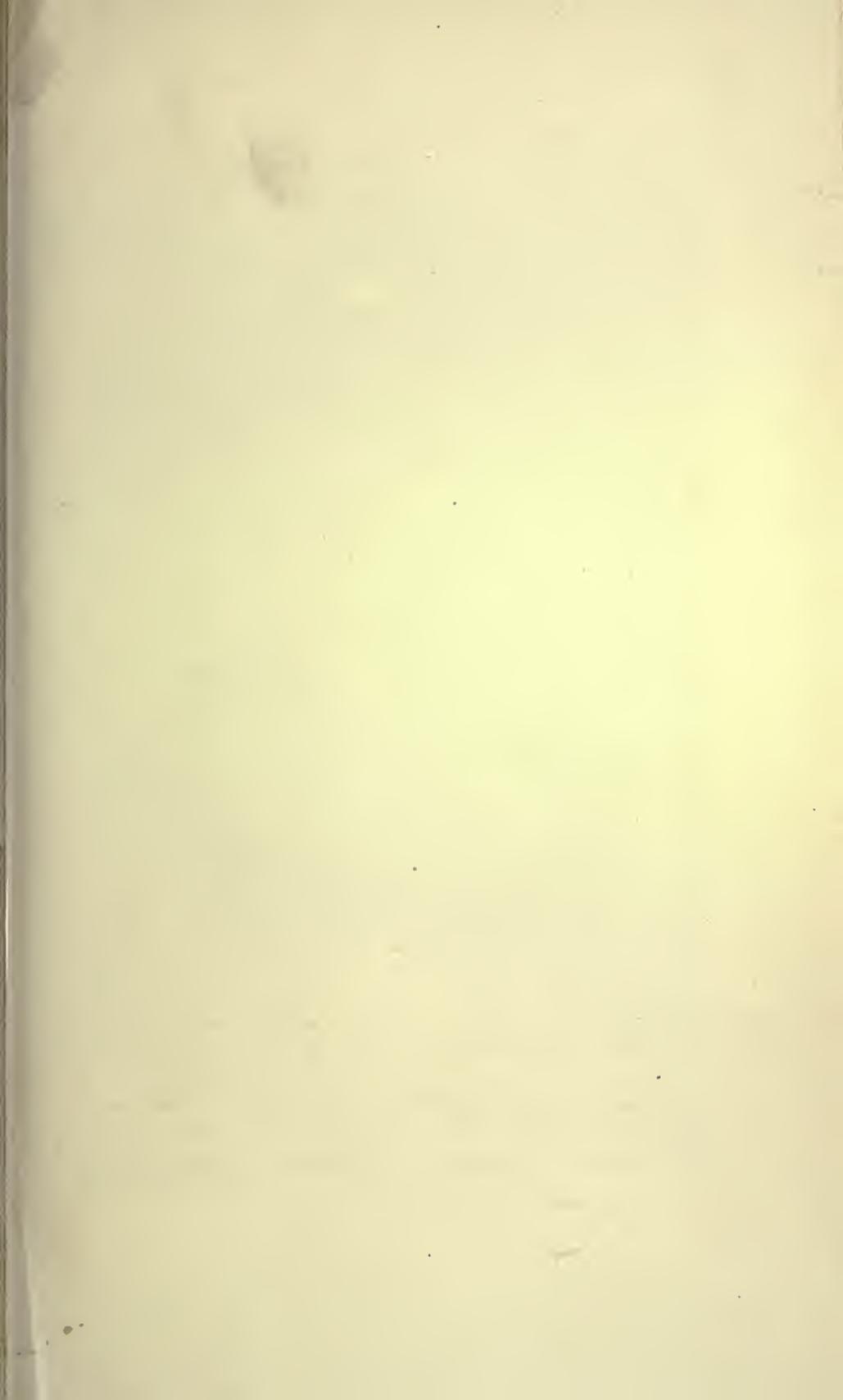
PARSONS BRAINARD COGSWELL.

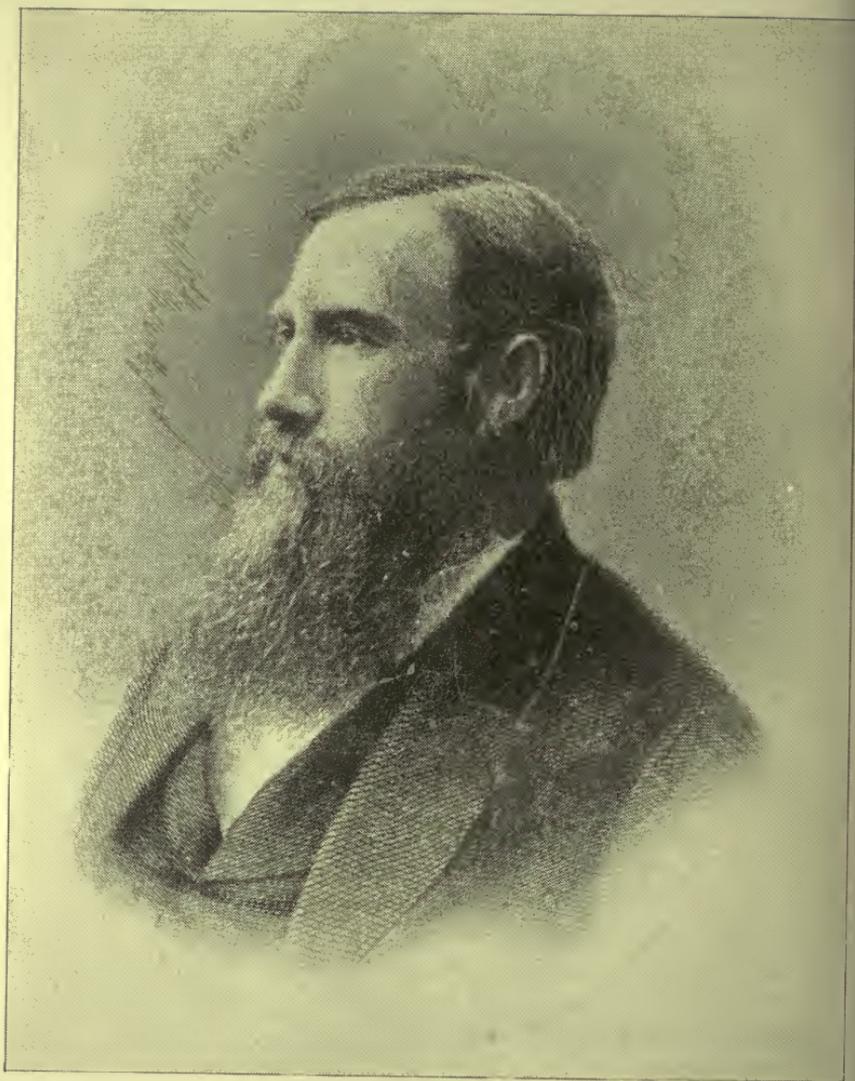
PARSONS BRAINARD COGSWELL was born at Henniker, N. H., January 22, 1828. He died at Concord, N. H., October 28, 1895. He was the son of David and Hannah (Haskell) Cogswell, and his boyhood was spent upon the farm. His educa-

tion was obtained in the common schools, supplemented by an occasional term in the academy and a short attendance at the Clinton Grove school. At the age of nineteen he entered the office of the *Independent Democrat*, in Concord, where he remained for nearly two years, and then began a three years' service in the office of the *New Hampshire Patriot*. During this time he completely mastered the printer's trade, and from 1852 to 1854 found employment in the printing offices of Concord and Manchester. In March of the latter year he formed a partnership with Hon. A. G. Jones, and established a book and job printing business in Concord. Mr. Jones was not long a member of the firm, and upon the retirement of his partner, Mr. Cogswell conducted the business alone until February 1, 1864.

May 23, 1864, in company with George H. Sturtevant, he established the *Concord Daily Monitor*, the first permanent daily paper published in Concord. This paper was afterwards consolidated with the *Independent Democrat* and the *New Hampshire Statesman*, and is still published by the Republican Press Association, in which Mr. Cogswell was always a large stockholder and a member of the board of directors. During his connection with the *Monitor* Mr. Cogswell served in every editorial department, as local, associate, and managing editor, and as an editorial writer, wielding a vigorous pen, and contributing with strength to every department of the paper.

In 1858, he was elected a member of the school committee of the Union school district in Concord, and in 1859, upon the reorganization of the schools of the city, he became a member of the board of education and served continuously in that capacity until his death. For several years he was president of the board, occupying that position at the time of his death, and for eighteen years was the board's financial agent. In 1872 and 1873 he was the representative of Ward 5 in the legislature, and from 1881 to 1885 he was public printer. For several years he was an auditor of state printer's accounts, and at the time of the reorganization of the state library upon its present basis, he was a member of the board of trustees of that institution and contributed materially to the development of the library upon the lines of usefulness which have marked its





PARSONS B. COGSWELL.

management for the past thirty years. During almost the entire period of his manhood he was a member of the New Hampshire Historical Society and for four years occupied the president's chair. He was a prominent member and long an officer of the New Hampshire Press Association, and was one of the earliest members of the Appalachian club. In 1892, he was appointed United States inspector of immigrants and stationed at Concord. He resigned this office in January, 1893, when he assumed the chair of chief magistrate of Concord, to which he had been elected in the November preceding. From 1893 to 1895, he was president of the Concord Commercial club.

September 22, 1888, Mr. Cogswell was married to Helen Buffum Pillsbury, daughter of Parker Pillsbury, who survives him.

For nearly fifty years Mr. Cogswell was one of the best known, most influential, most respected, and most beloved citizens of Concord. He was an active participant in every good work and never failed to respond when called upon to assist in any undertaking whose end was the good of the community, the progress of the world, or the advancement of mankind. His was a serious and a busy life, not made so for the sake of being serious or busy, but because he desired to bring about something good and to accomplish some definite results. He was a thinker and grasped all problems which were brought before him with a view to their conscientious solution so far as he himself was concerned. He was not content with a superficial phase of any question or study, but he analyzed it with thoroughness and diligence so that when he had once arrived at a conclusion he seldom found cause afterwards to change his mind. He was not stubborn in his opinions, however, except when he knew that he was right, and he was always ready to admit, however widely he might differ from others, that his opponents were as honest in their opinions as he was in his. This characteristic made him a very courteous, very kindly, very much respected, editor and political writer, although during his career as a journalist he passed through some of the bitterest contests which were ever waged in this state, where probably political feeling runs higher than in any other state of the Union.

Always a plain man of the people, he recognized no cliques or classes as an editor or as a public man. He greeted the poor and the rich alike, and in the days of his prosperity never failed to remember the companions of his hours of toil at the compositor's case and the printing-press. This characteristic made warm friends of all who knew him, but he had others which were only known to his nearer and more intimate associates. To those who were brought into daily contact with him in his business and editorial life were displayed the finest traits of his character, and the numerous members of the journalistic profession who were brought up in newspaper work under his supervision still testify to his loving, gentle methods with them when in their novitiate, to his patience with their mistakes, to his constant helpfulness, to his unflinching sympathy, and to his practical coöperation in all the phases of their work; from the youngest apprentice in the establishment, which he had seen to grow from small beginnings to large proportions, to the manager and chief owner, his loss was that of a dear friend, a kindly companion, and a loving brother.

His connection with the New Hampshire Historical Society was one of great usefulness. He was a diligent member and a capable officer, and his interest in the society did not cease with his death, for by his will he made the society one of his heirs, though the legacy of his memory is far dearer than the value of any bequest which could have been made.

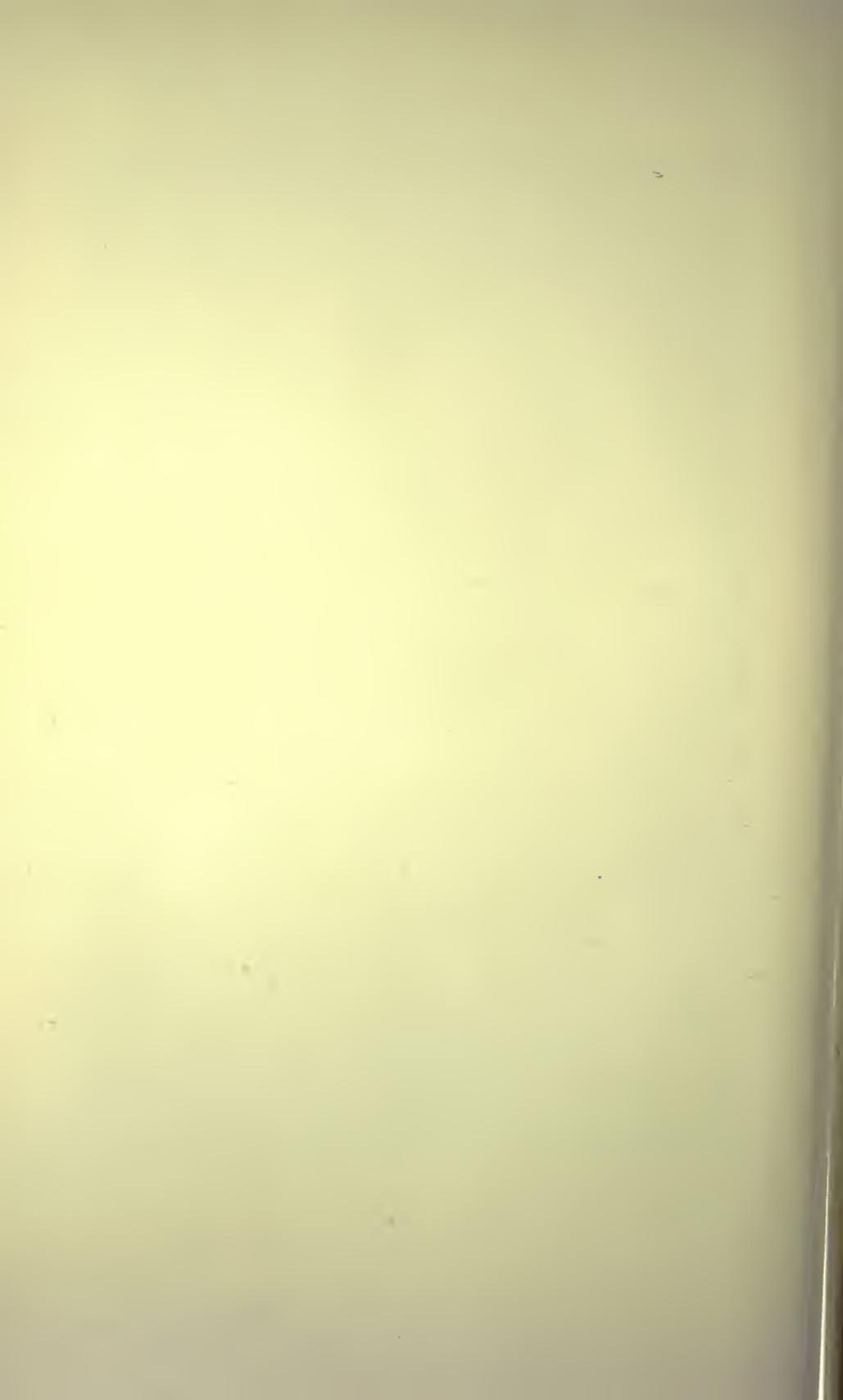
G. H. M.

MARSHALL PARKER HALL.

MARSHALL PARKER HALL was born in Gilford, now Laco-
nia, N. H., August 11, 1838. His parents soon after moved
to Manchester, returning to Gilford in 1845. In 1856, Man-
chester became the permanent residence of the family. What
education the district school and Gilford academy had to give
Mr. Hall, was finished by the time he was fifteen years of age,
when he served an apprenticeship of three years in the office of
the *Belknap Gazette*, finding employment thereafter with the
Manchester Democrat, the *Daily American*, the *New Hamp-
shire Journal of Medicine*, and various printing-offices of



MARSHALL P. HALL.



Manchester, for two years. Meanwhile, his education was going on, so that he not only acquired a knowledge of the art preservative of arts, but had fitted himself to become a teacher, and was offered a position in Scioto county, Ohio, where he remained from 1858 to 1861. Returning to Manchester, he printed the *New Hampshire Journal of Agriculture*, of which the writer of this sketch was proprietor and editor until that paper was merged in the *Mirror and Farmer*, in 1862. In October, 1863, Mr. Hall was chosen city librarian, a position which he held until June, 1865, and might have continued to hold it had the compensation been adequate. That year he entered the counting-room of the Amoskeag corporation. The ambition of many a young man with limited advantages and the necessity of earning his daily bread, might well have been satisfied to become, as Mr. Hall soon did, a skilful accountant, a trusted clerk, and assistant paymaster in one of the greatest corporations of the world. But he was more. As a citizen of a state and a nation which he loved, he took an intelligent interest in the conduct of public affairs, and was ever faithful to the duties of citizenship. In 1868, he was chosen a member of the school-board of the city of Manchester, a position to which he was annually re-elected with but three years' intermission, until 1896. This should be sufficient evidence of his rare qualifications for the place. One who was himself a teacher, and has made a study of the development of education in the United States, says: "I am convinced that Mr. Hall possessed singular and remarkable abilities in this direction. If he could have had the opportunity to write and to travel, he would have been widely known and appreciated in this field. Long before ideas peculiar to the new education had taken form and been tried by experimenters, he had quietly thought them out and recognized their value. Hidden away in forgotten school reports, over which he toiled with a devotion and enthusiasm entirely disproportioned to the recognition they received, will be found utterances which entitle him to a high position among the pioneers of public school education." In this connection, doubtless the most important service he rendered to the city and state, was in drafting and pushing to its adoption the thirteenth amendment to the constitution of New Hampshire, which secures the free

dom of the public schools from sectarian influences. In Manchester, with its strong Catholic voting population and the indifference of many partisans, a division of the school fund seemed almost a foregone conclusion. The wise and timely settlement of this question owes very much to Mr. Hall's persistent effort and judicious management. His own efforts to obtain an education made him very considerate of the needs of others, and he was foremost in securing the establishment of classes in manual training, of free evening schools, and of evening classes in mechanical drawing. His brief experience in teaching made him cognizant both of some needs of teachers and of scholars, and caused him to advocate the training-school, which has proved a great advantage to graduates of the High school who wish to become teachers. It also suggested a practical method of bookkeeping and of accounts, which took shape in after years in a work entitled "Money Accounts and Bookkeeping," which he left in manuscript at the time of his decease.

In all of Mr. Hall's practically gratuitous service on the school-board he was never indifferent to any duty that presented itself. He was familiar with all the details of school life, and made a study of the problems that concern the physical and mental well-being of the scholar. He possessed the confidence of teachers, and was ever ready with wise counsel. It would be hardly possible to overestimate the value of Mr. Hall's devotion to the cause of education in the city of Manchester. Others came and went, remaining for a longer or shorter time on the board. He was the one steadfast member to whose annual election the public had learned to look with confidence and satisfaction. As clerk and vice-chairman, he wrote many of the most interesting reports. Master of a clear and forceful English style, he made the idea he wished to convey so plain that it could not be mistaken. He was a diligent reader of the best literature, and among his Lares and Penates Whittier occupied a chief position.

Mr. Hall was a member of the Franklin Street Congregational church, for some years its clerk, and also a director and clerk of the society. He was an efficient teacher and for a time superintendent of the Sunday-school, and until compelled

in recent years by ill health to lay down some of his burdens, active in all church work. He was a trustee of the Elliott Hospital, a member and officer of the Manchester Art Association, and a member of the New Hampshire Historical Society. As he was a Christian and a gentleman, so he was a patriot. The blood of one who was with Stark at Bunker Hill coursed through his veins. He enrolled himself early among the "Sons of the Revolution." He loved his state, its history and its institutions. The mountain and lake region where he was born never lost for him its charm, and nothing so refreshed and strengthened him as the brief vacations which enabled him to seek the upper forests of New Hampshire, where he seemed

"To feel from burdening cares and ills,
The strong uplifting of the hills."

Somewhat reserved in society, an inherent trait which he in vain strove against, he delighted to talk with the workmen in the field or the fisherman on the seashore, who brought him near to Nature's heart. He had no idle moments. The offices which he held were regarded, not as empty honors, but as opportunities for work. He had a fine sense of artistic beauty in design, and often spent his spare moments—the wait before meals, or an occasional evening,—in wood carving, and as an inventor he had given time and thought to the improvement of certain kinds of machinery.

As a good citizen, Mr. Hall was ever zealous for the honor of his country, and one may not soon forget the interest with which he followed the matchless story of Lincoln's life as it came out from month to month, or the profound sense of God's providential dealing with this nation, with which it inspired him, and to which he gave utterance in those evening prayer-meetings, where he was often heard.

By truest tests Mr. Hall's life was a success. The ideal at which he aimed was to make the best of whatever talent or opportunity God had given him; and however much to his own exacting sense of duty he may seem to have fallen short of this, to his friends, his family, and to all who knew him best he had accomplished a work which may not be measured by length of years. The death of so good a man always seems untimely.

Never of a robust habit, his assiduous attention to his clerical duties at last told upon his strength. With characteristic courage he continued at his work for six months or more, contending against a complication of diseases, hopeful almost to the last, until, on Wednesday, the 12th of February, 1896, he passed with Christian faith and resignation to his reward.

December 29, 1862, Mr. Hall was married to Miss Susan M. James, who, with two sons, survives him. The older son, Rev. Newton M. Hall, a graduate of Dartmouth and of Andover Theological Seminary, is pastor of the Presbyterian church at Oneonta, N. Y., while the other, Doctor Herbert J. Hall, is house physician at the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston.

F. B. E.

GEORGE OLCOTT.

The late GEORGE OLCOTT, long a member of the New Hampshire Historical Society, died on April 10, 1895, in Charlestown, in which town he was born, and where he had always resided.

His father, George Olcott, 1st, was the son of the Hon. Simeon Olcott, who settled in Charlestown about 1764, and was the first member of the legal profession in the town, and the first one to open an office west of the Merrimack river.

He (Simeon Olcott) was appointed judge of probate for Cheshire county in 1773, chief justice of the court of common pleas in 1784, and associate justice of the superior court in 1790. In 1795, he was made chief justice of this court, an office which he resigned in 1801, on being elected to the senate of the United States to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the Hon. Arthur Livermore. After the close of his term in 1805, he retired to private life, dying February 22, 1815, at the age of seventy-nine.

His son, George Olcott, 1st, born November 2, 1785, was also educated to the legal profession, but gave it up to accept the office of cashier of the Connecticut River bank, on its organization in 1824, and remained in this position until his

death, February 4, 1864, when he was succeeded by his son, George Olcott, 2d, the subject of this sketch.

George Olcott, 2d, son of George Olcott, 1st, and Emily Silsby, was born July 11, 1838, and also succeeded his father in the office of town treasurer in 1863, and both of these offices he held until his death.

He represented the town of Charlestown in the state legislature in 1870-2, and was for many years the regular moderator at all town-meetings. He, however, shrank from public office beyond such as was directly connected with the interests of his fellow-townsmen, except that he was one of the trustees of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of New Hampshire for twenty-nine years, and its treasurer for twenty-three years.

He was also for thirty-one years senior warden of St. Luke's church in Charlestown, of which he was one of the founders, and to which he was earnestly devoted.

Liberal, but unostentatious, he was very generous in all contributions for religious or educational purposes, and for all matters which would promote the welfare of his native town.

Naturally of a modest and retiring disposition, he was a great reader, and collected a very fine private library, and contributed generously to the purchase of books for the new Silsby Free library in Charlestown, of which he was one of the first trustees.

Always deeply interested in all historical questions, he was long a member of this Society, and has bequeathed it by his will, a copy of the "History of Charlestown," which he had *interleaved* and had copiously illustrated himself, during many years, with portraits, and views of scenery and residences. This, by the direction of his brother and executor, has been forwarded to the secretary of the Society at Concord, and is now in its possession.

Educated at the celebrated military academy at Norwich, Vt., under the care of Captain Partridge, he left it at the age of fifteen to enter the Connecticut River bank, under the tuition of his father, and to the care of the interests of this bank his life was earnestly and steadily devoted for forty-two years.

Liberal and generous as I have said, "his right hand knew

not what his left did," and many of his fellow townspeople have felt the bounties of his otherwise unknown benevolence.

His memory will long be held dear in his native town, not only by those who knew him from his childhood, and still survive him, but by the younger generation, who have grown up to know him only as a sedate and dignified gentleman of middle life and mature years.

EDWARD SPALDING, M. D.

Dr. EDWARD SPALDING died at Camp Meadows, Magalloway River, on his way home from his vacation, spent at Parmachene lake, in Maine, June 22, 1895. He had been in usual health and the days of vacation were days of uninterrupted enjoyment, so that the announcement of his sudden death was received by his family and friends with a surprise only equaled by its sadness.

Edward Spalding was the fourth child and oldest son of a family of eight children born to Dr. Matthias Spalding and Rebecca (Wentworth-Atherton) Spalding, in Amherst, N. H., September 15, 1813. His father was of the fifth generation in direct descent from Edward Spalding, who came to New England about 1632, and settled first in Braintree, Mass., removing a little later to Chelmsford, Mass., of which he was one of the early proprietors.

He removed to Amherst in 1806. It was the county's shire town and of the greatest importance of any town within its limits, Nashua and Manchester not having at that time risen to any prominence, and probably no town in the state could boast of a higher degree of culture and refinement.

Under such favorable circumstances the subject of this sketch entered upon his early boyhood. Later he went to Chelmsford into the family of Rev. Abial Abbott, where he received such instruction as was needed to fit him for Pinkerton academy in Derry. From this preparatory school he entered Dartmouth college, and was graduated in 1833.

His first plan of employment was that of teacher and with this purpose he went to Lexington, Ky., and opened a private



EDWARD SPALDING, M. D.



school. Not meeting with expected success, he abandoned this plan and returned and took up the study of medicine with his father, which he supplemented with three courses of lectures at Harvard Medical school, and was graduated in 1837.

He entered upon the practice of his profession in Nashua, and very soon numbered among his patrons a large circle of the first families of the town, which had come to be quite a manufacturing centre. After pursuing his practice something more than twenty-five years, he found himself gradually drawn into financial responsibilities, being associated to a greater or less extent with the late Hon. Isaac Spalding, who was regarded as Nashua's most successful financier. Both were at different times officially connected with the management of the Nashua Savings bank, and later Dr. Spalding served as treasurer fourteen years. He was also president and director of the Indian Head National bank. His excellent judgment and willingness to advise brought to him many persons, especially widows upon whom the responsibility of caring for and managing property had suddenly been thrust, and who felt the need of counsel, which often led to probate service. These numerous drafts upon his time, together with the management of his own property, compelled him to abandon his profession, very much to the regret of a large number of families, who, when sickness invaded, were wont to turn to him for relief. But he enjoyed work, and was therefore oftentimes persuaded to accept positions of a purely business character, such as the presidency of the Nashua and Jackson Manufacturing companies, the Peterborough railroad, and the Pennichuck water-works companies. He took special interest in the latter, which was the city's source of supply, and he attributed the healthfulness of the city and its comparative exemption from typhoid fever and kindred forms of disease, to the abundant supply of this excellent water.

Great as was his interest in all that looked to the material prosperity of the town, and later, the city of his adoption, he did not allow it to detract from his interest in its intellectual and moral advancement. He was identified with its public schools for many years, giving to them much of his time and rare ability. Dartmouth college had in him a warm friend

viz. : assistant quartermaster in charge of the construction of U. S. military railroads for Louisville, Ky., October 30 to November 30, 1863; quartermaster of the U. S. military railroads for the Department of the Cumberland, the Ohio, and the Tennessee, Nashville, Tenn., December 1, 1863, to March 1, 1864; disbursing quartermaster in Louisville, Ky., and in charge of the examination and payment of all railroad accounts for transportation of government supplies, May 7, 1864, to December 7, 1865 (at which time he was mustered out of service); and finally with Capt. J. R. Del Vecchio, quartermaster of transportation, Louisville, Ky., December 8, 1865, to August 1, 1866. During his term of service as cashier in the above-named departments, the cash disbursements were not less than \$15,000,000.

After leaving the army, Mr. Tucker was for a time employed by certain steamboat owners as their attorney to settle their claim against the government for the transportation of troops and supplies. Returning to Vermont in September, 1866, he was soon after tendered by the New York Life Insurance Company the position of general agent for the state of Ohio, with headquarters at Cincinnati. This position, however, he declined, owing to his lack of experience, a decision which he afterwards regretted.

At about this time Mr. Tucker began to turn his attention to literary pursuits, writing a history of Hartford for Miss Hemmenway's "Vermont Gazetteer." While preparing this, he reported various musical conventions, including the Great Peace Jubilee held in Boston in 1869, for various newspapers and musical journals. In 1876, he was appointed Vermont manager of the New York Associated Press, which office he held until 1887. From January 1, 1880, to August 1, 1885, he was the general agent of the Morris & Ireland Safe Co., of Boston, and the Mosler Bahmann Safe Co., of Cincinnati, O., for Vermont, New Hampshire, and Canada. In September, 1885, he entered upon the work of preparing and publishing a history of Hartford, Vt. Here he held several offices of trust, until his death, November 12, 1895.



Very sincerely yours,
A. Woodbury



REV. AUGUSTUS WOODBURY, D. D.

REV. AUGUSTUS WOODBURY, D. D., was born in Beverly, Mass., December 4, 1825. He was not a college graduate, but was thoroughly grounded in the classics, and completed his preliminary professional training at the Divinity school of Harvard University in 1849. He was at once called to the Second Congregational (Unitarian) church in Concord, N. H., where he remained till 1853. He was in Lowell from 1853 to 1857, when he was called to the Westminster Congregational church in Providence, R. I., and held the pastorate of that church till his resignation, on account of ill health and advancing years, in 1892. He received the honorary degree of A. M. from Harvard in 1866, and D. D. from Brown University in 1888. He twice represented the city of Providence in the house of representatives of Rhode Island; was chairman of the inspectors of Rhode Island prisons, 1866-77; was the member on whom the larger part of the work and responsibility fell of the commission to build the Rhode Island state prison, 1875-79; was president of the Providence Athenaeum, 1883-88, as well as for a long time a leading member of its board of directors. He also held many other positions of trust and responsibility.

He was the beloved chaplain of the First and Second regiments of Rhode Island Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion, and it was in the faithful and conscientious discharge of that duty that he contracted the disease which followed him, with greater or less severity, for the remainder of his life, and shortened his days. The esteem in which he was held by the soldiers was touchingly shown at the last reunion before his death, when a silver pitcher was presented to him. He was always invited to preach to his comrades when their anniversary fell on Sunday, as it did in 1895. He was also chaplain-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic in 1873-74, as well as chaplain of many other organizations.

He was the author of "Plain Words to Young Men" (1858), "Oration Before the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island" (1860), "Preservation of the Republic" (1862), "Narrations of the Campaign of the First Rhode Island Regiment" (1862), "The



REV. AUGUSTUS WOODBURY, D. D.

REV. AUGUSTUS WOODBURY, D. D., was born in Beverly, Mass., December 4, 1825. He was not a college graduate, but was thoroughly grounded in the classics, and completed his preliminary professional training at the Divinity school of Harvard University in 1849. He was at once called to the Second Congregational (Unitarian) church in Concord, N. H., where he remained till 1853. He was in Lowell from 1853 to 1857, when he was called to the Westminster Congregational church in Providence, R. I., and held the pastorate of that church till his resignation, on account of ill health and advancing years, in 1892. He received the honorary degree of A. M. from Harvard in 1866, and D. D. from Brown University in 1888. He twice represented the city of Providence in the house of representatives of Rhode Island; was chairman of the inspectors of Rhode Island prisons, 1866-77; was the member on whom the larger part of the work and responsibility fell of the commission to build the Rhode Island state prison, 1875-79; was president of the Providence Athenaeum, 1883-88, as well as for a long time a leading member of its board of directors. He also held many other positions of trust and responsibility.

He was the beloved chaplain of the First and Second regiments of Rhode Island Volunteers in the War of the Rebellion, and it was in the faithful and conscientious discharge of that duty that he contracted the disease which followed him, with greater or less severity, for the remainder of his life, and shortened his days. The esteem in which he was held by the soldiers was touchingly shown at the last reunion before his death, when a silver pitcher was presented to him. He was always invited to preach to his comrades when their anniversary fell on Sunday, as it did in 1895. He was also chaplain-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic in 1873-74, as well as chaplain of many other organizations.

He was the author of "Plain Words to Young Men" (1858), "Oration Before the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island" (1860), "Preservation of the Republic" (1862), "Narrations of the Campaign of the First Rhode Island Regiment" (1862), "The

Second Rhode Island Regiment" (1865), "Major-General Burnside and the Ninth Army Corps" (1867), besides a large number of addresses, sermons, and historical sketches. He was a frequent contributor to the editorial columns of the *Independent Democrat* during his first residence in Concord, and of the *Providence Journal* during and after the war, while it was a Republican paper.

Mr. Woodbury took an earnest interest, and was an active participant, in all the vital questions of the day. He was a "Free Soiler" in his early days, and a Republican of decided views from the organization of that party to his death. He early put his hand to the plow, and never faltered in his efforts for the political and social welfare of all his fellow-men.

Though he was decided in his political and religious views, he never failed to secure the respect and friendship of the community in which he lived, not only of his associates, but of those who differed from him. He was honored and esteemed by men of all classes in Providence, to the degree that falls to the lot of few. While he never hesitated to express his opinions at proper times, so as to leave no doubt as to his position, he did it in a way which commanded the respect of his opponents. They felt that here was a man who was sincere, and who believed that he had good reasons for his beliefs and for his acts.

Mr. Woodbury was a man of great literary activity. He was an easy worker, and accomplished his many tasks by doing his work in season. To the last he kept up his interest in the classics, while the latest writers on all questions of social science were a part of his daily life. He found time to write many articles for the reviews and magazines in addition to what has been already enumerated, and had additional contributions in contemplation.

Mr. Woodbury was always one of the leading men in the Unitarian denomination. He was far from belonging to the radical branch of the church, and was always spiritual, as well as practical, in his teaching. Of fine presence, possessing a voice of unusual clearness and range, master of a good English style, with a mind well stored with the treasures of our literature, he never failed to interest and instruct his hearers.

Dr. Woodbury always kept up his acquaintance with his Concord friends, making frequent visits during his residence elsewhere. In accordance with his frequently-expressed wishes, he made Concord his home for the second time in 1894, and died there November 19, 1895. A service in his memory was held in the Westminster Congregational church in Providence on Sunday, December 15, 1895. A report of these services, with other commemorative memorials, was published by the church.

Dr. Woodbury became a resident member of the New Hampshire Historical Society, June 12, 1895.

S. C. E.

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“ Whipple, William, December 5, 1775, Committee of Safety,	1	20
“ “ August 23, 1778, Newport,	3	25
“ Wilkinson, James, January 22, 1776,	1	34
“ Wilkinson, October 18, 1780, War Office,	4	62
Maryland, Plan of Battle of,	1	60-2
“ Regiment, Return of, July 19, 1777, Fishkill,	2	27
Maxwell, William, and others, Petition of, October 16, 1777, Easton,	4	45
Men in Army, Emerson's Return of, February 3, 1776, Medford,	1	36
Men Willing to Continue in Army, Account of, October 8, 1775,	1	13
Order of March,	2	21
Orders to Brigadier-General De Baire, June 10, 1777, Princeton,	2	83
“ General Sullivan, December 11, 1776,	1	56
“ Howe and Sumner, J. Sullivan, June 21, 1777, Rocky Hill,	2	93
Paying Troops, Matthew Thornton, September 28, 1775, Exeter,	1	11
Petition for Dissolution of Congress, January 25, 1775, Exeter,	1	3
Petition of Private Soldiers to General Sullivan, January 2, 1780,	4	56
“ William Maxwell and others, October 16, 1777, Easton,	4	45
Plan of Finance,	1	30
Posting Sentries and Pickets, September 24, 1775, Prospect Hill,	1	10
Private Soldiers, Petition of, January 2, 1780,	4	56
Protest Against Col. Henry Jackson, 1778,	2	75

	Vol.	No.
Putnam, Major-General, Return of, May 3, 1777, Princeton,	2	22
" " May 10, 1777, "	2	23
Questions of Geo. Washington, with Answers,	1	31-33
Report, General, of Guards, November 11, 1777, Whitemarsh,	2	28
Resolution in Council of War, April 18, 1778, Providence,	2	46
" on Protest of General Sullivan's Army, August 28, 1778, Congress,	3	35
" Regarding General Sullivan, February, 1779, Rhode Island Assembly,	4	19
Return of Delaware Detachment, May 31, 1777, Princeton,	2	24
" " June 7, 1777, "	2	26
" General Sullivan, June 1, 1777, "	2	25
" Major-General Putnam, May 3, 1777, "	2	22
" " May 10, 1777, "	2	23
" Maryland Regiment, July 19, 1777, Fishkill,	2	27
" Rhode Island Troops,	3	112
" Samuel Goodridge, August 15, 1775, Winter Hill,	1	7
" Winter Hill Brigade, February 17, 1776,	1	37
Spaulding, Capt. Levi, Petition of General Washington, August 10, 1775, Winter Hill,	1	6
Standing Orders, February 12, 1777,	1	67
Stark's Confession, December 30, 1775,	1	22
Sullivan, General, Resolution in Favor of, February, 1779, Rhode Island Assembly,	4	19
" Return of, June 1, 1777, Princeton,	2	25
Thornton, Matthew, Paying Troops, September 28, 1775, Exeter,	1	11
Varnum, Colonel, on Posting Sentries and Pickets, Septem- ber 24, 1775,	1	10
Washington, George, Questions of, etc.,	1	31-33

SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING.

CONCORD, June 9, 1897.

The seventy-fifth annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held in the rooms of the Society, at Concord, on Wednesday, June 9, 1897, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, about thirty members in attendance, Hon. Benjamin A. Kimball, president, in the chair.

The records of the several meetings held during the year were read by the secretary and approved by the Society.

The report of the treasurer, William P. Fiske, was read by the secretary, and is as follows :

REPORT OF TREASURER.

Receipts Credited to General Income.

Income from permanent fund,	\$537.75	
Income from other sources,	23.42	
New members,	15.00	
Assessments,	354.00	
Sale of miscellaneous books,	98.20	
Miscellaneous,	24.17	
From state appropriation,	500.00	
		<hr/>
		\$1,552.54

Expenditures Charged to General Income.

Printing, engraving, binding, etc.,	\$185.38	
Fuel and water,	47.25	
Postage,	16.86	
Insurance and repairs,	247.31	
Salaries,	500.00	
Incidentals,	168.93	
N. F. Carter, sundry expenses,	74.60	
Books and magazines purchased,	218.00	
		<hr/>
		\$1,458.33
		<hr/>
Balance for the year,		\$94.21

Permanent fund,	\$11,000.00	
Current funds,	1,208.33	<hr/>
		= \$12,208.33
		<hr/>
		\$12,302.54

Todd Fund.

To investment,	\$500.00	
To income,	12.50	<hr/>
		\$512.50
By paid accrued interest on investment,		5.42
		<hr/>
		\$507.08

Securities in Hands of the Treasurer, June 8, 1897.

2 bonds Iowa Loan and Trust Co.,	\$1,000.00	
3 bonds Concord Land and Water Power Co.,	300.00	
1 bond Johnson Loan and Trust Co. (receipt),	900.00	
1 bond Northern Pacific,	1,000.00	
2 bonds Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul,	2,000.00	
1 bond New York & New England,	1,000.00	
1 bond Little Rock & Fort Smith,	1,000.00	
2 bonds Atchison 1st, 4 per cent.,	1,000.00	
5 shares Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, preferred stock,	500.00	
1 First mortgage loan, H. Hillmond,	1,200.00	
1 First mortgage loan, Jas. Charles,	1,025.00	
On deposit in N. H. Savings bank,	1,377.54	<hr/>
		\$12,302.54

Todd Fund.

1 bond Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, 5 per cent. convertible,	\$500.00	
Deposit in N. H. Savings bank,	7.08	<hr/>
		\$507.08

It was followed by the report of the auditor, and both were by vote accepted and ordered placed on file.

The secretary made report of membership as follows :

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

Whole number of members, June 10, 1896,	184
New members qualified during the year,	3
Total,	187
Died during the year :	
Francis L. Abbot, Concord,	
William S. Stevens, Dover,	2
Total membership June 9, 1897,	185
On motion of Rev. C. L. Tappan,	

Voted, That a committee of three be appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, and the chair appointed Hon. Joseph B. Walker, Hon. John Kimball, Hon. Albert S. Wait.

The report of the librarian, Rev. N. F. Carter, was presented, and by vote placed on file. The report is as follows:

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT, 1897.

To the Members of the New Hampshire Historical Society :

Your librarian is happy to report a fair progress in several directions towards bringing the library into the shape its importance and value deserve. A large amount of work has been done through the year, not all apparent, but all contributing its quota towards the end sought. The systematic investigation and classification of the library to prepare it for a new cataloguing and make its many valuable works more easily accessible to its increasing patrons, has been continued, considerable headway made, but is not yet completed. It is hoped this desirable part of the work will be finished the present season, and its thousands of volumes and pamphlets find a permanent resting-place.

During the winter and spring, work, other than that pertaining to the office routine, has been mainly in the vault. The main part of our large collection of manuscripts has been carefully scrutinized and put into the boxes procured for the purpose, with a list of the contents of each on the outside to enable the finding of any desirable piece without unnecessary opening. After the index proposed is made of them any manuscript can be found in a moment's time, making the whole collection entirely accessible. An index has also been made to the Sullivan Papers, and published in Part 1 of Vol. III of our Proceedings, now in press. An index to the Webster and Hibbard Papers is contemplated at no distant day. The increasing amount of office work and correspondence to meet the

imperative need of the Society to keep it abreast with the times, seriously interferes with the rapid advance to the completion of the plans for perfecting the order of the library and making it "a thing of beauty and a joy forever."

The hundreds of pamphlet sermons in the library have been classified, catalogued, and put into boxes ready for use as occasion may require.

Besides the cases put into the vault for a convenient arranging of its contents, a simple and comprehensive rack for maps has been devised and constructed to hold conveniently, and facilitate their use.

The accessions to the library during the year have been, exclusive of state papers and magazines, 2,425, of which 819 were bound volumes. The binding of the year has been 116 books and 9 volumes of newspapers, making a total of 932 bound volumes in the library more than at the last annual meeting, which added to the number then reported, gives a total of 13,272 bound books.

We group and give in detail the accessions, and their source, as follows:

Books and pamphlets have been received from persons and corporations as follows:

Abbott, Frances M.,	2	Brown, Julius W.,	3
Abbott, J. M.,	9	Burton, C. M.,	1
Adams & Co.,	16	Byington, Mrs. Swift,	238
Aiken, Rev. Edwin J.,	1	Calvin, Samuel,	1
Allen, Mrs. Adelaide,	53	Carpenter, A. P.,	1
Amen, Prof. Harlan P.,	2	Carter, Miss Edith H.,	2
Appleton, W. S.,	1	Carter, Mrs. F. H.,	2
Ayer, Rev. F. D.,	328	Carter, Rev. N. F.,	26
Ayling, Gen. A. D.,	1	Carter, S. W.,	2
Bancroft, Dr. C. P.,	1	Clark, Charles H.,	2
Barrett, Norris S.,	2	Clark, Rev. F. G.,	4
Bachelor, Nahum J.,	1	Cleaves, Geo. P.,	8
Batchellor, Albert S.,	9	Colby, Harrison,	1
Beadle, C. D.,	1	Colby, J. F.,	2
Belanger, Rev. J. A.,	1	Comstock, J. M.,	23
Bellas, H. H.,	3	<i>Congregationalist</i> ,	1
Benton, J. H., Jr.,	1	Conn, Dr. G. P.,	1
Bingham, Harry,	1	Connor, Mrs. Lucy S.,	8
Birney, William,	1	Courtenay, William A.,	1
Blinn, Henry G.,	2	Cragg, T. W.,	3
Blomburg, Anton,	3	Cross, George N.,	1
Boston Record Com'is'n'rs,	1	Cudmore, P.,	3
Brown, Charles W.,	1	Curtis, Rev. J. S.,	1

Darling, C. W.,	1	Lane, Thomas W.;	1
Dodd, Mead & Co.,	1	Linehan, John C.,	1
Dodge, James E.,	1	Livingston, Rev. W. W.,	4
Drummond, J. H.,	1	Locke, George,	2
Dunham, H. N.,	1	Lockhart, Rev. Burton W.,	1
Eastman, Samuel C.,	463	Lovering, Clara B.,	1
Eddy, Mrs. Mary B. G.,	9	Marquand, Henry,	2
Edes, Henry H.,	1	Mayor of Bath, Eng.,	1
Farrill, Rev. E. T.,	1	McCormick, Cyrus H.,	1
Field, J. H.,	1	McDuffee, Henry C.,	1
Fisher, R. D.,	1	McFarland, Annie A.,	1
Fiske, William P.,	13	<i>Monitor,</i>	2
Fowler, F. H.,	12	Morris, Henry L.,	1
Fowler, Mrs. Sarah L.,	3	Munson, Myron A.,	2
French, A. D. W.,	1	Murkland, Rev. Charles S.,	56
French, Sperry,	7	Musgrove, R. W.,	1
Gallinger, J. H.,	2	Olin, William M.,	2
Gerould, Rev. S. L.,	2	Ordway, John C.,	10
Gerrish, Maj. H. F.,	1	Osgood, Mary E.,	10
Gold, T. S.,	25	Page, Mary A.,	1
Government,	146	Parsons, J. R.,	1
Greene, Arthur S.,	58	Pattee, Fred L.,	1
Greene, Dr. Samuel A.,	23	Pillsbury, Parker,	1
Hale, George S.,	1	Piper, S. S.,	1
Ham, Dr. J. R.,	1	Providence Record Com's'rs,	2
Hardy, Rev. A. C.,	1	Raikes, George A.,	1
Hastings, H. V.,	1	Raymond & Whitcomb,	14
Haven, Miss Eliza A.,	1	Richardson, H. W.,	1
Hazen, Rev. H. A.	42	Robinson, Henry,	1
Hill, Joseph C. A.,	35	Root, Azariah S.,	1
Himes, Rev. W. L.,	56	Sanger, Austin H.,	204
Hoar, George F.,	1	Sherwood, George F.,	1
Hoitt, Mary A.,	1	Snow, Marshall S.,	1
House, Rev. William,	22	Stearns, Ezra S.,	22
Howard, Joseph W.,	1	Steele, Mrs. A. H.,	4
Hoyt, A. H.,	6	Stevens, L. D.,	1
Hoyt, Dr. J. Elizabeth,	69	Stevens, Mrs. H. W.,	2
Hurd, Leon D.,	1	Stiles, Mrs. Sophia,	1
Hurlin, William,	1	Stone, George F.,	1
Hutchinson, J. G.,	1	Swan, R. T.,	1
Johnson, Rev. John,	2	Swett, Charles E.,	25
Johnson, John F.,	1	Tappan, Rev. C. L.,	12
Keyes, Charles R.,	4	Tarlton, Charles W.,	44
Kimball, John,	3	Thurston, Mrs. F. R.,	40
Kimball, S. S.,	2	Tilghman & Davis,	1

Todd, William C.,	1	Wheeler, J.,	1
Tolles, Jason E.,	1	White, D. M.,	14
Trask, Julian F.,	2	Whittier, J. H.,	2
Walker, Isaac,	43	Woodbury, Mrs. Augustus,	71
Walker, Joseph B.,	48		

Books and pamphlets have been received from the following historical societies, associations, and libraries :

American Academy of Political Science,	1
American Antiquarian Society,	4
American Board of Missions,	5
American Catholic Historical Society,	4
American Congregational Association,	1
American Historical and Philosophical Society,	1
American Museum of Natural History,	19
American Philosophical Society,	3
Appalachian Club,	1
Boston Book Company,	1
Brooklyn Library,	1
Buffalo Historical Society,	1
Bunker Hill Monument Association,	2
Chicago Historical Society,	3
Chicago Public Library,	1
Cincinnati Public Library,	1
Cleveland Public Library,	6
Colby Academy,	1
Connecticut Historical Society,	2
Dartmouth College,	1
Drew Theological Seminary,	2
Essex Institute,	5
Forbes Library,	1
Harvard University,	2
Historical and Philosophical Society,	29
Holland Society,	3
Illinois Public Library,	1
Iowa Historical Society,	8
Johns Hopkins University,	5
Kansas State Historical Society,	244
Lackawana Institute,	3
Lexington Historical Society,	1
Lincoln Co. Historical Society,	1
Los Angeles Public Library,	1
Madison University,	1
Maine Historical Society,	4

Maryland Historical Society,	3
Massachusetts Art Company,	1
Massachusetts Historical Society,	1
Minnesota Historical Society,	5
Minnisink Historical Society,	2
Missouri Historical Society,	1
Mount Holyoke College,	2
New England Historical and Genealogical Society,	4
New Hampshire Board of Health,	2
New Hampshire State Library,	20
New Haven Colony Historical Society,	3
New York Free Circulating Library,	1
New York Historical Society,	1
New York Public Library,	5
Oberlin College Library,	3
Ohio Archæological and Historical Society,	1
Ohio State Historical Society,	1
Oneida Historical Society,	3
Pennsylvania Historical Society,	4
Philadelphia Historical Society,	1
Philadelphia Library,	2
Presbyterian Historical Society,	1
Rhode Island Historical Society,	3
Royal Academy, Stockholm,	1
Salem Public Library,	1
Smithsonian Institution,	17
St. Louis Public Library,	1
Syracuse Library,	1
Texas Historical Association,	1
Tufts College,	1
University of Pennsylvania,	2
Vermont State Library,	31
War Department Library,	28
Wellesley College,	1
West Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Society,	1
Western Reserve Historical Society,	95
Wisconsin Historical Society,	1
Worcester Society of Antiquity,	4
Wyoming Association,	4
Yale University,	3

The following publications are received regularly from the office of publication :

American Historical Review.
Antiquarian.

Book Reviews.
Church Building Quarterly.
Essex Antiquarian.
Granite Monthly.
Hamptonia.
Maine Bugle.
Manifesto.
Knox Co. Historical and Genealogical Record.
Iowa State Record.
New England Historical and Genealogical Register.
Tennessee Board of Health Bulletin.
Tiltonian.

The following newspapers are regularly received :

Boston Daily Advertiser.
Boston Daily Journal.
Canaan Reporter.
Contoocook Independent.
Dover Enquirer.
Exeter Gazette.
Exeter News-Letter.
Littleton Courier.
Manchester Daily Union.
Meredith News.
Merrimack Journal.
Mirror and Farmer.
Plymouth Record.
Portsmouth Journal.
Somersworth Free Press.
Travellers' Record.
Weekly News.
Weekly Patriot.

Of the special gifts to the library during the year we would mention six volumes containing the inscriptions on the tombstones of the old cemetery, Concord, transcribed by Dr. William H. Hotchkiss of New Haven, Conn., and bound and presented to the library by Hon. J. B. Walker; "The Kimball Family," by Hon. John Kimball; "The Lane Family," Vol. II, by Rev. James H. Fitts of Newfields; "McKeen's History of Bradford, Vt.," by Henry C. McDuffee of Bradford, and "Official Report of the Debates and Proceedings in the Massachusetts State Convention, 1853," three volumes, by David P. Kimball of Boston.

Visitors to the library have averaged 143 per month.

The present needs of the library will be given in the report of the committee specially appointed for that purpose. With the trend in the right direction, careful, painstaking, and unremitting labor, with the helpful co-operation of all interested, will in due time bring the library into such condition as will give it its highest possible value to visitors and patrons.

Respectfully submitted,

N. F. CARTER.

The report of the Standing Committee was presented by Hon. J. C. A. Hill, and accepted, and ordered to be placed on file.

The report of the Library Committee was read by Hon. Amos Hadley, and by vote accepted and placed on file.

The Special Committee appointed to provide a seal for the use of the Society reported through its Chairman, Hon. J. B. Walker,—that they had agreed upon a design consisting of a scroll and books with a lighted lamp of antique pattern. The design is circular in form, surrounded by a border bearing the Society's name and the date of its formation. The seal is to be engraved in two sizes, one for certificates of membership, two inches in diameter, and another for letter heads, book-plates, etc., of one and a half inches.

The report of the committee was by vote accepted, and the design proposed was made the seal of the Society.

Hon. A. S. Wait made a verbal report for the Committee of Publication.

Hon. J. B. Walker, for the committee appointed to nominate a list of officers for the ensuing year, presented the following. The report of the committee was accepted, and the persons named were by vote of the Society declared to be the officers of the year ensuing:

President.

HON. LYMAN D. STEVENS.

Vice-Presidents.

HON. ALBERT S. WAIT,

HON. WILLIAM C. TODD.

Recording Secretary.

JOHN C. ORDWAY.

Corresponding Secretary.

HON. A. S. BATCHELLOR.

Treasurer.

WILLIAM P. FISKE.

Librarian.

REV. NATHAN F. CARTER.

Necrologist.

ELI E. GRAVES, M. D.

Auditor.

HON. JOSEPH B. WALKER.

Standing Committee.

HON. J. C. A. HILL,
 HON. JOHN KIMBALL,
 GEN. HOWARD L. PORTER.

Library Committee.

AMOS HADLEY, PH. D.,
 REV. C. L. TAPPAN,
 MRS. FRANCES C. STEVENS.

Publication Committee.

HON. EZRA S. STEARNS,
 REV. NATHAN F. CARTER,
 HON. SAMUEL C. EASTMAN.

The following named persons were by ballot elected members of the Society :

WILLIAM E. SPALDING, Nashua,
 PROF. G. W. BINGHAM, Derry,
 GEORGE E. MESERVEY, Exeter,
 REV. D. C. EASTON, Lakeport.

The following were elected corresponding members of the Society :

FRANCIS OLCOTT ALLEN, 1300 Locust St., Philadelphia,
Secretary Pennsylvania Genealogical Society.

LT.-COL. JOHN MURRAY GLIDDEN, Newcastle, Me., Pres-
ident Lincoln Co. Historical Society.

HERMAN WEED STEVENS, 13 Fairbanks St., Brookline,
Mass.

On motion of Hon. S. C. Eastman,

Voted, That the annual tax of three dollars be levied on members for the ensuing year.

Voted, That a committee of three be appointed by the chair to procure speakers for the ensuing year, and the chair appointed as such committee the following :

HON. A. S. BATCHELOR,

REV. WILLIAM C. TODD,

REV. C. L. TAPPAN.

On motion of Rev. C. L. Tappan,

Voted, That the secretary and librarian be authorized to procure the printing of a sufficient number of manuals or small hand-books containing the constitution and by-laws, and lists of the officers and members of the Society.

On motion of Hon. L. D. Stevens,

Voted, That the treasurer be requested to report at the next meeting a list of all members who are delinquent in the payment of dues.

On motion of Hon. E. S. Stearns,

Voted, That the president, recording secretary, and librarian be a committee to make arrangements for the Society's acceptance of the invitation of the Historical Society of Old Newbury, Mass., to unite with them in the holding of a field-day meeting at Salisbury Beach, Mass., the coming month, and report to individual members by circular or otherwise.

On motion of the same gentleman the Society

Voted, To present to the state library a volume of Old Norfolk County court records to complete the file recently acquired by the state.

Hon. J. B. Walker presented the report of the committee appointed at a previous meeting, giving the amount of the Society's funds, its yearly income, and its more urgent needs. The report was accepted and the committee requested to present its recommendations in the form of amendment to the by-laws.

Voted, That Hon. L. D. Stevens, Hon. J. B. Walker, and John C. Ordway be a committee to prepare a revision of the constitution and by-laws.

Voted, That delinquent members be notified by the treasurer of their arrears.

Dr. E. E. Graves, necrologist, made a verbal report which was accepted.

John C. Thorne moved that the consideration of the purchase of the Chadwick property adjoining the Society's lot be referred to the Standing Committee, and it was so voted.

Voted to adjourn till 2 o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Society reassembled in the Senate Chamber at the State House at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

President Stevens presented Hon. Harry Bingham of Littleton, who delivered the annual address upon the subject, "The Influence of Religion upon Human Progress."

At the conclusion of Mr. Bingham's address,

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be hereby tendered to Mr. Bingham for his very valuable address delivered on this occasion, and that a copy of the same be requested for preservation in the archives of the Society.¹

On motion of Hon. J. B. Walker,

Voted, That the Publication Committee be hereby requested to take into consideration the subject of publishing a new volume of Historical Collections, and the preparation of an index of the matter contained in the volumes already issued.

Voted to adjourn to the call of the president.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,

Secretary.

¹ Mr. Bingham's address was published in a pamphlet in 1901 and distributed among his friends.

SALISBURY, Mass., July 15, 1897.

The first adjourned seventy-fifth annual meeting and field-day of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held at Salisbury, Mass., Thursday, July 15, 1897, by invitation of the Historical Society of Old Newbury, Mass., to unite with it in a field-day meeting at Salisbury Beach on that day. The invitation to this society had been extended through the courtesy of Rev. Dr. Beane and transmitted by Miss Emily A. Getchell, secretary of the society at Newburyport.

The delegation from the Society left Concord at 5 : 20 a. m., via Manchester, Lawrence, Georgetown, and Newburyport, and arrived at Salisbury about 9 o'clock in the forenoon. The party was met at the railroad station by a committee from the Newbury society and escorted to the Methodist church in Salisbury, where the meeting was held.

After a brief but cordial welcome by William Little, president of the Old Newbury society, and a further welcome to Salisbury by John Q. Evans of that town, and the singing of America by the audience, an address was delivered by Sidney Perley, of Salem, Mass., on the history of "The Ancient County of Norfolk," which county at one time embraced the towns of Exeter, Hampton, Dover, and Portsmouth in New Hampshire, and Salisbury and Haverhill in Massachusetts, and of which county Salisbury was the shire town. Brief addresses were also made by President Stevens, Hon. Joseph B. Walker, and Hon. A. S. Wait, of this Society, Rev. Samuel C. Beane, D. D., of Newburyport, John Q. Evans of Salisbury, Warren Brown of Hampton, Mrs. Caroline Haley Dall of Washington, D. C., and others.

A recess was taken at 12 o'clock and the party conveyed to the beach, where dinner was served at Hotel Cushing, the New Hampshire visitors being the guests of the Newbury society.

A short social season followed the dinner, and many enjoyed a stroll on the beach, after which, at 2 o'clock, the Society reconvened in Hope chapel, courteously tendered for the occasion by the Rev. Dr. Lord of Newburyport, and addresses were made by Prof. Bradbury L. Cilley of Exeter, Miss Lizzie Smith,

Hon. William C. Todd, Rev. James H. Fitts of Newfields, and others, after which the Society adjourned subject to the call of the president, and the party, after visiting the rooms of the Historical Society of Newburyport, returned to their homes via Portsmouth, much gratified with the success of the pleasant gathering with their Massachusetts friends.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,
Secretary.

CONCORD, September, 1897.

The members of the New Hampshire Historical Society were invited to unite with the Maine Historical Society in a field-day excursion of the latter, to be observed at York and Kittery and the Isles of Shoals, Wednesday and Thursday, September 8-9, 1897. In compliance with the invitation, a circular giving the itinerary and other details was issued by the secretary to individual members of this Society, a small number of whom accepted the invitation, and reported as having had a very enjoyable excursion. No formal meeting of the Society was held.

CONCORD, December 8, 1897.

The second adjourned seventy-fifth annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held in the rooms of the Society at Concord, on Wednesday, December 8, 1897, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, President Stevens in the chair.

The Hon. Joseph B. Walker, representing the committee appointed at a previous meeting to prepare and submit for consideration a revision of the Constitution and By-Laws, made a report in writing, recommending a new draft of the same, to be substituted for that now in force, which shall read as follows:

CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

I. The object of the New Hampshire Historical Society shall be to discover, secure, and preserve whatever may relate

to the natural, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical history of the United States in general and of this state in particular.

II. The Society shall consist of active, corresponding, honorary, and life members. Any member may become a life member by the payment of fifty dollars, and shall ever after be exempt from assessment.

III. The election of members shall be by ballot when asked for, and no member shall be elected by less than six votes, and the vote of two thirds of the members present shall be necessary to a choice.

IV. Every one proposed for membership (corresponding and honorary members excepted, with whom it shall be optional) shall pay before the annual meeting next following his or her election, the sum of five dollars. The Society may assess taxes at annual meetings on each active member, not exceeding three dollars in one year. Any person neglecting to pay any tax for the term of two years shall cease to be a member.

V. The annual meeting of the Society shall be holden at Concord, on the Second Wednesday in June. Other meetings may be held at such times and places as the Society may from time to time direct. It shall be the duty of the president, and in his absence, of one of the vice-presidents, upon the application of three members, to call a special meeting of the Society, of which five days' notice shall be given.

VI. The officers of the Society, to be elected at the annual meeting, and by ballot or otherwise, shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a treasurer, a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, a librarian, and a necrologist, who shall hold their respective offices for the term of one year, or until others are elected in their places.

VII. The Constitution may be amended at any annual meeting by the vote of two thirds of the members present: provided that notice of the proposed amendment shall be presented in writing to the Society at the preceding annual meeting.

The report of the committee was accepted, and the new draft as above recorded was recommended for adoption at some future meeting, which shall comply with the present provision for amending the Constitution.

The By-Laws proposed by the committee and amended by the Society, and formally adopted by a vote of the Society on the motion of Hon. A. S. Wait of Newport, are as follows :

BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. At every annual meeting there shall be elected, by ballot or otherwise, a standing committee, a committee on the library, and a publishing committee, who shall make a report of their doings at the next annual meeting, or as often as the Society shall direct. These shall be deposited in the archives of the Society; and, if the Society shall deem necessary, they may, at any annual meeting, appoint other committees, and designate the duties to be performed by them.

SECT. 2. When less than six members are present at any meeting, the consent of two thirds shall be necessary to pass any vote, except to adjourn.

SECT. 3. The president shall preside at all meetings, or, in his absence, one of the vice-presidents, but in their absence the Society shall elect a president *pro tempore*, who shall then preside.

ARTICLE II.

LIBRARY.

SECTION 1. The committee on the library shall direct the duties of the librarian, fix the times of opening the library, direct the arrangements of books, decide as to sales, exchanges, and binding of books and pamphlets.

SECT. 2. All important books, manuscripts, relics and curiosities presented to the Society shall be acknowledged by letter, signed by the president and librarian, and every present received shall be recorded, and an account of it rendered at the next annual meeting.

SECT. 3. All valuable pamphlets shall be bound or kept in cases, except duplicates, but no work not a duplicate shall be sold or exchanged except by consent and direction of the committee on the library.

SECT. 4. All manuscripts shall be distinctly marked and kept in numbered cases, with the contents of each registered.

SECT. 5. No book, pamphlet, map, manuscript, newspaper, or other article shall be taken from the library without the written order of a majority of the committee on the library, or by the publishing committee, for use in performing their duties, and all such orders shall be placed on file by the librarian.

ARTICLE III.

LIBRARIAN.

SECTION 1. The librarian shall annually give such security to the Society as the standing committee shall require, for the faithful performance of his trust, the security to be deposited with the secretary.

SECT. 2. He shall receive and have in his custody all books, papers, and other articles, the property of the Society. These he shall properly classify, register, and keep in good order.

SECT. 3. He shall make record of every donation presented to and accepted by the Society, designating the article given, the date, and name of the donor.

SECT. 4. He shall, under the direction of the committee on the library, bind pamphlets in volumes or arrange in cases, and register manuscripts.

SECT. 5. He shall paste a printed label on the inside of the cover of each book, signifying that it is the property of the Society, and, if a present, give the name of the donor.

SECT. 6. He shall, at every annual meeting in June, present a list of all the books, manuscripts, and maps in the library, and relics and curiosities received during the year.

ARTICLE IV.

STANDING COMMITTEE.

SECTION 1. The standing committee shall recommend plans for promoting the objects of the Society, and arrange the order of the business for each meeting. They shall inspect the records, and see that all the orders of the Society are carried into effect with precision and promptitude, and make report at the annual meetings.

SECT. 2. They shall regulate all the common expenses of the Society, make the necessary provision for such small articles as may be wanted, draw upon the treasurer for the payment thereof, and for all such sums as the Society may from time to time vote and appropriate for specific purposes.

SECT. 3. They shall perform the ordinary duties of a finance committee, and direct the treasurer in his investment of funds belonging to the Society.

SECT. 4. They shall, in case of the death, resignation, incapacity, or removal from the state of the secretary, treasurer, or librarian, take charge of the books, papers, and effects belonging to the office so vacated, and appoint a suitable person to care for the same until the next annual meeting.

SECT. 5. They shall be a committee to settle with the treasurer, annually examine his accounts and vouchers, and make report thereon to the Society at each annual meeting, exhibiting a full and particular account of the state of the treasury and of the invested funds belonging to the Society.

ARTICLE V.

PUBLISHING COMMITTEE.

It shall be the duty of the publishing committee to edit such publications from time to time as the Society shall direct.

ARTICLE VI.

SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The secretary shall attend all meetings of the Society and record their proceedings, and shall keep all letters received respecting the society on file, and be the custodian of the securities given by the treasurer and librarian, under the direction of the standing committee. He shall record the names of all members of the society, and the time of their admission, and transmit to each of them, as soon as may be, a printed copy of the constitution and by-laws of the society.

SECT. 2. He shall notify every officer whom the Society shall elect, unless such officer was present at the time of his election.

SECT. 3. He shall notify all meetings of the Society, annual and special, by letter or otherwise, five days previous to the day of meeting, in which notification the hour and place of meeting shall be designated; but any neglect in this particular shall not prevent the annual meeting in June, or annul its proceedings.

ARTICLE VII.

TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The treasurer shall annually give such security to the Society as the standing committee shall require for the faithful performance of his trust.

SECT. 2. He shall give seasonable notice to each member of the society of each and every assessment or tax.

SECT. 3. He shall receive all moneys and evidence of property belonging to the society, pay all bills approved by the standing committee, and keep a record of his receipts and expenditures, and make a report thereof to the Society at each annual meeting.

ARTICLE VIII.

SECT. 1. No alteration or addition to the by-laws shall be made, unless there are eight members present, and three fourths of those present vote in favor of the same.

The following persons were elected resident members of the Society :

WM. F. WHITCHER, of Malden, Mass.
EDWIN B. PIKE, Haverhill, Pike's Station.
ENOCH Q. MARSTON, M. D., Centre Sandwich.
MRS. DORA B. DAVIS, Tilton.
JOHN F. JONES, Concord.
CHARLES C. DANFORTH, Concord.

On motion the Society adjourned to reconvene at the senate chamber in the state house at a quarter before eight o'clock this evening.

EVENING.

The Society met at the hour and place above named. Hon. Edgar Aldrich, U. S. district judge, delivered the following address, the subject of which was, "The Affair of the Cedars and the Service of Colonel Timothy Bedel in the War of the Revolution."

THE AFFAIR OF THE CEDARS AND THE SERVICE OF
COLONEL TIMOTHY BEDEL¹ IN THE WAR OF THE
REVOLUTION.

Address prepared at the request of the New Hampshire Historical Society by Edgar
Aldrich² of Littleton, N. H.

Mr. President and Gentlemen :

The steady march of our country to a leading position among the first nations of the earth has created a desire among our people to know more of the rugged character which made revolution successful, which founded a government so wisely and securely that its genius has become an incentive to advancing civilization throughout the world, which created conditions of liberty and security, calculated to induce a development of resources and an increase in population which are a marvel and a wonder to all men.

For considerably more than a hundred years the subject of the future downfall of the United States government has been a favorite theme for foreign writers. Yet the government still lives and every new and unforeseen emergency, by testing its powers, demonstrates its comprehensiveness and the wisdom of those who created it. Time shows, that as to matters then known and expressly covered, the fundamental provisions of the government are wise and satisfactory, and while providing for then existing conditions of civilization with surprising intelligence and clearness, that as to future developments, as to situations not foreseen, the wisdom of the framers in providing scope for the creation of power to deal with unseen emergencies was akin to inspiration. As to dangers seen they

¹ This name in the early writings is variously spelled, "Beagle," "Beedle," "Bedle," "Beadle," "Bedell," and "Bedel," but as used by Colonel Timothy himself, it was spelled Bedel.

² NOTE BY EDITOR.—The author of this address is a descendant of Colonel Timothy by the following lineage :

1, Timothy ; 2, General Moody Bedel, his son ; 3, Adaline, the daughter of Moody by his first wife, Ruth Hutchins, who married Clark J. Haynes ; 4, Adaline Bedel Haynes, her daughter, who married Ephraim C. Aldrich, and who is the mother of Judge Aldrich.

provided clearly and boldly. As to dangers not seen they sagaciously and wisely trusted, under careful safeguards, to the generations to come, which must necessarily administer the functions of government. The provisions allowing scope for the expansion of power, in respect to conditions to be developed in the future, are quite as much a marvel of wisdom as the grants and limitations of power in respect to conditions then known.

It is the growing desire to know more of the men who helped to quarry, and lay the foundation stones of this wonderful and ever surprising government of ours, which prompts the Historical Society to urge research respecting the service of Col. Timothy Bedel, of the Revolutionary period, whose name and fame have suffered for a hundred and twenty years, by reason of the precipitate and arbitrary conduct of General Arnold in respect to the affair at the Cedars.

The responsibility of Colonel Bedel, in respect to the affair of the Cedars, and his attitude in the later stages of the struggle for independence, are left in doubt upon the detached and fragmentary printed matter in the archives of the country, and it is believed to be the duty of some one to set his memory right, to the end that justice may be done to a life of hardship, and a life of devotion to the service of a country.

Timothy Bedel was prominent in the military and civil affairs of northern New Hampshire for a period of nearly thirty years, a period beginning before the war between France and England, and ending a few years after the close of the Revolution. During much of the time he exercised a vast and almost controlling influence in matters both civil and military in the upper Connecticut valley, and by this is meant the New Hampshire settlements on the west side of the state above Hanover. Mr. McClintock, the author of "History of New Hampshire" (by J. N. McClintock, 1889), in his article on "Lovewell's War and John Lovewell," in referring to the Bedel family, says: "The family have served their country in four wars as commissioned officers; in three wars holding the rank of general." And in a note he adds: "General Timothy Bedel served during the Revolution; his son General Moody

served in the war of 1812, his son General John Bedel was a lieutenant in the Mexican war and brigadier-general in the Rebellion."¹ We must in truth add another war to the four given by Mr. McClintock, for further research shows that Timothy held commissions in the French war, first as lieutenant in Captain Hazzen's company in 1760, and then as captain of a company of fifty-one men posted at Crown Point in the winter of 1762-63 as the quota of the New Hampshire province "demanded by his Excellency General Amherst and under his command raised for securing his Majesty's Dominions and conquest in North America." In passing upon his muster rolls and accounts, the committee say that they are "well vouched and right cast." Thus the Bedel family stands as furnishing commissioned officers in the five and all the regular wars of this country, commencing with that of the French and Indian war.

As a boy, Timothy was early found enrolled among the rangers and scouting companies on the frontiers, protecting the settlers from the violence and ravages of the Indians, and in his defence to the charge in respect to the affair of the Cedars, it was his pride, in the closing paragraph, to refer to his former service in the following words: "I will only add that this is the twelfth campaign I have served, eight of which as a commissioned officer."

Timothy Bedel was born, according to tradition, either in Salem, Mass., or Salem, N. H., between 1730 and 1736; and he died in Haverhill, N. H., in February, 1787. The histories and encyclopedias give his birth at 1740. General John Bedel, in a letter to the city clerk of Salem, Mass., in 1852, says Timothy is reputed to have been born in 1736 or 1737. I think he was born even earlier than 1736. He was taxed in Salem, N. H., in 1757, and I believe him to be the Timothy Beatle who was out in Captain Goffe's scouting company in 1745. That Timothy, however, may have been his father, for his name was Timothy. It is said by Mr. McClintock, in his article on "Lovewell's War and John Lovewell," that Colonel Timothy was a lineal descendant of John Lovewell in a direct

¹ Vol. VII, *Granite Monthly*, p. 381.

line. The John Lovewell referred to will be recalled as the famous Indian fighter known in history as Captain John Lovewell, who, in 1725, successfully conducted the campaign from Dunstable to the north and east of Lake Winnipiseogee, in which a hostile Indian camp was completely annihilated, and who in the same year led a force against the Pequawkets on the Saco, losing his life in the celebrated Indian fight at what is now called Lovewell's pond, near Fryeburg in Maine. I cannot verify this statement of Mr. McClintock as to the relationship of the Lovewells and Colonel Timothy Bedel. If justified it must be upon vague and unreliable tradition.

It is true, however, that in his early service you frequently and almost universally find the name of a Lovewell associated with his on the enlistment or muster rolls. Of the younger Lovewells, there was Zaccheus Lovewell, a younger brother of John, a colonel in the French war in 1759, and Captain Nehemiah, son of John Lovewell, who became a noted ranger seeking to avenge the death of his father. He was a lieutenant in 1756, and a captain in Colonel Goffe's regiment in 1760.

A tendency to advance to the frontiers early manifested itself in Timothy Bedel, who left Salem, N. H., in early life, and, as would seem, working northward "scouting and ranging," finally settled in Haverhill in 1760 or a little later in what was then called the Cohos country.¹

So far as ascertained, and subject to the qualification which I have stated, Timothy Bedel's first service to the Province as a soldier, was in Captain Goffe's company organized to make a scouting campaign from the Merrimack to the Connecticut river, which was begun on the 30th of July, 1745. Again we find him in 1754 in Colonel Joseph Blanchard's regiment, raised for his Majesty's service on the Merrimack and Connecticut rivers. He was in a detachment of Colonel Blanchard's regiment, posted at Charlestown on the Connecticut river, under the command of Major Benjamin Bellows. I have referred to his service in the French war as lieutenant in Captain Hazzen's company, and as commander of a company

¹ Timothy Bedel was one of the original grantees of Haverhill, N. H., Bath, N. H. and Newbury, Vt.

“raised for securing his Majesty’s dominions and conquest,” which was stationed at Crown Point in the winter of 1762.¹

Under his advice and direction and by order of Governor John Wentworth in August, 1768, a company of militia was established in Coös composed of men from Piermont, Haverhill, and Bath. This is understood to be the first militia organization in that locality, and was placed in command of Captain John Peters of Piermont. This company was raised to aid the civil authorities in an effort to suppress a band of counterfeitters, and in support of a warrant to be issued by Bedel in some judicial capacity. In the communication to Bedel, Governor Wentworth commends his “vigilence and address,” and gives a significant hint as to judicial duty, for he says: “It will be right to recognize all the evidence possible to convict offenders, . . . if there are not Men of Spirit probity and Resolution eno’ at Cohass to apprehend and bring down Wheeler notwithstanding his contumous Refusal and his Accomplices I will find such power even from this town, as shall not be resisted.”

In 1775 Timothy Bedel was elected from Bath to the Provincial Congress to be holden at Exeter in May, 1775, to

¹ The following is a copy of memoranda made by Gen. John Bedel Sept. 10, 1855 in respect to the service of his grandfather in the French War, now in possession of Mary Bedel Drew, Colebrook:

Tim^o. Bedel service in War from 1754 to 1763.

- 1754. Scouting against the Indians under Col. Jos. Blanchard, Lt. Benj^a Bellows at or about No. 4. See Vol. 2, p. 121 Rep. Adj. Gen. N. H., 1866.
 - 1755. Under Genl. Johnson in his expedition against Crown Point. Troops from N. H. under Col. Jos. Blanchard, stationed at Fort Edward.
 - 1756. In Wm. Stark’s Co. of Rangers in 2d Expedition against Crown Point.
 - 1757. Went to Halifax as Lieutenant under Col. Meserve.
 - 1758. Under Genl. Amherst as Lt. at the capture of Louisburg.
 - 1759. Under Genl. Wolfe as Lt. at the taking of Quebec.
 - 1760. Under Genl. Amherst, Col. Jn^o Goffe, Capt. Jn^o Hazzen as Lt. at Conquest of Isle Aux Noix, St. Johns, Chambly & Montreal.
 - 1761. In Kings service under Genl. Amherst as Lieutenant Western frontiers guarding conquests.
 - 1762. Went to Havanna with Royal Provincials as Lt. was at the 6 weeks siege, and taking of that place and castle.
- Was appt^d Capt. under Sir Jeffrey Amherst Oct. 13, 1762, and remained in service till after peace was made in 1763. Capts. Commission signed by B. Wentworth, Provincial Governor of N. H. now in the hands of John Bedel, Sept. 10, 1855.

organize an independent government, or take such action as the welfare of the colony might require. It was early evident to the Provincial Congress that the welfare of the colony demanded that the people should resort to arms, and on the 20th of May, 1775, the Congress in a preamble to war resolutions, after setting forth the grievances of the American colonies, declared that "the late Hostilities committed by the British troops in our sister colony of the Massachusetts Bay leaves us no doubt in determining that no other way is left us to preserve our most darling Rights and Inestimable Privileges but by immediately defending them by arms. Reduced therefore by this most terrible necessity, this convention after the most solemn deliberations thereon have 1st Resolved, That it is necessary to raise immediately Two Thousand Effective Men in this Province. . . ."

On the 23d of May it was voted that Colonel Nathaniel Folsom "be appointed to the general command of the men that may be raised or are already raised in this Govert. for this season," and on the sixth of June, 1775, Timothy Bedel was appointed "to be Colonel of the Rangers raised by said Congress for the Defence of the United Colonies in America." This commission is headed "The Congress of the Colony of New Hampshire," and is signed, "By order of the Congress," by Nathaniel Folsom, President P. T., and by E. Thompson, secretary. The ranger force, sometimes called in the records "the company of rangers," sometimes "the regiment of rangers," and sometimes "the corps of rangers," was designed for service on the northern and western frontiers as a protection against Indian and British invasion from Canada. Bedel did not immediately take command of any force under this commission, and I do not understand that the rangers were actually in the field until later in the summer of 1775.

On the 30th of June the Provincial Congress voted to take the court records from the custody of John Fenton, who was supposed to be in sympathy with the crown, and to place them in the keeping of Colonel John Herd, and Colonel Bedel was chairman of a committee for that purpose. On the 3d of July, Dr. Wheelock laid before the Congress a letter giving an

account of the "State of Matters in Canada," and it was voted "That Timothy Bedel and Mr. John Wheelock immediately proceed to the Congress of the colony of the Massachusetts Bay with a copy of said letter and further inform them relative thereto." On the 8th of July the Congress at Watertown returned a communication acknowledging receipt of the Wheelock letter and expressing satisfaction that the Congress of New Hampshire and the people generally in that province were so strongly attached to the common cause.

At about this time the threatening conditions on the frontier induced the Committee of Safety to organize immediately a force for protection in that direction, and on the 7th of July made out a commission to "Colonel Bedel as captain of the first company of rangers in the service of the colony." This action was doubtless taken during his absence on his mission to the Massachusetts Congress at Watertown. Under this commission he was ordered to proceed immediately to Northumberland or Lancaster, and in conjunction with the inhabitants erect a garrison sufficient for defence against small arms, and when that was done to assist the inhabitants in building garrisons at such other places on the frontiers as he with the advice of the inhabitants should think best. He was also ordered to send out scouts as he should think expedient; to take charge of all provisions sent, and to distribute them to such companies as should be posted by the Congress or the Committee of Safety on the Connecticut river. He was directed to use his "utmost endeavors to gain and keep the friendship of the Indians by small donations," etc., and to send information to the committee. He was authorized to seize and examine any person suspected of a design to cross into Canada to hurt the cause of America, and if after examination he was satisfied of such design, he was to send them to Exeter for trial. He was to use his discretion with reference to all who appeared to be "inimical to the liberties of America." Although holding a colonel's commission he assumed command of a company for this special emergency. On the 28th of July, however, he addressed a communication to Matthew Thornton, president of the Committee of Safety, in which he says, when he was with

the committee and received orders for the northern department, he was willing to serve as a captain, although he had the command of three companies, but that he had that day received news from Crown Point that an army was forming for an expedition against the regular troops in Canada; that orders had been given to raise men on the river—meaning the Connecticut—to serve under Colonel Allen, and he asks for orders to move that way, saying that he should “expect to have a regiment except some old experienced officer should offer.”

On the 29th of August, 1775, it was resolved in the Provincial Congress that Colonel Timothy Bedel should march with all the rangers in the colony under his command, without loss of time, to Haverhill, where they were to receive ten days' provisions, and thence march to the mouth of Onion (now the Winooski) river, and there join the army under the command of Major-General Schuyler. At about this time urgent calls for help came from Schuyler, who was investing St. Johns in Canada. Colonel Bedel entered upon preparations for the campaign with great energy, and marched with his force on the 10th of September, and in eight days was before St. Johns, taking a position on the north. It must be remembered that this march was made through an almost unbroken wilderness, there were no roads, and much of the way the march was upon a line of spotted trees. Bedel's force leaving Haverhill, New Hampshire, crossed the river at Bradford, Vermont, which was then called Mooretown, passed through Corinth, and probably up the valley of Wait's river, and over the highlands to Onion river, thence down that river to Lake Champlain, and thence by the lake to a point near St. Johns. A supply of live cattle was driven through the woods, and the flour and provisions were taken on the backs of horses. At the time there were no settlements on the line of march between Corinth and what is now Williston, Vermont. It is said that a part of this force, as it neared Lake Champlain, bivouacked for the night on Onion river, at what is now called Winooski Falls. At that time there were only two families at the Falls—the Baker family and the family of a Mr. Bradley. The night of the arrival of the troops word came in that Baker, who was a hardy

pioneer, had been killed by the Indians. The falls, which wildly break the easy flowing waters of Onion river into the calm and beautiful expanse of Lake Champlain, were for a long time called Baker's Falls, in honor and in memory of the pioneer and martyr; but the plain pioneer name of Baker, as well as that other and ever substantial name, "Onion," by which the river was known in the days when American history was made, has long since given way to the poetic fancy and charm which surround the name Winooski. In Colonel Morey's report to the Committee of Safety he commends the energy of Bedel in bringing this force so promptly to the support of Schuyler, and in a communication sent by the Committee of Safety to General Schuyler, Bedel is spoken of as a "person of great experience in war and well acquainted with Canada," and his force is described as being composed of rangers, hunters, and men accustomed to the woods. Upon the arrival of the volunteer company from Hanover, under command of Major Curtiss, which closely followed Bedel, that company was attached to his command, together with the Green Mountain boys, and a detachment from Colonel Hinman's regiment. Other bodies of men, consisting of Canadians and Indians, were from time to time joined, so that at the fall of St. Johns Bedel's command numbered something like twelve hundred men, with a battery of four twelve-pounders, one mortar, and three Royals. Colonel Bedel was active in preparing for and conducting the siege of St. Johns and was commended for his energy and gallantry. Colonel Morey, in a communication to the Committee of Safety giving an account of the sortie of the enemy against Major Brown's position, in which affair Colonel Bedel was out with four hundred men to support Brown, but finding that he had retreated, attacked the enemy, driving it from its intrenchments and back to St. Johns, says, "I can assure you from all I can learn by the post, &c., that Col. Bedel behaved exceeding well in that affair, and that he does honor to the colony of New Hampshire." Meshech Weare, in a letter to General Washington, speaks of Colonel Bedel as "having approved himself well at the siege of St. Johns." In a report to the Committee of

Safety on the 27th day of October, Colonel Bedel describes the part he took in the capture of Chambly, gives an account of the prisoners, munitions of war, and states his plan as to the siege of St. Johns, and expresses anxiety as to Arnold's campaign against Quebec. In this communication he informs the Committee of Safety that his troops had not been paid; that he had applied to General Montgomery for money, who had informed him that he did not know whether the troops were to be paid by the provincial or continental government. He also calls attention to the suffering of the men; the want of clothing; and expresses fear of sickness and desertions if money and clothing cannot be had. On the 2d of November, 1775, at 8 o'clock at night, he sent a dispatch to the committee, saying, "This moment I have got possession of St. Johns, and the post being obliged to set off have not time to copy the articles of capitulation, and to-morrow shall march for Montreal, leaving a detachment to keep this fort." He closes this communication by saying: "For God's sake let me know how I must supply my men."

Bedel performed an important service in the campaign for the reduction of St. Johns. The position was one of great consequence commanding as it did the road, and one of the principal water approaches to Montreal. It stubbornly resisted a siege of fifty or fifty-one days, but finally fell on the 2d of November, and General Montgomery's entrance into Montreal followed as an easy result.

It ought to be said in explanation of his strong appeal to the Committee of Safety, as well as for the purpose of showing the trying and discouraging conditions under which Colonel Bedel was carrying on his military operations, that the question was open whether the New Hampshire troops in Canada belonged to the military establishment of the province, or that of the Continental government, and that both governments neglected to pay. This condition induced General Sullivan to address a strong communication to the Committee of Safety, saying that the New Hampshire troops had more reason to complain than any other troops in the army. He reminded the committee that it could make no difference to the province whether the

men were paid then or two months later, while to the men the difference was very great, as their families were in immediate necessity, and could by no means do without the money.

I shall not follow the further service of Colonel Bedel during the fall and early winter of 1775. I have indulged in considerable detail in order that we may see as much as possible of the character and ability of the man. I shall now come to the affair of the Cedars as it is known in history, as it is the design of this paper to treat chiefly of that affair, and briefly of Colonel Bedel's attitude to the Exeter government, the "New Hampshire Grants," and the "State of New Connecticut."

Timothy Bedel was dismissed from the service upon a charge of "quitting his post" at the Cedars, but was afterwards restored to his rank and to command. At the time this order was made, the circumstances were not understood. When the situation was known he was restored. A resolution of censure upon John Stark was introduced in the Continental Congress after the battle of Bennington had been fought and won. Congress had not heard of the battle at the time. When it got the news it withdrew the censure, and thanked him.

Ancestral blood, the previous conduct of Timothy, his character and manifest quality, the courage and fidelity as distinctive characteristics of his son and grandson, all have legitimate probative force upon the question involved in the charge of quitting the post at the Cedars.

When the conduct of others is in controversy, whether in respect to current transactions, or transactions in times long past, actual knowledge and actual certainty are seldom present. Therefore in reaching a conclusion as to the truth or justice of a given proposition we must necessarily, in the comparatively greater number of instances, resort to processes of induction, and base our judgment upon probabilities resulting from previously known qualities and conditions in a sense connected, though remotely perhaps, with the proposition under consideration.

It was in the heads and hearts of our forefathers to seize and hold Canada, and it was resolved in the fall of 1775 to

accomplish its conquest, by invading expeditions directed from different points on the frontier, and over widely differing routes; one by the way of the Kennebec, and another by way of Lake Champlain and the rivers. The reduction of the citadel of St. Johns, and the occupation of Montreal, were in pursuance of a general plan under which the armies of Arnold and Montgomery were operating. These plans involving invasion of remote territory and military operations upon land and water, made it necessary to increase the army. This necessity was augmented by the failure of success in Arnold's campaign against Quebec, for it was still the purpose to hold the territory north of the lakes.

On the 19th of January, 1776, General Washington made a strong appeal to New Hampshire for reinforcements to be thrown into Canada, by the route named in General Schuyler's letter. The New Hampshire government acted promptly in response to this appeal. Washington's letter was received at noon on the 20th when the assembly was about to adjourn. It was at once determined to have an afternoon session, and to attend to the business of the communication, and Meshech Weare, in a letter to General Washington dated the 21st of the same month, referring to his request for troops, says: "The assembly very readily and cheerfully agreed and resolved upon raising a regiment in the western frontiers as therein recommended to march directly into Canada for the reinforcement of our Brethren there," and that "The command is assigned to Col^o Tim^o Bedel who having approved himself well at the siege of St. Johns is just returned from Canada and we think will readily enter on the duty." The work of organization was pushed vigorously by the Committee of Safety. The regiment was to consist of eight companies and each company to consist of a captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, one drummer, one piper, and seventy-six privates, "all to be on the lines of the continental army by the the first day of February next." The men were to be enlisted for service in the northern army commanded by General Schuyler, and until the first day of the following January, and were to receive two months' pay in advance. On the afternoon of

the 20th it was voted that Isaac Butterfield, Esq., should be major, Joseph Waite, Esq., lieutenant-colonel, and that Colonel Timothy Beedle command the said regiment as colonel.

On the 21st, an order was issued to Israel Morey and John Bellows for regimental supplies which I give here in full as showing the outfit then considered necessary for a regiment of men.

I give it for the further reason, that in these days of comfort and plenty, these days when our homes are comfortable and happy and secure against savage and foreign foe alike; these days when those who, in pursuit of duty or happiness, have occasion to cross the continent, may go in cars provided with all the conveniences of a modern hotel, when those who seek rest and pleasure in foreign countries may cross the mighty oceans in safety, reveling in the comforts and luxuries of a well appointed floating palace—in these days when invention and science have advanced so far that even those who see fit to penetrate the extreme Arctic regions may harness the wind and produce light and heat which render their ice-bound habitations in the cold and dark of the Arctic night as comfortable as our own summer homes at noonday, it is well to pause now and then and reflect upon the scanty appointments, the plain living, the self-denial, the discomforts, and the hardships of our forefathers who established the independence of America and erected that magnificent governmental structure which vouchsafes to us the blessings of liberty and security in all the comforts of the present day.

In Committee of Safety, Jan^y 21st, 1776.

Gentⁿ

You are desired immediately to procure on the best terms, the following Articles for the use of the Regiment now raising on the Frontiers of this Colony to march into Canada under the command of Col. Tim^y Bedel, there to join the Northern Continental Army, and to deliver to each soldier his proportion of the same—of the Provisions at the rate of one pound of Pork one pound of bread & half a pint of pease each Day for their march from Connecticut River thro' the Woods to Onion River, which it is estimated will be fifteen days at least;—and you are to keep an exact account of the delivery of the whole.

12,000 llb salt Pork
 400 bushels of wheat to be ground into flour
 500 p^r of mens shoes
 50 Moose skins for mogasons
 700 p^r Rackets or snowshoes
 688 hatchetts or tomahawks.

688 blanketts at 15 / to be allowed each soldier, if the blanket cost more the soldier to pay the overplus, if less to be made up to him.

120 Tin camp kittles
 Gunpowder
 Musket Balls
 Flints
 Ground Ginger

200 Gallons Rum
 Yards Coarse cloth for Indian Leggings
 Coarse cloth for shirting
 Course cloth for mens Coats

By order of the committee

M. Weare, Chairman.

Israel Morey }
 & John Bellows, } Esqrs.

On the 22d Bedel was commissioned as colonel. The commission is signed by Meshech Weare, president of the council, and by Eben Thompson, secretary, and describes the regiment as a regiment of rangers raised within said colony for the Continental service. On the 22d day of January, 1776, he was commissioned as colonel by the Congress of the United States, and the commission was signed by John Hancock, president, and Charles Thompson, secretary.

On the 1st day of February, Washington, writing from Cambridge to Colonel Bedel, urges the utmost diligence and dispatch possible. He says the necessity for reinforcements is so great that he would have him order each company to march as fast as they are raised and that the march into Canada should be by way of Onion river, and in a communication to General Schuyler, under date of January 24, he commends the influence and spirit of Colonel Bédel.

The route into Canada was again by the way of the Onion river, Lake Champlain, St. Johns, and the rivers Richelieu and Sorel.

In order to hold the territory north of the lakes, command of

the water ways was necessary, and a point of land called the Cedars, at or near the junction of the waters of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa rivers and about forty-three miles above Montreal, was deemed to be a position of strategic importance. It was thought to be advisable to occupy and fortify this position, not only by reason of its command of the waters, but by reason of its proximity to the native tribes. It is evident that Washington attached considerable importance to this position, and in a letter to General Sullivan he says: "Lest you should conceive that I do not think that LaChine or the Cedars posts of importance and whose defence are not very material, I must here add that I esteem them of much consequence."

Under date of March 8, 1776, Arnold writes Washington, saying: "I have posted 500 men at the Cedars, a narrow pass fifteen leagues above this place. They have two pieces of cannon and well intrenched, by which the enemy must pass."

Colonel Bedel was in command of this post with a force of something like four hundred Continental troops. The works, according to the report of the committee, consisted of picketed lines or stockades and a breast work with two field pieces mounted. The position was surrendered by Major Butterfield, who was in temporary command, on the 19th of May, during the absence of Colonel Bedel at Caughnawaga.

It is important to observe in this connection, in view of the facts disclosed by Col. Bedel's defense, which is hereafter referred to and given in full in a note, that at the time of the fall of the Cedars he was absent to treat with the Indians, that he had had large experience in Indian wars and in negotiations with the tribes, and had been charged by the Committee of Safety and by Washington with the conduct of a pacific policy.

The particulars of the surrender, and of the outrages upon the prisoners on the part of the British and the Indians which followed, are not essential to my object, and it is sufficient for the purposes of this address to say that during the absence of Colonel Bedel the position was invested by a combined force of British regulars, Canadians, and Indians, which demanded the surrender of the position, with the intimation from the

commanding officer that if resistance were made he could not be responsible for the consequences which would follow, giving Major Butterfield to understand that in case the works were carried by assault, his force would be massacred. After two days' parleying and some fighting the position was surrendered.

I do not propose to discuss the question as to the propriety of Major Butterfield's conduct, or to deal with the atrocities that followed. It is only material on this occasion to deal with the question of Colonel Bedel's responsibility in respect to the surrender.

According to the best information I can gather, Colonel Bedel, though suffering with smallpox, left the Cedars on or about the 15th of May, leaving the position in command of Major Butterfield under orders; that he crossed Lake St. Louis in response to a request of the savage chiefs to meet them in council at Caughnawaga; that at this place he received information from friendly Indians that a large force was advancing for an attack on his position at the Cedars; that, after considering whether the emergency demanded he should at once return to the Cedars or that he should proceed to Montreal for reinforcements, and that he might report the result of his conference with the council of chiefs, he decided upon the latter course, considering at the time that the visit to Montreal would only delay his return to his command two or three hours. It is also apparent from the writings of Arnold and the commissioners as to threatening dangers at the Cedars, that his information was questioned, and that there was a lack of activity in getting off reinforcements. It is also apparent that the advance of Major Sherburne, who was in command of a reinforcing party, was retarded by the lack of proper means of transportation across the lake, and by stress of weather.

Colonel Bedel, after proceeding as far as LaChine on his return to the Cedars, was prostrated with disease, and thereby prevented from conducting the advance of the reinforcing party. During the time occupied by Major Sherburne's advance the position was surrendered to the enemy, and when Sherburne's force, proceeding under great difficulties, had

reached a point about four miles from the Cedars, it was surprised and overcome by the enemy, which advanced from the position Major Sherburne supposed to be in the hands of his friends. On the 26th of May, General Arnold proceeded with a large force to recover the position, but being informed by Captain Forster, commander of the British, that the force occupying the works largely consisted of Indians beyond his control, and that in case of an attack the prisoners surrendered by Major Butterfield, and such as were captured from Major Sherburne, would be massacred, agreed to a suspension of arms for six days and for an exchange of prisoners. The articles between General Arnold and Captain Forster were a subject of long controversy in Congress and elsewhere, which is not pertinent to the question we are considering.

Under this misfortune and disaster, Arnold became violent and openly charged Colonel Bedel with leaving his post in the presence of the enemy.

At about this time misfortune seemed to be overtaking the Continental cause in Canada at all points. The attack upon Quebec, which had involved a campaign of great expense and suffering, had failed; Montgomery, who had combined with Arnold in the assault upon Quebec, had fallen; the Continental armies had retreated to a point near Sorel, and Arnold had succeeded Montgomery in the active operations of the Northern army in the vicinity of Montreal; General Thomas had succeeded General Wooster at the expense of dissatisfaction and protests; the members of the commission with Franklin at the head, which had visited Canada for the purpose of creating sentiment favorable to the Revolution, were in the vicinity of Montreal deploring the failure of their mission and the lamentable condition of the army, resulting from the disastrous campaigns, the lack of ammunition, provisions, and military stores generally, and the smallpox pestilence which afflicted the army at nearly every point. General Thomas was sick and dying with the smallpox, and General Schuyler was under suspicion for advising further retreat in the direction of Lake Champlain, and was openly charged with being "The King's soldier." Arnold, smarting under his failure at Quebec, was

now the active man in the Northern army, and as the result of the strain incident to the hardships and the failure of that most remarkable campaign, was dictatorial, irritable, and vindictive. The military post of the Cedars, which he considered of great importance as a strategic position, had been maintained, as has been said, by Colonel Bedel under his orders, and he was in no condition to judge philosophically of the real cause of the loss of the position and the disaster that followed. Disagreeing with Colonel Bedel as to the scope of his verbal orders, and as to Colonel Bedel's duties in respect to a pacific policy toward the various tribes of Indians, and disagreeing with his claim that, when he was informed of the movement of a combined force of the British and Indians to attack his position, he was many miles from his command and within two miles of Montreal, and though sick with smallpox, that he was there to keep his prearranged engagement with the chiefs, and disagreeing with his further claim that he was prevented from returning with the reinforcements under Major Sherburne by absolute prostration with smallpox at La Chine, General Arnold arbitrarily and peremptorily ordered him to Sorel for trial.

The swift vicissitudes of war necessarily involve hardship, injustice, and cruelty, but looking at this transaction with the conservatism that comes with the lapse of one hundred and twenty-one years, it is difficult to find evidence to justify this transaction. Timothy Bedel had been out in the volunteer service against the Indians from his boyhood days. He was a veteran of the French war. Theretofore in the revolutionary period, he had been the ever-present, energetic force in raising troops in the northwestern part of the colony of New Hampshire to meet the emergencies in the Northern army and the demands of the Committee of Safety. He had made a forced march from Haverhill through a wooded country to Lake Champlain, across the lake, and taken a position on the north side of St. Johns in eight days, when the committee had calculated upon fifteen. He had been energetic in the preparations for the siege of St. Johns; he had participated in the affair of Chambly; under the orders of Montgomery he had gallantly led a force to repulse the sally against Major Brown, and dur-

ing the progress of the siege of St. Johns, if his letter of August 13, 1776, to General Gates be true, the command of the besieging force was delivered to him by Montgomery, and kept until the surrender of the fort; and if the same authority be true, his conduct of the siege so far raised him in the esteem of General Montgomery, that he gave him "the command of a party to go down the river St. Lawrence to seize and take the vessels there," in which enterprise he "took 11 sail." Returning to New Hampshire in January, 1776, and responding with promptitude to the urgent call of Washington and the resolute action of the Committee of Safety, he, with renewed and increasing energy, raised another regiment, and at an inclement and cruel season, brought it through the woods on snowshoes or rackets and over the frozen lakes and rivers and into position at the Cedars, in the early spring. In view of such evidence of quality, courage, and loyalty to a cause, it is difficult to believe that he quitted his post by reason of a rumor that a hostile force was approaching.

Colonel Bedel pleaded for a trial and justification, but did not get either at Sorel.

Sullivan retreated first from Sorel to Chambly and upon the advance of the British set fire to the fort and retreated to St. Johns, to which point Arnold had retreated with the force under his command at Montreal. After burning Fort St. Johns, the Continental army fell back, first upon Isle-aux-Noix, then to Isle-la-Motte, and finally to Crown Point and Ticonderoga.

In a letter to General Gates written from Crown Point July 12, 1776, Colonel Bedel said: "I am now under confinement these forty days or more, for a crime I am sensible I am innocent of, and which I hope your Honour will find. I am under a court of inquiry—only wait the decision of the affair. Shall be glad your Honour will let me have the liberty to repair to *Ticonderoga*, and have it determined. The President and part of the members are there; shall be glad the rest might be ordered to attend. . . . I cannot help repeating a desire to have the affair settled as soon as possible, so that I may have a final determination, according to my deserts."

It is evident that Arnold gave Sullivan and his superior

officers to understand that Colonel Bedel left his post in the presence of danger. Such stories occasioned strong expressions of condemnation from Sullivan, and caused General Washington to say that "if the accounts of Colonel Bedel's and Major Butterfield's conduct be true, they have certainly acted a part deserving the most exemplary notice." It ought to be observed that these expressions were based upon the unfounded charge and rumor that Colonel Bedel left his command in the presence of the enemy. Colonel Bedel was not tried on any such charge, and from the nature of his defense and the character of the findings of the court, it is to be presumed that such charge could not be sustained, and that General Arnold, to whom Colonel Bedel refers in his defense—which I shall append to this paper¹—sought to hold him responsible for being away

¹ COLONEL BEDEL'S DEFENCE.

[Manuscript Bedel Papers (among archives Historical Society), p. 40.]

GENTLEMEN: By the most unjust and ungenerous Miss Representation of facts, I have had the miss fortune to be Censured by the Public for a Crime which I know myself Perfectly Innocent of. It was ever my intention to have apply'd for a like Court of enquiry on this part of my Conduct. But General arnold has prevented that application which from the length of time and severity of my confinement I could have wished he had saved himself that trouble. The charge against me and what only as I concieve Gentlemen will fall under your consideration is for quitting the Post at the Cedars, the language and insinuations of this charge impute nothing less than Cowardice. It was my miss fortune and a very general one too, that it fell to my lot to be ordered immediately on my arrival in Canada to take the Command of this unlucky post Carrington St. anns as well as to Cultivate a friendship with the Indians and engage them if possible in the service of the united Colonies—The Command was equally as undesired as Difficult & Disagreeable, more especially when considered how ill provided I was with every necessary means of De'ence in that quarter, or even to secure a Retreat if that last resource became necessary—In vain did I frequently apply to Genl Arnold the then Commanding officer at Montreal for the most necessary suppls of ammunition provisions, Intrenching tools and Batteaus the latter of these articles the security of the men at these several posts greatly Depended—We were frequently living on less than half allowance of provisions the natural Consequences of a'l which was the g-eatest discontent & dissatisfaction of the officers and very little short of a mutiny amongst the soldiers. It has been urged in this Court by my Prosecutor that it was never his Intintion that I should leave the post at the Cedars unhappy am I, that I did not comprehend his meaning as it now appears by his wisdom as in that case I should have had less care less trouble and less fatigue of both body and mind If I have mistaken the letter and words of his order I have not been alone in it—as it has been given in evidence by a worthy gentleman, a brave and experienced officer, and from whom I first Received my orders and Instructions, that I was not limited to the post of the Ceders only, either by Genl. arnolds verbal or written orders. It is likewise proved that I attended a meeting of

from the Cedars when the attack was made. From the best information I can gather, Arnold's first charge against Colonel Bedel involved cowardice, and it finally resulted in a charge which amounted to a too liberal construction of his orders and instructions, in respect to Colonel Bedel's authority; in other

the Savage Chiefs at Coughnawaga During this Command by General Arnolds approbation, and by his own evidence as it now appears. It is also in proof that it was proposed by General Arnold himself or in his presence that I should visit the post of Carrington—I never conceived that by my written orders or any other verbal Instructions from Genl. Arnold, that I was to remain at the Cedars and at that post only, but on the contrary that I was to establish, over see, & have an eye to the several Different post and to protect all that part of the Country—an in Particular to attend to the Cultivation of a friendship with the savages. This most Disagreeable part of my Duty led me to comply with the Request of the Savage Chiefs in meeting them in Council at Coughnawaga even at a time when I was Ill with the Small Pox.

The post at the Cedars was at that time in as perfect tranquility as it had ever before been, were it otherwise was I to suppose that the Defence of that place Depended entirely on me? I was but a man and a sick man at the time, there were a number of Reputed good officers at that time and place the orders which I left you have seen—and I hope will in part plead my Justification—

In the next place when I Received advice at Coughnawaga of the approach of the enemy; what was I then to do? I must own I was myself at a loss, Rather inclined to Return Immediately, But the Savages in Council Insisted that I should go to Montreal and there Represent the Situation of that part of the Colony which very particularly Reguarded themselves—as well as the Troops at the several posts, they proposed and sent me with two of their young men in a Canoe to Montreal, had I not consented to their Request in this Instance I should have Disobliged them and of course Disobeyed that part of my written and verbal orders—and I thought at any rate that it could make but two or three hours Difference in my Returning to the Cedars, the Delay at Montreal was not my fault, when I arrived at La Chine on my way to the Cedars, Sickness absolutely prevented me from proceeding with Major Shelburn—his, Cumstan's & Miller's oath, proves that the want of Batteous was the (cause of) the loss of the post at the Cedars as otherwise he would have been there time enough to have Relieved the besieged—But it seems that private property and particular security has been more attended to than the Public service otherwise the boats would have been sent with Major Shelburn as promised me, and at first ordered—These facts Gentlemen I hope have generally appeared in proof to your satisfaction—If I have erred in Construing the words or meaning of Genl. Arnolds orders I hope it will be considered as an error in Judgement, a Defect in the head and not in the heart—I will only add that this is the Twelvth Campaign I have served, eight of which as a commissioned officer & during all of which service I never was brought to a Court martial Confined or even Repremanded before, But on the Contrary I have ever had the good fortune of doing my Duty in such a manner as was pleasing and satisfactory to my several Commanding officers, for the proof of which I can appeal to several officers of Distinction here now on the ground—I here close my Defence with a perfect satisfaction and the Greatest regard to the opinion of every Gentleman in this Honourable Court not doubting in the least but that I shall be acquitted with Honour—

Crown Point 9th July, 1776.

T. Bedel

words, to a technical military offense. Upon the question of the scope of Arnold's verbal instructions, and Bedel's authority in respect to overseeing and having an eye to several posts, "and in particular to attend to the cultivation of the friendship of the savages," General Arnold and Colonel Bedel seem to have been at variance and so seriously so that the question became one of veracity between the two.

Under the impulsion of Arnold's power and ascendancy at the time, an incomplete court of inquiry found Colonel Bedel guilty of the technical offense charged—"for quitting his post at the Cedars." It would seem that Arnold's claim was that Colonel Bedel's command was limited to the particular position at the Cedars, and being absent without leave was a violation of his instructions, while Colonel Bedel claimed otherwise, and in this respect Bedel would seem to have the weight of evidence, because he refers to its appearing in the case from Arnold's own evidence, that he attended a meeting of the savage chiefs at Caughnawaga with his approval, and that he visited other posts at the request of Arnold or with his approval.

Major Butterfield was removed from the army and was incapacitated from thereafter holding a commission. Colonel Bedel was removed from his command but not incapacitated from holding commission, and the court of inquiry thus made a distinction in favor of Colonel Bedel. It is difficult to find evidence to warrant even this finding of a technical military offense. Indeed it is difficult to see wherein Colonel Bedel was in the slightest degree culpable in respect to the matter involved in the charge, or in any way responsible for the surrender of the fort. When he left the position to discharge what he supposed to be an important duty in the service of his country, things were tranquil at the post and no immediate danger was apprehended.

It is worthy of mention in this connection that within a month after the disposition of Colonel Bedel's case, in which Arnold was the chief prosecutor, in a communication to General Gates written on the 6th of August, 1776, General Enoch Poor, president of the court martial, made serious complaint

against Arnold for his arbitrary, indecent, and contemptuous conduct in connection with an attempt to bully through unfounded charges against Colonel Hazen. Colonel Hazen was honorable acquitted, and a demand was made that General Arnold be put under arrest for his insolence and misconduct. In a communication to congress in respect to this affair, General Gates says: "The warmth of General Arnold's temper might possibly lead him a little farther than is marked by the precise line of decorum to be observed before and towards a court-martial." But in view of the exigencies of the service at that important moment, the demand for General Arnold's arrest was not complied with.

Colonel Bedel for a time suffered in military circles by reason of this affair and in fact never received due credit for his important service at St. Johns, but it is apparent that those who knew the man, and especially the people of the Western frontiers, never lost confidence in his loyalty and courage.

Colonel Bedel returned to Haverhill and was in communication with Generals Gates and Schuyler much of the time during the summer and winter of 1777 in respect to military operations on the borders, and was much of the time active in connection with the ranging and scouting service which was maintained in the direction of the frontiers.

Upon the alarming accounts of the advance of the British at a period just before the battle of Bennington, many detachments of men, and volunteer organizations, hastened on their own motion in the direction of the coming contact. Men who had held high rank went in subordinate capacities, and as the haughty Burgoyne advanced to meet Gates at Saratoga, the same spirit was manifested. John Langdon went as captain of a company in which majors, captains, and lieutenants were enrolled as privates. Langdon had been a delegate to Congress, he had held military command with the rank of colonel, had been judge of the court of common pleas, and was speaker of the house of representatives, and as such, upon news of the approach of Burgoyne, arose in his place and made this effective speech: "Gentlemen, I have three thousand dollars in hard money, thirty hogsheads of Tobago rum worth as much.

I can pledge my plate for as much more. These are at the service of the state. With this money we can raise and provision troops. Our friend, John Stark, will lead them. If we check Burgoyne the state can repay us, and if we do not, the money will be of no use to me." His company, under such conditions, joined General Gates at Saratoga. At the same time a volunteer company of thirty-four men went from Haverhill and Bath against Burgoyne under Colonel Joseph Hutchins as captain, Timothy Bedel serving as first lieutenant, although having held the rank of colonel. In the same company Josiah Howe served as second lieutenant and Esekial Ladd as ensign. This company was out from August 18, 1777, to October 5, and according to the authority of Governor Harriman and others, Timothy Bedel fought bravely as a volunteer in the army of General Gates at the battle of Saratoga.

The organization of this volunteer company appears on page 386 of the adjutant-general's report for the year 1868, and in a note which appears on page 242 of the report of 1866, in speaking of Colonel Bedel and the affair of the Cedars, it is said: The facts of the unfortunate disaster exonerate him completely, as he was away to Montreal, and there was little doubt that had Colonel Bedel or any other brave officer been in command, the result would have been different.¹

On the 10th of November, 1777, Colonel Bedel was again called into service through a commission signed by Henry Laurens, president of Congress, and countersigned by General Horatio Gates, in which it is declared, "We, reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Patriotism, Valour, Conduct and Fidelity, Do, by these Presents, constitute and appoint you to be a Colonel of a Regiment of Volunteers in the Army of the United States, raised for the Defence of American Liberty, and for repelling every hostile Invasion thereof." The regiment which he was then called to command was raised by order of Congress, and is variously designated in the state records as a regiment for an expedition against Canada, and as a regiment

¹ This report of the adjutant-general is understood to be the work of Judge Chandler E. Potter, who was the most accomplished military historian of the state in his day.

raised for the defence of the frontiers on and adjacent to the Connecticut river. This regiment was mustered and did service principally in the Connecticut valley. A detachment of the regiment was at one time on duty at Albany, another part did scouting service under orders from General Stark, from the Onion river road to the post at Rutland, another company was stationed for some time at Royalton; scouting parties were maintained at different points on the frontier, and a part of the force was engaged in clearing roads in the direction of Canada. This road was known as the Bedel-Hazen road, and extended about fifty miles beyond Peacham, through Cabot, Walden, Hardwick, Greensborough, Craftsbury, Albany, and Lowell, and crossed the Green Mountains through what is known as Hazen's Gap. This regiment was early under orders from Gates for a secret expedition to Canada, and in March was prepared to advance with a large number of Indians, but on the day when the campaign was to open, orders came from General Conway suspending it. Colonel Bedel later received a communication from Lafayette, who was then in command at Albany, expressing regret at the suspension of the expedition, and directing him to keep the regiment together on the continental footing and to engage it in scouting the frontier. The expedition contemplated by Gates was to be directed against the fort at St. Johns, the capture of which was expected to be accomplished through surprise, and, if successful, the fort was to be laid in ashes. Colonel Bedel was given full discretionary power with respect to the movement, and he was instructed to give the public to understand that his regiment was intended for a movement against New York. Colonel Bedel communicates to Gates his willingness to undertake the expedition, and informs him that he has already secretly sent parties into Canada to learn the situation, and says that Major John Wheelock, son of Rev. Dr. Wheelock, president of Dartmouth College, is desirous of going with him on the expedition.

On February 15, 1778, plans for the execution of the expedition were suspended by order of General Conway, and Colonel Bedel was directed to remain with his troops at Coös

until further orders and report to Lafayette. In a communication to General Gates on the 14th of March, 1778, he reports that the regiment was complete, and refers to a confusion of orders in respect to whether the command was under Stark or Lafayette, saying that he received a letter from General Stark informing him that he had command of the expedition, and another from Colonel Hazen to march, and that Lafayette had the command. On the 16th of March, Lafayette addressed a communication to Colonel Bedel, directing him to maintain his regiment and to "constantly keep out Scouting Parties in order to prevent as much as possible any Spies or Parties of the Enemy from coming among us and returning again, as I understand there are British officers (or at least Tories) Recruiting in the Country you will take particular care to Discover and Apprehend them, you will keep Spies with the Enemy to watch their motions and learn their Intentions, and give particular Accounts of any Intelligence you may receive to the officer Commanding at Albany." In the same communication, Lafayette directed Colonel Bedel to "take Care to inform the Committees of the Measures we are taking for the Security of the Inhabitants in those parts, and jointly with them you will make every necessary Preparation for the Fort they have desired of me, and you will send to me as soon as possible the answer of the Engineer." Acting upon these instructions of Lafayette, a meeting was called of the committees of the fifteen towns on the Connecticut river to get the sense of the towns as to what action should be taken for the security of the frontiers on Connecticut river. This meeting was held at Captain Hutchins's in Haverhill, and thanks were voted to Lafayette for his care and protection, and that a fort should be built at or near Ammonoosuc, Upper Coös, that a blockhouse be kept at or near Barnet and good scouts from Corinth to Onion river, and from the Grand Fort to the blockhouse and Corinth, and that barracks be built at Haverhill, and some place of safety for the stores where headquarters ought to be kept.

On the 24th of May, 1778, General Stark wrote to General Gates, who had called on Governor Chittenden of Vermont

for three hundred men to be sent to Albany, opposing their removal from Vermont and giving a reason for his opposition, saying: "We expect an invasion, for the enemy's vessels are now at Crown Point cruising along the lake which lies sixty miles on the frontier of this state. I have ordered Colonel Bedel to keep scouts at Onion river and St. Johns and make report to me of any movement of the enemy on those parts." In the same letter General Stark incidentally says: "I have a great deal of writing and should be much obliged to your Honour to allow me a clerk." Early in June information came of a large number of Indians in war paint, in the vicinity of Caughnawaga, destroying property as they advanced. Colonel Bedel immediately issued notice to "all officers and soldiers who are engaged for the regiment under my command for the defense of the frontiers to be ready as quick as possible as they may depend upon it our most unnatural enemies threaten ruin to these settlements." He said: "I have the certainty of it three different ways and all agree that a party of Indians and Tories (the worst of enemies) are coming against the inhabitants on the river by three different routes."

The correspondence between Colonel Bedel and Generals Gates, Schuyler, and Lafayette, shows that during the years 1777 and 1778 he was active in the plans and preparations for what was deemed to be a necessary defense of the frontiers. Among the many reports relating to this service is one from Louis Vincent, interpreter, to the commissioner of Indian affairs and the commander-in-chief, under date of June 26, 1778, in which he gives an account of the expedition to Penobscot to visit the Penobscot tribe of Indians, under the orders of Colonel Bedel and by direction of the commanding officer at Albany.

The political status of the people in the "Hampshire Grants" had been, as is well understood, a subject of acrimonious controversy from a time considerably antedating the Revolutionary period, and after the Declaration of Independence the inhabitants in the Connecticut valley on the east side of the river claimed to be at liberty to connect themselves with whatever colonial or state government they saw fit. This

idea was expressed in various forms, but a committee of the inhabitants of the towns of Haverhill, Lyman, Bath, Gunthwait, Landaff, and Morristown, chosen at a meeting of the inhabitants thereof, warned for the purpose of choosing a representative and councilor for the county of Grafton, in which they refused compliance with the precept to elect, and elected a committee to return the precept with the reasons for non-compliance, expressed the idea and the reasons for non-compliance as follows :

“First. Because no plan of Representation has yet been found in this State consistent with the liberties of a free people; and it is our humble opinion that when the Declaration of Independency took place, the Colonies were absolutely in a state of nature, and the powers of Government reverted to the people at large, and of Consequence annihilated the political existence of the Assembly which then was.” This report states other grounds for non-compliance, and is signed by a committee of five, at the head of which was Ephraim Wesson, who, it is said, was an ancestor of Melville Weston Fuller, the present chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

On the 10th of May, 1776, the Continental Congress had recommended the colonies to form for themselves governments suitable to the exigencies of the complete separation from Great Britain. At this time Dartmouth college consisted of a district three miles square in Hanover, surrounding the college. This district was called Dresden, and had a magistrate for its civil government, and the educational institution and its officers exercised a potent influence over the events of that exciting period. On the 31st of July, the Committees of Safety of the towns of Landaff, Bath, Haverhill, Orford, Lyme, Hanover, Cardigan, Canaan, Enfield, Lebanon, and Plainfield were assembled in the college hall and made declarations through a printed address which had a great influence upon the sentiment of the people of the Connecticut valley with respect to the relation which they sustained to the Exeter government. This address in effect ignored the Exeter government and asserted the right of the people of the Connec-

ticut Valley to lay the foundations of a government for themselves or connect themselves with whatever government they saw fit. As a result of this meeting and the sentiment created, all the Grafton towns and a portion of the towns in Cheshire county refused to send representatives to the Exeter assembly. Many precepts were returned stating the reasons. Meshech Weare, who was then president of the Council of Safety at Exeter, forwarded a copy of the address to the New Hampshire delegates in Congress, and said: "I enclose you an address of several towns in the County of Grafton to the people at large (fabricated, I suppose, at Dartmouth College), and calculated to stir up contention and animosities among us at this difficult time; especially as our government is only temporary and the state of matters not allowing a revisal. However, this pamphlet with the assiduity of the college gentlemen has had such an effect that almost the whole county of Grafton, if not the whole, have refused to send members to the new assembly."

I do not propose to discuss at any length the merits of the controversy involved in the attempt of Governor Wentworth to control the territory as far west as Lake Champlain and the effort of New York on the other hand to extend its jurisdiction and lines to the Connecticut river, or of the other scheme of the people in the territory east of Lake Champlain and including the inhabitants on the east side of the Connecticut river, to establish a state by themselves. It is only important here in a general way, as bearing upon the career of Colonel Bedel. Looking at the attitude of Colonel Bedel and others on the east side of the river as having reference to an original and an open question to be settled upon natural rights and economic considerations, it can easily be seen that they might view their interests and convenience as leading in the direction of a separate state in the Connecticut valley.

It must be recollected that the inhabitants of the valley were largely and almost wholly from the states of Massachusetts and Connecticut, with few ties binding them to the people on the east side of the colony of New Hampshire. It must also be recalled that there were no railroad connections; that they

looked to the great waterways as the lines of commerce and social intercourse between localities; and the Connecticut river, which united the upper Connecticut valley with Massachusetts and Connecticut, furnished the natural and only known convenient means of transportation. Looking at the question, therefore, as one divorced from binding relations with that part of New Hampshire located upon the seashore and the great rivers on the east side of the state leading to the ocean, one can readily see that the people on the Western frontier would be naturally drawn in the direction of a government in the valley of the Connecticut. The attitude in respect to this question, whether right or wrong, in no way involved disloyalty to the greater cause of independence from Great Britain.

It is apparent that Colonel Bedel was in sympathy with the political doctrines based upon what was urged as a natural right resulting from the separation from the mother government and with the purpose to bring the inhabitants in the Connecticut valley on the east side of the Connecticut river into the Vermont government, and he represented the towns of Lyman, Morristown, and Bath in the General Assembly of Vermont in 1781, and was unanimously, in the same year with Capt. Ebenezer Brewster, chosen a member of the Vermont Board of War.

General Stark, on the other hand, was a strong partisan of the Exeter government, and was prejudiced against Colonel Bedel by reason of his attitude in respect to the Connecticut valley doctrines of natural right, and his prominence in the valley politics.

The inner controversy resulting from Vermont's resistance of the claims of New Hampshire and New York, and this Connecticut valley view, became very bitter, and bloodshed was only held in abeyance by the greater controversy involving the struggle with the common enemy and the independence of the colonies, which they all wanted, and one can find reason for suspecting that the desire of Elisha Payne, the Wheellocks, and Bedel for the maintenance of the regiment of 1777 and 1778 in the Connecticut valley, which was to be manœuvred generally against the common enemy, was influenced somewhat by this situation.

In 1778 sixteen of the New Hampshire towns joined Vermont. This union was terminated in a year. In 1781 another union was formed between thirty-seven New Hampshire towns east of the Connecticut river and Vermont. As has been said, Colonel Bedel's attitude in respect to this territorial question was such as to draw the fire of Stark, who seriously assailed his regiment and his military operations for the defense of the frontiers, and in effect took the ground that there was no necessity of its continuance. The usefulness and footing of Colonel Bedel's regiment was, therefore, in a sense, involved in the political acrimony resulting from the various claims in respect to the border New Hampshire and Vermont towns. There was considerable controversy and investigation, but the regiment remained in service until April, 1779, when it disbanded. This controversy was largely the result of bad blood, and according to an autograph letter from General Washington to Colonel Bedel, on the 11th of December, 1779, would seem to relate to alleged mal-conduct of the quartermaster and commissaries of purchases and issues at Cohos. This letter is to be found in the manuscript volume of "Bedel Papers" (p. 106), now among the Historical Society archives. Letters of Colonel Hazen, published in the "State Papers" (Vol. XVII, pp. 355-358), also tend to explain the nature of this controversy. It must be admitted that our forefathers preferred charges pretty freely, and the Revolutionary officer who escaped a court of inquiry was lucky. An examination of the volumes of the American archives will justify this remark.

The service of Colonel Bedel, however, did not end with the disbandment of his regiment in 1779. Correspondence shows that he remained active as a member of the Vermont Board of War and otherwise, gathering and forwarding military supplies and stores. The local controversy continued to grow in intensity, and as it advanced Ethan Allen was accused by the college party of "bargaining away the east-side towns for the support of New Hampshire against the claims of New York," and his conduct was characterized as "savoring too much of intrigue and bribery," and Allen, referring to the project to establish a state under the name of New Connecticut, declared

that the "heads of the Schism at large are a Petulant, Pettefogg, Scribbling sort of Gentry, that will keep any Government in hot water, till they are Thoroughly brought under by the Exertions of authority."

Massachusetts had come into the controversy, claiming part of the grants, and Vermont then claimed that she was not only independent of these three provinces, who, as Governor Chittenden urged, were intending to divide her up after the manner of Poland, but that her territory was independent of Congress and the confederation of states. Finally Congress passed resolutions declaring that New Hampshire jurisdiction should extend to all territory east of the Connecticut, and that Vermont should be admitted as a member of the confederation of states upon her relinquishing her claim to territory east of the Connecticut, and that in the event of Vermont's refusing to acquiesce in this disposition of the controversy, she should be divided between New Hampshire and New York by a line drawn on the highlands of the Green Mountains. The Vermont legislature at Bennington in February, 1782, acquiesced in the solution proposed by Congress, under which she was to relinquish the territory east of the river and become an independent state. At the time the members from the east side of the Connecticut river were not present, but they later appeared and were denied admission, although protesting against such action. It is said to be doubtful whether the proposed congressional solution would have been accepted if the east side members had been present, or in their absence even, but for the salutary influence of a patriotic appeal by General Washington, which he addressed to Governor Chittenden, and which was read to the legislature.

As I have said, it is not my purpose to give any connected explanation of this controversy, but to refer only to some of its general features as bearing upon the relations which the subject in this sketch sustained to the local controversy in his time. Those who are interested to know more of the controversy, which was one of great spirit, will find an excellent paper on the subject by Mr. John L. Rice, published in a volume of the Connecticut Valley Historical Society Papers and

Proceedings, 1876-1881. The article is entitled, "Dartmouth College and the State of New Connecticut."

It may be said that the majority of the inhabitants on the east side of the river at once readily and patriotically adjusted themselves to New Hampshire jurisdiction, treating the solution as final and settling all future controversy. As said by Mr. Orin Grant Libby, Fellow in History, in his paper on "The Geographical Distribution of the Vote of the Thirteen States on the Federal Constitution," published in the Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Vol. I, pp. 10, 11, "The Connecticut valley in New Hampshire, or more properly the valley and the inland portion of Grafton County, was . . . a section having its own history, its own interests, and its own leaders. When the question came up as to the adoption of the Federal Constitution, its vote was consistent throughout. Of those towns in union with Vermont in 1781, two thirds voted for the Constitution." And in referring to the influence of Colonel Payne and Judge Livermore, he says: "The conjunction of these two elements at this critical period produced the section which I have called the Connecticut river section. In it were united the town democracy of the valley, led by Payne, and the Grafton following of Judge Livermore—alike in being on the frontier and separated from eastern New Hampshire. Their united support proved decisive in carrying the constitution."

After the adjustment of this geographical dispute and the definite settlement of the state boundaries, and upon the close of the Revolution and the establishment of peace, Colonel Bedel remained a man of prominence and influence, and the people of his locality gave evidence of their continued confidence, respect, and esteem by electing him to various positions of responsibility and trust. He readily adjusted himself to the jurisdiction of New Hampshire and became a useful supporter and advocate of her interests and institutions.

According to Governor Harriman, in his article in the *Granite Monthly* (Vol. III, p. 513), on General John Bedel, Timothy was major-general after the Revolution, of the second division of the New Hampshire militia, and in the note to the Adjutant-General's Report, 1866 (p. 242), he is given the same

mention. Other writers give him the same rank. Mr. Batchellor, the state historian, in an article on the Province and State Militia, 1773-1855, to be published in the Littleton Town History, doubts this. My examination does not disclose any record of such appointment; but it must be said in this connection that, according to the report of the adjutant-general in 1866 (*p.* 372), "Very few of the appointments under the act of 1770 or 1780 are known."

Colonel Bedel was a member of the New Hampshire house of representatives in 1784, representing the classed towns of Haverhill, Piermont, Warren, and Coventry. He served on important committees, and, as said by Mr. Batchellor, state historian, referring to Colonel Bedel and Colonel Payne of Lebanon, he was accorded recognition commensurate with his character and ability. Upon a petition from Dartmouth College praying for the liberty of a lottery for raising three thousand pounds clear for the purpose of erecting proper buildings, etc., a motion was made for granting the petition, and the yeas and nays being called, Colonel Bedel with fifty-four others voted in the affirmative, twenty-one members voting in the negative. "So the motion prevailed for granting the prayer of said petition," and the petitioners had leave to bring in a bill accordingly. He was on the joint committee of the senate and house to consider and "report what they think necessary to be done with the old Continental money now in the treasury and in the hands of individuals in this state," as well as upon a committee to consider the propriety of giving treasury orders for the payment of small balances due to soldiers, and certificates to avoid the trouble of issuing notes therefor. Upon this motion it was voted on the 4th of November, 1784, that "Colonel Toppen, Mr. Taylor, Major Gaines, Colonel Hill and Mr. Means, with such of the honorable senate as may be joined, be a committee to consider what methods are best to be taken for the regulation of commerce in this state until such time as the regulation thereof may be established by Congress." On the 11th of November, on his motion, the house took action with reference to a joint committee to consider in what manner the excise should be sold and to whom, and to report the conditions of the sale.

It is not my purpose to enlarge upon the measures with which he was connected during his legislative career. It may be said that he was active in respect to general legislation, as well as legislation relating to his own locality and to the improvement of the Connecticut river.

On the 27th of June, a committee to consider a petition from Littleton reported that the inhabitants of Apthorp, alias Littleton, and Dalton with their personal estates be exempted from being taxed up to the year 1784, etc.; also that some suitable person be appointed to call a meeting of the inhabitants of said town in the room of Colonel Timothy Bedel, late deceased.

It must be said of Colonel Bedel that he was a man of large natural endowments and great force of character; that he was a man of never ceasing energy, of indomitable will, and a man of courage. The Northwestern settlements furnished their generous proportion of military force for the common cause, and Colonel Bedel probably actually raised more troops in the province of New Hampshire for service in the war of the Revolution than any other one man. He performed loyal and important service in the war for the independence of the colonies, and history should accord him just and honorable recognition and praise. He died in February, 1787, as has been said, and his dust rests in the old cemetery at Haverhill on that commanding eminence which overlooks the broad valley of the Connecticut and the locality which was the center of his struggles, his leadership and power.

Colonel Bedel's first wife, Elizabeth, died August 31, 1779, in her thirty-sixth year. His second wife was Mary Johnson, daughter of Captain James and Susana Johnson. She died in August, 1789. She was a sister of Elizabeth Captive Johnson, who was born while her mother was an Indian prisoner in the forests of the present town of Cavendish, Vermont. There were nine children—seven by the first marriage and two by the second.¹ General Moody Bedel, who was born in Salem, New

¹ According to memoranda in the handwriting of General John Bedel now in possession of Mary Bedel Drew of Colebrook, the children of Col. Tim^o and Elizabeth were: Cyrus, born Jan. 22, 1760, died July 8, 1772; Moody, born May 12, 1764, died

Hampshire, May 12, 1764, was a second son of the first marriage. He was twice married, his first wife being Ruth Hutchins, and his second wife Mary Hunt. There were nine children by each marriage.

Moody Bedel became prominent and influential. At the age of eleven or twelve he was with his father as servant or orderly in his second Canadian expedition, or at the battle of Saratoga,—the various accounts disagree upon this point, and I am not able to state which is the correct version. He later enlisted as a private in Captain Ezekiel Ladd's company, in his father's regiment, and in 1781 was clerk to Captain King's Vermont company in the Third regiment. He was lieutenant in the first company in the Seventeenth regiment in 1786, appointed by John Sullivan; he was captain of the first company of the Thirteenth in 1793, by appointment of Governor Bartlett; he was major in 1795 and lieutenant-colonel in 1801, by appointment of Governor Gilman; was appointed brigadier-general of the First brigade of the New Hampshire militia in 1806, by Governor John Langdon, which command he held until April 9, 1812; he was appointed by President Madison lieutenant-colonel in the Eleventh regiment of infantry in the service of the United States, July 23, 1812.

From the time of his appointment until September, 1814, he performed important detached service, but joined General Brown and his regiment at Fort Erie, and in the memorable sortie of September 17 of that year, at his own solicitation, with his regiment led General Miller's column to "the cannon's mouth," and so distinguished himself as to receive honorable mention by his superior officers and subsequent promotion to rank as colonel from September 1, 1814. He served until the close of the War of 1812, and died in 1841.

Of his children, Colonel Hazen Bedel,¹ late of Colebrook,

Jan'y 13, 1841; Ruth, born Feby 6, 1763, died Oct. 10, 1779; Anna, born Oct. 20, 1776; Mary, born March 15, 1772 (two daughters died in infancy); and the children of Timo. and Mary his second wife were: Hazen, born Aug. 6, 1785, died Aug. 12, 1835; Abigail, born Dec. 17, 1776, died May 30, 1842.

¹Hazen Bedel was colonel of the Twenty-fourth New Hampshire Regiment of Militia for four years; was merchant at Colebrook, N. H.; member of the Constitutional Convention of 1850 and that of 1876; represented the town of Colebrook in

and General John Bedel, late of Bath, were the most prominent.

General John Bedel,¹ the son of Moody and the grandson of Timothy, was born in the Indian Stream territory, now Pittsburg, New Hampshire, on the 8th day of July, 1822. He enlisted as a private in the Mexican war in March, 1847; in May he was appointed sergeant, and in December a lieutenant, and was in command of a company for a considerable period during that war. After the close of the Mexican war, he resumed the study of law in Harry Hibbard's office, and was admitted to the bar in 1850. In 1855 he was appointed to a position in the treasury department at Washington, and held this office until the War of the Rebellion. In 1861 he was appointed major of the Third regiment, and in June, 1862, lieutenant-colonel, and while a prisoner of war, was promoted to the rank of colonel. He was wounded at Morris Island on the 10th of June, 1863; he was taken prisoner July 18, 1863, and was not paroled until December 10, 1864, when he soon after returned to his regiment at Wilmington, South Carolina, as colonel.

In 1814, at the sortie of Fort Erie, the sword of Colonel Moody Bedel, the son of Timothy, was a flame of fire, and the onslaught of the "bloody Eleventh," which he led, was a bolt of lightning. In 1863, Colonel John Bedel, the grandson of Timothy, was taken prisoner far in advance of his regiment in the midnight assault upon Fort Wagner. While suffering the untold horrors of a rebel prison at Columbia, South Carolina, he, at the peril of his life, in emphatic but becoming language, protested against the inhuman tortures to which the prisoners were subjected. When liberated, in keeping with a promise to his fellow prisoners, he journeyed to Washington, "never stopping even to put off the rags that hung upon him," in his prison garb with all that it meant, and presented himself to the legislature; was member of Governor Walter Harriman's Council for two years; was county commissioner, and later judge of probate.

¹ John Bedel was educated in the common schools in Bath and at Newbury Seminary, Vt. Dartmouth College conferred upon him the honorary degree of A. M. in 1869. He represented Bath in the legislature for two years, and was the Democratic candidate for governor in 1869 and again in 1870. He died in 1875.

President Lincoln and other high officials of the government as an object lesson showing the atrocities to which the soldiers of the United States were being subjected. Having been promoted to the full rank of colonel while in prison, he returned to his regiment, and serving throughout the War of the Rebellion, was, at its close, promoted to the rank of brigadier-general for gallant and meritorious service throughout the war.

Let honor be done to Revolutionary Tim, the founder of this line of patriotic and courageous men, and let his memory be forever relieved from the injustice resulting from the arbitrary and precipitate action of Benedict Arnold.

President Stevens followed Judge Aldrich with brief reminiscences of General John Bedel, after which the Hon. A. S. Wait, of Newport, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society are hereby tendered to the Hon. Edgar Aldrich for his very able, learned, and interesting address delivered this evening, and that he be requested to furnish a copy of the same for preservation in the archives of the Society.

At 10 p. m. the Society adjourned to meet at the call of the president.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,
Secretary.

CONCORD, N. H., Feb. 9, 1898.

The third adjourned seventy-fifth annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held in the Society's rooms in Concord on Wednesday, February 9, 1898, with a large attendance. Met at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, President Stevens in the chair.

Rear Admiral George E. Belknap, now of Boston, was presented to the Society and delivered the following address, the subject of which was "Reminiscent of Service in the Home Squadron, 1859, 1860, and 1861," embracing events on the Gulf coast just before the War of the Rebellion, the participa-

tion of New Hampshire in the reinforcement of Fort Pickens and their part in the early stages of the blockade :

REMINISCENT OF SERVICE IN THE HOME SQUADRON,
1859-61.

In the early winter of 1858-59 I was at home in Newport on a brief leave of absence after a long cruise in the waters of India, China, and Japan.

One evening close on to New Year's, I entertained a large company at my father's house. Such incident of social life was indelibly impressed upon my memory, because of the extreme coldness of the weather at that time, the thermometer ranging from 34° to 38° below zero, and from the further fact that when the last midnight guest had gone, my father handed me one of those ominous-looking envelops in which the Navy Department has from time immemorial enclosed its orders to all officers under its control.

Tearing open the envelop, I found it covered orders to proceed immediately to New York, and report to Commodore Breese for duty on board the sloop-of-war *St. Louis*.

Packing my sea belongings, the next day I set forth on my way via Claremont and the Connecticut river railroad, but the weather continued to be so intensely cold that the train occupied double its usual time to make the run for fear of breaking the frost-charged rails.

I found the ship ready for sea, and only awaiting my arrival at New York to sail, for I had been ordered to take the place of another officer who, at the last moment, had gotten off on the plea of illness, in accordance with the previous record of like character he had made in the service.

Less than forty-eight hours after I joined the ship we were running past Sandy Hook under all sail bound to Greytown.

The third day out we struck a heavy northeaster in the Gulf Stream, and we came near coming to grief, for the rigging which had been set up in cold weather, became so slack in the high temperature of the Gulf as to make it imperative to set it up at once, if we would not have the masts rolled out of her. Happily steam had not yet emasculated the art and skill of the

sailor, and after getting hawsers up round the mastheads, and setting them taut, the lanyards of the rigging were carefully come up and given a fresh pull with the luff tackles, and we were all right again.

But it was a ticklish job, for the sea was very heavy, and the ship rolled from 30° to 35° . In one of her rolls to windward, a fore-topman in the weather fore-chains lost his grip and fell overboard. At the next weather roll, however, one of his top-mates reached down, grabbed him by the collar of his frock and hauled him on board again. It was about as close a call as I have ever seen at sea.

We reached Greytown in about twenty days as the relief of the *Jamestown*. To our surprise we found her lying at anchor outside, for a few days before our arrival the bar began to shoal rapidly, and the *Jamestown* had gotten out of the harbor barely in time to save her from being shut in altogether.

The mission of our ships there was to prevent Walker and his filibusters from invading Nicaragua. The *Jamestown* had been there many weary months, and lost no time in getting away. Alas! the next time we came in contact with her captain and some of her officers it was in the hostile meetings of civil war.

But if the *Jamestown* had had a hard time at that abominable place, she at least had had a quiet anchorage, while we were rolling guns under at the outside anchorage all the while. It may be said, indeed, that one of the most difficult problems to deal with in the construction of the Nicaragua canal is that fickle bar blocking the entrance to Greytown harbor.

Finally, after watching for Walker and rolling incessantly for thirteen months with no relief whatever for mind or body, except the semi-monthly arrival of the mail steamer, and casual calls of British men-of-war, we got orders to make a cruise among the West India islands and to ports on the Spanish main—a cruise which was a godsend to us, but which would be looked upon at this period by the new navy, so called, as a great hardship.

While engaged in this service, the political conditions at home—of which we heard from time to time—gave the more thoughtful among us great uneasiness.

During the fateful ten months that precluded and initiated the Rebellion, there were no citizens more unhappily situated than the officers and men of the army and navy, and particularly as regards the latter, for in the close quarters of shipboard, it is impossible to get away from uncongenial surroundings, or from people with whom you may have a constantly irritating source of disagreement or antipathy.

While as a rule officers of the navy pay but little attention to politics, there were some among them who took in the gravity of the political situation, when in the late spring of 1860 the national Democratic convention broke up at Charleston in hopeless disagreement and disorder, and began to prepare their minds for the worst.

As I had been brought up in the uncompromising faith of Andrew Jackson, in the days when the democracy ruled state and nation, and believed thoroughly in what I had been taught politically after the sturdy fashion of New Hampshire boys fifty odd years ago, when March meeting meant a good, square, stand-up, partisan fight, and supervisors and mugwumps had not yet appeared to plague the political world, I could never divest myself of interest in political matters, whether afloat or ashore.

Wherefore, the occurrences at Charleston filled me with forebodings I could not conceal. There were optimists, however, who looked to see the usual panacea of compromise smooth the ruffled wings of Southern discontent and blunt the fangs of treasonable intent. I recall one of the *St. Louis'* officers, a Kentuckian, who pooh-poohed the possibilities of war. Said he, "If South Carolina carries out her threat of secession, the people of Kentucky will send a force down there alone and whip them back into the Union." Alas! he little comprehended the forces at work, stealthy in character and persistent in aim, that brought on the greatest civil war of modern times, in which he was to lose his own life.

At this period, the Home Squadron, as our naval force in the North Atlantic was then designated, consisted of the steam frigate *Powhatan*, flagship of Commodore Pendergrast; the sailing frigate *Sabine*, the steam sloop *Brooklyn*, the sailing sloops

Cumberland, *Macedonian* and *St. Louis*, and the steamers *Pocahontas*, *Wyandotte*, *Mohawk*, and *Crusader*. The steam frigate *Colorado* had been the flagship, but she had gone home.

Our cruise among the West Indies in the *St. Louis* ended early in October, 1860, at which time we arrived at the navy yard, at Pensacola, to refit and take on board fresh supplies of provisions, stores, and equipments.

The presidential election was then close at hand. Douglas was making his plucky tour through the Gulf states, and political excitement was at fever heat; so much so that officers avoided political talk as much as possible both ashore and afloat—for the bitter feeling of the Southern officers, suppressed with difficulty, became more pronounced as the conspiracy progressed. Nor was such feeling confined to the Southern-born man, for some of the Northern officers who had married in the South were the most vehement in their denunciations of the North.

Two officers, indeed, in that category, did more to betray Commodore Armstrong, and to turn the navy yard over to the rebels, a few months later, than any other officers on duty there.

Congress had enacted a law that summer increasing the pay of the navy, and it was a significant fact in the light of later events, that Senator Toombs and other rampant secessionists had endeavored to persuade President Buchanan to veto the bill. Toombs and his fellows doubtless feared the effect of such legislation upon the Southern officers, whom they proposed to dragoon in a body out of the service the moment their traitorous purposes were put in motion.

We had hoped to remain at Pensacola until after the election, but we were hurried off some ten days before with orders to proceed to Vera Cruz.

Upon arrival we found Commodore Pendergrast there with the *Powhatan*, *Sabine*, *Brooklyn*, and *Pocahontas*, all at anchor at Sacrificios. We made the fifth vessel of the force. It was a bad season of the year to be at Vera Cruz, for the Northerners were frequent, and the anchorage at Sacrificios—the winter anchorage of the port—a bad one at best.

Every few days lower yards and topmasts had to be struck to ease the ship in the heavy gales blowing directly on shore and to lessen the chances of dragging the anchors.

I recollect that during one blow, one captain of nervous temperament sat up all night between the bitts under the top-gallant forecastle watching the cables of his ship which, from their constant heavy surging, he feared might part any moment.

The purpose of assembling so many of the ships of the squadron there at so untoward a season was alleged to be the strengthening of the hands of our minister in pushing some claims of our government against Mexico. It was most unfortunate, however, that such negotiations, attended by the display of so large a naval force, should have been conducted at that critical time, for the ships were sorely needed on our own coasts.

There was no telegraphic communication with Mexico at that period, and the mails were brought to Vera Cruz by British steamers via Havana. The second steamer after our arrival in the *St. Louis* brought the news of Mr. Lincoln's election, and of the mad doings at Charleston upon the heels of such pregnant event.

I shall never forget the feeling that came over me when the officer sent to board the steamer said, as he stepped over the gangway on his return, "Mr. Lincoln is elected; South Carolina has called a secession convention." The announcement, though not unexpected, was yet startling in its tenor, for to me it seemed the prologue of inevitable war. I well knew, indeed, that we had not the iron hand of Jackson at the national helm to carry us through the rocks and shoals of treason, with unyielding will and resolute purpose, and that no other course could save us without a resort to arms.

In my service association with Southern officers I had carefully observed their bearing, studied their character, taken note of their assumed superiority over their Northern fellows, and drawn out their opinions and beliefs as far as practicable; but as regarded secession, I knew the most aggressive among them but faintly represented the sentiments of the men who

were determined to rule the country or divide it, as best suited their purposes, in their dogged determination to retain political power. Hence I felt that the Southern conspirators had at last got what they had long wanted; that they had intentionally and determinedly broken up the Democratic party to insure Mr. Lincoln's election, and give them the long sought opportunity of firing the Southern heart and of destroying the Union. In short, that war was inevitable.

The negotiations at the Mexican capital progressed slowly. The minister was a Southern man, and some of us got the impression that he was making haste slowly in order to keep the ships at Vera Cruz, and so give the secessionists a freer hand in their designs upon our Southern forts and navy yards.

Meanwhile, every mail brought worse and worse tidings of the progress of secession and of the intense excitement throughout the land. This increased the constraint, anxiety, and bitterness of feeling that pervaded the fleet. Many officers there were who, while deploring the questions of allegiance and loyalty confronting them, could not veil their sympathy for the Southern cause, and who intended to throw up their commissions when the inevitable test came. Loyal officers could hardly restrain their indignation at such attitude towards the flag in its dire hour of need, and the utmost reserve had to be observed to avoid personal encounters.

When fresh news arrived the officers would gather into hostile groups or camps, as it were, to discuss the situation. Then, as they came together as at the mess table for meals, the bated breath and measured speech with which any allusion was made to the intelligence received, bespoke but too well the strong currents of feeling that ran underneath the surface so cold, so reserved, and so exasperating.

On shore our consul, Mr. John T. Pickett, a Kentuckian and rabid secessionist, fanned the flame of disloyalty. Despite the commission of honor and trust from the government which gave him all the status he had at Vera Cruz, he went about the city proclaiming the disruption of the Republic and warning merchants and bankers of the risk they would run if they continued to deal with its agents. He asserted that the

United States were already hopelessly bankrupt and would never pay another dollar of their debts. His conduct, in fact, was so traitorous that I thought then and think now that he should have been arrested by the flag-officer and held in custody on board ship until he could have been sent home under charges of high treason.

Finally came the news of South Carolina's secession and the occupation of Fort Sumter by Major Anderson. Almost simultaneously with such news, the minister informed Commodore Pendergrast that his negotiations had been completed. But some mysterious power still held the ships at Vera Cruz, with the exception of the *Brooklyn*, despatched to Hampton Roads. Towards the end of January, however, the ships were ordered to different points, the *Powhatan* alone remaining in Mexican waters. Some delay was had in getting off, for Consul Pickett had so demoralized the bankers by his traitorous talk that they hesitated to take the bills drawn on the Baring Brothers, London. At last, however, the fleet paymaster succeeded in getting \$30,000 for which he had to pay, if I recollect aright, a premium of eighteen per cent.

Our destination, and that of the *Sabine*, was Pensacola. All sail was crowded in the hope of reaching there in time to save the navy yard from the suspected machinations of the rebels.

The *Sabine* being the faster sailer we soon parted company. But late one afternoon in the first week of February, we of the *St. Louis* arriving off the bar of the port, an unwonted sight greeted us. The *Sabine*, already arrived, was cruising off and on the port; the *Wyandotte*, Lt.-Commander Berryman, was lying at anchor inside with a flag of truce at her fore; an unknown flag was flying over the navy yard and at Forts Barrancas and McCrea, while Fort Pickens, hitherto forlorn and tenantless, displayed the flag over the small garrison of Company G, 1st U. S. Artillery, under command of First Lieut. C. J. Slemmer, which had been transferred there from Barrancas by the aid of the officers and men of the store-ship *Supply* and the *Wyandotte* on the 10th and 11th of February, 1861.

When Commander Poor of our ship returned from his visit to Captain Adams of the *Sabine* and senior officer present, we

learned that the rebels had full possession inside ; that Senator Mallory of Florida, and chairman of the naval committee of the Senate, had arranged a truce with the secretaries of navy and war, suspending all offensive operations on either side, and, by the special terms of which, the ships were not to attempt to enter the harbor without further instructions from Washington, but that the *Wyandotte* could continue to make her headquarters inside under flag of truce and be permitted to communicate with the ships in the offing in carrying the mails back and forth, and in such other lines of duty as the situation demanded in the line of peaceful effort. The insurgent authorities were also to allow us, as an act of graciousness, to receive fresh provisions and water from the shore.

To us navy folk, not especially up in the finesse and technicalities of constitutional law, the situation seemed humiliating in the extreme. Plain, blunt sailors, accustomed to see the flag respected in every quarter of the globe where they carried it, could not understand where the people of Florida derived this authority for such impertinent action under the guise of reserved constitutional rights. They knew that every part of Florida's territory had been bought from Spain by the United States at a cost of millions of dollars ; that the wars waged against the Indians to make the territory habitable for the white men had cost three times the original amount paid for it ; that the people of Florida had been admitted to statehood solely by the grace of the United States, and that in presuming to assume a supreme authority over that domain they were attempting to take what they never really possessed through their own prowess and efforts,—an attempt which from the navy point of view ought to have been met on the instant by the armed forces of the nation for its vigorous suppression.

That the great majority on board the ships were disgusted and angered at such state of affairs goes without saying, but there was no help for it except through disobedience of orders that might bring on a war—a war that both North and South were anxious to avoid—but a war which the pitiful weakness of the one and the truculent action of the other were surely, if unconsciously, doing their utmost to promote.

It had been an old service dogma that to anchor off the coast outside of harbor shelter during the winter months, when southerly gales were likely to spring up at any moment, was to tempt Providence and invite sure destruction to the sailor who attempted it, but after cruising off and on for a few days and tiring out everybody on board the ships, the anchors were let go and a little rest given the ships' companies. Experience soon made it clear that ships could ride at long scopes of their cables along the coast with reasonable safety, and thus one problem of good blockade was solved.

Meanwhile, the *Brooklyn* arrived from the North with Captain Vogdes's company of the First U. S. Artillery on board. Captain Walker, a son of this state, commanding the ship, had sailed with instructions to land the troops at Fort Pickens immediately upon arrival. The assistant surgeon of the *Brooklyn* was John M. Leach of Newmarket, this state. No sooner had Walker got to sea, however, than the wily Senator Mallory got the ear of the president and had orders telegraphed to Captain Adams, still the senior officer present, to have the company kept on board until further advised, making another act in the drama of weakness, irresolution, and treachery the country was soon to pay for so dearly. The result of these several acts was to tie the hands of the government, while the insurgents were secretly erecting new batteries, strengthening old defenses, and raising and equipping an army for revolutionary purposes.

Suddenly one day the monotony of our humiliating position was broken by the firing of a salute from a field battery at Barrancas.

We soon learned that it was in celebration of the Confederate States Government which had been established and proclaimed at Montgomery. The rebels were in high feather, and one of the *Sabine's* officers who had taken passage on board the *Wyandotte* for a visit to the shore, happening to meet the northern renegade Renshaw, that worthy held up a piece of parchment and said with great effusion, "See, I have got my commission back again already. I hold the same rank now in the Confederate States Navy that I did in the old service."

The loyal officer gave Renshaw a withering look, and then turned his back upon him in contemptuous silence.

Said old Commodore Tattnall, when he saw the Confederate flag raised at Montgomery, "I can fight for that flag, but I hate to do it."

Tattnall had been fairly forced to resign. A Georgian by birth and citizenship, he had married in Connecticut, and most, if not all, of his children were born on Northern soil; but his native state had given him a sword for his gallantry in the Mexican war, and had always stood by him when he wanted the recognition of the Navy Department in the matter of orders and duty. He did not approve the secession movement, nor did he want to give up his commission, but visiting Washington during the height of the secession whirlwind that swept Georgia into the arms of South Carolina, his compatriots swarmed into his room at the hotel one day and, locking the door, swore that he should not go out alive unless he wrote out his resignation then and there. Thus bullied and badgered, cajoled and implored, he wrote in despair the fatal paper; but his heart was not in the act at all, as his service in the Confederate cause fully attested. He was no longer the fiery, dashing Josiah Tattnall of old, whose "blood is thicker than water" expression sounded around the world in the heyday of his career under the old flag he ever really loved. His whole career in the rebel service bespoke the blight he must have felt in fighting against the flag to which he had instinctively given his devoted and intrepid service all his life before.

He begged his son John, a lieutenant in the Marine Corps, not to resign his commission. Said he to him, "You were born and bred on Northern soil and there is no occasion for you to go South." "But, father, I must follow you; I cannot stay here at the North and take arms against you." And so he threw up his commission.

Tattnall's old friend, Commodore Armstrong, who had surrendered the navy yard at Pensacola to the rebels in the middle of January, had been betrayed and doubtless bullied into such act by Commodore Farrand and Lieutenant Renshaw, of whom I have spoken, the one from New Jersey, the other a Pennsylvanian.

Armstrong was a veteran of the War of 1812. He was old

and infirm and had been but a few months before invalidated home from the command of the East India squadron. He suffered continually from a disease contracted in Chinese waters and had protested against being sent to so unfavorable a climate to him as that of Pensacola, but without avail. Compelled to take such orders, he left his family behind at his home in Charlestown, Mass. Thus he was living alone in the big house of the Commandant, with no one to turn to for counsel when the trying days of secession set in, except the officers of the yard and of the ships calling there. Farrand, as executive, stood naturally in closer relation towards him than anyone else. He was, in fact, intended to be the right arm of the Commandant, and being a man of Northern birth and training, Armstrong could not bring himself to believe that an officer of such status was doing all he could to lead him astray as to the real conditions of affairs. Yet that man was covertly playing into the hands of the rebels every moment of the time.

The *Wyandotte*, Lieutenant Commander Berryman, and the store-ship, *Supply*, Commander Walke, had arrived from Key West and New York respectively, a few days before the surrender of the yard. Neither vessel amounted to anything for offensive purposes. The ultimate destination of the *Supply* was Vera Cruz, but she had called at Pensacola to land some stores en route.

The ships had not been in port twenty-four hours, when both Walke and Berryman, as well as their officers, began to suspect the loyalty of Armstrong's staff, and especially of Farrand and his brother-in-law, Renshaw. They saw, too, to their great distress and indignation, how completely the venerable and sorely perplexed old Commodore was in the hands of the traitors hedging him in on every side, among whom the Northern ones were the foulest of all.

On the 3d of January, the army headquarters at Washington had awakened long enough from the ban of lethargy Mr. Secretary Floyd had put upon it, to send an order to Lieutenant Slemmer at Fort Barrancas "to take measures to prevent the seizure of either of the forts in Pensacola harbor by surprise or assault, consulting first with the Commandant of the

navy yard who will probably receive instructions to coöperate with you."

The orders reached Slemmer on the 9th, but he took in the fact at once of the utter impossibility of occupying and holding the three forts with forty-six men, all the force he had. He therefore decided to abandon McCrea and Barrancas and to transfer his command to Pickens if it could be accomplished. But what must we think of the intelligence at Washington that, at the eleventh hour, dictated so absurd an order? Forty-six men to defend three forts, two of which had not been occupied for years!

Calling immediately at the navy yard, Slemmer found that Armstrong was in receipt of orders from the Navy Department to coöperate with him in such measures of defense as he might adopt. Slemmer was assured of naval assistance in every practicable way, including the services of the *Supply* and the *Wyandotte*.

The Commodore said that he could not attempt to hold the yard, but agreed to have Slemmer and his command, ammunition, provisions, and other needed supplies taken across the bay to Pickens by the *Wyandotte* at 1 o'clock p. m. of that day—the 9th of January. No sooner had Slemmer left the Commandant's office than the treacherous Farrand slipped in, and so worked upon the mind of the weak and distracted old man, that he failed to keep faith with Slemmer. Farrand made Armstrong believe that it would be an outrage—a crime, when he intended to surrender the yard, to coöperate with a young officer of artillery like Slemmer, and so provoke a collision with the state troops that would hand his name down to perpetual execration everywhere in the country.

In this strait of failure, Slemmer revisited the Commodore and remonstrated with him for not keeping his promise. Then in presence of Farrand and Renshaw, the Commodore instructed Berryman to be at Barrancas wharf with the *Wyandotte* at 5 o'clock p. m. of that day prepared to transport the garrison to Pickens. Nevertheless the *Wyandotte* did not budge from her anchorage that night. Farrand had gotten in his dastardly work again. His game was delay. Communicating constantly

with the rebels at Pensacola, nine miles above, he knew that within forty-eight hours the insurgents would march down and demand the surrender of the yard, and he hoped that the way to seize and occupy Pickens would be clear also.

But in the latter villainy he was checkmated, for at 8 o'clock the next morning—the 10th—Lieutenant, now Rear Admiral, John Irwin, then on leave of absence in Washington, near the yard, went to Barrancas with a big scow, which the army folk hurriedly loaded, together with all the other boats they could lay hands on. The *Wyandotte* then ran down and took all in tow for Pickens. Berryman also carried over 30 ordinary seamen, but without arms and equipments. Later in the day, however, he supplied 30 muskets and 4,800 musket cartridges, which he obtained on the Commandant's order, despite the vehement remonstrances of Farrand.

But now, under the malign influences he could not escape, and distracted by the complications which beset him on every side, Armstrong began to give such erratic and contradictory orders that Walke and Berryman made up their minds that their principal business, at that juncture, was to coöperate with Slemmer in his effort to make Pickens secure; wherefore they gave little further heed to instructions that issued from the Commandant's office.

The same day Pickens was occupied, Lieutenant, now Rear Admiral, Henry Erben went down to Fort McCrea from the *Supply* with a boat's crew and threw into the sea all the powder stored there—some 22,000 pounds—to prevent it falling into the clutches of the rebels.

When he returned from that good stroke of work that evening, he called upon the Commodore at his quarters and reported what he had done. He then volunteered to go outside and destroy the ammunition in the naval magazine located on the reservation about a quarter of a mile away. The Commodore sent for Farrand. That traitorous officer asserted with great heat that Erben was drunk and advised that he be put under arrest at once and sent on board ship. Armstrong refused, whereupon Farrand sprang up in great rage and, throwing his chair at Erben's head, abruptly left the quarters. Erben

remained talking with the Commodore a little while longer and then bade him good-night. The moment Erben got outside the front door, Farrand, who had been lying in wait on the piazza, rushed up and shaking his fist in Erben's face said, "D—n you! I'll teach you how to treat your superior officer!" "He was so violent," said Erben, "that I took him by the throat saying, 'D—n you, I will have you hanged for the traitor that you are.' We clinched, and in the struggle rolled down the Commandant's steps together. Then Farrand cried out for help, and out stepped Renshaw from the hedge in front of the house where he had been playing the spy, but Assistant Surgeon William M. King of the *Supply*, who had accompanied me, stepped out on my side of the path, when Farrand and Renshaw, the two Dromios of secession villainy, seeing that a row was imminent, ran off to the other quarters, telling the officers' wives as they went along that Erben was going to blow the yard up."

Farrand's whole conduct had been so pronouncedly disloyal and perfidious all through that Erben and other officers arranged a scheme to seize him at the first good chance and carry him on board ship. Berryman said he would receive him on board the *Wyandotte*, and if necessary put him in the coal bunkers for safe keeping. But Farrand was too wary—too foxy—he felt that he was suspected—an offense in the nostrils of all honest officers and men, and that the best measure for his personal safety was to keep away from the water front of the yard. And so he could not be induced to approach the wharves on any matter of duty whatever. Had he ventured to do so he would have surely been seized and he seems to have had such presentiment. But he carried things with a high hand when at the upper part of the yard, with the infirm old Commodore. When he looked harborward, however, and saw the flag floating from the peaks of loyal ships, his conscience smote him and made him a coward. "He made a narrow escape," said Erben, "for had he been captured and carried on board ship, he would never have got ashore again except as a close prisoner of war."

And Erben goes on to say, "Whatever orders Armstrong

gave for the protection of the yard were countermanded without his knowledge by Farrand. He knew the very hour Victor M. Randolph, another traitorous naval captain, would line up his rebel forces at the gate for the surrender, and ordered the punishment of faithful old Quartermaster Conway, the patriotic old salt who had refused to haul down the flag." Conway had obeyed the order to go to the flagstaff, but when the miserable Renshaw gave him the order to haul down the flag in capitulation, he flatly refused, and Renshaw had to do the rascally work with his own hands. Then Farrand and Renshaw, both still holding their commissions as officers of the navy, set about deliberately to punish the veteran old seaman for his fidelity to the government and country they were betraying. It is a great gratification to record the fact that a few months later some 150 citizens of California, of New England birth, sent the steadfast old petty officer a gold medal of appropriate design in grateful recognition of his courage and fidelity in defying the orders of the officers whose names will ever be a by-word of reproach and shame in the naval annals of our country.

Walke and Berryman continued to send all possible aid to Slemmer in getting his command safely settled at the fort, nor let it be forgotten that without their strong aid Slemmer could never have transferred his troops and stores there.

On the morning of the 12th of January, Slemmer addressed a last note to Armstrong. He wrote, "I have been apprised that the yard is besieged; in case you have determined to surrender, will you please send the marines to me to increase my force at Pickens?" No reply to such request was received, and a few hours later, or at noon of that day, the flag of the United States was hauled down at the yard and marine barracks and the state flag of Florida hoisted in its stead. The feelings of indignation, mortification, and disgust that pervaded the ships and port at such wanton doings may well be imagined, but cannot be described in words.

Walke showed his defiance of the act by at once hoisting the flag at each mast-head of the *Supply*, and the fort, as yet without a flagstaff, hung the flag over the parapet where the rebels could best see it.

That afternoon the *Wyandotte* towed the *Supply* outside the harbor, and both ships anchored for the night a short distance from the bar.

Two or three days later the ships reëntered the harbor under flag of truce and came to off the navy yard. Now Walke, waiving for the time being the orders of the department and of Armstrong to continue on to Vera Cruz, deemed it to be his duty to take on board the loyal seamen and marines, the families of Slemmer's command, and the employés whom the rebels had failed to corrupt, and carry them North. With such passengers and their personal belongings he sailed for New York on the 16th of January. The department, still dominated by baleful influences, censured him for his action, but a court martial gave him honorable acquittal. His subsequent service during the war was most brilliant. His fighting record on the Mississippi was not surpassed in gallantry by any other officer of the fleet.

The *Wyandotte* remained in the bay under flag of truce, and when the quasi armistice had been made at Washington, she was allowed to run back and forth without question by the rebels, as we had found upon our arrival from Vera Cruz. Such status we were powerless to change, wherefore we had to settle down and endure the mortifying situation of witnessing the insurgent occupation of the navy yard and Barrancas, and of constantly receiving intelligence of secession, deceit, encroachment, and devastation in every direction, while endeavoring to keep within bounds our indignation at the astounding supineness of the government under such provocative conditions.

One morning H. B. M. ship *Gladiator*, Captain (now Vice Admiral) Hickley, R. N., appeared off the port. After communicating with Captain Adams of the *Sabine*, in accordance with international regulations governing naval intercourse, the *Gladiator* crossed the bar and steamed up to the anchorage off the town.

When he returned outside two days later, he again communicated with Adams, offering to take the mails to the squadron, or to do any other service he could.

We of the *St. Louis* had met him before off Greytown. He

was a fair spoken Englishman of genial manners, and while he marveled at the situation, and was profuse in his expressions of sympathy, it was quite apparent that the facts did not disturb him in the least. *Per contra*, he doubtless saw in his mind's eye with much satisfaction opening vistas of plentiful British trade and traffic with the Confederacy.

Like a bird of prey, John Bull sits enthroned on the British Isles in the North Sea, watching with sleepless eye the affairs of all other peoples, and when troubles arise in any quarter of the globe, he scents the profits of trade afar off, and straightway sends his ships-of-war to spy out the land, and prepare the way for the plentiful flow of British goods.

At this present period, however, John's propensity of that nature has become somewhat modified, for having possessed himself of most of the spoils of earth, he wants to keep what he has got without risking its loss through war.

In Lord Palmerston's day, had any European power attempted what the bellicose Emperor of Germany did a few weeks ago by his outrageous seizure of Kiou Chou bay in the China sea, the English admiral in those waters would have been instructed to take the offensive forthwith, but to-day, England with her fleet outmatching the fleets of France, Russia, and Germany does not seem to dare to act. The dictum of Manchester and Birmingham is destroying her virility and emasculating her influence. Said Captain Gambier, R. N., in the *Fortnightly Review*, last July, of England's present status, "Nothing an Englishman can say abroad is ever taken seriously. There is no faith in us anywhere. Foreigners stigmatize us as the most immoral nation in the world as regards political pledges. Even an Italian feels that he is leaning on a reed, while as to the Turk, he knows it is actually a rush!"

But to return from this digression, while we were smarting outside under the conditions I have outlined, the rebels at the navy yard, Barrancas, and the camps were having a jovial time. General Bragg was in command there with largely increased forces, and his headquarters were frequently enlivened by visitors from all parts of Florida, Alabama, and Georgia. Sometimes the parties would come off to the ships to gratify

their curiosity as to the construction, organization, and arrangement of men-of-war, discuss the outlook, and express their displeasure because "their share of the navy," as they said, "had not been turned over to them."

I recall one visitor from Alabama who boasted that "he had been working for thirty years to bring about secession," and said he, "if you were to give us a new pen, and a clean sheet of paper, and tell us to write our own terms, we will not come back into the Union." I ventured to think aloud "that they would; that if they persisted in bringing on a war, they would lose every darkey they had before they got through with it."

One day the wretched Renshaw had the temerity to visit the *Sabine*. He met with the most frigid reception except from one or two officers who threw up their commissions after their States had seceded. The enlisted men, ever loyal to the Union, were incensed that the officer who had hauled down the flag at the navy yard at the bidding of the rebels, and who had helped to punish steadfast old Conway for his fidelity, should have the impudence to come off to the ships. And when he went over the *Sabine's* gangway to go down the ship's side into his boat, some one among them threw a bowline out of one of the gun-deck ports, hoping to get it round his neck, and either strangle or jerk him overboard. Renshaw, livid with rage, and trembling for his safety, expostulated and demanded the offender's punishment. It is needless to say that the man could not be identified any more than Sam Weller could see his father in the gallery, in the court-room, on the occasion of the celebrated trial of "Bardell *versus* Pickwick."

The *Mobile Register* in those exasperating days was our source of immediate news. It had supported Douglas for the presidency, and had been a moderate-toned conservative paper, but now it quite equaled the *Charleston Mercury* in its diatribes against the North.

Among other things, it said, "The gentlemen of the South in the event of hostilities need not take the field; the ordinary men of the Confederacy can be trusted to do the fighting, for the average Southerner is equal in prowess to three Yankees at any time and under all circumstances." Such talk perhaps

nerved the South and fed its vanity; it certainly did the North no harm.

The inauguration of Mr. Lincoln now drew nigh. The rebels fondly hoped that his inaugural address would foreshadow the abandonment of Sumter, Pickens, and other public places in the South, and their chagrin knew no bounds when he announced his purpose "to hold, occupy, and possess" all property and places rightfully belonging to the United States.

On the other hand, our spirits in the fleet outside rose like the mercury in a barometer in clearing weather. Nevertheless, we had to wait days and weeks without any material change in the situation. True, a few days after the inauguration, General Scott sent an order to Captain Vogdes to land the troops from the *Brooklyn*, but no word was sent to Captain Adams of the *Sabine* that the truce was ended, and he regarded the orders he held from the Navy Department as still in force. He, therefore, would not permit the instructions to his subordinate to be carried out, and so the matter rested for weeks.

Meanwhile, Berryman of the *Wyandotte* died. The strain, excitement, and worry killed him. To be obliged to get General Bragg's permission to bury the remains in the naval cemetery was a bitter pill, but it had to be taken.

Our provisions were now almost gone; the pay officers had no funds, and the days dragged on more heavily than ever.

On the 18th of March, Captain Adams had reported to the Department among other things, "There is not a dollar of public money in the squadron. I have been using my own private funds to pay bills, and Lieutenant Belknap and Paymaster Pierce of the *St. Louis*; Lieutenant Cush, U. S. Marines, of the *Sabine*, and Lieutenant Gwathmay of the *Brooklyn*, have tendered me what money they have for the same purpose." As to this, see Vol. 4, Series I, page 37, of the official records of the Union and Confederate navies in the War of the Rebellion.

But now a ray of relief appeared. At noon, the 12th of April, Lieutenant, subsequently Rear Admiral, Worden of *Monitor* fame arrived on board the *Sabine* with orders from the president to land Captain Vogdes's company and all the

marines for the reinforcement of Fort Pickens. The order was carried out that evening, the boats of the *St. Louis* being under my command. As we were rounding the point of Santa Rosa island to enter the harbor two guns were suddenly fired, and we thought the enemy was opening upon us. It turned out that Lieutenant Commanding Mullany, now in command of the *Wyandotte*, had grounded on a shoal, and had fired the guns to attract attention to his mishap. It was the one thing he should not have done, as it at once awoke the rebels as to what was going on. They made no sign, however, and the *Wyandotte* soon floated off with the rising tide. Mullany was a very nervous officer, but a gallant one. He subsequently lost an arm at the battle of Mobile Bay.

The next day Worden, as he was returning to Washington, was arrested at Montgomery, and held as a prisoner of war until exchanged in November, 1861.

The truce was now at an end; the war had begun, for we knew that the attack upon Sumter was in progress. Then followed in quick succession the reports of Sumter's surrender, the president's proclamation, and the call for men.

A thrill of joy swept like magic through the ships; suspense was at an end; we felt that we had a government once more and thanked God for it. Trimmers and traitors must now declare their purposes and take their proper places. The arguments to be used henceforth until treason was beaten down were the gun, the musket, and the sword. It was high time. The loyal heart of the nation had been throttled long enough.

On the afternoon of the 16th of April, a most welcome incident still further raised our spirits. It was the arrival of the steamer *Baltic* with Col. Harvey Brown and more companies of the First artillery for the further strengthening of the garrison at Pickens. Colonel Brown was accompanied by Capt. Montgomery C. Meigs, of the U. S. Corps of Engineers. That evening these fresh troops were landed, the *Wyandotte* towing the boats in, and close in to Santa Rosa point. To our surprise no opposition came from the rebel camp.

In my boat were Colonel Brown and Captain Meigs, whom I personally piloted to the sally-port of the fort. Leaving

them at that point, I pulled back to the *Baltic* for another load of troops. On returning from this second trip about half past three o'clock in the morning Meigs accompanied me. On the way off he became confidential. Said he, "I am acting under direct orders from the president, verbal and written. Lieut. David Porter of the navy is on the way here in command of the *Powhatan*. Upon his arrival off the port he is to pay no attention to the fleet, but to steam directly on into the harbor and take control of the waters of the bay. If fired upon by the rebel batteries, he is to return the fire instantly and bring on an engagement. Only four persons have any knowledge of the *Powhatan's* destination—the president, Mr. Seward, Porter, and myself. She should be here at any moment, for she left New York before we did. But," he continued, "if upon thorough examination of the fort, Colonel Brown and myself decide that it is not yet advisable to draw the fire of the rebels, I have in my pocket instructions from Mr. Lincoln to intercept the ship and hand Porter orders to suspend entrance into the bay until further advised." This was a precious, a very delicious, piece of news, and it need not be added that the advent of the *Powhatan* was looked forward to with intense satisfaction.

Leaving Captain Meigs on board the *Baltic*, I repaired on board the *Sabine* to report the latest news from Pickens to Captain Adams. He appeared to be stolidly indifferent, while the officer of the deck, Lieutenant Murdaugh, a Virginian, was sullen and silent. Adams, though a Pennsylvanian, had large interests in Louisiana, and was too strict a constructionist to suit the stern demands of that portentous time. Murdaugh, who had received me with a studied coldness that bespoke inward wrath, soon resigned, hastened home, and entered the rebel service. Long afterwards he was given an office of trust and emolument under the government he did all he could to destroy. And glad he was to get it.

That afternoon the *Powhatan* came steaming in at full speed disguised as a British man-of-war. She stood directly across the bar, and was making for close quarters with McRea and Barrancas, amidst the breathless but ardent expectation of

the fleet, when suddenly a steam-tug shot out from Pickens, and intercepting the ship, stopped her further progress on the president's order, for Colonel Brown, advised by Meigs, had decided that Pickens was not yet sufficiently prepared to tempt an engagement with the enemy. Porter reluctantly obeyed the order but he did not retreat. He was already within range of some of the enemy's batteries, and hoping to draw their fire, hauled down the British ensign and hoisted the stars and stripes; but Bragg had no idea of firing the initial gun and remained silent. Then Porter, in full view of all that was going on in the bay, dropped an anchor and awaited developments.

The stoppage of the *Powhatan* was not only a grievous disappointment to the fleet outside, but it was an egregious blunder. Porter had drilled the officers and men night and day on the run from New York, and they were burning for a fight. The ten nine-inch guns of each broadside and the eleven-inch pivot were loaded with grape and canister, and the 20, 12, and 24 pounder howitzers on board charged with shrapnel. There can be no doubt but that a broadside would have demoralized Bragg's green gunners at the first fire, and that two or three, delivered in quick succession, would have driven them from their works. Once past Tartar Point, the *Powhatan* could have enfiladed the navy yard so that no living soul could have stayed there. Could Porter have had his own way, indeed, he would have brought all the ships inside, and within twenty-four hours there would not have been an armed rebel left either on the army or naval reservation, and the yard would have been re-possessed intact by the government. That nothing was done was due to the indecision of Brown and his lack of qualities that make the successful soldier.

It has always seemed to me a pity, however, that Porter did not become as blind to Meigs's approach as Nelson was at Sir Hyde Parker's signal for him to withdraw from the fight at Copenhagen.

Audacity in war is the touchstone of success. Nelson and Farragut were the two great sea exponents in modern times of that high quality.

Some thirty-six hours after Porter's arrival, a number of tugs towing schooners, filled with soldiers, came down from Pensacola and steered for Pickens. That sight was more than Porter could stand, so he fired a nine-inch shrapnel shell in their direction, timed to burst just ahead of them. That monition was enough. The flotilla put about and made back for Pensacola in greatest possible haste. Here was an overt act; a challenge, indeed, to the enemy; the petted rebels had been fired upon in their own sacred waters, yet they remained persistently silent. Bragg well knew that if he opened fire the game would be up with him; that here was a ship and an officer ready to fight at any moment.

Porter said of this incident that when he saw the rebels approaching he felt like the old fellow at Bunker Hill, who was much amused at the volleys of the approaching British until a ball struck the calf of his leg, when he roared out to his son by his side, "Dang it, Jim, they're firing bullets; we must fire back at them!" So Porter, when he saw such apparent offensive movement, thought it high time to begin gun practice.

Captain Adams, the senior officer outside, was disgruntled at Porter's act, and thought him very reckless in firing that shot, but he could not interfere because Porter had the president's confidential orders in his pocket. On the other hand, Porter began to remonstrate with Adams for the laxity that permitted the rebels to strengthen themselves in every direction unmolested, and he succeeded in getting from him authority to stop the Mobile steamers from entering the port with supplies and ammunition for Bragg's camp.

A few days after this, Captain McKean arrived in the *Niagara*, and as Adams's senior he assumed command of the fleet. I had served as a midshipman under McKean's command in 1851, 1852, and 1853 in the Pacific, and was delighted to meet him again. The first thing he did upon arrival was to signal for the commanding and all other officers to repair on board. At the proper moment McKean addressed the officers assembled in the cabin, saying, that the time had now come for the government to know beyond doubt or question how every officer stood, and he invited them to take anew the oath of alle-

giance and subscribe to it. Most of the officers eagerly complied, but two or three declined; Captain Adams subscribed to the oath under protest. The officers who declined to take the oath now resigned. The patient government accepted their resignations instead of sending them to Fort Lafayette. Captain Adams soon went home and was never afterwards given employment, but his son and namesake did most gallant service as a lieutenant during the war.

Captain McKean now dispersed the ships for the establishment of the blockade. We were sent to Key West, via Tortugas, but for blockading purposes against steam vessels the old *St. Louis* was of little account.

The *Mohawk* and the *Crusader*, Lieutenants-Commanding Craven and Maffit,—small purchased steamers like the *Wyandotte*,—had been cruising in Cuban and other West Indian waters for the suppression of the slave trade; for after the Dred Scott decision by the Supreme Court the slave trade had been revived and several cargoes direct from Africa had been landed on Southern soil or captured in the attempt—two such prizes having fallen to the *Mohawk*. Maffit proved to be a secessionist, and threw up his commission the moment the Confederacy was established. But gallant Craven, a son of New Hampshire by birth, and who was subsequently sunk in the *Tecumseh* at the battle of Mobile Bay, was loyal to the core. He had assisted Captain Brennan of the First Artillery in the transfer of his command and munitions from the barracks at Key West to the uncompleted Fort Taylor commanding the town, and also in transporting men and supplies to Fort Jefferson at Tortugas to prevent its seizure by the rebels who had organized a force at New Orleans to occupy it. When Craven reported to the Navy Department what he had done his action was disapproved. He was informed, indeed, that the Department had had no information of intention on the part of anybody to occupy those public works. Mr. Secretary Toucey was apparently blind to all passing events, or did he expect the rebels to go about with a brass band proclaiming what they were going to do?

After a short stay at Key West, we were ordered to Mobile

to take blockade duty at that point; thence to S. W. pass at the mouth of the Mississippi. Finally, in October, we were ordered to proceed to Philadelphia and go out of commission. This was a welcome change,—first, because we had been away from home nearly three years, and second, because it gave us opportunity for service on board more effective ships than the old *St. Louis*—a service all looked eagerly forward to.

One officer only had left us to join the rebels—a South Carolinian. We had been more fortunate in that regard than most of the ships.

The officer who had pooh-poohed so flippantly all idea of war, in the summer and fall of 1860, and who had been invalided home from Vera Cruz, was now by special assignment of the president at work in his state of Kentucky to save that state from secession, and to enroll volunteers and organize them into regiments of the Union army. He had found, indeed, that Kentucky instead of whipping South Carolina back into the Union was in part inclined to go out herself. You will doubtless have recognized that this officer was Lieut. Wm. Nelson of the navy, who became a major-general of volunteers, and did gallant service in the field until his tragic death at Louisville.

He was a man of commanding presence and great ability, but from his rough speech and brusque manners he had been nicknamed "Bully Nelson" in the navy from the start. His division of Buel's army was the first one to reach the field of Shiloh on the evening of the first day of that memorable battle which, but for the characteristic tenacity of Grant, might have ended in a disastrous defeat for the Union army.

When we were detached from the *St. Louis* after our three years' cruise, we were given ten days' leave of absence, but I had been at home barely a week when I received orders to proceed to Boston and report for duty as executive officer of the gun-boat *Huron*. At that time we had no railroad or telegraphic facilities at Newport, and it was the custom for the mail-stage to call at the houses of passengers in the village and take them on board at their doors.

As I stepped into the coach the crisp December morning

that I left home, the solitary passenger inside—Mr. Smart of Concord, who had come on from Claremont where he had been teaching school—said, “Have you heard the news?” “What news?” I asked. “Why, a telegram was received at Claremont last night reporting that Captain Wilkes, commanding the steam frigate *San Jacinto*, had boarded the British mail steamer *Trent* on the high seas, and taken from her the rebel commissioners, Mason and Slidell, as prisoners charged with high treason.” “Well,” I replied, “Captain Wilkes has made a great mistake; his action will have to be disavowed, and the rebel commissioners be given up. Captain Wilkes had ample British precedents for what he did, it is true, but his action was directly the reverse of what we always have contended for in the matter of the right of search on the high seas; and there is nothing left for us to do than to return the commissioners to the protection of the British flag. To do otherwise would be to stultify our whole record and contention as a maritime power with regard to the right of visit and of search ever since we have been an independent nation.” I need not say that, after some delay and much discussion, the government acted upon a like view. We know, too, that Mr. Lincoln held that opinion from the moment the emergency was brought before him in all its details.

Had conditions been reversed; had Ireland been in armed revolt against Great Britain, and a British ship-of-war had overhauled an American mail steamer and taken from her deck envoys from Ireland to the United States, England would have clung to her old pretension of visitation and search and would never have given them up; but when, in the case of the *Trent*, she ignored her past claims and procedures, she attracted the support of the other great maritime powers that had hitherto suffered from her imperious acts on the high seas, for it marked out a new line of neutral rights to which Great Britain must henceforth bow and respect. On the other hand, we could afford to be right in such matter of maritime concern, even though it cut to the quick of national pride for the moment in the stress of our grave situation, but we could not afford to go to war with the greatest sea power in the

world when a colossal rebellion confronted us, taxing to the utmost all our resources of blood and treasure to crush it out.¹

Prior to the Rebellion, Mr. Sumner, in common with other captives in Britain's Pecksniffian train, had supposed that in the cause of human rights, the British government would give its fullest sympathies to the cause of the Union in its struggle with the slave power of this country, but had he and his fellow dupes studied English history and character more closely he and they would have seen that pounds, shillings, and pence have ever been the governing factors of the sympathy and policy of official England.

We know that the English slave trade was established by John Hawkins in 1562; that his first venture was so successful that two years later, "good Queen Bess" loaned him one of her own ships and took shares in the enterprise; that the British Crown continued to gather profits from that infamous traffic until the reign of George III.

It was two hundred ten years after Hawkins began the slave trade, that Lord Mansfield decided that "a slave becomes free at the moment of setting foot on British soil." Nevertheless, the slave traffic by authority and to the profit of the crown was continued long after.

But in 1807, the trade having become unprofitable as regarded the British West Indian islands, the Parliament,

¹ Here is a parallel case. When the Revolutionary War was at its height, the Continental Congress despatched as ambassador to Holland, then a neutral power, Henry Laurens, a former president of the Congress, vested with power to secure from that government a recognition of the United Colonies as an independent nation—to conclude a treaty and negotiate a loan. In 1780 he left Charleston on board the brigantine *Adriana*, bound to Martinique. From thence he took passage in a Dutch packet, the *Mercury*, for Holland, and thus was on board a neutral vessel, sailing between neutral ports.

"When three days out from Martinique, the *Mercury* was overhauled by the British frigate *Vestal*, Mr. Laurens, with his secretary, was forcibly removed from on board the *Mercury*; his papers were seized; they were taken in the *Vestal* to St. Johns, Newfoundland, and thence, by an order of the British Admiralty, he, with his secretary, was taken to England, and he was committed as a prisoner to the Tower of London, on a charge of high treason. The British reverse at Yorktown soon changed the character of his confinement to that of a prisoner of war, and he was not long thereafter released in exchange for Lieutenant-General Lord Cornwallis."—Upton's "Maritime Warfare and Prize."

Such was one of the precedents upon which Wilkes probably acted.

prodded by philanthropists like Wilberforce, Macaulay and others, abolished the traffic by enactment. Slavery continued, however, in the colonies until 1834, when it was also abolished in them. Then England began to throw stones at this country, and to send her emissaries into our midst to sow the seeds of dissension between the North and the South. Her efforts succeeded but too well. The leaven worked so well, indeed, that scarce a quarter of a century passed when the flames of civil war broke forth upon the land.

Did official England then take the side of right and freedom? No! she did all she dared to do to aid the insurgents in their purpose to destroy the Union; and could she have witnessed the overthrow of this government through the triumph of the Confederacy she would have cared not a whit for the blood that reddened our land, nor for the groans of the black men continued in slavery as the result of insurgent success.

When the late General Hurlburt was our minister to Peru in 1881-82, the British minister, Sir Spencer St. John, said to him one day while they were good-naturedly discussing international affairs, "Why do you speak of England as you do? Little more than a hundred years ago you Americans were all Englishmen." "Very true," replied General Hurlburt, "but we are now improved Englishmen—that makes the difference."

Had the governing classes of Great Britain comprehended more fully the effects of climate upon the race, and the greater range of free thought and action this new country afforded in the free states of the North, they would never have made the mistake of siding with the rebellious states in the hope of destroying the Union and the bettering of British commercial and political interests thereby. Had they, indeed, pursued a different policy and given their support to the North, they would have bound themselves by hooks of steel to the loyal heart of this nation, and the bitterness of the past generation and the distrust of the present would have had no place in the annals of either country.

No man recognized such fact more clearly than Mr. Sumner. His faith in the moral integrity of the British people

was thoroughly shaken, and he went to his grave believing in the treachery and perfidy of the people he had once looked upon as the leaders in civilization and in humane movement on lines of personal liberty.

It is not too much to say, indeed, that at least one half of our killed and wounded during the war met their death or disablement at the muzzles of British-made muskets and British-rifled ordnance shot and shell; nor that the Rebellion was initiated under the belief of British sympathy, and prolonged because of the substantial aid of British shipbuilders and shipowners and blockade runners; and the further fact that England was the naval base of the Confederacy, from which issued the *Alabama*, the *Shenandoah*, and other vessels to destroy our merchantmen on the high seas.

Of the forty-five officers on the navy list in January, 1861, who had connection with New Hampshire either by birth, appointment, or citizenship, only one resigned his commission, and he was then a citizen of Maryland and had, doubtless, married there. I cannot find, however, that he ever did any active service against the flag.

Admiral Belknap's address was listened to by a large and appreciative audience, and at its close a vote of thanks was presented to the speaker, and a copy of the address requested for preservation in the archives of the Society.

A communication from Rev. Dr. W. R. Cochrane of Antrim, suggesting an earlier hour of the day for holding the meetings of the Society to accommodate members from out of town, was read by the secretary, and, on motion of Hon. J. C. A. Hill, the communication was referred to the committee on speakers.

Joseph W. Lund of Boston was elected a resident member.

Voted to adjourn, 3:30 p. m., to the call of the president.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,

Secretary.

CONCORD, March 9, 1898.

The fourth adjourned seventy-fifth annual meeting of the Society was held in the librarian's room in the Society's build-

ing in Concord, Wednesday, March 9, 1898, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, President Stevens in the chair.

Hon. Joseph B. Walker of Concord delivered the following address on "The Bow Controversy":

THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE PROPRIETORS OF BOW
AND THOSE OF PENNY COOK, 1727-1789.

Accompanying the bloody contests with the French and Indian enemy, in which the early settlers of Concord were involved, was another, of a legal character, known as the Bow Controversy. It was prosecuted in the provincial courts, and before the King in Council, in London. It commenced when the committee of the general court of Massachusetts Bay and their surveyors began to lay out their township, then designated as the Plantation of Penny Cook,¹ in May, 1726; and was not fully settled until the close of English supremacy over the thirteen American colonies which had successfully resisted its power, having lasted through the period of more than half a century.

It is interesting, not only on account of the spirit with which it was waged, its long continuance, and the disparity of the parties, the Bow proprietary having in its company a large proportion of the members of the provincial government, while its opponents were but a small body of hard-working farmers upon the Indian frontier, but on account of the power of a few resolute men united in defense of rights which they conscientiously believed to be their own.

¹ To prevent confusion, hereafter, it should be remembered that Concord has borne, at different times, three different names. From 1725, when it was first chartered by the General Court of Massachusetts, it was called the *Plantation of Penny Cook*. It bore that name until 1733, when, by the same body, it was incorporated as the *Town of Rumford*. Thence, on to 1747, it was known as the *town*, and from this time to 1749 as the *district* of Rumford. From July 12, 1749, when the District Act expired, on to 1765, a period of nearly sixteen years, it had no organized existence whatever. On the twenty-fifth of May, 1765, the government of New Hampshire incorporated it anew as the *Parish* of Concord. It continued to be a parish until Jan. 2, 1784, when, by an act of the legislature, it was "Invested with all the powers and enfranchised with all the rights, privileges and immunities which any town in this state holds and enjoys, to hold to said inhabitants and their successors forever." (N. H. Acts, Vol. IV, p. 502.)

In this controversy, the Bow proprietors sought to eject the Penny Cook settlers from the farms which they had cleared from the wilderness, and turn them adrift upon the world. In this contest their minister was their chosen leader, their comrade and friend. So vital its issue to him and his people, was this prolonged contest that it is worthy of a brief recital.

About a year after (May 20, 1727), the general court of Massachusetts had made to its proprietors the grant of the plantation of Penny Cook, the New Hampshire government granted the same territory, with some additional land, to one hundred and twenty-three persons, designated as the proprietors of Bow. Of most of these little is now known. Among them, however, were Benning Wentworth, afterwards governor of the province, Hunking Wentworth, William Wentworth, Mark Wentworth, George Jaffrey, Jr., Richard Waldron, Jr., Richard Wibird, Jr., and several others, then of much influence in the provincial government. To this body of proprietors was *added*, for some unmentioned reason, another body of "*Admitted Associates*." These, numbering twenty-nine, consisted of: His Excellency & Hon^e Samuel Shute, Esq., governor; John Wentworth, Esq., lieutenant-governor; Col. Mark Hunking, Rich^d Wibird, John Ffrost, Coll. Walton, Coll. Thomas Westbrook, George Jaffrey, Archibald McPheadries, Jotham Odiorne, councillors; and Peter Weare, John Gilman, Cap^t John Gilman, M^r Eph^m Dennet, Eben^r Stevens, John Plaisted, Andrew Wiggin, Sam^l Tibbets, John Sanburn, Rich^d Jennes, James Davis, Cap^t John Downing, Paul Gerrish, Theod^r Atkinson, Cap^t W^m Fellows, the membership of the assembly, to which last body was added James Jeffrey, Zah. Hanaford, Jos. Loverin, Jos. Wiggin, Dani^l Loverin and Pierce Long.

It is a noticeable fact that this list of "admitted associates" embraces the names of substantially all the members of the executive and legislative branches of the provincial government, in whose control was placed the appointment of the justices of the courts and their subordinate officers.

It is also a noticeable fact that one of the conditions of this grant was "That upon Default of any Perticular Proprietor in Complying with the Conditions of the Charter upon his part,

Such Delinquent Proprietor Shall forfeit his Shear to the other Proprietors."

At the time these two grants of the same territory were made to these two proprietaries, the common boundary line between northern Massachusetts and southern New Hampshire was undetermined. Both provinces claimed ownership of the territory covered by their respective grants, but the procedures of their respective grantees were entirely unlike.

Upon receiving their grants, the proprietors of Penny Cook had taken immediate measures to fulfil in good faith its conditions, and render habitable their plantation. By 1733 it contained about eighty families, and its inhabitants were in the enjoyment of the immunities of a regularly chartered town.

During the same period, and even subsequently, the proprietors of Bow did nothing worthy of mention to improve any part of their township, but, like the distinguished Mr. Micawber, whom Dickens has introduced to our acquaintance, idly waited "for something to turn up" whereby they might seize upon fields which others had reduced to cultivation, and occupy houses which they neither erected nor owned.

Some eight years after the issuance of the Bow grant, Dec. 15, 1735, in answer to a petition of Joseph Rindge, asking for a determination of the boundaries between the provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, the lords of the committee of council for plantation affairs made report to the king "That they Agree in Opinion with the said Lord's Commissioners that it may be advisable for Your Majesty to appoint and Authorize Commissioners to be Chosen out of the Neighbouring Provinces in America to meet within a Limited time and mark out the Dividing line between the said Provinces of the Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire—And their Lordships Do further humbly Report to Your Majesty as their Opinion *that in the running the said Boundary-Line due Care should be taken that Private Property may not be Affected thereby.*"¹

Thereupon, on the twenty-second day of the following January, the king ordered that the said lords of the committee of council for plantation affairs should suggest proper persons to

¹ N. H. State Papers, Vol. XIX, p. 261.

be appointed members of said commission, in the language following :

“The King’s most Excellent Majesty in Council.

“Upon reading this day at the Board a Report from the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs dated the 15th of last Month relating to the Settling the Boundaries between the Provinces of the Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire in America, wherein their Lordships propose that Commiss^{rs} to be chosen out of the Neighbouring Provinces should be appointed and Authorized by His Majesty to meet within a limited time and *mark out the Dividing line between the said Provinces, and to take care that Private Property be not affected thereby*:—His Majesty Approving thereof, Is pleased to Order, that the same be Referred to the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs, to Consider of proper persons to be appointed to Settle the said Boundarys and to make Report thereof to His Majesty at this Board.—

“W: Sharpe.”¹

“In accordance with the recommendation of the lords of the committee of council for plantation affairs, on the ninth day of April, 1736, his majesty appointed George Clark, Francis Harrison, Cadwalder Colden, Abraham Van Horn, Philip Levings-ton, John Hamilton, John Wells, John Reading, Cornelius Van Horn, William Provost, William Skene, William Sherriffe, Henry Cope, Erasmus James Phillips, Otho Hamilton, Samuel Vernon, John Gardiner, John Potter, Ezekiel Warner & George Cornel, or any five or more of you to be our Commissioners for Settling, Adjusting & determining the Respective boundaries of our said provinces of the Mass^a Bay & New Hamp^r in America, in dispute as aforesaid.”²

The commission met at Hampton, N. H., on the first day of August, 1737, and after hearing all claims, evidence, and arguments presented by the two parties, made a report, indecisive as to the line forming the northern boundary of

¹ N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. XIX, *p.* 261, 262.

N. H. State Papers, Vol. XIX, *p.* 274.

Massachusetts and the southern boundary of New Hampshire. It was, in substance, that if, on the one hand, the Massachusetts charter conferred by William and Mary in 1691, covered the same territory as that of Charles the First in 1629, the line claimed by Massachusetts was the true one, but if, on the other, it did not, the line claimed by New Hampshire was the true one, and should be established as such.

This decision of the commission making no conclusive settlement of the question at issue, it was left for determination to the king. To it he gave attention and apparently presumed,—

1st. That the original line, starting, as claimed by the contestants, at the sea, three miles north of the mouth of the Merrimack river, and following the river westward at that distance therefrom, to its source and thence running due westward to his majesty's other governments was intended to be a substantially straight east and west line, throughout.

2d. That when this line reached Pawtucket Falls, where the river turned northward, ignorant of, or ignoring, the fact that the line which thus far from the sea had dipped considerably south of west, he further presumed it had reached the point whence its remaining course should be due west, not noting the fact that this point was fourteen miles south of the line claimed by New Hampshire.

At all events, whether these considerations did or did not enter the mind of his majesty, he decided on the tenth day of March, 1740-41, that "The Northern boundary of the said Province of the Massachusetts Bay are and be a similar Curve line pursuing the course of the Merrimack River at three Miles distance on the North side Thereof beginning at the Atlantic Ocean, and ending at a Point due North of a place (in a plan returned by the said Commissioners call'd Pawtucket Falls,) and a strait Line drawn from thence due West cross the said River till it Meets with his Majesty's other Governments."¹

This decision of the king took from Massachusetts and gave to New Hampshire a strip of territory fifty miles long and fourteen miles wide more than the latter had ever claimed.

¹ N. H. State Papers, Vol. XIX, p. 478.

About this time four events occurred which boded no good to the people of Concord.

FIRST. The first was the establishment of this boundary line, March 10, 1640, by which Concord was transferred against its will to the heart of New Hampshire, whose government having long and persistently sought it, now gave it a cool reception.

SECOND. The accession on the thirteenth day of December, 1741, of Benning Wentworth to the chief magistracy of New Hampshire, who upon the removal of Gov. Jonathan Belcher, the previous governor, had, through the efforts of influential friends, been appointed his successor. He was the son of the former Lieutenant Governor John Wentworth, and had been for some years a successful merchant of Portsmouth, but had recently been rendered bankrupt by an unfortunate contract with the government of Spain.

His associates in the government were largely his relatives and personal friends. His council consisted of:

George Jaffrey, his brother-in-law, president of the council, treasurer, chief justice, and justice of the admiralty.

Theodore Atkinson, also his brother-in-law, secretary and chief justice of the inferior court.

Jotham Odiorne, whose brother married the governor's granddaughter.

Richard Wibird, whose sister married the governor's brother, justice, 1742-1747.

Henry Sherburne, a cousin of the governor.

Samuel Solley, son-in-law of George Jaffrey, and by marriage the governor's nephew, councillor, 1739-1765.

Ellis Huske, whose wife's brother married the governor's sister, councillor from 1733 to 1765.

Joseph Sherburne, ———

Samuel Smith, and *John Downing*, capitalists and friends of the governor.

In addition to these, Richard Waldron mentions as "friends" of the governor, "*Wiggin*, Justice and Judge of Probate, *Clarkson*, *Gage*, *Wallingford*, *Gilman*, *Palmer*, *Roby*, *Jenness*, *Odiorne*, *Walton*, and *Stevens*, Justices."¹

¹ Farmer's Belknap, p. 336.

THIRD. The enactment of the District Act, four months after the governor had entered upon the discharge of his official duties. This denied the validity of the Penny Cook grant, of the Rumford town charter which had, four years before, been approved by the king; and that its citizens had any legal right to the territory which they had occupied for the previous twenty years. It moreover reminded them that they were a community without organized government and possessed of no power to elect civil officers, or to levy and collect public taxes. In short, it asserted that the king's establishment of the boundary line between the two provinces had remanded them to a state of nature, from which its provisions had so far delivered them as to enable them for one year to raise money towards the support of the provincial government and for no other purpose.

This extraordinary act was passed March 18, 1741-42, and was entitled "An Act for subjecting all persons and Estates within this Province, lying Eastward or Northward of the Northern and Eastern Boundary of the Province of Massachusetts Bay (not being within any Township) to pay a tax (according to the rules herein prescribed) towards the support of this Government."

By its provisions, this territory was divided into seven districts, "Rumford, so called," being the seventh. In each of these a meeting of the inhabitants ordinarily qualified to vote for town officers was ordered to be called and held, to elect, "a Clerk, three or five Selectmen or Assessors [and] a Collector or Collectors." If any such clerk, selectman, or assessor declined to accept and be sworn to the faithful performance of the duties of the office to which he had been elected, he was to be fined twenty pounds; and any person refusing to give to the clerk a sworn statement of his property liable to taxation was to be fined "not exceeding fifty pounds at the discretion of the Court."

The power of the people of these districts was restricted to the raising of money "for the support of this Government." The act, which was to be in force one year only, was subsequently renewed from time to time and broadened, so that, the

voters of Rumford were allowed the farther privilege of raising money for the support of their minister, schools, and highways. It expired by limitation on the twelfth day of July, 1749, and the inhabitants of Rumford were bereft of civil government. They held their last town-meeting on the twenty-ninth of March, 1749, and did not hold another until the twenty-first day of January, 1766, when, by virtue of an act entitled "An Act for setting off a Part of the Town of Bow, Together with some Lands adjoining thereto, with the Inhabitants thereon, and making them a Parish, Investing them with such Privileges and Immunities as Towns in this Province have & do Enjoy," their record begins anew. For almost seventeen years they had been deprived of civil government, and their public records show a hiatus between these dates which can never be filled.

FOURTH. The revival of the former claim of the proprietors of Bow to the territory embraced in the township of Rumford by virtue of their New Hampshire grant in 1727.

That the proprietors of Bow, as a proprietary, had any legal existence at this time it would be hard to show, inasmuch as they had long before forfeited their grant, whose original validity was doubtful to say the least, by a non-compliance with its conditions. They had failed, as thereby required, "To build or cause to be built Seventy five Dwelling houses on S^d Land & Settle a Family in Each House & Clear Three Acres of Land fitt for Mowing or Plowing within Three years," and to build "a Meeting House for the Public Worship of God within the Term of four years."¹

But to this consideration was attached little importance by the provincial government, most or all of whose members were, like Governor Wentworth, either original grantees of this proprietary or in strong sympathy with them. And, if one looks a little deeper, he may find underlying this controversy, the lack of sympathy then existing between the members of the Church of England and the Massachusetts Puritans, who were moving inland in increasing numbers.

Nor should it be forgotten that, as the eastern towns of Massachusetts became peopled and new townships were

¹ N. H. Provincial Papers, Vol. XXIV, p. 290.

sought for, a class of land speculators made their appearance, who, from their peculiar ways of acquiring titles, were sometimes designated as "land grabbers." Indeed, our last French and Indian War was largely caused by the formation of the Ohio Company in 1749, and the eagerness of people of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia to gain possession of lands on the west side of the Alleghany mountains.

Governor Benning Wentworth seems to have been willing to mend his broken fortunes by availing himself of opportunities afforded by his official station to grant new townships, it being his custom to appropriate to his individual use the fees attending such grants, and to reserve to himself, his friends, and the "Church of England as by law established," liberal slices of each one granted. So uniformly and persistently did he continue in this thrifty practice that he became in time the most enterprising and benevolent land grabber in New Hampshire certainly, and possibly in all New England. One cannot fail, even at this late day, to read with interest the usual addition to the list of grantees in these charters, of "His Excellency Benning Wentworth Esq., A Tract of Land to Contain five hundred Acres, which is to be accounted Two of the within mentioned Shares, One whole Share for the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Forreign Parts, One whole Share for the first Settled Minister of the Gospel in Said Town, One whole Share for a Glebe for the Ministry of the Church of England as by Law Established." In the Vermont grants this phraseology was generally so varied as to include "A School in Said Town," and to the governor's "Five Hundred Acres" was added the clinching clause, "as Marked B— W— in the Plan."

These charters of sixty new towns in New Hampshire, and of one hundred and sixteen in Vermont, set aside for the governor no less than ninety-two thousand and eight hundred acres. They also secured to his brother-in-law, Theodore Atkinson, 19,750; to Mark Hunking Wentworth, his brother, 13,750; to Theodore Atkinson, Jr., his nephew, 9,000; to Richard Wibird, brother-in-law of the governor's brother, 12,250; to Joseph Newmarch, his friend, 12,750; making in

the aggregate a grand total of one hundred and sixty thousand and three hundred acres given to the governor and five of his friends during his administration, four of the latter being near relatives. Nor were these all who were thus remembered. Not long after the boundary lines of the two adjoining provinces had been established, the proprietors of Bow, claiming under the charter previously mentioned as granted by the New Hampshire provincial government in 1727, determined to eject the inhabitants of Rumford from the landed estates which they had improved and occupied for more than a score of years. Although this charter, upon which they were to base their efforts, had been forfeited for non-compliance with its conditions, they seem to have anticipated no difficulty from that fact; nor does it appear that they encountered any. Among them were the governor, Benning Wentworth; his brother, Hunking Wentworth; his other brother, William Wentworth; the heirs-at-law of his father, the late Lieut.-Gov. John Wentworth; his brother-in-law, Theodore Atkinson; another brother-in-law, George Jaffrey; Richard Wibird, brother-in-law of one of his Excellency's brothers, and various other individuals whose names and family or political relations to the governor it is unnecessary here to mention. That they sufficed in numbers to control the council, the assembly, and the courts, there seems no reason to doubt. Of whatever sins the governor may have been guilty in his administration, he must forever stand acquitted of any indifference to the claims of his friends.

The plan of procedure adopted by the Bow proprietors was:

FIRST. To prevent a renewal of the district act, before mentioned, which conferred partial town privileges upon the inhabitants of Rumford, and expired a fourth time, as already stated, on the twelfth day of July, 1749. This purpose was accomplished, and the little community were thereby deprived of civil government and bereft of all power to levy a legal tax to provide means to defend itself against the assaults of its assailants.. But the spirit of honest municipal rule was not thereby banished from the hearts of its people; nor was the power to raise money by voluntary contribution taken away.

Nor, indeed, did this action of their assailants destroy their proprietary organization, which served to consolidate their strength, as did the New England town-meetings that of the patriots of the Revolution, twenty years later.

SECOND. To assail them by repeated suits of ejectment, instituted to obtain possession of small parcels of land of a less value than three hundred pounds, the least amount for which an appeal could be taken to the home courts in England. By thus confining their suits to the provincial courts, in which they felt confident of favorable verdicts, they expected by expensive and persistent litigation to force the Rumford proprietors to purchase a second time the landed estates they had once paid for and improved, or abandon them to their possession.

However, the execution of this scheme, so adroitly devised and confidently trusted, was delayed for several years by King George's War, which broke out in 1744, and lasted until 1748. During its continuance, the purpose of the proprietors of Bow remained in abeyance, and the provincial government, desirous of its success, coöperated to some extent with the little town in its defense of the frontier, realizing that it was an important outpost, whose maintenance was of great consequence as a protection of the capital and of the towns in its vicinity from the French and Indian enemy.¹

As soon, however, as the treaty of Aix la Chapelle (October 18, 1748) had put an end to this war, the Bow proprietors felt that the time for executing their scheme had come. To embarrass as far as possible their victims, the district act was

¹In a petition to the New Hampshire provincial government, June 27, 1744, for military aid against the French and Indian enemy, Benjamin Rolfe, in behalf of the inhabitants of Rumford, says :

"That many thousand pounds have been spent in clearing and cultivating the lands there, and many more in erecting mansion houses, out Houses, barns and fences; *besides a large additional sum in fortifications, lately made by his Excellency, the Governor's order*, That the buildings are compact, and properly formed for defence, and well situated for a barrier, being on the Merrimack river, about fifteen miles below the confluence of Winnipishoky [Winnipisiogee] and Pemissawasset [Pemigewasset] Rivers, both which are main gangways of the Canadians to the frontiers of this Province."

Moore's Annals of Concord, p. 84.

allowed to expire by limitation (July 12, 1749), and at the next term of the inferior court (December, 1749), a suit of ejectment was entered against Deacon John Merrill for the possession of a part of his modest homestead at the south end of the main street of the little town.

That a fair trial was impossible under the circumstances was then, as now, evident to all persons cognizant of the details of this controversy. In his history of Bow Mr. Harrison Colby very truly remarks, "Impartial trials were impossible in New Hampshire courts, as judges, juries, councillors, and all were in the interest of the proprietors of Bow."¹

At this time the inhabitants of Rumford, all told, numbered about four hundred, a frugal people, supporting themselves upon less than one hundred farms which they had wrested from the woods some twenty years before. These, together with the stock thereon and the undivided portion of their township, constituted the sum total, substantially, of their fortunes. For such a community to resist the power of the provincial government may have seemed to dispassionate observers of the time as foolhardy as for the valorous knight of La Mancha to wage battle with the windmill of Montiel. At the same time, it must have been plain that submission to the demands made upon them was equivalent to ruin, while persistent resistance afforded some hope, although remote, of ultimate success. But, in any event, the acquirement of a good fighting reputation was secure.

The simile fails if their situation be likened to that of a meek, sleek lamb, surrounded by a pack of ravenous wolves; for, in this case, the lamb eventually proved to be a sturdy mastiff, whose jaws were as strong as those of his assailants, and to whom fear was an unknown emotion. These simple yeomen had lived upon the Indian frontier a score of years. Some of them had been scouts and soldiers in King George's War. Some had also participated in the capture of Louisburg but a few years before.

Now that the crisis had come and the first assault upon them had been made, they coolly assembled as a proprietary in

¹ History of Merrimack County, p. 268.

their log meeting-house, the only organization left them, to deliberate and provide means of defense. In this first structure of the township, which served the triple purpose of church, fortress, and schoolhouse, on the twenty-third day of April, 1750, they

"Voted, That the Proprietors aforesaid will be at the Cost of Defending John Merrill, one of said Proprietors, in the Action brought against the said John by the Proprietors of Bow for the Recovery of Part of said John's Homestead, provided said John Merrill Shall Pursue and Defend said Action Agreeable to the orders of said Proprietors."

"Agreed and Voted That the said Proprietors will be at the Cost and Charge of Supporting the just Right and Claim of any of said Proprietors or their Grantees to any and every Part of said Township of Rumford against any Person or Persons that Shall Trespass upon any of said Lands or that Shall bring a writ of Trespass and Ejectment for the Recovery of any of said Lands. Provided the said Proprietors or Grantees that Shall be Trespasped upon or that Shall be sued Shall Pursue and Defend their Rights or Claims agreeable to the Orders of said Proprietors of Rumford."

These notes meant:

That the proprietors of Rumford would countenance no bargain that any one of them might be induced to make, in relation to their lands in Rumford with their common enemy, and, in accordance therewith, they farther

"Voted, That Capt John Chandler, Coll^o Benjamin Rolfe, Lieut. Jeremiah Stickney, M^r Ebenezer Virgin and Doct^r Ezra Carter be a Committee for said Proprietors to advise and Order Deacon John Merrill how he shall pursue and defend the Action brought against Merrill by the Proprietors of Bow; also to Advise and Order any other Person or Persons that shall be sued or shall sue, in order to Support and Defend their Rights or Claims, what Method they Shall pursue for the Purposes aforesaid."

And, to provide means for carrying into effect the purpose contemplated in this last vote, they also

"Voted, That Doct^r Ezra Carter, Lieut. Jeremiah Stickney

and Cap^t John Chandler be a Committee to sell such Pieces of the Common and undivided Land in said Township as they shall think proper and least detrimental to the Proprietors for to raise Money to pay the Proprietor's Debts and the Charges that hath arisen or Shall arise by Defending the Suit brought against Deacon John Merrill by the Proprietors of Bow."¹

At a meeting of the Rumford proprietors held a year later, April 23, 1751, they enlarged the provisions of this vote, so that it might include the defense of Ebenezer Virgin, in an action brought against him by Clement March, Esq., for the possession of a portion of his farm. If it seems strange that they should have sought means to carry on their lawsuits by the sale of land, whose title was the question at issue, it may be remarked that it was almost their only resource, and that the deeds made of it proved of far greater value than the continental money of the United States or the assignats of France of later dates.

It should be here stated that upon the expiration of the district act, before mentioned, under whose provisions for the previous seven years the citizens of Rumford had been enabled to raise money for ordinary town purposes, the provincial government, mainly or wholly in the interests of the proprietors of Bow, having before renewed it no less than three different times, now refused to reënact it.

The result of this action was the deprival of the citizens of Rumford of all municipal powers as clearly set forth in a petition of Benjamin Rolfe, for himself and in their behalf, for a town charter. This petition is addressed "*To His Excellency Benning Wentworth Esq. . . . and to the Honorable His Majesty's Council of said Province,*" and is dated January 24, 1749. In it the petitioner says, "And your memorialists have abundant reason to think that the Rev. Mr. Timothy Walker, who has been settled with us as our minister for about twenty years (unless we can speedily be put into a capacity to make a tax for his salary), will be necessitated to leave us, which will be to our great loss and inexpressible grief, for he is a gentleman of an unspotted character and universally beloved by us.

¹ Proprietors' Records, Vol. III, pp. 187, 188.

Our public school will also of course fail, and our youth be thereby deprived, in a great measure, of the means of learning, which we apprehend to be of a very bad consequence. Our school master, who is a gentleman of liberal education, and came well recommended to us, and lately moved his family from Andover to Rumford, on account of his keeping school for us, will be greatly damaged and disappointed. And your memorialists, under the present circumstances, are deprived of all other privileges which a well regulated town (as such) enjoy."¹

In short, to further the interest of the Bow proprietors, the members of the provincial government put themselves on lasting record as willing to deprive the inhabitants of Rumford of the ministrations of religion, their children of the means of education, their poor of public aid and their highways of necessary repairs.

That a respectable body of men should have been parties to such an act may, at this day, seem incredible, but the records of the court attest the fact. The hiatus in the Rumford town records, from March 29, 1749, to January 21, 1766, also bears witness to it. This sudden change of procedure, by the Bow proprietors, in their abandonment of the district act, seems to have been a veiled attempt to force their opponents to sacrifice their cause, by acknowledging themselves citizens of the town of Bow. But they entirely underestimated both the spirit and the power of endurance possessed by this isolated little community in the wilderness. The ruse did not succeed.

This action of the proprietors of Bow against John Merrill, before mentioned, as entered in 1749, at the December term of the common pleas, was continued to the one succeeding,² (March, 1749-50) at which judgment was rendered for the defendant and the plaintiffs took an appeal to the next superior court, where pleas of abatement were waived, and, by agreement of parties, the case was continued to the February, 1749-1750 term, when neither party appearing the case was dismissed.³

¹ N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. VI, p. 2. Also Moore's Annals of Concord, p. 86.

² C. C. P. Rec., Vol., 1745-1750, p. 436.

³ S. C. Rec. Vol. B, p. 129.

Why it was abandoned does not appear; but it does appear that a second action by the same plaintiffs against the same defendant was entered at the December (1750) term of the common pleas, wherein they demand of the defendant eight acres of land, a part of his homestead, and situated at the south end of Main street.

This action was continued at the defendant's request, that he might vouch in his warrantor of a part of the premises demanded,¹ to the March term of 1751, when judgment was rendered for the defendant and the plaintiff appealed to the next superior court.² Here, by repeated continuances, the case was carried to the 1752 December term, when it was tried and judgment rendered, "That the former judgment be reversed, and that the plaintiffs recover against the defendant the premises sued for and costs of courts."³

At the next term (February, 1752) John Merrill brought an action of review against the proprietors of Bow. Here the jury found for the defendants and judgment was rendered that "The former judgment be and is hereby affirmed, and that the said proprietors recover against the said John Merrill costs of court. . . . " Thereupon, "The said John Merrill moved for an appeal from this judgment to His Majesty in Council, which motion was rejected for that the premises for which the above mentioned suit is prosecuted is not in law of sufficient value for which an appeal may be granted. Then the said Merrill also moved for an appeal to the Governor and Council as a Court of appeals, which motion was also rejected, for the reason alleged against granting the appeal moved for to His Majesty in Council."⁴

Pari passu with these actions against John Merrill, various others of a like character were prosecuted by, or in the interest of, the Bow proprietors, against his neighbors, and, almost uniformly, to their discomfiture. Such results convinced the

¹C. C. P. Rec., Vol. 1745-1750, p. 603. ²C. C. P. Rec., Vol. 1745-1750, p. 630.

³S. C. Rec., Vol. B, pp. 267-268.

⁴S. C. Rec., Vol. B, pp. 171-381. At this time the provincial law allowed no appeal to the governor and council unless the matter in controversy exceeded in value one hundred pounds, nor to the king in council unless it exceeded three hundred pounds-N. H. Acts and Laws, 1696-1725, pp. 5 and 6.

Rumford proprietors that they could expect no relief in the provincial courts, and raised grave questions for their consideration. Why, asked they, if the Bow proprietors claim, as they do, nearly the whole of our township, comprising an area of nearly thirty thousand acres, do they persist in persecuting us with multifarious suits for the recovery of petty pieces of land of eight acres, more or less? Why do they not by a single action, in a court of whose favorable judgment they are sure, test at once the validity of their claim and thereby end this disquieting controversy?

To these inquiries, true answers were found in the denials of the appeals just mentioned, which exposed their purpose to prevent all recourse to the higher courts of England and to harry the occupants of Rumford lands out of their possession. Possibly and perhaps unwittingly, the provincial governor, now the most conspicuous personage among the Bow proprietors, was seeking elementary knowledge, in addition to what he already had, as to the best way of appropriating to himself land to which he had no undoubted title; knowledge which proved of exceeding value, when, as before stated, he subsequently came to make the town grants in Vermont before mentioned.

But the motives of the Bow proprietors were of less interest to the occupants of the Rumford farms than the determination of their own future course of action. At his appointment of the boundary commissions, the king had said that the determination of the boundary line should not affect the ownership of private property. That he would still say so, and quiet them in their possessions, they were confident, could the matter be fairly brought to his consideration. They also believed that the rules of procedure in the high tribunal of his Majesty in Council, would not be restricted by a provincial statute when, in reality, the issue raised involved not only the title to John Merrill's eight acres, but to that of the whole township of Rumford; and that this tribunal would allow the consideration of all questions germane to the case.

At the same time, they realized that the Court of St. James was three thousand miles away, and that the expense

incident to an appeal would heavily encumber their slender estates. Should they prosecute it, notwithstanding these objections? Eleven months before they had voted in proprietary meeting,¹ in rugged Saxon English, "*Liberty to the Proprietors' Committee to sell such of the common land as they think proper, to raise money to pay the Proprietors' debts and carry on the Law Suits.*" Should they carry their case to his Majesty in Council by *petition*, if prevented from so doing by *appeal*?

Their minister, an all-round man of broad views, said, deliberately, yes. Col. Benjamin Rolfe, their squire and only capitalist, formerly a clerk of the boundary commission and a man of affairs, slowly said yes. Capt. Ebenezer Eastman, who, some eight years before, had commanded a company at Louisburg, and helped to obtain victory where defeat only was legitimate, doubtless said yes. So, too, Capt. John Chandler, whose scouting experiences had rendered the mazes of the Penny Cook woods as familiar to him as the path from his back door to his barn, must have said yes. The matrons of the town, Spartans every one, said yes. And Massachusetts Bay, the dear old mother of them all, through the voice of her general court, said yes, and accompanied her declaration with the gift of one hundred pounds in furtherance of their purpose.

In accordance with this sentiment the proprietors of Rumford instructed, February 12, 1755, the Rev. Timothy Walker and Col. Benjamin Rolfe to draft, sign, and present in their behalf, to His Majesty in Council, a petition setting forth their grievances, and asking relief therefrom. This seems to have been prepared by Mr. Walker, as indicated by the statement of Dr. Bouton and by rough drafts of papers in his handwriting now preserved. As this presents in clear detail the existing state of affairs at Rumford it is here introduced.²

"*To the King's Most Majesty in Council:*

"The petition of Benjamin Rolfe, Esq., and Timothy Walker, Clerk, inhabitants of a town called Rumford, in the Province of New Hampshire, in New England, for themselves, and in

¹ Prop. Rec., Vol. III, p. 203.

² Bouton's Hist. Concord, pp. 214, 216; Walker Papers, Vol. I, p. 27.

behalf and at the request of the other inhabitants of said town most humbly sheweth —

“That the lands contained in said town were granted by the government of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in the year 1725, and were supposed, according to the construction of the Massachusetts Charter and the determination of His Majesty King Charles the Second, in 1667, to lay wholly within the said Province, though bounded on New Hampshire, seeing no part of said lands extended more than three Miles beyond the river Merrimack towards New Hampshire. Your petitioners and their predecessors very soon engaged in bringing forward the settlement of the above granted lands, though in the midst of the Indian country, and near thirty miles beyond any English plantation, and have defended themselves more at their own cost than at the charge of the public, through the late war with y^e French and Indians; and from a perfect wilderness, where not one acre of land had ever been improved, they have a considerable town consisting of more than eighty houses, and as many good farms; and your humble petitioner, Timothy Walker, was regularly ordained the minister of the church and parish in said town, in the year 1730, and has continued there ever since.

“Your petitioners beg leave further to represent to your Majesty, that at the time of the aforesaid grant they had no apprehension that their bounds would ever be controverted by the Province of New Hampshire. Soon after the aforesaid determination, your petitioners made their humble application to your Majesty in Council, that they might be restored to your Province of the Massachusetts Bay which your Majesty was pleased to disallow; but your humble petitioners have dutifully submitted to the government of your Majesty's Province of New Hampshire ever since they have been under it, and with so much the greater cheerfulness, because they were well informed your Majesty had been graciously pleased to declare that however the jurisdiction of the two governments might be altered, yet that private property should not be affected thereby.

“But notwithstanding your Majesty's most gracious declara-

tion, your poor petitioners have for several years past been grievously harassed by divers persons under color of a grant made by the government and council of New Hampshire in the year 1727, to sundry persons and their successors, now called the Proprietors of Bow.

“Your petitioners further humbly represent that the said grant of Bow was not only posterior to that of Rumford, but is likewise extremely vague and uncertain as to bounds, and its being very doubtful whether it was the intent of the Governor and Council of New Hampshire that it should infringe upon the Massachusetts grant of Rumford; and notwithstanding the grant of Bow has now been made so many years, there are but three or four families settled upon it, and those since the end of the late French war; the proprietors choosing rather to distress your petitioners by forcing them out of the valuable improvements they and their predecessors have made at the expense of their blood and treasure, than to be at the charge of making any themselves. But your petitioners’ greatest misfortune is, that they cannot have a fair, impartial trial, for that the Governor and most of y^e Council are proprietors of Bow, and by them not only y^e judges are appointed, but also y^e officers that empannel y^e jury, and the people also are generally disaffected to your petitioners on account of their deriving their titles from the Massachusetts; and all the actions that have hitherto been brought, are of small value, and, as y^{our} petitioners apprehend, designed so, that by a law of the Province, there can be no appeal from the judgments of the courts to your Majesty in Council; and if it were otherwise the charges that would attend such appeals would be greater than the value of the land, or than the party defending his title would be able to pay; and without your Majesty’s gracious interposition your petitioners must be compelled to give up their estates, contrary to your Majesty’s interposition in their behalf.

“Your petitioners further beg leave to represent, that, while they were under the government of Massachusetts Bay, they enjoyed town privileges by an act specially made for that purpose in the year 1733, and expressly approved by your Majesty

in the year 1737; but the utmost that they could obtain since being under New Hampshire has been the erecting them into a district for a short term only; which term having expired near four years ago, they have been without any town privileges ever since, notwithstanding their repeated applications to the Governor and Council; and they are not able to raise any money for the support of their minister, and, the necessary charges of their school and poor, and other purposes; nor have they had any town officers for the upholding government and order, as in all other towns in both the Provinces of New Hampshire and the Massachusetts Bay usually have. Under these our distresses we make our most humble application to your Majesty, the common father of your subjects, however remote, entreating your gracious interposition in our behalf; and that your Majesty would be pleased to appoint disinterested judicious persons to hear and determine our cause, that so we may have a fair and impartial trial, and that the expense which must otherwise attend the multiplied lawsuits, as they are now managed, may be prevented or that your Majesty would be pleased to grant us such other relief as to your great wisdom and goodness shall seem meet; and your most humble petitioners, as in duty bound shall ever pray."

With this and a statement of the case prepared by Judge Pickering, detailing with great lucidity and legal acumen the state of their cause,¹ Mr. Walker left for London in the autumn of 1753. He also took with him letters of introduction from the New Hampshire convention of ministers, of which he was a member, from the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Mayhew of Boston to his friend, Dr. George Benson of London, and quite likely from some others.² Soon after his arrival he received valuable attentions from Mr. Kilby, an eminent Boston merchant, then in London.

He departed under trying circumstances. Another French and Indian war was just breaking out. He left behind him his pulpit, his people, and his family. The ship in which he sailed was not a modern ocean greyhound, and the voyage

¹ Moore's Annals of Concord, p. 98.

² N. H. Hist. Soc. Col., Vol. IX, p. 23; Bradford's Life of Mayhew, p. 130.

before him was not one of six days but of six weeks. He was, however, in the prime of life, sustained by a noble purpose, and willing, in the language of St. Paul, "to endure hardness" in the cause of a people to the promotion of whose welfare he had consecrated his life.

His going was not unobserved. On the first day of February, 1754, the council and assembly of New Hampshire, in the journal of their proceedings say: "Whereas it is Represented to this House That the Rev^d M^r Timothy Walker is gone to Great Britain as an agent in behalf of a number of Persons of Rumford and Suncook,¹ so called, who claim lands under the Government of Massachusetts Bay against others who claim lands under the Gov^r and Council of New Hamp^r. And whereas the said Timothy Walker may have Instructions from the Government of the Massachusetts Bay to manage the said affair, so as may affect this Province as such, therefore Voted That the Committee already appointed to treat with John Tomlinson Esq. agent for this Province at the Court of Great Britain, relating to the affairs of Fort Dummer, be and hereby are desired to write to the said agent to be upon his watch as to any thing of that sort that may happen and to write to the said Committee from time to time, if any thing shall arise, whereby this Government may be affected and what may be necessary to be done by this Government in order to defend themselves in the best manner they can."²

Mr. Walker was received in London with much kindness, and retained, as his counsel, Sir William Murray, already prominent in legal circles as a lawyer of great learning and eloquence, who was promoted a year or two later to the high position of chief justice of the King's Bench, over whose proceedings he presided with marked ability for thirty years. He is best known to us as Lord Mansfield. It has been said of him that "when he was wrong, the faults of his reasoning were not easily detected; and when he was right he was irresistible."

With him, Mr. Walker formed a warm acquaintance which

¹ The Bow proprietors also claimed more or less of the territory of Suncook, now Pembroke.

² N. H. Prov. Papers, Vol. I, p. 253.

continued for years. The two seem to have had many like characteristics: they were of the same age; Sir William was a Scotchman, and one of the first Anglo-American ancestors of Mr. Walker was of the same nationality; both were friends of religious toleration, both friends of fair dealing.

Through Sir William's aid, the shallow scheme of the Bow proprietors for preventing an appeal to his Majesty in Council proved a failure, and a hearing before the lords of the committee was secured. The time fixed for this (October, 1754) was necessarily sufficiently remote to allow due notices to be served upon all opposing parties in America. Not caring to spend this interim in London, Mr. Walker returned to Rumford, bringing hope to his neighbors, inasmuch as the king had been pleased to grant the appeal which the provincial court had denied.

But his return to New Hampshire was for a short time only. He was, ere long, back in London, where he passed the winter of 1754-55, awaiting and making preparations for the trial of the cause entrusted to his care. This he expected would be reached some time during that period, but it did not take place until the following May or June. A letter¹ addressed to his brother-in-law, Rev. Joseph Burbeen of Woburn, Mass., dated March 27, 1755, clearly evinces his anxiety at this time for the safety of his friends at home, exposed, as they were, upon the frontier to the barbarous hostilities of the French and Indian war then in progress, and liable, at any moment, to be encountered,—a frontier which they were expected to defend, not merely in their own interests, but also for the protection of their Bow assailants, actively seeking to drive them from their hard-earned homes.

But doubly assailed as were the proprietors of Rumford, trusting to their muskets and the walls of their garrisons on one side, and to the justice of their cause and the protection of

¹ In this he remarks: "The fate of Europe as to peace and war remains doubtful. Vigorous preparations have been and still are making, but many are confident that matters will subside. But I expect at least that the poor frontiers in New England will have a troublesome summer [and] am in pain for my family as well as other friends exposed." Walker Papers, Vol. I, p. 4.

the King in Council on the other, they tightened their belts and patiently awaited final results.

On the twenty-fourth day of June, 1755, it was ordered by the King in Council: "That a judgment of the Superior Court aforesaid, recovered by the Proprietors of Bow against the said John, on the first tuesday of Aug^t 1753, should be reversed, and that the appell^t be restored to what he may have lost by means of the said judgment, whereof the Governor and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Province of New Hampshire, for the time being, and all others whom it may concern, are to take notice and govern themselves accordingly."¹

Bearing this judgment of the king based upon the wrong laying-out of Bow, Mr. Walker returned to his people. That they welcomed his presence and tidings we may safely believe. They felt much quieted as to their titles to their homes. The litigation which had been so mercilessly waged against them was, for a time, substantially suspended; a fact due, possibly, to the king's decision, but more likely to the distractions of the French and Indian War, which forced minor matters into abeyance. Indeed, almost simultaneously with this decision of the king came the defeat, July 9, 1755, of the pig-headed but brave General Braddock and his forces, on their expedition to Fort du Quesne, in the first important battle of that seven years' struggle. The operations of the two succeeding years resulted in little more than a demonstration of the incapacity of the British commanders, particularly of the inefficient Loudoun, whose name is as much a synonym of incompetency as is Braddock's of defeat.

While this decision of the king may have disappointed the Bow proprietors, it did not wholly dishearten them. When the advent of General Wolfe and General Amherst had caused the surrender of Quebec (1759), and, in a little less than a year after, the capitulation of Montreal, and peace had come in sight, their cupidity revived. At the December (1759) term of the common pleas,¹ they entered a new action against Benjamin Rolfe, Daniel Carter, Timothy Simonds, John Evans,

¹ No mention of this judgment of the King in Council appears in the Provincial Court Records until May 19, 1761. S. C. Rec., Vol. D, pp. 172, 173.

John Chandler, Abraham Colby, and Abraham Kimball, for the recovery of one thousand acres of land, in the possession of the defendants. After one or more continuances, judgment was rendered for the plaintiffs, and the defendants appealed to the next superior court. There the case was tried and the judgment of the inferior court was affirmed. Thereupon, the defendants moved for an appeal to his Majesty in Council, which was allowed.

The prosecution of this appeal was also delegated to Mr. Walker, who, having made such preparations as were deemed necessary, sailed a third time for London. Since his last visit, his former counsel, Sir William Murray, had been made chief justice of the King's Bench, with the title of Baron Mansfield, and he secured new counsel, in the person of Mr. William DeGrey, subsequently (1771) made chief justice of the Common Pleas.

The case came to trial on the seventeenth of December, 1762. In a letter to Col. Benjamin Rolfe, written six days afterwards, in giving an account of the trial Mr. Walker says :

“ Last friday, y^e 17th, inst. we had one Tryal : have obtained judgement in our favor, viz : that the judgment against us shall be reversed : and the particulars whereof I now send you, so far as my memory serves. Mr. DeGrey, my Council, had proceeded but little way in opening the cause, when L^d Mansfield interrupted him by saying we had in our printed cases prepared a large field for argumentation ; that it would take two days to goe thro' y^e whole—but he was a mind to narrow y^e case ; that there were but two points worth insisting on, viz : y^e false laying out of Bow, which he called a non suit, and the order of the king respecting private property. He began with the former, on which he said our former case turned, when (by the way) he observed, it was not as the Repp^{ts} alledged in their printed case, that we were drove from every other point, &c. for, in truth, there was no other point considered ; that the L^{ds} not being clear as to the other point urged—merely out of tenderness to possession and cultivation, which, they said, in America was almost everything—they laid hold of that and

¹ C. C. P. Rec., Vol. for 1759, p. 119.

determined as they did, but came to no determination upon the other, viz: the order of the King in Council, &c. which he called the great point. The first he determined soundly against us. I suspected from the manner of his treating it that he determined it should have no weight in the present decision, and therefore would hardly allow it the force it deserved. I was, therefore not much concerned at my Councils' submitting the point. L^d Mansfield then said he was now come to the main point, viz: the order respecting private property which, he said, must mean in cases like ours, when both sides claimed and made grants, Whoever settled under a grant from either side, if he happened to be on the wrong side of the line when it came to be settled—as he was precluded from defending himself by his grant—his possession should be his title; and in this case, he said that possession with a grant from Mass^{ts} Bay was as good as possession with a grant from New Hampshire—

“Mr York, y^e Repp^{ts} Council, allowed y^t but alledged ours was not a *bona fide* possession; that we had been warned, &c. L^d Mansfield said he had read those depositions as they were printed, when it appeared that Bow had chose Committees to waive people from trespassing, &c. (which he seemed to speak with a sneer) but he said the sum was this: Mass^{ts} people were strong—and went on and settled and Bow claimed. As to what is possession, L^d Mansfield distinguished between possession and property. With respect to the Royal order, he said the words were not private possession, but private property. His design most certainly was to carry y^e idea of property further than actual improvement. The sum of what he said was to this effect, viz: What a man claimed under a certain title, part whereof, he actually improved, was his property.”¹

The report of the lords of the committee was submitted to his Majesty, who, on the twenty-ninth day of December, 1762, after considering the same,—

“Ordered that the said judgement of this inferior Court of Common Pleas of the Province of New Hampshire, of the 2d. of September, 1760, and also the judgment of the Superior

¹ Walker Papers, Vol. I, p. 71.

Court of Judicature of the 2d Tuesday in November, affirming the same, be both of them reversed and that the appellants be restored to what they may have lost by means of the said judgements; whereof the Governor or Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's Province of New Hampshire, for the time being, and all others whom it may concern, are to take notice and govern themselves accordingly."¹

On the 19th day of the following May, Mr. Walker again reached his home on the Merrimack.² The claims of the proprietors of Bow having been exhaustively examined by this high tribunal and found untenable, it was apparent that further litigation would contribute nothing to their interest. While they might institute other actions in the subservient courts of the province and obtain favorable judgments, these, upon appeal to the home tribunals, were sure to be found as worthless as they were mercenary.³

¹ Bouton's Hist. Concord, p. 225.

² Diary of Hon. T. Walker for 1763.

³ The proprietors of Rumford were greatly enheartened by this decision of the king in council and regarded it as the substantial ending of the controversy which had annoyed them for nearly forty years. They began to feel that the farms and the homes which, by hard labor, they had carved from the wilderness were their own, and that they might now safely anticipate the enjoyment of any improvements which they should make upon them.

Mr. Walker returned from his last visit to London on the 19th day of May, 1763, as stated in the text. The very next spring we find evidence of such belief on his part, in the following entries in his diary:

"Sat. [April] 21. Sat out about 40 apple trees in ye Island orchard and ye Joel orchard."

"Mon. 23. Bot 40 young apple trees of Philip Eastman. Brot ym home and sat ym out."

"Tues. 24. Sat out about 60 young apple trees in ye house lot."

"Wed. [May] 2. Sat out 8 elm trees about my house."

Five of these elms which have extended their arms over six generations of his family are still enjoying a beneficent and peaceful old age. All of his apple trees except one, still cherished for its associations and former usefulness, have completed the full measure of their work and passed away.

Col. Benjamin Rolfe, the largest land proprietor of the township, felt the same impulse to improve his estate. To that time he had lived in a small, one storied house, but Mr. Walker further says in the diary above mentioned:

"Mon. [April] 16. Visited Col Rolfe. Pitched ye place for his house."

"Mon. [May] 14. Teams went to Rattle Snake Hill for rocks for Col. Rolfe."

"Thur. 31. Colo Rolfe raised his house."

This house is still standing (18 9) and forms a part of the structure occupied by the officers and beneficiaries of the Rolfe and Rumford Asylum.

This second decision of the King in Council discouraged the proprietors of Bow as well as the provincial government, which, for their sake, had deprived the people of Rumford of town privileges for the last dozen years. The latter, doubtless, began to realize that, by its course of action, it was acquiring a fame on both sides of the ocean as undesirable as its motives were mean.

Accordingly, some year and a half later¹ (April 12, 1764), when Mr. Walker, in behalf of himself and his people, asked that they might be incorporated as a town and endowed with the ordinary immunities and privileges attaching thereto, his petition was answered by the passage of an "*Act for the setting off a part of the Town of Bow together with some Lands adjoining thereto, with the Inhabitants thereon, and making them a Parish [by the name of Concord], Investing them with such privileges and Immunities as Towns in this Province have and do Enjoy.*"²

While this action seems to have indicated a virtual withdrawal from the long controversy by the proprietors of Bow, they still clamored that something should be allowed them for a relinquishment of their alleged rights. At the same time the adjoining town of Canterbury claimed that by this act a gore of their territory had been included within the northeastern limits of Concord, and the Masonian proprietors asserted that its northwestern lines embraced a small tract of land belong-

While no other records of such action are known to have been preserved, other proprietors of the township were doubtless impelled by similar impulses to similar improvements of their estates.

¹ Dairies of Rev. T. Walker, p. 33.

² This act conferred upon the citizens of Concord all the privileges and immunities of a town "excepting that when any of the inhabitants of the aforesaid parish shall have occasion to lay out any road through any of the lands that are already laid out and divided by the said town of Bow, application shall be for the same to the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the place of said province as in other cases."

Concord was not made a *town*, endowed with all the privileges ordinarily given to towns, until Jan. 2, 1784, when the legislature passed "An Act to annex part of Canterbury and Loudon to the Parish of Concord." This provided that "the Inhabitants of the said Gore of land, together with the inhabitants of said parish of Concord are invested with all the powers and enfranchised with all the rights, privileges and immunities which any town in this state holds and enjoys to hold to said inhabitants and their successors forever."—N. H. Acts, Vol. IV, p. 502.

ing to them. The exact demands of each are not at hand, but they amounted in the aggregate to about six hundred pounds.

Of the equity of the demands made by Canterbury, and by the proprietors of Mason's patent, nothing is here asserted. The people of Rumford, now incorporated as "*a Parish of Bow by the name of Concord*," having had nearly twelve years of French and Indian warfare, and a continuous legal controversy, from the beginning of their settlement, naturally desiring peace, concluded that if the inconsiderable sum of six hundred pounds would save the honor of the Bow proprietors and satisfy the just or unjust claims of the two other claimants, they had best pay it.

They accordingly assembled in proprietary meeting on the twenty-ninth day of July, 1771, and then,—

"Voted That M^r Andrew M^cMillan Esq. Mr. Abiel Chandler and Capt Thomas Stickney be a Committee to make a final settlement with the Proprietors of Bow, with the Proprietors of Mason's Patent, and with the Proprietors of Canterbury."

"Voted that their be Six Pounds laid on Each original Right, to Defray the Charges in settling with the Proprietors of Bow, with the Proprietors of Mason's Patent, and with the Proprietors of Canterbury."

In accordance with these votes, adjustments of the claims of these parties were in time effected. That of the Masonian proprietors had been previously settled, December 30, 1770;¹ that of the Proprietors of Canterbury was not adjusted until 1781; while a final settlement with the proprietors of Bow was delayed until about 1787, ending a controversy with that party of sixty years.²

It must go without saying that this Bow controversy was a memorable one. To a candid person reading along and between the lines of its history, the covetous assault of the proprietors of Bow, and the action in their behalf of the New Hampshire government, must appear in strong contrast with the heroic maintenance of their rights by the little community which they sought to rob. And when at length the issue was

¹ N. H. State Papers, Vol. XXVII, pp. 152-157.

² Prop. Records, Vol. III, p. 55.

brought a second time before the impartial tribunal of his Majesty in Council, the wily John Tomlinson, New Hampshire's agent in London, found his match in the plain Yankee minister who had a fifth time crossed the ocean to defend from seizure as best he might the homes of his little flock in the wilderness.

The career of Governor Benning Wentworth, the head of the New Hampshire government, and also of the proprietors of Bow, by no means a brilliant one, gained no additional lustre from his participation in this controversy.

Soon after its termination of this controversy, in recognition of the brave effort which they had made in establishing the legality of the Massachusetts grant of their township, that province gave to the proprietors of Rumford a second township, on the Androscoggin river, in Maine.¹ To this many of their descendants ere long emigrated, and there planted the family names of the older community, and, by attaching to it that of their former home, perpetuated the name of Rumford, a name, which, through the influence of the Bow proprietors, had been wrested from the cherished abode of their fathers.

Even now, that a century and more has passed, to one conversant with its history who visits this enterprising town on the Androscoggin, the baritone of its great wheels, mingling harmoniously with the deeper bass of its waterfalls, seems to be singing hoarse pæans in praise of the plucky efforts, so imperfectly detailed, which gave to the people of this younger Rumford so goodly a heritage.

One would hardly look to the American colonies for examples of governmental excellence, but were he seeking brilliant instances of nepotism and sharp practice he would do well to study that part of the provincial government of New Hampshire concurrent with our Bow controversy, upon which its chief, the most illustrious of the Bow proprietors, entered poor and retired from rich.²

¹ Lapham's Hist. Rumford, Me., pp. 4-14.

² Mr. Belknap says that "Complaints had been made in England against some of the American governors, and other public officers, that exorbitant fees had been taken for the passing of patents of land; and a proclamation had been issued by the crown and published in the colonies, *threatening* such persons with a removal from

He would be interested in the adroitness, worthy of a Tallyrand, with which the bargain made by the assembly with John Tufton Mason, for the purchase by the province of the Masonian patent, was suddenly transferred to the twelve magnates of commanding influence with the provincial government.

Nor could he fail to admire the large-heartedness with which New Hampshire's royal governor, besides official fees of unascertained amount, reserved to himself a five-hundred-acre lot, carefully designated on each plan by his initials "B. W.," in each of the some two hundred grants of townships in New Hampshire and Vermont which he issued, amounting in the aggregate to nearly one hundred thousand acres (92,800).

And he could not help admiring his Excellency's piety, evinced by his reserving in nearly all of his New Hampshire and Vermont town charters, "One whole share for the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, One Share for a Glebe for the Church of England as by Law Established, One Share for the First Settled Minister of the Gospel, & One Share for the benefit of a School in said Town."

It may be allowable, perhaps, in closing this imperfect account of a memorable controversy, of very deep interest at the time to residents of the two provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire; and of vital consequence to the parties whose homes and estates were staked in the contest;

office. Governor Wentworth was involved in this charge. . . . Certain it is, that such an impression was made on the minds of the ministry that a resolution was taken to remove him; but the difficulties attending the stamp act caused a delay in the appointment of a successor. When the ferment had subsided, the attention of the ministry was turned to this object. John Wentworth, son of Mark Hunking Wentworth, and nephew of the governor, was then in England. He had appeared at court, as joint agent with Mrs. Trecothick in presenting the petition of the province against the stamp act. He had become acquainted with several families of high rank and of his own name in Yorkshire, and in particular with the Marquis of Rockingham then at the head of the ministry. By his indulgence, Mr. Wentworth prevailed to soften the rigor of government against his uncle. Instead of being censured and removed from office, he was allowed opportunity to *resign*.

In addition to what has been said of the superseded governor, it may be observed that his natural abilities were neither brilliant nor contemptible. As a private gentleman he was obliging and as a merchant honorable. He was generous and hospitable to his friends; but his passions were strong and his resentments lasting. [Belknap's History of New Hampshire, Farmer's Ed., pp. 335, 336.]

a contest which lasted in one form and another from 1727 to 1787, it may be allowable, just here and now, to note three important facts suggested by its recital :

1st. That the success of many a New England town was largely due to the influence and efforts exerted in its behalf by its town minister, who was generally a well-educated man and whose pastorate was usually a long one, not unfrequently lifelong.

2d. That the early towns of New England were also greatly indebted for their success as prosperous municipalities to their town-meetings. In these, their citizens met on an equality, discussed all measures presented for their consideration, and went forth therefrom united and with definite purposes. But for the town ministers, most of whom were friends of liberty, and for the town-meetings, which were schools of civil government, the American Revolution would probably have been a failure.

3d. That there is a grim irony in the fact that our most ancient municipality down by the sea, the cherished home of most of these Bow proprietors and governmental officials, for more than a century the provincial capital of New Hampshire, should have lost its political prestige very soon after these before mentioned exactions. Was it an avenging Nemesis which, ere long, transferred its proud distinction as the seat of local government to the little town on the Merrimack, whose fertile acres these dignitaries had, as vainly as unjustly, sought to appropriate? If so, paganism with all its crudities possessed a sense of justice worthy of profound respect and universal praise.

At the conclusion of the address a vote of thanks was tendered the speaker, and a copy of the address requested for publication.

Daniel C. Remich, Esq., of Littleton, Frank C. Churchill of Lebanon, Dr. Claudius B. Webster of Concord, Charles Sigourney Knox, and Rev. Howard F. Hill of Concord, were elected resident members of the Society.

Voted, 3:30 p. m., to adjourn to the call of the President.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,
Secretary.

CONCORD, N. H., April 13, 1898.

The fifth adjourned seventy-fifth annual meeting of the Society was held in the rooms of the Society in Concord, Wednesday, April 13, 1898, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the President in the chair.

An address was delivered by William F. Whitcher, A. M., of Malden, Mass., on "The Beginnings of Methodist Theological Institute in New Hampshire," at the close of which a vote of thanks was tendered the speaker and a copy of the address requested for preservation or publication.¹

The Hon. Joseph B. Walker, Hon. Moses Humphrey, and President Stevens spoke briefly upon the subject so ably treated by the orator of the day.

Mrs. Martha C. B. Clarke of Manchester was elected an active member of the Society.

On motion of Rev. N. F. Carter voted to call the annual meeting on the day prescribed by the Constitution, for the transaction of the annual business, and another meeting a week later for the annual address in consequence of the speaker for the occasion being unable to be present on the first mentioned date.

The same gentleman observed that the next annual meeting of the Society would be notable as the seventy-fifth anniversary of the organization of the Society in 1823, and suggested the desirability of special exercises for that day in commemoration of the event, and on motion of Hon. J. B. Walker the matter was referred to a special committee of three, namely, J. C. A. Hill, Esq., Hon. John Kimball, and Gen. Howard L. Porter.

Voted, 3 : 30 p. m., to adjourn to the call of the President.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,
Secretary.

¹ This address is published in Vol. XXVI of the *Granite Monthly*, p. 211.

CONCORD, N. H., May 11, 1898.

The sixth adjourned seventy-fifth annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held in the Society's rooms at Concord, May 11, 1898, at two o'clock in the afternoon, President Stevens in the chair.

Rev. Charles L. Pinkham of Concord was elected a resident member of the Society.

The standing committee through its chairman, J. C. A. Hill, asked to be relieved from any further consideration of the proposition for special exercises to be observed at the next annual meeting, and the Society voted to excuse them, and on motion of Rev. N. F. Carter the matter was referred to a special committee of three, viz., Hon. Moses Humphrey, Judge Sylvester Dana, and William Yeaton, Esq.

Rev. Dr. S. H. McCollester of Marlborough was then introduced to the Society by the chair, and delivered an able address on "The Life and Character of Hosea Ballou, as a Worthy and Eminent Son of New Hampshire,"¹ upon the conclusion of which a vote of thanks, on motion of Hon. J. B. Walker, was tendered the speaker for his excellent address, and a copy of the latter requested for preservation, after which the meeting was adjourned to the call of the president.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,
Secretary.

¹ This address was printed in Vol. XXVII of the *Granite Monthly*, page 360.

NECROLOGY.

HENRY ABBOTT.

Hon. Henry Abbott was born in Keene, October 5, 1832, son of Daniel and Polly (Brown) Abbott, and died at Winchester, February 12, 1898. He was educated in the district schools of his native town and in the academies at Marlow, Westminster, and Saxton's River. At eighteen years of age he was, for a short time, engaged in traveling in Virginia for a publishing house. He then taught school for a time at Warsaw, Pa., and subsequently became clerk for a lumber company at Ridgeway, Pa. After being there for two years, he returned to Keene, and became clerk in the store of Charles Bridgeman, later becoming a member of the firm of Nims, Gates & Abbott, dealers in general merchandise. At the end of a year Mr. Abbott sold his interest in the firm, and, going to Washington, D. C., entered the service of the Sanitary Commission, remaining there during the winter. In the spring he joined the Ninth Army Corps, under General Grant, in the "Burnside troops," and was placed in charge of the Sanitary corps as distributing war agent of the United States Sanitary Commission. At the end of nine months, health failing, he returned home, expecting to go back as soon as he should be able to assume his duties again, but during his convalescence he accepted the position of cashier in the Winchester National bank, which he ever after retained. He was trustee as well as cashier, and a financier whose judgment was to be respected. His services to the bank won for him warm encomiums for ability, and the confidence of the public in his entire trustworthiness was evidenced by the many responsible positions he was called upon to fill. Ever after he first went to Winchester, Mr. Abbott took as keen an interest in the welfare of the town as if he had been

born there. He was town treasurer for over thirty years and moderator for eleven years, successively, a longer period of service in that position than that of any other citizen of the town. A zealous Republican, he served as chairman of the Executive Committee, and was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1890. He attended other conventions, both county and state, without number. He was chairman of the High School Board for the first three years after its organization, and in 1869 and in 1870 he represented Winchester in the legislature. In 1873 and in 1874 he was in the state senate. He was an indefatigable worker, and by his able efforts helped to secure the passage of several important bills. Mr. Abbott was a representative of a number of well-known insurance companies.

In extemporaneous speech-making he was original and ready, and as a stump speaker took part in every presidential campaign from Lincoln's first to McKinley's. He also delivered a number of memorial addresses, some of which have been printed. Among them may be mentioned a very able address delivered at the dedication of a monument in the Surry burying-ground to Captain Thomas Harvey, a Revolutionary patriot and an ancestor of Mr. Abbott, and the one made upon the occasion of the presentation of a library to the town of Uxbridge, Mass., erected in memory of the father and mother of President Thayer. When memorial services in honor of Lincoln, and also of Grant, were held in Winchester, Mr. Abbott presided.

He was one of the organizers of the New Hampshire Club, which meets in Boston. He was for a time the only member from Cheshire county. The town library, built at a cost of \$15,000, was erected largely through his efforts and those of a few other interested persons. He was an active Mason, a member of Philesian lodge, and its master many years; also a member of the chapter and commandery at Keene. He was elected a member of this Society, January 7, 1885.

Mr. Abbott married Harriet M. Crane, who died in August, 1888. He is survived by his two daughters.



A. P. CARPENTER.

ALONZO PHILETUS CARPENTER, LL. D.

Hon. A. P. Carpenter, chief justice of New Hampshire, who died at Concord, May 21, 1898, was deservedly classed among the most learned and accomplished jurists of the Granite state in the past quarter of a century. He was the son of Isaiah and Caroline (Bugbee) Carpenter, born at Waterford, Vt., January 28, 1829. He fitted for college at St. Johnsbury, Vt., graduated at Williams college in 1849, and received the degree of LL. D. from Dartmouth in 1896, and from Williams. He studied law at Bath and was admitted to the bar at Haverhill, April 20, 1853. He was engaged in practice at Bath until September 1, 1881, the date of his appointment to the Supreme Court, and subsequently removed to Concord. Meantime he was a member of the firm of Goodall & Carpenter from June 1, 1853, to June 1, 1856. In the later years of his practice his son, General Philip Carpenter, now of New York, was associated with him. He was solicitor of Grafton county from 1863 to 1873. He married Julia R. Goodall, November 2, 1853. Their children, Lilian, wife of Gen. Frank S. Streeter, Philip, Arthur H., an attorney, now deceased, Edith (Mrs. Thomas), the well-known author, also now deceased, and Helen, were all born at Bath.

Judge Carpenter was of the rugged Connecticut stock. The strong character of his ancestry was manifested in the significant action of his father in sending this son to college at Williamstown under Mark Hopkins, rather than to Dartmouth under Nathan Lord, because the doctrines of the latter were antagonistic to the settled convictions of the sturdy Vermonter.

Bath, where Judge Carpenter located in the practice of his profession, was a small New England village, but it was a community of marked intellectuality. Judge Carpenter here developed those qualities which eventually placed him easily in the first rank of his profession. He was always a lawyer, and he permitted nothing to interfere materially with his professional work. He was keen, alert, studious, indefatigable, and courageous. He was intensely practical in the manage-

ment of cases. He always regarded business policy in the interests of his clients, but never neglected anything that was essential to an honest and thorough presentation and trial in court. He excelled in the preparation and presentation of facts, in the management of witnesses before the jury, and in dealing with issues of law. He seldom assumed the rôle of a jury advocate, but in arguments before a law court he was the peer of any lawyer in New England.

His political affiliations and convictions were with the Whigs in his early life, and upon the organization of the Republican party he espoused its principles and generally supported its candidates. He never allowed himself to be regarded as a thick-and-thin endorser of party nominations, good, bad, and indifferent. He supported Mr. Greeley in 1872, but otherwise probably acted with the Republican party on all important occasions in state and national issues, yet not without exercising considerable freedom in his comments on party policy, and in voting for individual candidates.

His appointment to the bench by Governor Bell in 1881 was one of those results which are in accordance with the inevitable logic of events. His associates in the court at once found that a legal mind of the highest class had come among them. His accomplishments were conspicuous, both as regards the fundamental principles of the law and in the collateral learning which has adorned his legal productions. He was familiar with the best literature of the ancient and modern classics in various languages. In other directions where modern scholarship attracts the learned he was an exact and diligent student. He was of firm and settled convictions,—one to be reckoned with as a force in judicial administration and judicial progress. His acumen, his learning, his independence, and his character are conspicuous in the luminous series of affirmative and dissenting opinions which he contributed to the literature of the case law in the seventeen years in which he served the state in its highest judicial court.

Judge Carpenter's name was prominently mentioned in connection with the vacancy on the bench of the United States circuit court, occasioned by the resignation of Judge John

Lowell in the spring of 1884. His appointment was then urged with great vigor and enthusiasm by the entire bar of New Hampshire, an influential part of the bar of Suffolk county, Mass., and senators and representatives in congress from his own and other states.

He was appointed chief justice, April 1, 1896, to succeed Chief Justice Doe. In comparison with the intense radicalism of Judge Doe, his most distinguished associate, Judge Carpenter will be regarded as a conservative; but in his broad and progressive views and conduct, in the adaptation of legal adjudication to the requirements of a progressive age, Judge Carpenter's work will command the approval of the best intelligence of the jurists of his own time and of the future. At no period within a century has the court encountered more far-reaching issues, adjudicated more ably contested causes, or dealt with contestants more potent in counsel, management, or resources than those which have made the past twenty years memorable in our judicial annals. This court has met every occasion with superior learning and discretion, and with a steady hand and wise judgment has marked the line of law for great corporations and great political parties with that courageous impartiality to which all must in right and reason be subject before the law. That the best years of Judge Carpenter's life contributed in such large measure to make this period an epoch in the judicial history of the state will be his most enduring monument. He became a member of this Society, June 14, 1893.

A. S. B.

HERBERT WALTER EASTMAN.

Herbert W. Eastman was born in Lowell, Mass., Nov. 3, 1857, where he attended the public schools until 1870, when he was employed in a large Boston wholesale and retail store. In 1873 he went to Manchester and attended the Lincoln street grammar school, graduating in 1874. He was then employed in the *Mirror* office. In 1875 he commenced work on the *Union*, serving in all departments from the lower round of the ladder to the top. In January, 1881, he resigned the city

editorship because of ill health. He then engaged in the job printing business with Frank H. Challis. In 1884 he became city editor of the *Budget*, while Kendall & Ladd were the publishers. In 1887, in company with F. H. Challis, he purchased the *Budget*, and the two started the *Daily Press* in 1888. In 1889 he sold out to his partner. In 1891 he was chosen assistant secretary of the board of trade. In May, 1891, he was unanimously elected secretary of the board, and re-elected every year after till his death. He was also secretary of the New Hampshire Board of Trade, and publisher of the *Queen City Journal*, a weekly board of trade paper. His death occurred Jan. 10, 1898.

The deceased was a past grand of Wildey lodge, a member of Mt. Washington lodge, I. O. O. F., Arbutus lodge, D. of R., Hillsborough council, O. of U. F., Amoskeag grange, P. of H., ex-president Manchester Press club, ex-treasurer Coon club, secretary Manchester Historic association, member Calumet club, president Manchester Cadet Veteran association, and attended the Unitarian church. He was elected a member of the N. H. Historical Society Feb. 13, 1896.

He was married to Nellie Clough Eaton, daughter of George E. and Lucinda (French) Eaton of Candia, Jan. 9, 1890, who survives him.

The last chapter of his life-work was the publication of a book comprising the history of Manchester's recent semi-centennial celebration.

Herbert W. Eastman was the soul of personal honor, the personification of integrity, even tempered, uniformly genial and courteous, progressive, and liberal minded. As a friend he was as true as a mariner's compass, a model husband, and an exemplary citizen who will be deeply mourned and sadly missed.

WOODBIDGE ODLIN.

Mr. Odlin was born in Concord, March 19, 1810, and died Feb. 22, 1898. He was the son of John and Mary (Stickney) Odlin. The house in which he first saw the light stood on



WOODBRIDGE ODLIN.



the same site as that in which he breathed his last, at 186 North Main street.

Mr. Odlin's education was that only which the common schools of the town afforded. Upon leaving school he was apprenticed to the late Porter Blanchard, and served the full time necessary for learning the trade of a cabinet-maker. This trade was not to his taste, however, which at that time was of a somewhat undisciplined character, and he promptly abandoned the occupation, taking up for the time being, as half play and half work, the manufacture of pipe organs. His natural musical gifts and his refined taste, together with his mechanical training, fitted him especially, as he thought, for a business of that character, and he built two instruments, the first of which was unsatisfactory; the second was a measurable success, and was long an interesting part of the furnishings of his own home. But this congenial and fascinating occupation was soon abandoned for a more lucrative position as clerk in the general store of Nathaniel Gilman of Exeter. After a few uneventful years with Mr. Gilman, he returned to Concord, and in company with Dudley S. Palmer, published the *New Hampshire Courier* for a brief period. The grocery business next engaged his attention, and he made his first entry in trade on the site where Chase's block now stands, then at the corner of North Main and Bridge streets, and, finally, with W. P. Hardy, in the corner store of the Masonic Temple building. This business was eventually sold by Mr. Odlin and Mr. Hardy to J. Frank Hoit. In September, 1862, he was appointed assistant assessor of internal revenue for the Concord district, and held the position for several years, until a consolidation of the three revenue offices into one. He was a director in the old Union bank, long since extinct; and the first cashier of the First National bank of Concord. From the time of its organization until his death he was a trustee of the Merrimack County Savings bank. He was one of the most enthusiastic members of the New Hampshire Historical Society, having become a member June 12, 1872. The only political office he ever held was that of city treasurer, from 1855 to 1860. He was a Republican from the birth of the party. He belonged to the old Hand Engine

Company Number One, and was an honorary member of the Veteran Firemen. He belonged to no secret orders.

Mr. Odlin is survived by one son, Arthur Fuller, judge of the Court of First Instance, Manila, Philippine Islands; by two daughters, Mrs. Elizabeth O. Rice of Norfolk, Va., and Mrs. Mary Frances Barron of Concord, and by several grandchildren.

While Mr. Odlin was unpretentious to a degree, he was, as a citizen, always an important factor in the business life of Concord. For almost ninety years he walked these streets, always a marked figure in resorts of trade, always met with kindly greetings, always listened to with respectful attention; and in many cases his advice in important financial and civic affairs proved of inestimable value to younger and inexperienced men. He was one of the "characters" of Concord. He was like no other man. His ways of thought and speech and action were his ways—original, unique, epigrammatic. Sayings of his—wise and witty comments on men and on current public events, and on local and neighborhood and personal happenings—were repeated from a thousand tongues. He was a magazine of facts, historical and local, social and biographical, and an occasional hour with him and his stories and illustrations of character, all drawn from his personal knowledge of things and of men, was a treat that one would not care to miss. He linked in himself the past and present of his native city, and his recollections were of great value in preserving local history and ancient landmarks. He was especially social, not so much a visitor as an entertainer. His friends were always warmly welcomed.

Mr. Odlin in belief was a Unitarian, and was, at his death, the oldest member of the local society of that denomination. He was a constant and appreciative attendant on its services, and one of its whole-hearted supporters. He was intensely interested in its music, and for several years his oldest daughter was a member of its choir, and his oldest son, since deceased, the organist. The fullest tolerance of the religious beliefs of others was one of his most marked and beautiful characteristics; hence he lived in religious harmony with all good men. His friends were as numerous as his neighbors and acquaint-

ances, and his friendships were as staunch as his physical and mental make-up. One of his cherished companions was Mr. John Kimball; the two men occupied desks in the same room from 1862 to the date of his death in 1898—hail-fellows always, and he made his lifelong friend the executor of his will.

Mr. Odlin was a citizen of unblemished reputation, public-spirited, loyal and true to his country, his church, and his friends, and a man of sterling integrity.

E. A. J.

WILLIAM S. STEVENS.

William S. Stevens, late of Dover, was born June 21, 1816, in Canterbury, N. H. His parents were Edmund and Betsey (Shepherd) Stevens. He was the only son of his parents, and had one sister. His childhood was passed amid the scenes of farm life, and his early education was obtained in the common schools of Canterbury. At the age of fourteen he became a clerk in the village store. After serving long enough in the rudimentary ways of business to demonstrate his fitness for such tasks, he spent one year each in the academies of Pembroke and Gilmanton. He was contemplating entering the New Hampton Literary Institute, when he was invited to take charge of a school in Kingston, where he taught for one year. His next move was in the direction of business again. After serving one year as traveling salesman for the Platform Scale Company, he bought an interest in the business and continued as traveling agent for the firm several years longer. His connection with the Scale company covered a period of about six years. Mr. Stevens then purchased a sawmill in Milton, N. H., where he spent three years in the lumber business. From Milton he went to Ossipee Centre, where during a period of ten years he was engaged in general mercantile business.

In 1847, Mr. Stevens removed to Dover, where he lived and prospered for half a century. For three years he carried on a wholesale trade in groceries, following which he entered into partnership with Benjamin Wiggin in the purchase and carrying on of the Dover Glue Works. In 1852 other industries were added to the production of glue, and the firm became largely interested in the manufacture of sandpaper and garnet

cloth. The plant was burned in 1858, and the manufacture of sandpaper was transferred to Malden, Mass.

On November 13, 1839, Mr. Stevens was united in marriage with Miss Mary Jewett, daughter of Nathaniel Jewett. Their only child, Everett J. Stevens, is one of the foremost business men of Malden, Mass., and has served with honor as its mayor. After the death of his first wife, Mr. Stevens married, May 7, 1851, Miss Sarah V. Bangs of Dover. Four children were born to them: Mary E., Carrie L. (deceased), Eliza, and Annie H. (deceased). Being a second time a widower, Mr. Stevens married, February 2, 1879, Mrs. Sarah F. Chesley, who died several years before her husband. Mr. Stevens's death occurred April 15, 1897, at the age of eighty-one years, nine months, and twenty-five days.

William S. Stevens was one of those uncompromisingly honest and forceful yet finely tempered men who are too few among the multitudes, and who serve well the best interests of city and state and nation. In politics he was a loyal Republican. He was a member of the state legislature eight years, and was three times elected mayor of the city of Dover, serving as its chief magistrate with marked efficiency from 1870 until 1873. He early became associated with the more important financial interests of southeastern New Hampshire. As director and trustee of the Strafford banks, as president of the Strafford National bank for twenty-five years, as director of the Boston & Maine Railroad for twenty years, and in other positions of high responsibility he held the confidence and esteem of all.

In religion Mr. Stevens was profoundly reverent and thoughtful, accepting generally the tenets which are included under the designation of evangelical faith, although he never became a member of any church. He was a generous supporter of the Christian church, and for many years up to the time of his death was an attendant at the First Congregational church in Dover. He had a peculiar love for his beautiful home at the foot of Garrison Hill, whose hospitality was enjoyed by many. He became a member of the New Hampshire Historical Society October 1, 1884.

G. E. H.

SEVENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING.

CONCORD, N. H., Wednesday, June 8, 1898.

The seventy-sixth annual meeting of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held in the rooms of the Society at Concord, Wednesday, June 8, 1898, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, about thirty-five members being in attendance.

The meeting was called to order at eleven o'clock, President Stevens in the chair.

The records of the last annual meeting were read and approved. The reading of the records of the adjourned meetings was dispensed with on motion of J. C. A. Hill, Esq.

The secretary made report of membership as follows :

Whole number of members, June 9, 1897,	184
Voted in during the year, 18, of whom 14 qualified,	14
	198
Died during the year, H. W. Eastman of Manchester, Henry Abbott of Winchester, Woodbridge Odlin, and Judge A. P. Carpenter of Concord,	4
Number dropped from the rolls for non-payment of dues, by vote of the Society,	18—22
	176

The annual reports of the treasurer and auditor, and the librarian, were presented and by vote accepted and ordered to be placed on file. The report of the treasurer is as follows :

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Receipts credited to general income :	
Income from permanent fund,	\$559.74
New members,	75.00
Assessments,	432.00
Books, etc., sold,	21.40
Miscellaneous sources,	4.50

Mortgage loans paid,	\$1,200.00	
Northern Pacific R. R. bond,	1,000.00	
Premium,	100.00	
State appropriation,	500.00	
Income from Todd fund,	25.50	
	<hr/>	\$3,918.14

Expenditures charged to general income:

Printing and binding,	\$396.87	
Fuel and water,	55.40	
Postage,	43.65	
Insurance,	52.32	
Repairs,	53.24	
Salary,	500.00	
13 shares Concord & Montreal R. R. stock,	2,268.50	
Incidental expenses,	212.11	
Books and magazines,	335.64	
	<hr/>	\$3,917.73

\$.41

Permanent fund,	\$11,000.00	
Current funds,	1,302.54	
	<hr/>	\$12,302.54
		<hr/>
		\$12,302.95

TODD FUND.

To investment, income,	\$507.08	
additional gift from W. C. Todd,	25.20	
	500.00	
	<hr/>	\$1,032.28
By paid for genealogical works,	25.50	
	<hr/>	\$1,006.78

2 Iowa Loan & Trust Co.'s debentures, \$500 each,	\$1,000.00
Receipt, Johnson Loan & Trust Co.,	900.00
3 Concord Land & Water Power Co.'s bonds, \$100 each,	300.00
2 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad bonds, 4 per cent., \$500 each,	1,000.00
2 Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad bonds, 6 per cent., \$1,000 each,	2,000.00
1 New York & New England R. R. bond, 7 per cent.,	1,000.00
1 Little Rock & Ft. Smith R. R. bond, 7 per cent.,	1,000.00

Mortgage loan,	\$1,025.00
5 shares Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R. stock,	500.00
13 shares Concord & Montreal R. R. stock,	2,268.50
	<hr/>
Deposit in New Hampshire Savings bank,	\$10,993.50
Cash on hand,	1,287.55
	21.90
	<hr/>
	\$12,302.95

TODD FUND.

1 Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R. bond, 5 per cent.,	\$500.00
Deposit in New Hampshire Savings bank,	506.78
	<hr/>
	\$13,309.73

I have this day examined the account of W. P. Fiske, treasurer of the New Hampshire Historical Society, for the year ending June 7, 1898, and find the same correctly cast and sustained by satisfactory vouchers.

J. B. WALKER,
Auditor.

Concord, N. H., June 8, 1898.

The report of the librarian is as follows:

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

CONCORD, N. H., June 8, 1898.

To the Members of the New Hampshire Historical Society:

In presenting my annual statement of the condition of our library I am happy to report commendable progress towards putting it into such shape as will make its entire contents available to its many patrons as need may require. Among the things accomplished during the year we would note the mounting on stiff paper board of nearly 200 maps, plans of towns, charts, and the like, numbered, catalogued, and filed in case and drawers, for use at a moment's notice; the canvassing and cataloguing of the Society's large number of registers and almanacs, political pamphlets, and classified sermons, rendering them easily accessible. The six volumes of the Old North cemetery inscriptions have been indexed. The classification and boxing of the manuscripts in the vault approach completion. The desk presented to the Society by the South church has been

reduced in size and made available for those who address us, as you will see. A new case has been made for the vault to hold our larger mounted charts and maps. During the present season it is expected the general classification of the library will be finished. The large amount of routine work rendered necessary by rapid accumulations makes progress slower than we could wish. Patience and perseverance, however, will soon bring the end. Two dozen folding chairs have been purchased to give better facilities for seating at our meetings.

The accessions to the library during the year, exclusive of periodicals, have been 2,836, of which 892 were bound volumes. One hundred and five volumes have been bound, making a total addition of 997 to the bound volumes of the library. Adding these to the bound volumes in the library as reported last year, we have a total of 14,273.

One hundred and thirty-nine volumes were purchased during the year, including the Century Dictionary in ten volumes.

By vote of the General Association of Congregationalists in New Hampshire, 1,088 pamphlets have been deposited by Rev. S. L. Gerould, its secretary. These have been duly catalogued.

The donors to the library during the year, with the number of books and pamphlets given by each, is as follows:

FROM INDIVIDUALS.

Abbott, Miss Frances M.,	1	Blake, Charlotte A.,	28
Aiken, Rev. E. J.,	1	Blanchard, Grace,	1
Allen, Daniel C.,	365	Blomburg, Anton,	3
Allen, George H.,	1	Brown, Francis H.,	21
Ames, C. C. A.,	1	Burleigh, R. E.,	1
Anderson, Rev. Wilbert L.,	7	Caldwell, Mary T.,	18
Austin, John O.,	1	Calvin, Samuel,	5
Austin, Josephine,	1	Carpenter, Rev. C. C.,	1
Ayer, Rev. Franklin D.,	174	Carter, Edith H.,	3
Bachelor, Nahum J.,	14	Carter, Mrs. H. L.,	1
Baer, John W.,	2	Carter, Rev. N. F.,	152
Baker, Henry M.,	1	Chamberlain, George W.,	1
Balcom, George L.,	6	Chandler, William E.,	5
Ballas, H. H.,	1	Chapin, C. N.,	3
Barnwell, J. G.,	1	Chapman, Rev. Jacob,	1
Belknap, George E.,	3	Choate, W. S.,	1
Benton, Joseph,	16	Cilley, J. P.,	2
Bingham, George W.,	1	Clark, Rev. Frank G.,	2
Bingham, Harry,	1	Cleaves, George P.,	5
Bistwell, Charles W.,	2	Clement, Mrs. Mary A.,	1

Cobb, Rev. Henry L.,	1	Green, Dr. Samuel A.,	16
Cobb, William H.,	1	Griffin, Mrs. Maria A. G.,	1
Cochran, Joseph A.,	1	Hamilton, Henry S.,	1
Cogswell, Mrs. Helen P.,	1	Hardon, Charles,	1
Coit, Joseph H.,	1	Hardy, Rev. A. C.,	1
Comstock, John M.,	1	Hardy, Cyrus A.,	1
Conn, Charles,	8	Harmon, C. L.,	1
Cook, H. M.,	1	Hart, James M.,	2
Corning, Charles R.,	3	Haskins, D. G.,	1
Cousins, E. M.,	1	Hayes, Rutherford P.,	1
Coville, F. V.,	1	Hazen, Rev. Henry A.,	2
Cragg, T. W.,	2	Hill, Joseph C. A.,	17
Cross, Lucy R. H.,	1	House, Rev. William,	1
Cudmore, P.,	1	Hoyt, Dr. J. Elizabeth,	40
Cummings, W. H.,	5	Hubbard, A. S.,	1
Darling, C. W.,	4	Humphrey, George P.,	1
De Wolfe, Fiske & Co.,	1	Hurlin, Rev. William,	1
Dimick, Susan W.,	1	Jameson, Rev. E. O.,	2
Dodge, James E.,	2	Kendall, Miss S. W.,	9
Dow, Dexter D.,	1	Kimball, Benjamin A.,	1
Dow, George F.,	1	Kimball, Henry,	24
Downing, Mary A.,	2	Kimball, John,	6
Drummond, Josiah H.,	2	Langley, S. P.,	1
Durrett, R. T.,	1	Linehan, John C.,	3
Eastman, Samuel C.,	26	Livingston, Rev. William W.,	1
Eddy, Mary Baker,	2	Lorimer, Rev. Geo. C.,	1
Edes, Henry H.,	1	Lyford, James O.,	9
Elwyn, Rev. Alfred L.,	2	Mason, Perry & Co.,	1
Emerson, C. F.,	1	McFarland, Annie A.,	1
Ernst, F. W.,	1	McKeen, B. W.,	5
Farnsworth, Frederick T.,	4	Meservey, Rev. A. B.,	1
Farnum, Minnie,	5	Moore, Rev. William H.,	1
Farrar, Dr. Isaac,	1	Moulton, Miss Fannie,	1
Ferril, W. C.,	1	Murkland, Rev. Charles S.,	9
Fiske, William P.,	14	Musgrove, R. W.,	2
Ford, W. P. & Co.,	2	Parsons, Charles L.,	1
Francis, John C.,	1	Parvin, Newton R.,	10
Gallinger, Jacob H.,	9	Parvin, Theodore S.,	1
Garland, James G.,	1	Patterson, Samuel F.,	1
Gerould, Rev. S. L.,	332	Peabody, Dr. Leonard W.,	1
Gilmore, George C.,	2	Pearson, E. N.,	281
Goold, Nathan,	5	Peaslee, Charles C.,	2
Gordon, Lucy A.,	3	Pettee, Horace,	3
Gordon, Robert M.,	3	Philbrook, Frederick B.,	1
Gowing, Fred,	2	Porter, Gen. Fitz John,	5

Pratt, Franklin S.,	1	Stevens, Lyman D.,	1
Putnam, J. J.,	1	Stockwell, George A.,	7
Randall, E. O.,	2	Stone, George F.,	1
Robbins, J. H.,	1	Swan, R. T.,	1
Roberts, James A.,	1	Swett, Charles E.,	14
Rice, Franklin P.,	2	Tarleton, C. W.,	52
Root, Azariah S.,	4	Tewksbury, F. H.,	7
Rundlett, Louis J.,	1	Thomas, Douglas A.,	1
Runnels, Rev. Moses T.,	1	Thompson, Alexander R.,	1
Scott, F. W.,	1	Thurston, L. A.,	1
Sessions, William R.,	1	Tolles, Jason E.,	1
Shurtleff, A. J.,	2	Waldron, Rev. D. W.,	8
Shultz, E. P.,	22	Walker, B. W.,	1
Smith, Mrs. Edmund E.,	5	Walker, Isaac,	2
Smith, M. G.,	1	Walker, Joseph B.,	13
Spofford, C. B.,	2	Webster, John F.,	4
Staniels, Charles E.,	1	Whitcomb & Raymond,	4
Stanwood, E. H.,	2	Winthrop, Robert C., Jr.,	1
Stearns, Ezra S.,	14	Woodbury, F. P.,	2

FROM HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

American Catholic,	4	Minnesota,	12
Buffalo,	2	Missouri,	2
Chicago,	2	New Jersey,	7
Delaware,	4	New York,	2
Genealogical,	2	Ohio,	2
Georgia,	9	Presbyterian,	1
Iowa,	3	Rhode Island,	4
Maine,	3	Texas,	3
Maryland,	2	Topsfield,	2
Massachusetts,	3	Wisconsin,	2
Medfield,	1		

FROM OTHER SOURCES.

American Antiquarian Society,	3	Brooklyn Library,	9
American Philosophical Society,	3	Bureau of American Republics,	58
Appalachian Club,	3	Children's Aid Society,	2
Associated Charities,	1	Cincinnati Public Library,	1
Atchison, etc., R. R.,	1	Commissioner of Immigration,	2
Bank Commissioners,	4	Dartmouth College,	1
Boston & Maine R. R.,	1	Drew Theological Seminary,	1
Boston Book Co.,	2	Emerson School of Oratory,	1
<i>Boston Journal</i> ,	1	Essex Institute,	2

Foreign Missionary Library,	2	Phillips Exeter Academy,	1
Forest Hill Cemetery Association,	1	Smithsonian Institution,	14
Government,	244	St. Louis Mechanics Lib'y,	1
Harvard College,	2	Superintendent of 'Docu-ments,	82
Industrial Aid Society,	15	Syracuse Central Library,	1
Johns Hopkins University,	5	Tufts College,	2
Library Bureau,	1	Union College,	2
Library Company,	1	University of California,	2
Maine Genealogical Society,	2	University of Iowa,	2
Minister of Justice,	1	University of New York,	4
Mount Holyoke College,	1	University of Pennsylvania,	6
Museum of Natural History,	1	University of Toronto,	2
N. H. Daughters of Revolution,	1	Vermont State Library,	4
N. H. Society of Colonial Wars,	1	War Department,	4
New Hampton Institution,	1	Water Department,	1
New York Public Library,	9	Wellesley College,	1
Pequot Library,	26	Wesleyan University,	2
Providence Record Commissioners,	2	Worcester Soc. of Antiquity,	2
		Wyoming Commemorative Association,	5
		Yale University,	1

The following newspapers and periodicals come regularly to the library :

<i>American Historical Review,</i>	<i>Manifesto,</i>
<i>American Archæologist,</i>	<i>Meredith News,</i>
<i>Am. Catholic Society Records,</i>	<i>Mirror and Farmer,</i>
<i>Book Reviews,</i>	<i>Nashua Telegraph,</i>
<i>Bristol Enterprise,</i>	<i>N. E. Genealogical and Historical Register,</i>
<i>Canaan Reporter,</i>	<i>Penn. Magazine of History,</i>
<i>Church Building Quarterly,</i>	<i>People and Patriot,</i>
<i>Contoocook Independent,</i>	<i>Plymouth Record,</i>
<i>Dover Enquirer,</i>	<i>Portsmouth Journal,</i>
<i>Essex Antiquarian,</i>	<i>Railroad Men,</i>
<i>Exeter Gazette,</i>	<i>R. I. Historical Record,</i>
<i>Exeter News-Letter,</i>	<i>Somersworth Free Press,</i>
<i>Hamptonia,</i>	<i>Tiltonian,</i>
<i>Iowa Historical Record,</i>	<i>Veterans' Advocate,</i>
<i>Knox Co. Historical Record,</i>	<i>Volunteer,</i>
<i>Lebanonian,</i>	<i>Weekly News.</i>
<i>Littleton Courier,</i>	
<i>Maine Bugle,</i>	

The *Boston Advertiser* and *Boston Journal* (dailies) have also been given by members of the Society.

During the year variable quantities of newspapers, periodicals, and reports have been received from

Rev. Franklin D. Ayer,	Henry Kimball,
Rev. Wilbert L. Anderson,	John Kimball,
Samuel C. Eastman,	Mrs. Abbie M. Morse,
Ira C. Evans,	John P. Nutter,
Rev. Samuel L. Gerould,	Edward N. Pearson,
Robert M. Gordon,	Mrs. Elizabeth P. Shultz,
Joseph C. A. Hill,	Frank R. Thurston.
Miss S. W. Kendall,	

Other gifts are as follows :

Twenty-five mounted astronomical and physiological charts,
Daniel C. Allen.

Half-tone portraits of Rev. John Gile and Charles R. Morrison,
A. S. Batchellor.

Twenty-one music books of the Post band, Hilton Head, S. C.,
1862-65, D. Arthur Brown.

Deeds of Abner Colby and N. H. Savings Bank to Richard
Bradley, 1836-37, Moses H. Bradley.

Oil portrait of Rev. Moses Kimball, pastor, Hopkinton, 1834-
46, Mrs. Mary K. Clement.

Original will of Nathaniel Weare, father of Meshech Weare,
Charles R. Corning.

Fifteen autograph letters of distinguished men, Mrs. Arthur
Fletcher.

Genealogical chart of the Brigham Young family, Susan Young
Gates.

Power of attorney from Thomas Flanders to John Emery,
1768, Dr. Samuel A. Green.

Needle book of Countess Rumford, 100 years old.

College diplomas of William, 1799, and Horace H. Rolfe,
1824, James Hazelton.

Large maps of Palestine, and Merrimack county.

Silk umbrella of Luther W. Nichols, nearly 100 years old,
Dr. J. Elizabeth Hoyt.

Gun carried by Thomas Brown, Ryegate, Vt., in Battle of
Wilderness, Thomas Kiley.

Genealogical chart of Marston family, Enoch Q. Marston.

Copy of official correspondence, consulate, Sheffield, Eng.,
3 vols., Dr. Claudius B. Webster.

For the first time in our history a register has been opened
for the signature of patrons. It contains nearly 500 names.
More than 1,100 have visited the library during the year.

Several large maps remain to be mounted the coming year. Money is needed to put our large accumulation of newspapers in such shape as will make them all easily accessible. When all the plans for the improvement of the library are carried to the finishing, I trust it will merit the commendation of its patrons.

Respectfully submitted,
N. F. CARTER,
Librarian.

Verbal reports were made by the Necrologist, Dr. E. E. Graves, J. C. A. Hill, chairman of the Standing Committee, and Hon. E. S. Stearns, chairman of the Publishing Committee, the latter advocating a volume of Collections to be devoted entirely to sketches of the lives of heroes of the Revolutionary War from New Hampshire, which suggestion was received with favor.

Rev. N. F. Carter for the Committee on New Members recommended the following, and they were formally elected by ballot :

HON. HIRAM A. TUTTLE, Pittsfield,
ERNEST A. BARNEY, Canaan,
ARTHUR T. CASS, Tilton,
HERBERT W. DENIO, Concord,
W. G. C. KIMBALL, Concord.

Hon. Joseph B. Walker presented the report of the Committee on the Revision of the Constitution, and on motion of the Rev. C. L. Tappan the report of the committee was accepted and its recommendations adopted.

The same gentleman moved that the revised form of constitution presented by the committee at an adjournment of the last annual meeting, and as read by the Secretary to-day, be adopted as the constitution of this Society, and the motion was carried unanimously, as revised.¹

On motion of Prof. Isaac Walker of Pembroke :

Voted, That a committee of three be appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

¹ See pp. 188-193.

And the chair appointed Prof. Isaac Walker of Pembroke, J. C. A. Hill and John C. Thorne of Concord.

The Secretary presented the following communication :

To the New Hampshire Historical Society :

I send my check to the order of the Society for five hundred dollars (\$500), to be added to the like amount before given, making a permanent fund of one thousand dollars, the income of which only shall be expended for the purchase of town histories and works on genealogy for which there is now so great a demand.

It is three quarters of a century since the establishment of the Society, and I need not state the importance of its work. Its published volumes are of inestimable value, and the ablest men of the state have been its members. Yet I cannot but regret that its means have been so limited. The good people of the state have contributed to it generously of their wisdom, but scantily of their money. Wisconsin, one of the new states, established a historical society when it began its statehood, and so well has it been aided by the state and its citizens that its collections have a national, if not a world-wide, reputation, and are the pride of the state. A new building for its use is in process of erection at a cost of \$400,000.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has received from its benevolent friends nearly \$400,000 in money gifts.

New Hampshire is one of the oldest states of the Union ; was the state whose adoption of the federal constitution gave us our first stable government, whose history has been a noble one, and all that relates to it cannot be too carefully studied and preserved. Cannot an effort be made to add largely to the funds at its disposal, and does it not deserve it? I trust, indeed, that it may be more liberally aided in the future and new vigor be imparted to its operations.

Very respectfully,

WILLIAM C. TODD.

Concord, N. H., May 27, 1898.

Hon. John Kimball offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted by a rising vote :

Resolved, That we receive and accept with sincere thanks the second generous gift of \$500 made to the Society by Hon. William C. Todd ; that the letter accompanying the same be recorded in the Proceedings of the Society ; and that said

sum be known by the name of the "William C. Todd Fund," and set apart for the purchase of works of history and genealogy, as named in his letter.

Mr. John C. Thorne offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the hearty thanks of the Society be tendered to Mrs. Mary Kimball Clement of Brandon, Vt., for her gift of the oil portrait of her grandfather, Rev. Moses Kimball, once printer in Concord, and afterwards pastor of the Congregational church in Hopkinton from 1834 to 1846, and the same be recorded in the Proceedings of the Society.

The resolution was adopted.

Col. John C. Linehan presented the following resolution of thanks, which was adopted :

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be extended to Hon. C. R. Corning for a framed will of Nathaniel Weare; to Mrs. W. G. C. Kimball for an autograph letter of Edward Gove, the leader of Gove's Rebellion, written in prison in January, 1682; to Mrs. Arthur Fletcher for a collection of autograph letters of distinguished men; and to Dr. Claudius B. Webster for a gift of valuable manuscripts.

Voted, That the annual assessment of three dollars be levied upon members the ensuing year.

On motion of Col. J. E. Pecker,

Voted, That the observance of a field day this summer or fall be left with a committee to consist of the President, Secretary, and Librarian to take such action as they deem best.

Prof. Amos Hadley presented an invitation from Mrs. Arthur E. Clarke of Manchester, for the Society to hold its field day at her home, the old General Stark residence in Manchester, the first Thursday in October, or at such time as would suit the convenience of the Society, and the invitation was accepted by a rising vote and the committee requested to make the necessary arrangements.

Prof. Isaac Walker, for the committee appointed to nominate a list of officers for the ensuing year, presented the following. The report of the committee was accepted, and the

persons named were by vote of the Society elected to be its officers for the year ensuing :

President.

LYMAN D. STEVENS.

Vice-Presidents.

WILLIAM C. TODD,
ALBERT S. WAIT.

Recording Secretary.

JOHN C. ORDWAY.

Treasurer.

WILLIAM P. FISKE.

Librarian.

NATHAN F. CARTER.

Auditor.

JOSEPH B. WALKER.

Necrologist.

ELI E. GRAVES.

Standing Committee.

JOSEPH C. A. HILL,
HOWARD L. PORTER,
JOHN C. THORNE.

Library Committee.

AMOS HADLEY,
CHARLES L. TAPPAN,
MRS. FRANCES C. STEVENS.

Publishing Committee.

EZRA S. STEARNS,
NATHAN F. CARTER,
SAMUEL C. EASTMAN.

Committee on New Members.

NATHAN F. CARTER,
J. EASTMAN PECKER,
JOHN C. ORDWAY.

Committee on Speakers.

ALBERT S. BATCHELLOR,
WILLIAM C. TODD,
CHARLES L. TAPPAN.

Committee on Naval History of New Hampshire.

ALBERT S. WAIT,
JOSEPH C. A. WINGATE.

Hon. John Kimball presented to the Society a book published in London in 1648, "Annotations on the Holy Bible," and the thanks of the Society were tendered to Mr. Kimball on the motion of Professor Hadley.

Mr. J. C. Thorne spoke briefly suggesting the purchase of the property adjoining the Society's property on the south, and on motion of Prof. Amos Hadley the matter was again referred to the Standing Committee to report at an early day.

On motion of the same gentleman the Society voted to adjourn, to meet in the Senate Chamber at a quarter before eight this evening.

EVENING SESSION.

The Society reconvened in the Senate Chamber at the State House at a quarter before eight o'clock in the evening, when the annual address was given by the Rev. Arthur Little, D. D., of Dorchester, Mass., a distinguished son of New Hampshire.

Dr. Little's subject was, "William Whipple, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, Soldier and Statesman," at the conclusion of which, on motion of John C. Thorne, a vote of thanks was tendered the speaker for his very able and interesting address, and a copy of the same requested for preservation or publication.

WILLIAM WHIPPLE, SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

It is not the good fortune of many men in a given age to make themselves immortal by a single stroke of the pen. To the Signers of the Declaration of Independence this distinction may fairly be accorded. If this had been their only public act they would have been entitled to the grateful remembrance of the American people as long as the Republic shall endure.

At this distance from the event, the tremendous import of that transaction is vastly more apparent to us than it could have been to those who shared the distinguished honor. One hundred and twenty-two years of history have invested the action of that far-off day with overwhelming significance.

The Declaration of Independence, made valid by the signatures of those courageous men, will always find fitting mention with Magna Charta, the Compact in the Cabin of the *Mayflower*, the Ninety-five Theses of Luther, and the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln. It is an epitome of the world's progress in civilization to that date, and a prophecy of all that has followed since. It was not the germ of American freedom and institutions. That lies hidden in a history a hundred and fifty years earlier than this. It was not the cause of the American Revolution, though revolution was its inevitable sequence. The cause antedates the Declaration by very many years. In fact, *no one* cause, and *no one* date, can be assigned for the beginning of the Revolution.

There were many causes as there were many days, when it seemed as if revolution must inevitably follow. The Declaration of Independence was a chapter in human experience—a solemn testimony to truths that had been wrought into human life's suffering under a conscious sense of wrongs, persistently inflicted upon those whose whole purpose was to do right. It was born of intense conviction, and not the dream of philosophers, doctrinaires, and idealists. It was the statement of men who knew how to formulate their grievances so that the whole world should hear. It was the deliberate utterance of men who knew their duties, and also knew their rights—men

who simply claimed what God had vouchsafed to them as their original endowment, and what the Crown had guaranteed to them in their charters. It was a notice served on tyrants that they must quit. It was determination translated into action. It was the well-directed discharge of forces which had been generating for a century. It turned out to be the pivot on which hung the destiny of the two mightiest empires of earth. It was the inauguration of a new order of things.

After the lapse of more than a hundred years, we are coming somewhat adequately to realize how tremendously surcharged with meaning that great state paper was, under what difficulties and embarrassments it was prepared, by what a divine inspiration it was adopted, and to appreciate the courage and faith and confidence of the patriots who dared to sign it.

They are surely entitled to the peculiar honors conferred upon the founders of states—the creators of an empire. The strongest and wealthiest nation to-day on the face of the earth, with a phenomenal growth in population and resources, numbering seventy-two millions of people, boastful, proud, aspiring, the unsolicited champion of the oppressed in other lands, it is almost impossible for us—so to speak—to *uncentury* ourselves, to realize how few in numbers, weak in resources, divided in sentiment, divergent in interests, unaccustomed to concurrent action, indeed independent and fragmentary, the thirteen colonies were in 1776. Indeed, in race and religion they were very far from being in agreement. It would far exceed the limits of this address to attempt to give even a bird's eye view of the real situation though it presents a most fascinating field of study and discussion.

In order to understand the potency and grandeur of that moment on the seventh of June, 1776, when Richard Henry Lee of Virginia moved on the floor of the Continental Congress the resolution which declared "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."—resolutions seconded by John Adams of Massachusetts—and which

after a month's animated, able, and intelligent discussion, issued on July Fourth in the immortal Declaration of Independence, one ought to have vividly in mind some of the principal incidents in the history of the colonies, during a number of the preceding years. For at least a full decade the progress of events in the relation of proximate cause and effect was overwhelmingly rapid,—the growth of public opinion in favor of independence on the whole most decidedly aggressive and outspoken.

From 1761 to 1776 the intellectual life of the colonies spent itself mainly on these noble themes: "There had been excited," a British historian remarks, "a spirit of inquiry into the rights of human nature and society at large, such as had never been exceeded, if even equalled, in any country in Christendom."

"Every moment should be improved in some serious purpose—it is the age of George III, and to do justice to our most gracious king, I will affirm it is my opinion that his councils and administration will necessarily produce the grandest revolution the world has ever seen. The wheels of Providence seem to be in their swiftest motion." These are the words of Samuel Adams, the Palinurus of the Revolution, while in Congress to his constituents in Massachusetts. "It ought to be hung up in the nursery of every king and blazoned on the porch of every royal palace."—*Buckle*.

"From the moment of the Declaration, everything assumed a new appearance. The colonies had been transformed into states—sovereign, free, independent states."

"It transformed the sentiment of nationality into the fact of nationality."

"It announced to the world the fact of the United States of America and the justification of the fact."

"It embodied the doctrines of the fundamental equality of the race. It met the requirements of the American cause."

"It changed the allegiance of the individual from the monarchy to the new political unit of the United States."—*Frothingham*.

After the vote was taken, John Adams wrote these words: "The greatest question which ever was debated in America

has been decided, and a greater perhaps never was or will be decided among men." This, I think, is the thoughtful judgment of all the world to-day.

I must take a few moments to refresh the memory touching some of the stirring and tragic events that crowd the canvas in the picture of the preceding years, with the hope of a better historic setting for the character under discussion this evening. There are scores of events worthy of epic treatment; events that would readily lend themselves to the genius of the artist—picturesque, original, sublime. Some of the salient features of the thrilling drama then hastening to a conclusion are such as these: The exasperating and desolating French and Indian wars which left the northern colonies poor and weak; the growing insolence and arrogance of the British parliament and crown; the steady encroachments upon the sacred rights guaranteed the colonists under their charters; the annulment of those charters; the change of the former self-governing colony of Massachusetts into a royal province; the appointment of royal governors in the interests of the crown; the meeting of an American congress including nine of the thirteen colonies in New York, Oct. 7, 1765, and the famous resolutions of Patrick Henry in the Virginia assembly the same year on the subject of taxation, when he exclaimed, "Cæsar had his Brutus," etc.; the famous, or rather infamous, stamp act passed by the British parliament the same year; the Boston riots; the advent of British troops to Boston; the quartering of those troops upon the peaceable citizens of Boston, and the spirited contest that ensued; the Boston massacre; the removal of the troops to Castle William; the tea tax, and the subsequent "Boston Tea Party"—a determined and picturesque procedure, which did more than almost any other one event to unite the colonies; the organization of the "Committee of Correspondence," which contained the germ of the subsequent Continental Congress; the "Boston Port Bill," which, on the day it went into effect, was the occasion of fasting and great solemnity; the appointment of General Gage as governor of Massachusetts; the "Murder Act;" the seizure of military stores at Cambridge and Charlestown by General Gage; the club caucuses and

committee meetings, the mass meetings in Faneuil Hall and the Old South meeting-house, when the people's hearts were kindled to a white heat of indignation and patriotism under the burning eloquence of Otis, Adams, and Warren; the organization of a "Committee of Safety" and "supplies;" the "Regulation Acts;" the denial of the right of trial by jury; the organization of the Continental Congress; the right of search of American vessels; the obnoxious "Writs of Assistance," which James Otis gave up his official position in order that he might oppose, and of which splendid opposition John Adams wrote: "*Then and there* was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain—then and there, the child, Independence, was born"; the battles of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill which united the colonies, settled the question that Yankees would fight; the siege of Boston and its subsequent evacuation; the varying fortunes of the little, half-disciplined American army under the superb generalship of General Washington during the next year; the alternate threats and offers of conciliation issuing from the puerile British throne and vacillating parliament; the large and influential number of loyalists and lukewarm men in the colonies, especially in the middle colonies; the considerable contingent of ardent patriots who doubted the wisdom of making a declaration at that time, and some of whom sincerely thought that a strong federation should be antecedent to the Declaration of Independence; the jealousies in the army, and the conflicting opinions in the congress; the rising tide of sentiment, under increasing provocation, in favor of separation until it became overwhelming, mingled with a strong counter-current of desire to be loyal to the mother country, until it was clearly revealed that loyalty to the crown was treason to manhood, and death to self-respect.

Familiarity with events like these, and the electrical conditions of the atmosphere which made the gathering of the storm inevitable, will enable us to put a higher value upon the courage and patriotism of the men who signed the Declaration of Independence. It solemnly pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, to the long and desperate struggle of

making good those ringing postulates touching the rights of man. That was a grim joke of Benjamin Franklin's when he said, "We must hang together, or be hung separately."

Of course these men whose names have become immortal, were not all of equal ability, standing, and influence, but they deserve equal honor for their unexampled conduct at that critical hour, and are entitled to equal remembrance by us, who have entered into the splendid heritage of freedom through them vouchsafed to us. It is one evidence that republics are not altogether ungrateful, when, after the lapse of almost one hundred and twenty-five years, a commonwealth like New Hampshire, through its Historical Society, consents to devote an evening to recalling the life and services of one of those illustrious men. I could have wished that this task had been entrusted to an abler hand and pen than mine, although no one could perform it more cheerfully. I should have been especially glad of more time to examine documents and consult authorities. In this humble service it may be an opportunity for me to discharge a small part of the debt which I feel that I owe to the Old Granite State.

"William Whipple, Signer of the Declaration, Soldier and Statesman," is the subject which you have assigned me for to-night.

Upon the details of Mr. Whipple's ancestry and family it is quite unnecessary for me to dwell, inasmuch as these facts have been most ably presented on a previous occasion by Hon. Chester B. Jordan, in a historical essay on "Col. Joseph B. Whipple,"¹ a younger brother of William. In the same paper is found also a most interesting account of the old Whipple mansion on the east bank of the Piscataqua, about a mile from its mouth in Kittery, Maine, opposite the navy yard, originally used as a garrison, and in which William Whipple, the oldest of five children, was born, January 14, 1730. It may be observed in passing, that his sister, Mary, was the great-grandmother of James Russell Lowell, a fact that may account in part for the genius and patriotism of that eminent man.

His father, William Whipple, Sr., his grandfather, and his

¹ Proceedings, Vol. II, p. 289.

great-grandfather, each bore a military title; while his great-grandfather was Elder John Whipple, deacon and ruling elder (and therefore a man of function) in the First church, Ipswich, Mass.

His mother was Mary Cutts, the daughter of Robert Cutts, 2d, who belonged to an influential family living at that time in Kittery, Maine. If William Whipple had no special occasion to boast of his ancestry, he certainly had no occasion to be ashamed of it. From the great middle class—the sturdy yeomanry—the strength, the glory, and the pride of England and America from the beginning, this splendid representative New Hampshire man sprang. His education was such as a common school could furnish at that time. Reading, writing, arithmetic, and navigation were the studies to which he devoted himself. In accordance with his father's wishes and his own inclination, while in his teens, he entered as cabin boy on board a merchant vessel. It is easy to see the fascination of such a life for such a boy.

Before he was twenty-one he rose to the position of captain, and made several successful voyages to the West Indies and to Europe. He has been criticised for some slight participation in the slave trade, a business sanctioned at that time by the British empire and her colonies. The thrilling little episode of the manumission of Prince, the only slave he ever owned, like so many other charming incidents in history, disappears as apochryphal under the searching light of modern criticism. The story is as follows: Prince accompanied his master into the army. On one occasion the General said to him, "Prince, we may be called into action, in which case, I trust you will behave like a man of courage, and fight bravely for the country." "Sir," replied Prince, "I have no wish to fight, and no inducement, but if I had my liberty, I would fight in defense of my country to the last drop of my blood." "Well," said the General, "Prince, from this moment you are free." It is a pity to have such a pretty little story spoiled by the critics.

The seafaring life of young Whipple proved to be an excellent training school for his subsequent influential career. At an age when extended travel was both difficult and rare, it must

have given him a kind of distinction to have visited so many foreign lands. It was indeed almost the equivalent of a liberal education, in that it gave him rare opportunity for observation, brought him into contact with men, widened his views, and enabled him to familiarize himself with the attitude of England towards America. He would thus naturally become hospitable towards new ideas. It has been said that "intercourse with the world and natural good sense" were a large part of Mr. Whipple's equipment. Without at all undervaluing a so-called "liberal education," such as is supposed to be furnished by our colleges, it is quite within the words of truth to say that a very large part of New Hampshire's greatness and permanent renown has been—still is—due to a class of vigorous, sensible, level-headed men, with good natural endowments, strong moral qualities, of the strictest integrity, simple in manner, plain in speech, trustworthy in their business transactions—men of common sense, men of affairs, trained in the hard school of experience, self-reliant and industrious, and qualified for any position from that of a country schoolmaster to that of a justice of the supreme court—sometimes called self-made men. Happily, New Hampshire had a number of that kind of men during the Revolutionary War, and was thus enabled to do her full share in laying the foundations of our glorious republic. The peculiar conditions under which the province of New Hampshire was originally settled, with Antinomians driven from Massachusetts, and Episcopalians under the patronage of the Gorges, together with its struggle touching its boundaries, and the protection of its frontiers against the Indians, necessarily helped to develop a marked individuality and force of character in the early inhabitants,—features not even yet effaced. Evidently Mr. Whipple was a man of this genuine New Hampshire stamp.

The first notice that has come under my observation of his public life, is in January, 1775, when he was sent from Portsmouth to the Provincial Congress at Exeter, for the purpose of choosing delegates to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, of which John Sullivan and Nathaniel Folsom, chosen July 21, 1774, in a convention of deputies from the towns, were, as I suppose, the original members, and both were on the commit-

tee who reported the Declaration of Independence. On January 6, 1776, he was chosen member of the Provincial Council of New Hampshire, and on the 23d of the same month, in company with two other distinguished men—Josiah Bartlett and John Langdon—he was appointed delegate to the Continental Congress. He must have been a member of that body some part at least of each subsequent year until the close of 1779. Here began the career of Mr. Whipple as a statesman, and an ample field it was for the use of his best powers.

The first Continental Congress was a very remarkable body of men, assembled together in a most extraordinary way, on a most extraordinary errand. They were a body of pioneers in the sublime work of building a nation, though at the time only *partly* conscious of the grandeur of their mission. Says Fiske, "It is hard for us now to realize how terrible the difficulties seemed to the men who surmounted them." "The slowness with which the country came to a full consciousness of its power and importance," can hardly be realized. Those men had no lamp of experience to light their dangerous and tangled pathway. They could quote no precedent, find in history no example to follow. The ancient republics of Greece, Rome, and of mediæval Italy, little other than despotisms under another name, had nothing of value to suggest. It was their providential mission to create a new nation, under a new form of government, involving a new conception of sovereignty, and the rights of man.

John Fiske says there have been, roughly speaking, three different methods followed at different times and places for the welding together of primitive tribes into stable and powerful nations; the Oriental, which may be described as conquest without incorporation; the Roman, which was conquest with incorporation, but without representation; and the Teutonic, or preëminently English method, which differs profoundly from the others in that it contains the principle of representation. These illustrious men were summoned to the strenuous task of building a nation where this vital principle could have the fullest, freest play.

It was a body remarkably rich in individuality of character.

Among the delegates were the enterprising merchant, the learned lawyer, the eminent divine, the profound jurist, and the ripe scholar. "Be it remembered," said New Hampshire's greatest son, "it was a *thinking* community that achieved our Revolution before a battle had been fought." Said John Adams, "The Congress is such an assembly as never before came together, on a sudden, in any part of the world. Here are fortunes, abilities, learning, eloquence, acuteness, equal to any I ever met with in my life." In the British Parliament, Lord Chatham used these emphatic words, "I must declare and avow that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation nor body of men can stand in preference to the General Congress at Philadelphia; it must be obvious to your Lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men must be vain, must be futile."

It would, of course, be claiming too much to assume that Mr. Whipple was the peer in ability and influence of the most eminent of this illustrious body of men, but it was a distinct honor to be associated with such men under the common inspiration of such lofty ends, and he shared something of the lustre and glory, a mutual possession that will invest their names forever.

The histories of the period have made, so far as I know, but the slightest references to his name and deeds. But enough can be gleaned from the records of this state, those of the Continental Congress, and his own unpublished letters, to reveal the character and qualities of the man, and to indicate that he had in him the stuff of which typical New Hampshire men have usually been made.

Through the courtesy of your corresponding secretary, A. S. Batchellor, Esq., I have been permitted to examine a large amount of his unpublished correspondence, copied for him by Rev. Alfred Langdon Elwyn of Philadelphia, from originals once in the custody of Gov. John Langdon. This correspondence is mainly between Mr. Whipple and John Langdon, Josiah Bartlett, J. Lovell, and Henry E. Lee of Virginia. In these letters are clearly mirrored the spirit, temper, and sterling qualities

of this noble patriot, soldier, and statesman. He has not impressed himself upon posterity by his impassioned oratory, fervid eloquence, creative genius, brilliant epigrams, solid argument and convincing logic, as some of the more illustrious men in that body have done, but for practical sagacity, alertness, patriotic devotion to the American cause, incorruptibility, liberality, general trustworthiness, and downright hard work, he has few, if any, superiors. These qualities he is entitled to share with the other strong men from New Hampshire, at one time and another associated with him in Congress and in the affairs of the province.

I cannot do better than to give you some extracts from his private correspondence.

Four days after his name had been affixed to the Declaration of Independence, he wrote John Langdon as follows: "I regret that the frigates cannot be got to sea. I have been a long time trying to draw the attention of the committee to the regulation of the navy, but hitherto without success. I must refer you to the papers for news, as time, just now, is very precious. The Declaration will no doubt give you pleasure; Gen. Howe has landed part of his army on Staten Island, which you know was not in Gen. Washington's power to prevent; Gen. Washington has by this time twenty thousand men in New York. I cannot help flattering myself that all this, with the smile of Providence, will enable us to give a good account of those fellows before the campaign is over. I assure you the people here begin to feel themselves." Then in a postscript he adds: "I hope you will take care that the Declaration is properly treated." Again, under date of July 16, 1776, to Mr. Langdon, "I agree with you that matters have not been properly attended to, but I, by no means, take any part of the charge of neglect to myself, for no poor devil every begged for alms with more earnestness than I have to get these things settled, and am determined, if possible, to have everything complete before I leave. Independence was proclaimed in the army at New York last Wednesday, when the leaden king in the Bowling Green was dismounted, and is by this time cast into bullets for the destruction of his tools of tyranny; may every one of them be

properly commissioned. Two of the ships were launched last week; the *Randolph* and the *Delaware*. We are in daily expectation of some grand military operations at New York. No doubt in a few days twenty thousand men will be embodied at New Jersey, besides the army at York. This Declaration has had a glorious effect, it has made the colonies all alike."

By 1777, though it seems scarcely credible, the Continental Congress had already the high personal consideration to which it was entitled at the first. Meantime, Mr. Whipple became apparently more serviceable than ever. This was a memorable year in his career, as part of it was devoted to service in the army. Of this I shall speak later; this year 1777 was one full of gloom and discouragement to the friends of the American cause for reasons which I have not time to mention. It was an hour that made heavy demands upon faith, hope, courage, conviction. Mr. Whipple brought these qualities into splendid action. Josiah Bartlett is particularly blue and downhearted.

January 7, 1777, Whipple writes from Baltimore as follows: "This year, my friend, is big with mighty events; nothing less than the fate of America depends on the virtue of her sons, and if they have not virtue enough to support the most glorious cause that ever human beings were engaged in, they do not deserve the blessings of freedom."

There must have been a time, I think, during this year, when he was the only delegate in Congress from New Hampshire, perhaps while that body was in session at Baltimore. He writes of his arduous task and says, "I have had time to mount my horse not more than twice since I returned from Baltimore. Such a life may suit some constitutions, but it will soon ruin mine."

Again he writes John Langdon from Baltimore, saying: "Being desirous of spiriting up our people all in my power, I determined to wait until the last, happy in having an opportunity of being very useful to my country and the general cause. The Congress knows this well, and has appointed me and two others that remain a committee with full power." Again May 10, 1777, he writes: "It grieves me that the New Hampshire quota should be backward, though perhaps not more so than

some other states, but it would be my pride that her sons were *first* in the field."

The outlook in 1778 was even more dark than that of the preceding year. Says Dr. John Lord: "In less than two years after Bunker Hill popular enthusiasm had almost fled. The characters of the leading generals were maligned, even that of Washington; trade and all industries were paralyzed; the credit of the state was at the lowest ebb; Congress had little power; the states were jealous of Congress and of each other; demagogues sowed distrust and suspicion, food was scarce, and general demoralization prevailed."

How much of that year Mr. Whipple was present in Congress I do not know, although he was a delegate. On Sept. 29, 1778, Josiah Bartlett writes him from Philadelphia as follows: "I find you seem to be hesitating about coming forward to your duty here; however, as I have a better opinion of your patriotism than to suppose you will desert the ship till she is safe in harbor, notwithstanding any disagreeable feelings on account of former unrewarded service, I expect you will be on your journey here before this reaches New Hampshire."

Mr. Whipple was strongly urged to accept a position on the naval board because of special qualifications for that kind of service. This he declines in very noble, statesmanlike words: "He is my choice who will best serve my country—some gentlemen are very urgent that I would engage in this business, but it is totally against my principles to accept an office of profit created by a legislative body of which I am a member, and to resign my seat from lucrative views would not only be treating the honor done me by my constituency with indelicacy, but inconsistent with that patriotic delicacy which ever affords the most agreeable reflections. These are my personal sentiments, nor do I, by any means, think I shall relinquish them." As a member of the naval committee he writes: "I shall do all in my power to get the naval department arranged properly, and hope it will be done in course of a week." Langdon and Bartlett show the utmost solicitude about the lottery tickets, and bespeak his help in their sale.

He writes Langdon from Philadelphia, April 19, 1777: "I

am glad to hear that the tickets go off so well. I hope fortune will smile on those who purchase on patriotic principles."

The year 1779 is still overcast with heavy clouds, but Whipple never falters in his devotion to the great cause of freedom. It must have been a busy and laborious year for him at Philadelphia. Writing Langdon February 16, he says: "The ensuing campaign will, I am confident, close the war if we act with vigor."

He must have been in the habit of sitting up late nights; at the conclusion of a letter he says: "It is now between two and three o'clock a. m., and I can hardly see." The financial problem must have engrossed much of the time of Congress this year; certainly the situation was appalling.

Writing to J. Langdon, Esq., under date March 7, 1779, from Philadelphia, he says: "I wish every evil you complain of were remedied, but we must be patient. I wish Congress had a sufficient degree of omnipotence to gratify the virtuous desires of every one, but they have not; that assembly is composed of men; men you know; men that are subject to all the frailties and imperfections of human nature, and stand in need of the assistance of their fellow-citizens, and would be glad would their fellow-citizens assist them so far as to cut the throats of those pests of society, who, under the character of speculators, are at this time doing more mischief than was ever done to a community by any set of villains since the creation of these people. Three fourths of the evils complained of are owing to them. If a way can be found to extirpate this race of infernals, I believe all things would go on very well."

April 15, 1779, he writes: "I should be glad to be relieved immediately, but my great desire to have the navy put on a more respectable footing inclines me to tarry until that is done unless my constituents determine otherwise." Under date of March 29, 1779, he writes as follows touching the currency, now so inflated as to be almost valueless: "The situation of the paper medium is matter of very serious concern, but one great difficulty is to persuade a sufficient number of men to think alike on the subject. This, I trust, may sometime or other be gotten over, and I still feast on hopes that in due

time we shall surmount every difficulty. Nothing would contribute more to this desirable event than a restoration of the public virtue to the state which it displayed five years ago, but as that is hardly to be expected, we must go on and combat the frailties of mankind and every incident evil, till nature, in her due course, produces such a convulsion as will effect a cure beyond the reach of human wisdom." May 24, 1779, again to J. Bartlett he writes: "You may expect a demand on New Hampshire for \$1,500,000 in addition to former requisitions; to collect this sum by taxes, or otherwise, will require great exertions. I hope (notwithstanding avarice with her attendant friends has exerted her whole power) there is still patriotism enough left to make one bold exertion to save the country from impending ruin."

Here is a shrewd piece of advice from J. Bartlett to Whipple: "I hope you will introduce the new delegate to the firmest Whigs, and prevent his being taken in by artful men of a different character before he is acquainted with them."

Again, under date June 12, 1779, General Whipple writes from Philadelphia to Josiah Bartlett as follows: "If there is not virtue enough to support the credit of money, there can be but little dependence on their virtue to support the army without money. False ambition and avarice are the most powerful enemies to public virtue; let these base passions be suppressed, and a fair field will be open to patriotism and every other noble principle on which the happiness of mankind depends. You say 'that mankind in general are such infernal and ungrateful beings that it seems but right that nine tenths of the world should be kept in order by force.' I have transcribed this paragraph for your further consideration, on which I mean not further to comment. The disposition you have shown in opposition to tyranny and monarchical government convinces me of the impossibility that you can really entertain sentiments repugnant to every principle of Republicanism."

On June 21, he addresses Mr. Bartlett again in these plain words: "Patriotism knows no interest in the least degree incompatible with that of the public weal. May I presume so far upon your friendship as to recommend the study of Repub-

licanism? This will have a tendency to abate your anxiety for the abatement of wealth, and prepare the mind to meet adversity."

In reply to some criticism, in a letter of March 29, 1779, to John Langdon, he says: "Conscious that no part of my conduct is, or ever has been, influenced by sinister views, and being also conscious that my feeble powers have ever been exerted for the public weal, and safeguarded by this impenetrable shield, I feel not the point of any complaints that may be leveled personally at me." To Langdon, July 12, 1779, he sends this word: "I have not so unfavorable an opinion of the regulators of the several towns as you seem to have. I am inclined to think they may answer a good temporary purpose at this juncture till other measures have time to operate."

Under date of August 29, 1779, he writes on the financial issue again the following wise words: "I imagine it will require as much virtue to lend money without interest as to sell goods for less price than the buyer would be willing to give, in short, the business of finance is very intricate; as many different opinions as men who think about it. While every man is so fond of his own brat, it is impossible that any plan should be adopted that will not meet with numerous opposers. However, I hope the difficulties will all be got over some time or other."

Richard Henry Lee, in writing Mr. Whipple, speaks of a "friendship founded on virtue tried in severest times;" and again addresses him as follows: "I have often admired the philosophic ease with which you have contemptuously viewed the proceedings of Congress which I own shocked me exceedingly. I suppose you have fixed your opinion with Mr. Pope, 'Whatever is is right.'" Lee's letters are bright, spirited, and entertaining.

But I have detained you quite too long with Mr. Whipple's correspondence, though vastly better than anything I could say it reveals the man, the patriot, the statesman. But little time is left to refer to his career as a soldier and judge.

In the house of representatives, state of New Hampshire, September 22, 1777, the following action was taken: "Voted

that Brig. Gen. Whipple be appointed to take the command of the troops gone and going from this state to reinforce the Northern army."

JOHN LANGDON, *Speaker*.

"Sent up for concurrence.

"In the council the same day read and passed.

"E. THOMPSON, *Secretary*."

I have no time to dwell upon the appalling situation of affairs in the country, and especially in the Northern army in the midsummer of this eventful and decisive year 1777. Prior to the battle of Bennington, August 16, the prospect was most gloomy and disheartening.

"The northern campaign," says the historian, Fiske, "whether we consider the picturesqueness of its incidentals or the magnitude of its results, was one of the most memorable in the history of mankind. A deadly struggle for the strategic centre of the Atlantic coast of North America. The triumphs at Saratoga set in motion a train of events from which the winning of independence was destined to follow. I take it that Saratoga would have been impossible without Bennington. Men called Ticonderoga the key of North America. Its evacuation by the Americans on the night of July 5 seemed to forebode nothing but complete disaster to their cause. Burgoyne was jubilant, and wrote home, 'The rebels have no men of military science.' King George rushed into the Queen's apartments shouting, 'I have beaten them! I have beaten all the Americans!'"

Says ex-President Bartlett: "The news of the loss of Ticonderoga fell on this whole region like the bursting of a water spout. We are very familiar with the glorious part taken by New Hampshire men under Stark in checking Burgoyne's advance and turning the tide at Bennington."

Our interest this evening centres in Stillwater and Saratoga. Whipple, as we have seen, was appointed brigadier-general September 27. He at once issues the following order: "All the volunteers and other troops belonging to the state of New Hampshire who are going to join the Northern army are hereby directed to march to Bennington by way of Brattleborough.

"Given under my hand at Merrimack, Oct. 2, 1777."

It may be said, in passing, that John Langdon, while in the speaker's chair, receiving an application from General Gates for troops, proposed that the legislature adjourn. This was adopted, and he went and was present at the surrender of Burgoyne.

The first battle in which General Whipple participated with his brigade of militia was on October 7, at Stillwater, or Bemis Hill. They fought desperately, and the loss on that day is said to have equaled or exceeded that of September 19. The sturdy, undisciplined yeomanry of New Hampshire met on that bloody field the picked of Burgoyne's army under five of his best commanders, one of whom, General Fraser, was killed, as was Breyman, who led the Canadian auxiliaries. In this engagement, General Arnold, to whom the success was largely due, was shot through the same leg that was wounded at Quebec. In his magnanimity he saved the fellow that shot him. It has been well said that this was the hour when Benedict Arnold should have died. General Whipple thus shared in a victory which was complete and decisive.

The result of this battle was that General Burgoyne found himself, as he attempted to retreat, surrounded by the American army, and accordingly, on October 17, 1777, surrendered. General Whipple was appointed, jointly with Colonel Williams, as the representatives of General Gates to meet the officers from General Burgoyne to settle the articles of capitulation. The moral effect of this surrender upon the country can hardly be exaggerated. The British had lost an army. Their attempt to break through the centre of the American position had ended in total defeat, and it now began to seem clear to discerning minds that there was small chance of their being able to conquer the United States. The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown just four years later was distinctly foreshadowed. The general feeling in England was one of amazement and consternation. Lord North turned somersaults, and moved in the house of commons that every one of the points for which Samuel Adams contended should be conceded forever and without further parley, and it was further provided that com-

missioners be sent over to treat with Congress, armed with full powers for negotiating peace. The conciliatory policy of Lord North had come at least two years too late. It is no small part of the permanent glory, the imperishable heritage of New Hampshire, that her sturdy sons, many of them quite unaccustomed to arms, under the leadership of Whipple, Stark, and Sullivan, should have shared in these decisive battles of the Revolutionary War. Their courage, alertness, patriotism, and self-sacrifice will challenge the remembrance and imitation of their children to the latest generation.

It ought further to be mentioned in connection with General Whipple's military record, that he assisted in directing the embarkation of the troops from Long Island, for which he received thanks as follows :

“Gen. Order, Aug. 31, 1778.

“The General cannot in justice to the merits of Gen. Cornell, Gen. Whipple, and other officers who directed the embarkation of the troops last evening, conclude the orders of this day without returning those gentlemen his cordial thanks for the great care and attention they paid to embarking the troops, and passing the Artillery and Baggage from the island to the main.” This is, as I suppose, from General Sullivan.

General Whipple was particularly active at one period as one of the superintendents of the commissary and quartermaster's department in which he corrected many abuses and otherwise added to its efficiency.

But I must hasten to speak briefly of a third capacity in which General Whipple, by his integrity and capacity, rendered the state of New Hampshire an important service. Early in the year 1783, General Whipple was elected by the assembly as a judge of the superior court to fill a vacancy made by the resignation of Judge Langdon. This, it seems to me, may be regarded as a crowning opportunity and honor of a singularly honorable and useful life. The chief justice at that time was Samuel Livermore, and the other associate judges, Josiah Bartlett, afterwards chief justice, and Leverett Hubbard. Livermore was educated in the law, though Hubbard alone was known distinctively as a technical lawyer, while

Bartlett was a practising physician, and Whipple was a merchant. To us it seems very strange, not to say inappropriate, that judges should be selected from any other profession than the law, and yet eminent judges were selected in those days from the ranks of the clergy, among whom was Meshech Weare, chief executive of the Revolutionary period, and first president under the constitution; Simeon Olcott and Timothy Farrar; and not the least distinguished of them was John Dudley, a farmer. "These judges were men of strong powers of mind, of large acquaintance with business, and superior in talent and information generally to the second-rate lawyers, who, with the salaries then paid, could be induced to take seats on the bench." Judge Smith thought that Farrar and Dudley greatly overmatched the lawyers associated with them on the bench. Theophilus Parsons pronounced Dudley, who not only had no legal education but little education of any kind, the best judge he ever knew in New Hampshire, and Arthur Livermore, in speaking of Dudley, said, "Justice was never better administered in New Hampshire than when the judges knew very little of what we lawyers call law. It is evident that the judges from other than the legal profession would be controlled in their decisions more by the spirit of equity than regard for the letter of the law." Samuel Livermore, chief justice, once charged the jury against paying too much attention to the niceties of the law, to the prejudice of justice. He cared little for precedent, and refused to be governed even by his own previous decisions. "Every tub must stand on its own bottom." It ought to be added that the bar of New Hampshire at that time, and for a long time subsequent to that, was distinguished for the ability of its lawyers; to this Story, Choate, and others bore testimony.

It was under such conditions, and in association of such men, that Gen. William Whipple discharged the duties of judge until his death in 1785, at fifty-five years of age. His brief career on the bench was, without doubt, characterized by the same uprightness, penetration, common sense, fairmindedness, industry, and desire for the maintenance of justice and equity among his fellow-men and the welfare of the commonwealth,

everywhere exhibited in the halls of the Continental Congress, and on the field of battle.

During his whole public life he was associated with great men engaged in great pursuits, himself their peer in greatness. Just as he had reached the maturity of his powers he died. It is not easy for the province and state of New Hampshire to estimate her indebtedness to this strong and noble man. He was one of the pillars of this ancient commonwealth. To his courage and fidelity we owe our comfort and prosperity. Were I to mention briefly the salient qualities of his character, they would be such as these: Good sense, knowledge of men and tact in dealing with men, fondness for work, unwavering loyalty to his country, steadfastness of purpose, unremitting diligence in the service of the colonies, the preference of the public good to his own personal interests, breadth of view, patience, capacity for friendship, generous estimate of opponents, unquestioned integrity, so that one biographer has said of him that "in all the relations of private and public life from the cabin boy up, he maintained a reputation pure as the virgin snow," and *above all, hopefulness*. This seems to me to be the crowning virtue of General Whipple's character, as it was the virtue most needed in the dark and discouraging years of his public life.

He appears in most distinct and noticeable contrast with his colleague, Josiah Bartlett, in this particular, who by his own admission was often the victim of doubt, despair, gloom.

Without a single exception, General Whipple takes the most cheerful and hopeful view of things, even in the darkest hour. The value of his persistent and contagious hopefulness during the almost continuous dark days of the Revolutionary struggle can scarcely be overestimated. It did much towards saving the credit and honor of the province of New Hampshire, and thus paving the way for her subsequent renown.

Strong, prosperous, happy, free, New Hampshire here to-night renews her vows of fealty to the memory of those who, with measureless toil and sacrifice, laid deep and solid the foundations of her greatness. With especial tenderness will she cherish the names of the illustrious trio whose signatures

made her a sovereign and independent state,—Thornton, Bartlett, Whipple.

“ We have need of these clear beacon-lights to warn and guide our age,
The great traditions of a nation's life,
Her children's lustrous deeds with honor rife,
Are her most precious jewels, noblest heritage,
Time-polished jewels in her diadem.”

FIRST ADJOURNED SEVENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL
MEETING, OCT. 6, 1898.

The first adjourned seventy-sixth annual meeting and field-day of the New Hampshire Historical Society was held at Manchester, Thursday, Oct. 6, 1898, by invitation of Colonel and Mrs. Arthur E. Clarke, the President, Secretary, and Librarian of the Society acting as a Committee of Arrangement. About seventy-five members and guests were in attendance.

The party arrived in Manchester about 11 o'clock in the forenoon, and were met at the railway station by Hon. John C. French, the President, and other members of the Manchester Historical Association, and were conveyed to the historic residence of Colonel Clark, at Stark Place at the north end of the city, where a reception was given by Mrs. Clarke, assisted by Mrs. J. N. Patterson of Concord and Mrs. John S. Fogg of Cambridge, Mass., both sisters of the hostess and daughters of the late Dr. Bouton, for many years a prominent member and officer of the Society.

The opening address of welcome was made by the Hon. John C. French, President of the Manchester Society, and the response by Hon. Lyman D. Stevens, President of the State Society. Other addresses were made by Henry O. Herrick, Esq., Colonel Clarke, Hon. Joseph Kidder, and Rev. Dr. Lockhart of Manchester; Hon. Joseph B. Walker and Judge Sylvester Dana of Concord; Hon. W. W. Bailey of Nashua; President Charles S. Murkland of Durham; William C. Todd, Esq., of Atkinson, and others. The addresses were reminiscent of Gen. John Stark and his compatriots of the Revolutionary period.

The speakers generally expressed a desire that the Society might memorialize our state congressional delegation to hasten favorable action, if possible, on the part of the national government for the erection of an equestrian statue of Stark, the hero of the battle of Bennington, in the park in Manchester bearing his name, commemorating his fame, and in which repose his mortal remains.

After the addresses a delicious lunch was elegantly served in the dining-room of the hostess, an orchestra rendering selections during the reception and lunch.

A brief business meeting was held at which a vote of thanks was tendered Colonel and Mrs. Clarke for the delightful manner in which the Society had been entertained, and to the President of the Manchester Association for generous courtesies received.

The following named persons were elected active members of the Society :

Willis George Buxton and Abial Walker Rolfe of Penacook, Mr. Josiah B. Sanborn of Concord, and President Charles S. Murkland of Durham.

The party afterward visited General Stark's burial-place in the park, and the residence of Augustus H. Stark, a great grandson, where are preserved many mementos of Stark and his family.

Later the company were given a ride in the directors' car of the electric railway, visiting the new high school building, Derryfield park, the Amoskeag mills, and other points of interest. The party left Manchester homeward bound at 5 p. m.

The charming weather added much to the enjoyment of the annual outing.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,
Secretary.

Regular monthly meetings of the Society (adjournments of the annual meeting) have been held on the second Wednesday of each month from December, 1898, to May, 1899, inclusive, for the transaction of business, but more particularly for the delivery of addresses.

At the meeting held Dec. 14, 1898, President Stevens in the chair, the Secretary being absent, Rev. N. F. Carter was chosen Secretary *pro tem*.

Rev. D. C. Roberts, D. D., of Concord, was the orator of the day. His subject was "The Life and Character of Rt. Rev. Philander Chase, D. D., Bishop of Ohio and Illinois."

The address was a very able one and a vote of thanks was tendered the speaker, and a copy of the address requested for preservation or publication.¹

Hon. C. R. Corning offered the following resolutions, which were adopted by a unanimous vote :

WHEREAS, no opportunity has been afforded the Society, until the meeting this day held, to express its appreciation of the courtesy and kindness shown to it on its last field-day in Manchester by Colonel and Mrs. Arthur E. Clarke, and the Manchester Historical Association, therefore

Resolved, That the hearty thanks of this Society be and they are hereby tendered to Colonel and Mrs. Clarke, and the Manchester Historical Association, for the elegant and very enjoyable reception given the members of our Society at the historic homestead of Gen. John Stark, and for the tour of observation through the city of Manchester and the Amoskeag mills, under the conduct of the Manchester Historical Association.

Resolved, That the field-day of 1898 was one of the most interesting and delightful in the experience of our Society, and will be remembered as the red-letter day in its history.

Resolved, That the Secretary transmit a copy of these resolutions to Colonel and Mrs. Clarke, and to the President of the Manchester Historical Association.

Adjourned at 3 p. m.

At the meeting held Wednesday, January 11, 1899, President Stevens in the chair, Rev. Lucius Waterman, D. D., of

¹ This address was printed in Vol. XXVI of the *Granite Monthly*, page 85.

Tilton, delivered an address, the subject of which was "The Right Reverend William Bell White Howe, late Bishop of South Carolina."

THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM BELL WHITE HOWE, D. D.,
SON OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, AND SOMETIME BISHOP OF
SOUTH CAROLINA.

I once knew a certain minister here in New Hampshire, who had more than the average of scholarship and of general culture, and withal a good deal of eloquence, but if he had been an apple,—with bated breath I say it of so eminent a man, and one who had lived long under the influence of the certainly uplifting scenery of our beautiful state,—I *think* that he would have been a *crab apple*. This excellent man did on one Thanksgiving day move his congregation to a devout gratitude that they were not as other men were, and the title of his discourse, which was, I believe, regarded as a "historical sermon," was

THE PURITAN AND THE CAVALIER.

Now, my old friend, who under this attractive heading grouped some of his opinions and feelings about the early settlers of Massachusetts and Virginia, respectively, and indeed, about "the North" and "the South," in general, was, with all his learning, simply blind to the historical meaning of any of these simple-seeming but really complex terms, "Puritan," "Cavalier," "Massachusetts," "Virginia," "North," or "South."

Just to show how deeply unacquainted with the facts a student of history can be, I will mention at this point a pleasant young high school teacher whom I met one day last year, a thoughtful and honest youth, born and bred in a New England state, who assured me that he had always supposed that when the Southern states seceded, *no Southern man had any political or social convictions* in regard to the matters concerned, but that it was all "*a mercantile matter*," to use my young friend's own phrase. My reverend brother who preached the Thanksgiving Day sermon was not so deeply darkened as that, but he did entertain the usual impression, that to be conscientious, self-sacri-

ficing, pure of heart, unflinchingly true in word and deed, zealous, ready to suffer and even die for the least point of what was held as faith or duty, was in the 16th or 17th century to be a Puritan, whereas the description which I have given applies perfectly in every syllable to the Puritans' great opponent, the martyred Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud. The theory that a severe and stubborn conscientiousness was distinctively a *Puritan* attribute dies hard. Only last month a magazine of such pretensions to scholarship as the *Atlantic Monthly* admitted a reference from a Californian writer "to that old Puritan conscience, which is still the backbone of the civilization of the republic."

Well, what has all this to do with the late Bishop Howe? Why, first, that when I recalled that sermon-title, I bethought me how thoroughly our people generally have been deluded into a certain idea about the meaning of the word "Puritan." I considered how readily again they would follow my glowing and grateful orator in identifying the spirit of the "lost cause" of two hundred and fifty years ago with the spirit of another "lost cause" of less than forty years back, and so I had made up my mind (with apologies to the memory of Dr. Howe, and to the Muse of History) to call my hero

THE PURITAN CAVALIER.

A soberer second thought taught me that in the title I had builded wiser than at first I knew. This hero of mine—you will find that he really was a hero in a certain quiet and unexcitable fashion that takes more out of a man than a cavalry charge is at all apt to—this hero who went from an unmixed Massachusetts ancestry, and became a South Carolinian not in residence only, but in the whole make-up of his mind, and who then at last stood forward and led South Carolina into new views of justice and true chivalry when South Carolina was almost ready to stone him for his leadership, this man in whom two diverse strains were so happily mingled in the final making of his character, was really the fine result of an uncommon combination of the influences that belong to an earlier stock. The man was really Puritan by blood, and

Cavalier by adoption. Whether we who read his story can understand rightly what these influences mean, or no, "Puritan Cavalier" must be his just description.

The life of Dr. Howe falls naturally into three divisions. If I should ask you to remember that the first covered something over twenty-one years and a half, and the second a little under twenty-seven, and the third almost exactly twenty-three, you could not remember my figures, and you would have no picture before you. I do invite you to think of a life of seventy years—the actual number was between seventy-one and seventy-two—and to divide it into periods of twenty, thirty, and twenty years again. We may describe them as the periods of the Northern Beginnings, the Southern Adoption, and the Burden of the Episcopate.

I. THE NORTHERN BEGINNINGS.

The future bishop was born in Claremont, March 31, 1823, the son of Rev. James Blake Howe and Mary White, his wife. Both parents were Massachusetts people in all their original belongings, but they struck deep roots into our New Hampshire soil in a residence of more than a quarter of a century. Mr. Howe was rector of the Episcopal church in Claremont, having begun his service there as a "supply," after the cautious fashion of the times, in July, 1818, and given such satisfaction that on April 13, 1819, he was able to record in the Parish Register, "I was this day chosen Rector of Union Church, and accepted the Holy Office with a salary of \$700 *per annum*." Evidently a business-like, as well as a devout, man,—this parson from Massachusetts,—and in days when there was very little superintendence of the Episcopalian clergy, it is greatly to his credit that for nearly twenty-five years he kept his Parish Register faithfully, "writing," the present rector of Union church tells me, "with a hand producing copperplate work that might well be reproduced for Spencerian copy-books," and not only that, but wrote in a sort of diary of his work, covering close on 175 pages of the register book. I may add that Mr. Howe was distinctly a gentleman of the old school. My good friend, Mr. Horace A. Brown, sometime mayor of the city of Concord, who

was baptized by him, and still remembers him with affection and respect, is my authority for the statement that even so late as the '40s the Rev. James Blake Howe wore the knee-breeches of an elder day, and walked the streets of Claremont village in academic cap and gown.

In 1820 the Episcopalian society was prosperous enough to buy a brick building in the rising village, about two miles southeast of the old church, and in the year following Mr. William Bell White, a merchant of Boston, adorned this new "Trinity Chapel" with two glass chandeliers. "William Bell White" was the name given to the Rector's little son at his baptism, June 1, 1823, and when we observe that the name of the child's mother was Mary White, and that *her* mother's father was Major William Bell, we may feel pretty sure that the William Bell White who gave chandeliers to the new chapel and a name to the new baby was the baby's uncle, the mother's own brother. From him must have come also Major Bell's sword, which passed as an heirloom to the representative of the church's militancy, and is preserved in the bishop's family still.

But except that the boy grew up to manhood and went to the University of Vermont for his college course,—I have wondered why *there*, rather than to our own Dartmouth, and have much suspected that there was a religious motive,—at Burlington the Episcopal church had a certain strength under sturdy Bishop Hopkins, who was a crank and a genius and a giant, while at Hanover the Episcopal church was only saved from being utterly despised by the fact that it was n't there, and could be conveniently forgotten¹—except, I say, for these two facts, that he grew up, as boys do, and that he went to the University over at Burlington, across the mountains, a rather

¹ A very curious bit of New Hampshire history, well worthy to be judicially investigated and set out some time by this Society, is the story of Professor Hale's endeavor to keep up services of the Episcopalian order in his own room at Dartmouth College, and of the determination of the authorities to suppress such a piece of independency, ending in the abolition of the Chair of Chemistry, the removal of the offender being found the only way to the removal of the offense. All this burning and blazing quarrel had had place a very few years before the Rev. James Blake Howe was called upon to choose a college for his son's academic training.

tremendous journey in those days, and for the one further item, that when he got through college, he was a delicate lad, about whom his friends were anxious lest he should go into a consumptive decline, I really know nothing of his youth save some elements of his surrounding atmosphere. But atmosphere does much to make a man, and I shall have a word to say about two matters of atmosphere affecting Mr. Howe's youth,—first, about his father's troubles at Claremont, and second, about the boy's ancestry and his title to be called a "Puritan."

But little seems now to be known about the causes of friction between the Rev. James Blake Howe and the people to whom he had ministered for nearly twenty-five years, beyond the fact that at Easter, 1843, the Society voted to dismiss him, and he would not be dismissed. There is a tradition that doctrinal troubles arose in the Congregational church and that a disaffected party came over to the Episcopalians and proceeded to make trouble among their new friends by trying to get the endowment of the old "Union Church" in "the West Part" transferred to "Trinity Chapel" in the village. However that may be, there are signs, I think, that the trouble came somehow from a rivalry between the two parts of the parish, in which the rector's sympathy went naturally to the party of the village, because the village plainly had a future before it, and in which the party of the farmers in "the West Part" was temporarily strong enough to carry things with a high hand. If it has not very much to do with my hero's story, it is at any rate a bit of New Hampshire local history that we here may well be interested in piecing together.

For a while the Society had been able to employ two clergymen, and then all went well. Then we come to this entry in the diary:

"1837, March 28. Easter Tuesday. At the Vestry Meeting it was voted not to employ an assistant minister, and Rev. Mr. Hoit, by invitation, went to Middlebury, Vt. It was likewise voted to close Union Church, and to open Trinity Chapel every Sunday."

We may trust that when "Rev. Mr. Hoit by invitation went to Middlebury," the "invitation" proceeded from Middlebury rather

than from Claremont. But the resolution to close Union church looks like a quarrel between the two sections of the parish, with "first blood" for the village. There is no further record of any use of the old church save for Episcopal visitations, which still recognized it officially as the representative church of the parish, or for funerals, for the space of three years. But for April 21, 1840, we find this: "Easter Tuesday. It was voted by Union Church Society that the Rector should be requested to preach alternately (on Sundays) in Trinity Chapel and in the West Church, until the middle of November next ensuing."

That seems like a fair compromise. One wishes to think that the rector himself had wisdom and justice enough to suggest it. Certainly, if he was like his son, William, he possessed such qualities in an eminent degree. But two years later the bad example given by the village people in 1837 was followed by the farmers in *their* hour of triumph.

"1842, March 29. Easter Tuesday. Vestry Meeting, when it was voted to open the West Church every Sunday for Divine Service, the ensuing year."

Now all farmers keep horses and can drive to church, and wherever the church is situated, most of them *will* go in that way. But not all village people keep horses, and it is harder to ask them to go two miles to church every Sunday, over a country road, than to ask the average farmer to go five. If Mr. Howe felt that this decision of 1842 was mean, and said so, my sympathies are entirely with Mr. Howe. But whatever he may have done, or said, this at any rate is the entry of the next year, the year that his twenty-year-old son was to come back a graduate from the University of Vermont:

"1843, April 18. Easter Tuesday. Contrary to Canon 23 for the government of the P. E. Church in the U. S. A., the Society voted to dismiss me as Rector, and that my salary should be discontinued; accordingly, Union Church, in which we had had Divine Service, as per vote of said Society on Easter Tuesday, in the year 1842, was found closed against me the two Sundays immediately succeeding the aforesaid Vestry Meeting of April 18, 1842, in the following manner—

door locked, but key in the lock—no preparation made for the due performance of Divine Service¹—no bell rung—no persons assembled for worship. Such being the case, on the Sunday after, that is to say, on the 3d Sunday after the said Vestry Meeting of 1843, by virtue of the power of the keys of the Church, with which I was invested at my institution as Rector, I opened Trinity Chapel, and have continued ever since, on every Sunday, so to do. And blessed be the Great Head of the Church, we have good congregations and quite large communions.”

Mr. Howe was quite right as to his view of the law of the Episcopal church. It has been settled by the civil courts of state after state that in that denomination the rector of a parish, duly called and settled, cannot be dismissed, nor his salary withheld, or even reduced, by his congregation or vestry, without his own consent. But the situation had become quite impossible, and three months later we are relieved to read of a settlement by authority.

“1843, Aug. 4th. The Standing Committee of this Diocese (there being no Bishop) recommended that I should resign the Rectorship of Union Church, and for so doing s^d Union Church should pay me \$1,000.00 by instalments of \$250.00 for four successive years,—the times of s^d payments to be made on the 4th day of August of each year.

“In compliance with the aforesaid recommendation, with the conditions thereunto annexed, I have tendered to the Wardens of Union Church, and they have received, my resignation.”

There is what I should call a conspicuous quietness in these extracts from the Rev. James Blake Howe's record. One cannot fail to read between the lines. One feels that there was an element of tragedy in the affair. But except for the remark that the procedure of the Society in voting to dismiss him was contrary to the laws of the Episcopal church, under which law their proceedings had, of course, to be taken,

¹Lest the curious in such matters should be distressed in later years to know what ritual adjuncts had to be “prepared” in New Hampshire in 1843, we hasten to say that this was Mr. Howe's stately way of saying, “No fire made” in our chilly April weather.

there is no accusation, no complaint. I get the impression that the rector of Union church was a man who did not lose his balance easily. Whether he had a keen sense of humor, by the way, and whether his son, the Bishop, had, I have not been able to find out. If it is wanting in any man, there is in that man an important defect. Just one flickering suggestion dances before the enquiring eye in those old West Claremont records. In 1837 appears this entry: "Oct. 4, Sunday. Rev. Metcalf, Le Roy, State of N. Y., preached all day." Either Mr. Howe had much humor, or none, when he penned that line. I am a little afraid that it was "none."

But he was a strong man and a good man, to all appearance, and I know from experience that it makes a deep impression on a young man's heart and mind, when he thinks that his father has been treated meanly by a people among whom that father has grown gray in the assiduities of pastoral service. When William Howe went South, he carried with him, we may be sure, a bitter sense of a certain mean hardness that certainly has had much place in our New England life. I think that that wounded feeling and the balms which Southern hospitality applied to it, did much to make him over into a Southern devotee.

But still he carried to the South, however much he may have reacted from home traditions, a particular make-up, a particular development of character, which the North makes, and the South does not make. He was a son of Puritanism. Now I *had* thought of calling this period in Bishop Howe's life "The Period of the Northern Education." I changed the title to "Northern Beginnings," advisedly. I humbly accept the *dictum* of our wisely witty Dr. Holmes, that the first requisite for bringing up children really well is to give them a good set of ancestors. No one can say how much heredity counts for in the world, but it does count. I have made a table, then, of Bishop Howe's ancestry, as far as I could learn it without making a journey to Boston to look up genealogies in the Public Library. The mother of the Rev. James Blake Howe was Patience Blake before her marriage with Abraham Howe. I have seven generations of Howes on my paper, not

counting the Bishop himself, and seven generations of Blakes, six of Whites (his mother's family name), and three of Bells, if I may count his mother as one of them, and then add *her* mother and her grandfather, the Major. The Howes and Blakes and Whites were all among the earliest settlers of the Massachusetts Bay colony. It goes without saying that they were a sturdy stock. Three of the first Blakes were recorders, or town clerks, of Dorchester, and the fourth Blake, the third of the name of James, was also one of the most noted surveyors of his time, and writer of Blake's "Annals of Dorchester." The second of the Whites was also a selectman of Dorchester for a few years in the last decade of the 17th century.

For distinction, however, Major Bell is certainly pre-eminent. He was twice commander of "The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company" of Boston, the oldest militia organization in America, and, except the "London Artillery," oldest in the world. In 1773 he was refused admission for his troop to drill on Boston common, and led them off to Copp's Hill. In later days there arose in a town-meeting a question as to the ownership of Copp's Hill, and Capt. Bell was summoned as a witness. He deposed that the drill-ground on the hill was the property of the Artillery Company, and that when they were ordered out of the common years before, he had marched them *there* "as being a place that no one had the right to exclude them from." "Supposing a party of British troops should have been in possession of it," he was asked by the moderator, "and should have forbidden entrance, what would you have done?" Mr. Moderator had a legal mind, one may suppose, and wanted to know what sort of proofs of legal right the Captain would have submitted to the courts. "I would have charged bayonets," was the Captain's startling answer, "and forced my way, as surely as I would force my way into my own house, if taken possession of by a gang of thieves." That was the Major Bell whose sword and whose name and somewhat of whose habit of mind descended to William Bell White Howe.

But even more interesting than personal distinctions, in this

connection, is the prevailing Puritanism of the family line. The Rev. James Blake Howe was a clergyman of the Episcopal Church, and plainly not of the Puritan party. Whether he was the first to leave the old line, or how long the family may have been out of it, I cannot find. But Robert Howe came from Essex, a stronghold of Puritanism, and William Blake from Plymouth, which was another. Between Robert and James Howe come five others, two Abrahams, two Isaacs, and a Samuel. The Blakes were apt to be Jameses, but in both families the marriages were among women of the Puritan style. "Hannah" and "Ruth" appear side by side in one generation. "Submit" and "Wait" are parallel great-grandmothers in another. Two Elizabeths and two Patiences keep the tradition pure. If James Blake Howe left the Puritan party, he could not at once make over the Puritan blood.

What, then, is the gift of a Puritan party to its offspring? Well, the son of a Puritan may, of course, be no Puritan. He may be, in almost every fibre of his being, a representative of reaction. But if Puritanism cannot form him directly through his personal bent, it will form him in a measure through an atmosphere which it created around him, as it has largely made the atmosphere for all of us in our New England life. Let us try to catch the really characteristic fact of Puritanism, the thing which makes a man Puritan, not merely the things which Puritans had in great measure, and a host of other Englishmen had, too. And this true characteristic of the Puritan in every age is not conscience, not valor, not firmness, not truth. All these are found in large measure, and in just as high development, in the party of the opposition. The real distinction of the Puritan, in all ages and in all lands, is the undue preponderance of intellect over heart.

Honesty, purity, zeal, self-sacrifice,—all these qualities are exhibited as gloriously, and the last more so, I think, on the other side. Indeed, if we are to do justice to this subject of Puritan influence in history, we must distinguish between two kinds of sacrifice of self. There is a self-sacrifice of self-assertion and self-will, which will do anything, no matter how hard, endure anything, no matter how painful, for the sake of

having its own way. There is a self-sacrifice of self-abnegation and self-suppression, which gives up its own comfort, its own ease, its wealth, its life, and, harder still, its preferences, to give some one else the fruition of a great desire. Surely every one must realize that the self-sacrifice of Puritans was generally of the former class. Your true Puritan will endure anything else to have his own way. Touch the centre of his stubborn will, and he will give up nothing for love's sake. He is hard. He is narrow. He does not readily make room for people who differ from him to live in the same church, in the same house, in the same business, even in the same civil order with him. It is the strangest of historical delusions that keeps presenting the Puritan before us as a man believing in universal toleration and ready to suffer and die to gain for other men the liberty to worship God (or not to) according to their own consciences, right or wrong. The Puritan of 250 years ago declared roundly that toleration was "an error false as hell." He was a persecutor. He went on as a persecutor, even unto death, after every other type of Englishman had given up that kind of thing. Nay, it is actually Laud, not Cromwell, whose writings foreshadow the kind of compromise on which all modern English liberty is built up. "Compromise!" What a word in a Puritan ear! It takes some largeness of heart for a man of conscience to see how he can make compromises without compromising himself. Yet compromise is the foundation of true justice in this broken world. The Puritan movement was *not* the saving salt that kept us from corruption, largely because of this very thing, that Puritan self-sacrifice is always a form of self-indulgence. The habit of indulgence in self-will is not a moral preservative.

But I began to say that what the Puritan really had for a characteristic was keenness of intellect not worthily balanced by warmth and tenderness of feeling. I want to moralize somewhat at length on that idea. Much follows from it.

And in the first place, the Puritan is not always wise, never supremely wise. Heartless reason is not by any means sure to be reasonable, and cannot at all attain to the highest reason. And yet a Puritan party is sure to be a party of reforms, just because it has so little of the hindrance of affection to blind

the eyes of criticism. Intellect is radical. Heart is conservative. Heart alone is nobler than intellect alone, more god-like than intellect. But a less noble man may see a particular truth more clearly than a nobler man in a particular case.

Again, the Puritans of the seventeenth century were on the side of progress, but it is easy to give them too much credit in that connection. Let us consider some make-weights on the other side. In the first place, they had no vision of our modern system. They led the way to it nearly as blindly as their opponents were dragged along with them. Secondly, when they came into power they were so far from using it wisely that they gave England one of the worst governments that England ever had, and within twenty years they were swept out of power. It is a simple fact that all England's progress since has been made under non-Puritan leadership. Thirdly, in this country also they built on unwise foundations, and the building fell. Let us face the facts. Slavery was one of their foundations. They even sold men and women of their own English race into slavery for the crime of being Quakers. Restricted suffrage was, rightly or wrongly, one of their foundations. Absolute union of church and state was another. All these things have been swept away, but the things which we glory in as constituting the New England idea of to-day, have been accomplished for us largely by the successful struggles of New England men and women who rose up and did battle against the Puritan administration and Puritan ideas. Puritanism has often pointed to reforms, but it has never in any age conducted a reform movement wisely. It is in great measure because its "views" are not justly balanced by the finer forces of true human feeling.

I cannot expect that people who have been brought up to believe in that view of our Puritan forefathers which assigns to them every quality which we have learned in the nineteenth century to consider admirable will immediately grant that I am right in what I have just been saying. But I am going to ask them to think of two or three points which may be worthy of being considered later, as they read or think of these matters.

Am I not right, first, in saying that love is conspicuously

present on the cavalier side in English history, and conspicuously absent on the other? Was not Charles I, with all his faults, followed to the death by the personal devotion of men, great men, too, who really loved him? But who loved Cromwell? Was he not followed because, and only because, men agreed with his opinions, or saw their opportunity in his service? I venture to challenge any thoughtful student to go back over that history minutely, looking for this one thing, human feeling, and see if I am not broadly right. The Puritan party has always been the party of keen intellect not worthily balanced by warmth of love.

Again, I will ask attention to characteristic differences between New England and either Southern or Middle States, which every one who has lived in our atmosphere, and also in one of those other atmospheres, knows well. Just as soon as one gets out of our clear, but cold, New England, human life becomes a warmer and sweeter thing. There is a more generous hospitality, a kindlier sharing of the good things of life between one another, a greater power of enjoying life, a better habit of enjoying life. What does it all mean? It means just what I have been suggesting,—a better balance of intellect and heart, of judgment and feeling, of work and play. It is true that the predominance of intellect over feeling is no longer great enough to make us Puritans, but it is quite strong enough to make the Puritan inheritance traceable. Thus inventive genius runs stronger in the New England stock than in others. Thus again, "Yankee smartness" has become proverbial, and New England has been easily foremost in making it so,—a mental acumen which may easily degenerate into the "wooden nutmeg" cleverness of a cheat, but which can also produce such lawyers as Webster and Choate, and such ministers as the Beechers and the Bacons, Horace Bushnell and William Ellery Channing and R. S. Storrs. I make bold to claim that pure intellectual leadership has proceeded *much* more from New England than from any other section of our country. Our colleges and schools, all the country over, are officered quite disproportionately by sons and daughters of the Puritan stock. Certainly, on the other side, those of them

who do the best work are generally far from being Puritans themselves.

Or again, if you examine the intellectual product of the South for comparison, you will find that it is (in the main) intellect deeply touched by emotion. It runs particularly naturally, for instance, to fervid oratory. Examine the *emotional* product of the North,—of New England, at any rate, and districts settled from New England, and you will find that it is feeling working itself out through intellectual processes. Whether the New England heart reaches out towards its brother in benevolence, or toward God in devotion, it runs pitifully to “fads” and “isms,” to strange sects and wild theories and hare-brained experiments, to “views” and “methods,” to novel philanthropies, to what I may call “patent religions,” “warranted to cure a world in a day.” We organize our charities till there is less charity than organization. We have societies for doing almost everything, and do not observe whether anything is done.

I must give one more instance of this unbalanced intellectualism. The other day a friend of mine was a dinner guest at a home within ten miles of Boston common, and heard a woman, young, well-educated, ambitious, a college graduate, of course, declaring that *if* she ever married, she should insist that the promise of fidelity should read,—not “till death us do part,” but “till we come to feel that it is better for us to part.” I do not mean to take her too seriously. She may not have been utterly serious herself. Neither do I put that forward as a typical New England utterance. God forbid! But the saying reminds one of a noteworthy social fact, that it is just where the stream of Puritan influence has been strongest throughout our land, that we find the break-up of family life most common through the social cancer of easy divorce. Am I not justified in some measure in saying that the Puritan legacy to the 19th century is intellectuality without enough of heart? South Carolina, it may be added, is the one State that has protected the family so sacredly as never to allow any divorce at all.

But what is the effect of the legacy of a departed Puritanism upon Bishop Howe? I confess that I cannot tell. I suspect

that though a man of very deep and strong affections, he was an example of the predominantly intellectual type, which Puritanism makes common. I am much impressed with his fear and abhorrence of a pure democracy of government by the rabble, which is distinctly one of the things for which not Puritanism, but the triumphant revolt against Puritanism, is responsible. What I feel chiefly sure of is this: Puritan New England laid an icy touch on the young man's heart, and the cavalier South melted that chill away.

II. THE SOUTHERN ADOPTION.

In October, 1844, the General Convention of the Episcopal Church was in session in the city of Philadelphia, and the Rev. James Blake Howe, a visitor from New Hampshire, took the opportunity to introduce to the then Bishop of South Carolina, Dr. Gadsden, his son, whose delicate lungs made it desirable that while preparing for the work of the ministry he should find a position in the South. Bishop Gadsden received the young man kindly, and found him a position where he could earn his support as a lay-reader and catechist, assisting in the work of the Rev. Cranmore Wallace, rector of St. John's, Berkeley, a rural parish not far from Charleston, who also superintended the young man's theological studies.

Imagine, if you can, the moral effect of such a change on this young man, under twenty-two years of age, in delicate health, and who had looked at the world through his father's experiences, and found it a cold, hard, mean world. Here he was suddenly introduced into one of the most charming social centres that had ever existed, and found that there was in human life a gracious possibility such as he had hardly dreamed of. He had changed far more than his sky. Here were chivalry and tenderness and warmth. Here for the frigid and formal entertainments of New England, with their careful book-keeping and conscientiously accurate payment of social debts, was an open-handed, open-hearted hospitality that simply gave at every opportunity, the same to old friend and to utter stranger, and thought not of return. I will not spend time on the contrast. Suffice it that the young son of New

England found the same difference in the people as in the climate. Sore and irritated surfaces healed under their touch. What a difference in the life! And then came a question that pressed for an answer. Which *view* of life was he himself to hold as true? The view of those whose life seemed noble and delightful! The view of those whose life he had found ignoble and repellent! Which must he accept as the sounder philosophy of life? That is the way that I read his story, reading, I confess, entirely between the lines. At any rate, this is what befell. The young man laid down his Northern prejudices, and embraced every Southern view of disputed questions with all his heart. Accepted as a candidate for Holy Orders in February, 1845, he was ordained to the diaconate in April, 1847, and to the priesthood in June, 1849, and from his ordination as a deacon he spent nearly thirteen years in the work of the same rural neighborhood where he had first come as a lay reader, only removing at the beginning of 1860, to be assistant to the aged rector of St. Philip's, Charleston, the oldest parish in South Carolina, and one of the most noted in the South. But before we follow him into the trials and burdens of the war-time, I want to say something more about his conversion to Southern views.

I shall begin with acknowledging that Southern life would never have seemed so beautiful to the young student from New Hampshire, if he had not loved and married a daughter of the South. I know not how long the courtship had been going on, but when he had been in South Carolina about six years, and had been a year and a half a priest of the Episcopal Church, the Rev. Mr. Howe was married, Dec. 12, 1850, to Miss Catharine Gadsden Edwards, a niece of Bishop Gadsden, and a representative of some of the best traditions of the Southern country. Her ancestry is in some ways curiously unlike her husband's. His is wholly American for almost 200 years before his birth; her's goes back to England in half that time. His derives from Parliamentary Essex and South Devon; her's, in the Edwardses, at least, from Royalist Bristol. His contains no names that are not heavily British; one of her great-grandmothers was Margaret Perronneau, before she gave

her hand to John Edwards of Bristol, and brought a touch of Gallic sprightliness to the make-up of the family line. But there are stories belonging to these South Carolina families that will touch any New England reader with a sympathetic thrill. The first of the Gadsdens in this country was Thomas, sometime a lieutenant in the Royal Navy, and later collector of His Majesty's port of Charleston; but his son Christopher learned the lesson of loyalty from this king's officer and applied it in another way. Born in Charleston in 1724, he knew no higher earthly loyalty than the loyalty to his own land. One of the first to advocate colonial independence, he was a member of the Colonial Assembly at New York in 1765, and of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia in 1774, a brigadier-general in the army from 1776 to 1779, when in a dark day he resigned that office to assume the still more hazardous position of lieutenant-governor of South Carolina. The next year it fell to him to sign the articles of capitulation, when Charleston had to surrender to Sir Henry Clinton, and as a notable prisoner, Governor Gadsden was carried to Florida and confined in a solitary dungeon at St. Augustine for the space of ten months. That was one of the bride's grandfathers. On the other side, her great-grandfather, John Edwards, has, I am told, the honorable distinction of being *the first American that offered his wealth to the support of the colonial cause*. He also was a sufferer when Charleston surrendered in 1780. His house was thought worthy to have such an officer as Admiral Arbuthnot quartered in it, and the admiral became interested in his involuntary host. "He was surprised," he said, "and Sir Henry Clinton was surprised, that a gentleman of his standing should have embarked in this mad rebellion. It was still possible for him to draw out of it, and obtain the Royal favor." Mr. Edwards was unshaken. He would rather die, he said, than be a traitor to his country, and disgrace the name that might be all that he could leave to his children. And so he also went a prisoner to St. Augustine, to come out the next summer with broken health, and die in Philadelphia while trying to make his way back to family and home. From him Catharine Gadsden Edwards was doubly descended, her

father and mother being own cousins, after a common fashion of South Carolina, as of my own native state, Rhode Island.

These Gadsdens and Edwardses are a good sort, such people as we should all like to agree with in great matters of conviction,—I beg your pardon,—I should say, such as we should like to have agree with *us*. It may not be uninteresting to ask right here, how these high-minded, large-hearted people, and our good Mr. Howe along with them, *could* hold convictions that we have learned from childhood to abhor. Indulge me, I pray you, in a digression on two Southern beliefs,—in the righteousness of slavery, and in the validity of state rights, as including the right to leave the Union.

I hold no brief for human slavery, even for negro slavery. I hold it to be a wrong, and a dead wrong. And I rejoice to think that when a wrong has once been killed in practice, nobody goes on believing in it very long in theory. But a living wrong is different. I do not ask you to think that Southern opinion was right. I only want you to feel that it lies not with us to blame it for going wrong. For why? We have a parallel wrong of our own, and our people are just as slow to see it! Some of you may think me a foolish radical, but I declare to you as part of my prophesying, which I hold my place in the world to utter, that our present industrial system, with its constant output of sweat-shops and strikes and riots and "scabs" and tramps, and degradations quite unmentionable here, is itself a slavery and a cruelty. It produces quite as much human misery in any one year now, as negro slavery ever produced in our land in any worst year of its existence. But men say, "We cannot help it. It is the working of natural law." So said the inheritors of two centuries of slavery in the South. "If a number of our mills and shops should stop running," says the modern objector, "it would only increase enormously our pitiful industrial distress." Exactly so said the Southern slaveholder. He knew—for, indeed, in this he was not mistaken—that a sudden universal emancipation would leave most of its subjects far worse off than ever they were before. Just think of the parallels. In both cases thoughtful observers declare that they see, along with much of comfort and prosperity, not

only actual suffering, but also theoretical injustice. In both cases it is replied that the system is here, that it depends upon individual character how it results, and that just as a matter of practical common sense, it cannot possibly be changed. In one case, slavery was threatened by abolitionists. In the other case, our present industrial system is threatened by anarchists and socialists. In both cases these theorizing radicals seemed powerless at first to do any real mischief, but the John Brown raid gave one warning, and the Chicago bomb-throwers gave another, to show that theory mixed with passion is a dangerous explosive force. The South went on insisting that whatever wrong was in slavery was inevitable, and called it "patriarchal," and would not set itself to make a way of escape. The North is now insisting, in precisely the same way, that what is wrong in our industrial system,—the slavery and degradation of *our* submerged masses, whether of toilers or of shirks,—is inevitable, too, and *we* call it "the natural order," and "the result of a necessary evolution," and think that we need not trouble ourselves as to what evolution shall evolve next. The South was found, in my belief, to have made a moral mistake, and the moral mistakes of nations never go unpunished. South, and North also, paid an awful price, of money, which was comparatively a small thing, and of tears and blood and human life, for that mistake. The North—but I am no prophet of the future! I only ask you to try to see that we have not shown ourselves ready to deal with our own social questions any more nobly or more wisely than our brethren of the South dealt with theirs. A whole people, confronted with a complicated social problem, very rarely solves it by wisdom. It is generally taken out of their hands by the stern act of God.

And if it was just the happy accident of our not having it for our own problem that enabled us to see that slavery was an evil that needed ending, so it was very much with the matter of the right of secession. I make bold to say that if the Constitution of the United States had expressly declared that, once in, no State could ever by its own act get out again, or if it had not been generally understood that the right of withdrawal on reasonable notice was left by it, inherent, unimpaired, in every

Sovereign State, this Union of ours could never have been formed. So far as any mere paper constitution was concerned, the Southern lawyers were entirely right when they declared, "The right of any Sovereign State to withdraw from the Union is a reserved right under the Constitution." I am not saying that in the largest view of human duty they were right. I think that they were wrong. But every State in the Union started with that theory. It was almost purely an accidental thing that some particular States clung to it and others flung it aside. The fact is that the States, coming together as they did, created a *nation*, a great fact the bearings of which few were wise enough to forecast. As a matter of fact, the national life and the national government became much more valuable and important to some States than to others. The Union was of much more value to the protected manufacturers of the North than to the (distantly) threatened industrial system of the South. My confident impression is that the feeling of belonging to a nation, a great entity which has a higher claim to one's allegiance than one's particular State could have, is now universal throughout our land. The idea of the nation is by all accepted as theory and fact. But it was not a wickedness, it was simply a natural and inevitable failure to perceive how certain facts had outgrown theory, that Southern men should feel themselves at liberty to vote secession ordinances, if they thought that the interests of their States would be best served that way. They were simply living fairly by the original agreement. We in the North had, indeed, a right to say, "We have become a nation, and a nation cannot commit suicide." We had a natural right to resist by force any movement which aimed at our national self-destruction. I even trust that all parties are glad now that the attempt at self-destruction failed. But I think that we ought not to impute moral blame to men because they did not appreciate this new fact of unwritten law, in the face of the ancient unwritten agreement, that such fact should never be. And I may add that I learned this view of constitutional law allowing secession, and of national growth making it impossible to allow it, from an ex-judge of a United States court, the late Hon. Nathaniel Shipman of Hartford, Conn., who was an

authority not to be despised, when he was lecturing in Trinity College, Hartford, on the "Constitution of the United States."

I return from this digression through a few words from a memorial sermon preached by Bishop Howe's successor at St. Philip's, Charleston, two weeks after the bishop's death. It will give you the Southern view of his conversion to Southern ideas, and will also show in some measure how he lived under the influence of them.

"The neighborhood was an opulent one," says the sermon, "settled in colonial times, and full of Revolutionary scenes and traditions. It must have been to the young Northerner a favorable place for observing and understanding the institution of slavery as then prevalent in the South. To see what had been concealed from him at the North, and what to this day some of our reactionary Southerners fail to describe,—a truly patriarchal system of authoritative yet affectionate relations, rather than a cold serfdom of feudal exactions, must have been as surprising as it was instructive to the young candidate for holy orders. Certainly he became from this period, and on through life, a firm adherent to what were known as Southern principles, governmental and industrial, casting his lot with us and becoming as one of ourselves. Poised on the one hand, in a calm sense of superiority, and on the other, in a deep sense of Christian obligation, he strove, after being ordained in 1847, to become all things to all men, if by any means he might save some, however inferior, however criminal they might be, whether slave-born Africans improved, or free-born Caucasians degraded."

We have already brought Mr. Howe to Charleston, where he ministered from very early in 1860 to his consecration as bishop in October, 1871, first as assistant for three years to an aged clergyman in broken health, and thenceforth as rector in succession to him. That ministry in St. Philip's church was in some sense the very centre of his life. There was the chief home of his soul. To St. Philip's his thoughts turned back when dying. In St. Philip's churchyard he laid the body of his beloved wife, and there he asked, and ob-

tained, that his own should be buried by her side. It seems fitting, therefore, to make this the place for an attempt to set the man before you in some measure.

In appearance he is described as a man of "more than average height," growing latterly to be "well-knit in frame and stout in person," and "dignified and imposing in presence, particularly in his robes of office."

"With a well-set, shapely head he combined regular features, gentle eyes, a massive, intellectual forehead that bespoke a man of high mental gifts and powerful capabilities of thought." So much I gather from the same memorial sermon which I have quoted, that of the Rev. John Johnson, the present rector of St. Philip's. For convenience I shall refer to it henceforth as "the sermon" simply, or as "the memorial sermon." A Charleston clergyman has most kindly befriended me with information conveyed in letters written at various times last year, and to that source of information I shall refer as "the letters," or "the Charleston letters." And here the letters throw light on Mr. Howe's student character, and somewhat on his character generally, in mentioning that, when he was bishop, at any rate, he always carried a little Greek Testament with him, and read in it as part of his daily devotions. "He was a critical Greek scholar," it is added, "and one of his best sermons was on the distinction between *βίος* and *ζωή*." That helps one to believe what the sermon says of him on the intellectual side. I quote the paragraph entire:

"Intellectually he was a growing man, sensitive to the impulses and pressure of the times, yet drawing ever closer to the divine light of the revealed Word and the interpretation of that Word given by the Primitive Church, the faith once for all delivered to the saints. To that light, shining forth pre-eminently from the Incarnation, the Person of Christ, His Word, His Offices, and His instituted Sacraments, the bishop brought every subject of study or contemplation. In that light he saw it himself and exhibited it to others, with a wonderful clearness of reasoning as well as of style, with touches of pictorial imagination, an undercurrent of deep

feeling, an unction, a fine moral application, and an artistic unity of aim and movement, that made him a distinguished preacher. There was added, too, to his effectiveness in the pulpit a winning voice, so clear in utterance and soft in quality of expression as never to fail to attract and fix the attention."

The general character of the man is described as "well-rounded and flowing," without any "salient or angular features," his temperament as being "more deliberate, and even phlegmatic, than impulsive and demonstrative." "Yet his will-power was very decided," says the sermon,—we shall see that, when we come to the story of his Episcopal career—"and his affections were warm and true beneath the surface." My Charleston letters tell me a story which I will add here, though I shrink from disclosing the sacred depths of feeling of one of these hearts so guarded that they come to be called "unemotional." Dr. Howe was making a visitation as bishop, and going into the church with the young clergyman in charge, who had been called away to his father's death-bed the year before, the bishop said, "the last time I was here, you were with your father, and I was here alone. I had been thinking a great deal about my dear wife that morning" (Mrs. Howe's death had occurred on Feb. 13, 1884), "and while I was celebrating the Holy Communion, I thought I heard her voice saying, 'I love you, and I am with you still,' and it was a great comfort to me." On the intellectual side not a fanciful man, he came to such an experience by the force of feeling such as the shallow can never understand.

But I have gathered the impression that Dr. Howe did not live much on the surface, and one more story from the letters will, I think, help to indicate the sort of value that specially marked his pastoral work. A young clergyman was his traveling companion in a visit to a certain house where the elders drew off together in the evening, and left the young man to entertain a group of young ladies, kindly but shy. Conversation lagged, and pauses grew desperately embarrassing, till the hero of this difficult adventure pitched upon a taking subject in the way of extremely light and frivolous criticism of a writer of eminence

with whose works the hearers were sure to be familiar, and the spell was broken. But the grave bishop expostulated kindly the next day. Was not that rather too light a tone of talk for a clergyman? The younger man explained the situation, and playfully charged upon his episcopal mentor, of whom he was plainly not afraid, that it was *his* fault for leaving the young people unhelped by his presence. "Well," said Dr. Howe, "I mentioned it only to put you on your guard, lest you might impair your usefulness in giving people the impression that you are too full of levity to aid them much in their hours of sorrow." Dr. Howe himself was a clergyman who could aid men in dark hours of sorrow, of troubled conscience, of failing hold on life, and his measure of a man's pastoral usefulness was a worthy one. Yet he was not unsocial. "His manner, though calm, never became inanimate," says the sermon, "and a genial play of humor would be often found beneath his seriousness. He had both the determination of a strong manhood and the suavity of a kindly spirit. But that determination was without self-assertion, and that suavity was without one iota of art or artificiality. Upon such a basis of character the grace of God the Sanctifier had been invoked from his early years, and the fruits of the Spirit, love, peace, humility, and such like, were visible in him as in a living *epistle, known and read of all men.*"

Such was the general character of the man whom New Hampshire sent forth to be rector of St. Philip's, Charleston, in the dark days in and after the war. There are two qualities of him that have so greatly impressed my mind that I want to impress them here, if I may,—a certain moveless fixity, and a remarkable poise. We read in the Epistle to the Hebrews of a taking away of all that is artificial in a time of trial, "*that those things which cannot be shaken may remain.*" Those things which cannot be shaken! The rector of St. Philip's was one of them. Many families left Charleston as the war-cloud rolled nearer and blacker in 1861, 1862, and 1863. There were pastors who thought it best to follow their refugee flocks. That was not according to Mr. Howe's mind. "Upon the background of the political troubles, the exciting

times, the agitated feelings of that period," so says the memorial sermon, "Mr. Howe ministered with a calm, unswerving fidelity, a gentle tact, a good judgment, a firm hold on his people's affections." We read that he had a large congregation still, and that "he found time to visit assiduously the sick in the hospitals." There came one Sunday morning in the autumn of 1863, when the sermon was disturbed by the bursting, in the very churchyard, of a shell from a new battery. The sermon was disturbed, indeed, but not interrupted. The preacher gave his message to the end, and closed his service as usual. To go on using the church after that would be plainly foolhardy, but to give up his work was to Mr. Howe unimaginable. He took his congregation to St. Paul's, a spacious building beyond the reach of the besieging artillery, and went calmly on as before. So he continued on his way, through manifold changes of surroundings and many trials of courage and patience, till in February, 1865, the Confederate garrison was compelled to leave Charleston to its fate, and the Federal troops moved in. At the beginning of March the new commander notified Mr. Howe, courteously, I am thankful to add, that he must pray for the President of the United States, or leave the city. There could be to such a man but one result. He announced to his congregation on Sunday, March 5, that he must leave them for he knew not how long.

"Why?" it may be asked. The answer is simple enough. The Episcopal Church recognizes the duty of praying for any *de facto* government under which the church may be living, whether it be a good government or a bad one, and even without regard to its character as a government *de jure*, or as a manifest usurpation. But none of us would recognize an army of invasion as a *de facto* government. If the Spaniards had landed a few regiments of conquerors in Portsmouth, last summer, instead of a gang of prisoners of war, our Episcopalian clergymen would have seen no duty of praying for the King of Spain and the Queen Regent, nor yet of ceasing to pray for the President of the United States, and the New Hampshire Historical Society would have considered it most unhistorical for

them to assume, before it came diplomatically to pass, that henceforth Portsmouth was a part of Spain. If Admiral Cervera had seized the town and demanded prayers for Spanish rulers in all our churches, we should have thought him a bumptious fool. But our Northern commanders were guilty of that piece of tyranny everywhere, so far as I know, in the South.

Why was that, again? Because they assumed throughout, as a foundation of every feature of their policy, that the Southern Confederacy had no government at all, but was only an insurrectionary mob. The whole Southern movement was to be treated like a contrivance of naughty children. The fact, the really obvious fact, that another government had been set up, was to be ignored! Looking back over thirty-four years, I venture to think that that was a mistake, and such a mistake as very few of us in this room would have submitted to, if it had happened that some one had a chance to make it in dealing with us! It may be added that the Episcopal Church in the Confederate States, which had followed facts,—most zealously, no doubt,—when the Confederate government was established, organizing itself promptly as an independent national church, followed facts promptly again, though sorrowfully, when the Confederacy fell. Within a reasonable time it rescinded its organization, and its bishops directed their clergy to pray for the authorities of the government under which, however they might not like it, they now actually lived again. Men like Mr. Howe waited for such official orders to guide their official acts. They would not take their orders as servants of a divine kingdom from any but the constituted authorities of the kingdom.

It must here be recognized, however, that there is a difference between obstinacy and firmness. Precisely. Well, our Mr. Howe was not a fussy and fluttered soul, full of self-will and empty of self-command. Two little illustrations I will give you of the manly quality of the man as one fixed and not shaken. The first shall be that on that Sunday morning in March, when he took leave of his congregation and told them why, two officers of the United States Navy, who were wor-

shippers at that service, were so impressed with his calm reason and weighty earnestness that they hastened to pay their respects to him in the robing-room and offered their services to try to get the order for the removal recalled. Their efforts failed, of course, but their testimony to the character of that quietly loyal "rebel" remains and is of force.

And for my other illustration I turn to my letters, which paint me a picture of Mr. Howe's life that year that he spent in the country in Darlington county, where his family had taken refuge. It shows the exact scholar, the eloquent preacher, the devoted pastor, the gentleman accustomed to the elegancies of life, plodding over the country roads to the wayside grist-mill with his heavy bag of corn on his shoulder, to have it ground into hominy grits. "Rations were awfully scarce in those days," writes my informant, "and we ate what we could *get*, not what we wanted." Of course there was nothing else for Mr. Howe to do. No great virtue in *that!* No, but the story goes on with a note of real distinction. "He never uttered one word of complaint about it." There was my "hero."

With "*fixity*" I mentioned "*poise.*" The two go together. A man cannot stand firm unless he has a good balance. He cannot be steadfast in his thoughts and judgments, in his determinations and in his character, unless he has the gift of looking at all sides of questions that come before him, and never allowing himself to be absorbed in the contemplation of single aspects of things. That quality of poise is most strikingly illustrated in two of Mr. Howe's sermons preached on special occasions in St. Philip's church. The one was preached July 28, 1861, at a thanksgiving for "the victory of Manassas," known to *us* as "the disaster of Bull Run." The other was preached—in circumstances how different—on March 4, 1866, a year from Mr. Howe's farewell to Charleston, when he took his place once more in St. Philip's for the first service after the ruined church had been made habitable again.

The text of the first sermon was Ps. cxxvi, 3, "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." "I do not mean," said the preacher, soberly wise amid a tumult of joy and triumph,— "I do not mean that our late victory was a 'great thing'

in the sense that it was like some of those great historic battles which in times past changed the face of empires and established new dynasties, and obliterated, at a stroke, the ancient landmarks between kingdoms; for with us, in this new world, the time for such a capital solution of our troubles has not yet arrived. From long peace both sections of what was once a common country have grown in power and wealth; our veins are full of blood, and our bones are filled with marrow. Not till a people have undergone a process of depletion, and have gathered up all their exhausted energies for one grand effort, are they prepared for that one decisive blow which seals the purposes of God in regard to them.

“And plainly such is not the condition in which our enemies find themselves as yet.

“Brilliant as was our late victory, we should only be deceived if we thought this would bring from them an embassy with proposals of peace. They have still the greater wealth and the larger population, and after the first surprise of defeat is over, and they begin to feel the smart of wounded vanity and the mortification attendant upon seeing their boasts exploded, we may possibly witness another outburst of enthusiasm (worthy of a better cause) similar to the one which swept like a tornado throughout the entire North when tidings came that Sumter had fallen, and that the flag of the United States no longer waved upon its walls. Armies will most likely be reorganized and largely reinforced, and well equipped, and under the conduct of able generals, will once more advance to the battle with all the caution and forethought inspired by a former defeat, and determined, if possible, to avenge that defeat; so that, under this aspect of things, our rejoicing at present success must find us diligent in preparing for the coming of that more severe encounter which is most likely before us, and that at no great distance.”

I should be glad to quote pages more of this sermon, to show its utter assurance of the justice of the Southern cause, and the injustice of the Northern opposition to it; its clear view of how opinion and feeling were actually working in the North and in Europe, and of the effect of this victory in both direc-

tions; its allusions to the case of observers "educated—by misrepresentation—to believe us weak and voluptuous, and that we were certainly predestined to be swept away like chaff before the onset of the North;" its solemn warning, "If we should be permitted to go on from strength to strength and from victory to victory, let us watch against the *intoxication* which too often comes of continued and repeated successes, which leads men and nations to forget"; its noble close on the pitifulness of war, and the grandeur, in the midst of all, of self-sacrifice. But chiefly I was concerned to give that long extract from the opening paragraphs to show how the preacher did not lose his head in the excitement of a frantic jubilation.

Perhaps, however, the other sermon illustrates this characteristic more brightly still, and certainly there is a more touching quality about it. In the dear sanctuary that had been ruined and broken by the storms of war, and was restored by the offerings of a desperate poverty dwelling in homes where once was wealth, the preacher stood and announced his text from Malachi iii : 6, "I am the Lord, I change not; therefore ye sons of Jacob are not consumed," and assigned for his subject, "God's Unchangeableness, the sure Guaranty of His People's Safety."

I must ask my audience to make a very special effort to imagine, first, the personal convictions of the preacher and his hearers, and then the fearful conditions through which all the Southern States had to pass on their way to anything like good government. I trust that some of you will have read Thomas Nelson Page's "Red Rock," and inwardly digested it. Such can better appreciate the evidences of wisdom, of patience, of power, of self-command, and above all of that balance of mind on which I am insisting, that appear (even in the severest references to what the preacher dislikes) in what seems to me a very remarkable discourse.

"Beloved brethren," said the preacher, when he began the application of his text to the company of mourners before him, "Beloved brethren, we who are here present before God have all of us met of late some of the great problems of life, not in the schools of the philosophers, or in the verses of the poet, or

in the pages of the historian, or in the experience of others, but in our own persons, and that, too, eye to eye and face to face. Is it not a cause for congratulation, then, that not our faith, not our love, not our knowledge, which may fail in the hour and power of darkness, is to be our stay and support, but our Heavenly Father, who is greater than all, and who will not permit tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword, to pluck us out of our great Redeemer's hand? My own absence from you for a twelve month and the reassembling of the congregation for the first time after the lapse of more than two years within these hallowed and dear walls, so sadly eloquent of days that are past, must be excuse, if any is needed, for handling at this time and place our grievous wounds, and which if I uncover for a moment, God knows it is not

‘To put a tongue in them
Should move the stones of Rome to mutiny,’

but to heal them, if they may be healed. At all events I will pour upon them the only wine and oil that in my heart I believe *can* heal them.”

I must pass over a splendid paragraph,—I should like to quote every word of it, though I cannot agree with it in all of its opinions,—in which the preacher reasserted his utter belief in the righteousness of the Southern cause as a matter of justice both to the living and to the “gallant” dead. He goes on to consider present duties thus :

“Need I say, what you all so well know and have so well exemplified in the last four months, that our first duty is submission to ‘the powers that be,’ as ordained of God? How ‘ordained of God’ you ask, ‘if the South was right in the late struggle?’ Brethren, here is precisely where so many stumble and make shipwreck of their faith in a Divine Providence. Often, as the contest went on, did I fear when I heard the justice of our cause alleged as the pledge of our success. More than once, as some of you may remember, I warned you against this snare, which contradicts one half of human history, and which loses sight of the fact that we must abide our Lord’s Second Coming, ere our earth can become the scene of such a

triumph. . . . For wise purposes of His own God has permitted us to fail, and our government, while retaining its old form and name, to be changed, for in the wild sea of democracy, which has now burst its appointed barriers, and swept away the old landmarks, and which governs all things by its nod, the minority has no protection and no toleration, but is under a despotism as rigid and peremptory as that of a single man. In all of this, which God has permitted, and which is not more than our sins deserve, we are bound to acquiesce, as much so as the Jews were when they were given over into the hand of the king of Babylon, and afterwards into the hands of the Romans. . . . Let us, then, while realizing that old things have passed away, and with them State sovereignty and pretty much every thing save State lines, nevertheless, follow the Divine Alchemist, and while recognizing the evil as evil, and not calling it good because it has proved triumphant, or canonizing it because of its success, seek to win good out of it both for ourselves and others. Let our sorrows, our poverty, our bereavements, our disappointment, 'purge *us* as gold and silver, that we may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness;' and 'that the trial of our faith, being much more precious than of gold that perisheth though it be tried by fire, may be found unto praise and honor and glory at the appearing of Jesus Christ.' And while we thus by prayer and supplication endeavor to make our present condition help us forward in the right way, that leadeth unto everlasting life, while we put away all hatred, malice, and desire for revenge, and looking upon Him who was 'bruised for our iniquities,' learn the divine art of forgiving as we hope to be forgiven, let us also, as far as we may be permitted, extend our hands and open our hearts to those who, once our friends and dependents, are now so cruelly estranged from us. Confessing to no sympathy with the miserable, but haughty, humanitarianism of the day, which looks to regenerate the world by a mere secular education and the magic of the ballot box, . . . confessing, I say, no sympathy with that form of apparent benevolence which pretends to redeem the world without the aid of Christ and His Church, it becomes us, nevertheless, to recognize the results of its

achievements in regard to those who were our bondmen. Mischievous as we may think its action to have been on their behalf, we are all of us willing, I am sure, not only to acknowledge without grudging their new position, but also to do all we can to make them equal to their new responsibilities. Their confidence in us has been so shaken by demagogism that, perchance, we may not be able to do much, but we will do what we can. God forbid that we should throw so much as a straw in their way to prevent them from reaching any position, however high, to which He may have assigned them, and to fulfil which they shall show themselves competent. We believed, and we still believe, that slavery has been a great blessing to them; that it was the primary school of their civilization, in which they had made good progress, comparing them with their fathers and the condition in which they would have been without it, and we had thought that their tutelage should have been longer ere they matriculated as citizens; for we did *not* feel that every blessing under the sun was denied them while this was denied, and every curse heaped that could be heaped while they continued in bondage, and that, too, while passing comfortable and well-ordered lives and made partakers of the His heavenly calling. But God's ways are not our ways, nor thoughts our thoughts. He has permitted that to come to pass which *is* come to pass, and now we wait to see good come out of evil, glad, if we may, to contribute to that good, looking not for approval unto man, but to Him who judgeth righteous judgment."

Again I pass over a paragraph which I would gladly quote, in order to give some extracts from the sermon's close: "In conclusion, I would once more point you away from the wrecks of your temporal fortunes, away from the ruin of your State, away from the trying future, to that farther future which shall bring in everlasting righteousness, and set up a kingdom which cannot be shaken. . . . To those of you, my brethren, who have not yet sent your hearts forward to take possession by faith and hope and love of this kingdom, what can I say, if the past and present have not spoken? Will you strive yet again to build up other hopes which shall prove as fragile as those

which you have hitherto indulged? Will you attach yourselves with as fervent an idolatry to the new order of things as to the old, and worship as earnestly before its shrines? Will you seek to rekindle the dead ashes of your patriotism by attaching yourselves with all the warmth of former days to that vast democracy which must now, apparently, give laws to the continent? I cannot pursue my appeal. Look around you, and if there be not enough *there* to preach of the vanity of earthly policies and of a life unattached to the Saviour, 'neither will you be persuaded though one rose from the dead.'

"And to you, my beloved Christian friends, what shall I say? I would say, Come and let us call in our wandering affections and fix them upon the 'kingdom that cannot be moved,' and which, militant now, shall be triumphant in the last days. Yea, let us away from this scene of sorrow and turmoil, and rising above its din and confusion, be borne in the spirit and by the spirit unto the New Jerusalem and that blessed future, where 'God shall wipe all tears from our eyes, and where there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain, for the former things are passed away.' 'He which testifieth these things saith, Surely, I come quickly. Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus.'"

Comment, after that peroration, may seem as vulgar as loud applause after a noble rendering of "I know that my Redeemer liveth." But the applause must have place after all in the concert room, and I will not withhold my comment here. It seems to me that in leading that stricken congregation through the thought of their burdens and sorrows with a force of feeling that gathered momentum at every step, and compelling them by the accumulated power of all this swelling emotion to come face to face with heavenly realities at last, as if the deluge of their earthly griefs was made to float them up above the earth, not Bossuet himself could have used his occasion more nobly. It was a triumph of oratory, and of oratory essentially and deeply Christian.

III. THE BURDEN OF THE EPISCOPATE.

Of the five years and a half that followed the reopening of St. Philip's I have nothing more to tell, save for one notable achievement to which the faithful pastor brought his impoverished congregation. In 1870 they bought the building which had been the Continental hotel, next door to their church, and opened it as "St. Philip's Home." We can all have some idea that those were sad and burdensome years to the pastor of any Southern congregation. If I have succeeded in bringing before you any definite idea of what Mr. Howe was in himself, I need only add that he went on being such a man. In May, 1871, Bishop Davis, suffering total blindness, and enfeebled by age as well, felt constrained to ask for the election of some priest to be made an assistant bishop for South Carolina. The choice fell upon Mr. Howe, a credit both to him and to those who chose such a man for their leader, and he was consecrated to the office of a bishop in St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, on Sunday, October 8, being the first Sunday within the session of the triennial General Convention of the Episcopal Church.

Three things may be said to have lent to that consecration-service a certain romantic interest. The first was the spectacle of the old bishop of South Carolina, with his sightless eyes, led across the chancel by some of his brethren that he might lay his feeble hands—he had but two months more to live—on the head of his young and vigorous coadjutor. The second feature of romantic interest was the presence there of one of the greatest of modern missionaries, George Augustus Selwyn, bishop, at this time, of the great English diocese of Litchfield, with its lovely cathedral, its twelve hundred parishes and thirteen hundred clergy, and the gloom and grime of its potteries and its "Black Country" for Christian Endeavor to deal with, but formerly bishop of New Zealand and first missionary leader in the two great works, of the conversion of the Maori race, and the building up of a new colonial empire in Christian life and character. Bishop Selwyn had, himself, been consecrated to the painful office of a pioneer missionary bishop in the

same month of October just thirty years before, and English society had been startled at the thought that a man of recognized power, of social standing, of brilliant prospects, should consent to be exiled on such a forlorn hope. Sidney Smith, jesting, after his manner, to keep from tears, had said to the departing missionary, "Good-by, Selwyn, God bless you! I only hope that you will disagree with the man that eats you!" The quaint phrase hardly exaggerated the general feeling in England about the work to which Bishop Selwyn was going, and did not altogether wildly exaggerate its actual danger, difficulty, and hardship. Such a man, such a bishop, now for four years restored to his native land, was the preacher and one of the co-consecrators at this service in old St. Paul's, Baltimore.

But after all, the chief romance of the occasion lay in the conditions of the candidate himself. He was not called, like Selwyn, to risk his life over and over in perils of waters, in perils of war, in perils of rugged mountain and trackless bush. But he *was* called to a venture as venturesome as any knight of chivalry, to prospects darkly doubtful, to some fightings, to many fears, to cares and sorrows rising to distress and anguish, to that which is harder than dying, the life which shortens life by excessive labor, by intolerable anxiety, by slow exhaustion and decay. For what was the condition of the Episcopal Church in South Carolina after the war? A committee reported to the diocesan convention in 1868, that of invested funds \$178,000 were gone,—the society for the Relief of Widows and Orphans of the Clergy having lost \$100,000; the Advancement Society, \$50,000; the bishop's fund, \$18,000; the "Small" fund for theological education, \$10,000; and of course the power of the church people to make up such deficiencies was most painfully diminished, while every claim on charitable and missionary funds was extraordinarily increased. Wealthy men and women of the North pour money into our Western work with a really liberal hand and a good deal of good judgment; but it was not in Bishop Howe's time—I fear, it has never come to be,—much of a fashion to help the brave struggles of the Southern church. And much more than in-

vested funds had been swept away. The same committee reported that eleven parsonages had been burned, and ten churches. Three more churches had *utterly disappeared*,—a curious comment on the disorders of the time! Twenty-two parishes were in a state of suspended animation. On the seaboard, where had been formerly the stronghold of the Episcopal Church in South Carolina, but four parishes were maintaining services. The clergy lived by fishing, farming, and mechanic arts. Not one church outside of Charleston could be described as a self-supporting parish. It was hard to find any maintenance for the clergy, and therefore hard to keep them in the diocese; in fact, at one time the bishop found his clergy list growing smaller from year to year.

Well, this is not a history of the growth of the Episcopal Church in South Carolina. It must suffice to say that Bishop Howe was faithful, and patient, and wise, and that in twenty years and a half, before a merciful stroke of paralysis let his burden fall, he had consecrated twenty-nine churches, built anew or thoroughly rebuilt, had ordained forty-eight clergymen, had laid his hands upon six thousand seven hundred persons in Confirmation, and had raised the number of his clergy to forty-five, and the congregations to ninety-eight.¹

To one who is interested in the study of Bishop Howe personally, rather than of the church of which he was the official head, the chief interest of his episcopal career must undoubtedly centre in certain difficulties which he had to meet in connection with the work among negroes. To the story of these difficulties I now address myself.

The bishop was keenly interested in the subject of the evangelization of the great African population of the South. "It is, I think, my brethren," he said to his convention in 1883, "*the* question for our church in the Southern states. We are all agreed, no doubt, that we must do something, or at least try to do something, for the colored people; for otherwise we would not be worthy to bear the name of a church of Christ. How

¹ The distribution of these congregations was as follows: Parishes in union with the convention of the diocese, 54; parishes not in union with the convention, 9; dormant, 12; missions, 23.

is it possible that we should hear said of them all that is said of them, and as a church be content to do nothing and care nothing? Impossible. A candlestick with neither oil nor light, or which shines only for itself, may as well be removed, and will be removed, to give way to another that will shine beyond itself." A moment later he was speaking of the embarrassment that arises when *methods* come to be discussed, "which methods," he says, "strike different persons differently, and very naturally, according as they view the office of the church. If the church is an institution merely to conserve social interests, or if it be the Body of Christ, in which we are bound to the Head in heaven, and to one another by His all-pervading Spirit, either view, or other views, will very much influence our views of methods."

A word must here be said about the methods that have been attempted or proposed. Generally speaking, colored people and white people organize separately in the South. Both parties, I believe, prefer it. In church life all Protestant workers except the Episcopalians have organized the negroes in separate denominations, colored Methodists, colored Baptists, and so on. The Methodist Church North is hardly an exception, for while it has some negro congregations in the South, it has no white membership there except white missionaries to the negroes, who are themselves excluded from all Southern society. The Episcopal Church has maintained with singular earnestness the noble theory of the oneness of all Christians in the one Christ. I take leave to think that it has maintained that theory (which I yield to no man in upholding) with somewhat too much of stiffness and inflexibility in the application. Southern men, knowing Southern needs, have suggested two ways of escape out of the difficulty.

One was to have what are called suffragan-bishops, a kind of assistant bishops having no right of succession, and in fact, no necessary continuance in their employment, on the death of the diocesan bishop to whose help they had been set apart, and who must confine themselves to such lines of work as may be laid down from time to time by their superiors, with a resulting belittlement of the episcopal office beyond what some theorists

are willing to grant. Such suffragan-bishops have been employed most usefully of late years in meeting the modern difficulties of the Church of England, but the consecration of suffragans is expressly prohibited by the law of the American Episcopal Church, and no attempts to change the law in that point have yet found much favor here.

Another suggestion was made in this very year, 1883, by what was known as "the Sewanee Conference," a gathering of twelve Southern bishops, seventeen presbyters, and eleven laymen, which assembled in August at Sewanee, Tennessee, the site of the University of the South. It comes to me from one who was present on that occasion that Bishop Howe was the only man who appeared there with ideas already formulated so that they could be presented in a canon ready for legislative adoption, and I am led to imagine that the form of canon actually agreed on by that conference for presentation to the General Convention in October was largely the result of Bishop Howe's study of the problem. Even in that body there were many men of many minds, and, alas! "much disputing!" It was reported further by an eye witness that our good and unmovable Bishop Howe, though sharply opposed, by one speaker especially, was the only man among all those fathers and brethren who did not at some time in the course of the heated debate show signs of having lost his temper! This, however, was what the conference agreed on solidly at last,—that the General Convention should be asked to sanction separate organizations of negroes and whites, each having its own separate convention, with its own officers, and rules, and debates, and the independent management of its own discipline, but bound together, as of course, by a free right of intercommunion, by the common headship of the one bishop of the diocese, and by equal obligation to live in the use of the Prayer Book and under all the general laws of the Episcopal Church enacted in General Convention. No provision was made for giving to the colored convention any share in the choice of a bishop, or any representation in the General Convention. Southern feeling could not, I suppose, have admitted either of these things fifteen years ago. The proposition of the Sewanee conference was

accepted by the House of Bishops (the senate, if I may call it so, of an Episcopalian General Convention). The House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, almost always slower to rise above prejudices and take a broad view of new questions, would not concur. The North had long been saying to the South, "Tell us how you want the negro question dealt with, come to an agreement among yourselves as to methods that promise success, and we will open our hands and help you." Alas! when a singularly representative body of Southern churchmen did agree on a plan which they thought feasible, the Northern churchmen fell to theorizing, and said, "You cannot have it so at all."

Meanwhile certain bitter feelings were accentuating. It is hard for any Northern man to understand what the South went through in the period of the "carpetbagger" and the "negro legislature." Certainly there settled deeply into the minds of men, thoughtful men, wise men, *good* men, all over the South, a tremendous conviction that in civil life the white must rule. No mixed rule was going to be tolerated, because no mixed rule was going to be tolerable. It was only a short step to the conviction that the same thing was true of the government of the church. In South Carolina no negro congregation had ever been admitted into union with the convention. None was going to be. That point was clear. But how about negro clergymen? At first after the war there were no such. Now there were beginning to be. Under the constitution of the diocese of South Carolina every clergyman actually and canonically resident in the diocese, and doing pastoral work therein for twelve calendar months, was entitled to a seat and vote in the convention. But to a great majority of South Carolina churchmen the idea of a colored man sitting and voting along with white men, even on questions of *church* order, was utterly abhorrent. It was hoped for a short time that the General Convention would sanction a separate organization of the colored people within the one communion. That hope was frustrated by the decision of October, 1883. In May, 1884, a special committee of the South Carolina convention tried to avert strife by proposing an amendment to the constitution which

would limit the right of voting (in the clerical order) to presbyters. Then colored deacons might be multiplied to any extent. Colored presbyters would always be rare. That amendment was at once adopted—provisionally. It could not go into effect without being passed on a second time at the next convention. When 1885 came no such compromise could be thought of. The storm broke.

For now the leading laymen of the diocese came forward with a startling plea. Public feeling in South Carolina, they said, had always so assumed the hopeless inferiority of the African race that it had never been necessary to say "white clergymen" in order to make sure no colored clergyman should have a voting right in the convention. "Clergymen" in South Carolina had always meant "white clergymen." It was actually *unconstitutional*, they said, to admit a colored clergyman, even to a seat, until the convention had voted, with all the forms required for a constitutional amendment, that it should be done.¹

And argument was now ready to ripen into action. It was moved to strike out the names of two colored clergymen from the list furnished, according to canonical requirement, by the bishop, and which a committee of clergymen had examined and reported to be correct. A considerable majority of the clergy held with the bishop in every vote—and they were many—which was taken in the long parliamentary wrangle. A heavy majority of the lay vote went as steadily to the other

¹If this seems to us an outrageous demand that language should be forced out of its plain meaning because new circumstances made the natural interpretation insufficient to meet what seemed to be a pressing need, we are bound to recall that in the famous "Dred Scott" case the Supreme Court of the United States had upheld that very contention. Chief Justice Taney, supported by a majority of that august body, declared that "men" in the national constitution meant "white men," and did not take in persons of African descent. The obvious answer was that in that famous case the court had, under awful pressure, given a decision of *expediency* on a point of *law*. It is noteworthy that concerning that decision Bishop Howe never allowed himself in any of his addresses to his convention to say one word. It was one of the foundation stones of the opposition, but he would not so much as allude to it. To say, "Our Supreme Court once made a disgraceful concession to popular threatening," would have been a disrespect to a great authority. He never did say it. He only declared with changeless iteration that he could not himself disregard the meaning of words in that constitution which he himself was set to guard.

side. Every proposal that had any particular significance was sure to be "lost by a non-concurrence of orders." A solemn protest against the whole action of bishop and convention in allowing the seating of colored clergymen, was presented, with many signatures of laymen, and was duly printed in the Journal. On the other hand, it is pleasant to note that when the bishop announced his intention of refusing to take any salary for the ensuing year beyond what would come from invested funds, because he thought the congregations of the diocese too burdened to bear any assessment in his behalf, it was (on motion of one of his leading opponents) "*Resolved*, That the letter of the bishop, proposing a reduction of his salary, which has been read, be received as information, and this convention, gratefully recognizing the self-sacrificing and considerate suggestion therein contained, respectfully declines to accede to his request."

In 1886, curiously, there were no colored clergymen in the diocese, but the old ground was fought over, because the laymen thought this a good time to try to establish the right of the convention to vote on the correctness of the bishop's list. It was harder to stand out against a simple courtesy-vote, that "all the clergy named on the bishop's list are entitled to seats in this convention," but plainly to vote "Aye" on such a resolution was to open the door for voting "No" on a similar one in another year, and the bishop (backed, however, by a distinctly smaller clerical majority) stood out for non-concurrence. At the close of the convention, which lasted four days, the bishop uttered this parting word:

"We have come, brethren, to the close of a laborious and exciting convention. Excitement, more or less, will accompany our deliberations, when conscientious convictions meet and oppose one another. Sparks will be emitted when flint and steel meet. If any sparks have come from me I crave your indulgence. But passing from this, let me suggest that we all address ourselves in the ensuing convention year to thoughts and methods of unity in the working of the diocese. None can regard our divisions on one great subject with more solicitation than the ecclesiastical authority. It is a genuine

conscientious difference as to what we ought to do, and I hope God will lead us out of the dark into the light; but if, ultimately, this cannot be, if no common ground can be found for united action, then depend upon it, your bishop will not stand in the way of the unity of the diocese."

The year 1887 was the saddest, I take it; in the bishop's official life. In the distress which followed upon the earthquake of Aug. 31, 1886, his pastoral heart had opened wide toward his people, and they had been much drawn to him in return. But in January following the Standing Committee had refused to recommend a deserving colored man for ordination as a "perpetual deacon," evidently on the sole ground of his African descent. In his convention address, next May, the bishop rehearsed the whole story of the man's faithful striving and of this bitter refusal just at the end of the way. Then he made a telling appeal. "When commissioned," he said, "to go to his work, at the time of his consecration, the bishop believes he was sent not to any one class, but to all classes who desired a part of his ministrations. If his episcopate was to touch the rich only, or the refined only, or the whites only, then he would wish to lay it down, being in his esteem an episcopate which lagged too far behind the footsteps of his Lord. He must address himself, therefore, if true to duty, to the colored people of the diocese as well as to the whites. But to do this effectively there must be a colored ministry. But if a colored ministry, then a colored ministry on the same plane ecclesiastically with the white ministry. For if ordination means anything, it means that its gifts go to men without regard to race or color."

The bishop went on to speak of the difficulty felt in South Carolina, and to recommend the final adoption of the constitutional amendment voted first in 1884, limiting the right of clerical voting to presbyters, but drawing no color line at all. Then he went on thus: "You will pardon me, I trust, if I speak with entire frankness, but at the same time with great consideration of my brethren of the laity, when I say that it is my belief that they are not keeping step with the laity of other Southern dioceses in this question. You are alone in your

position. This, indeed, matters not, if you are right; but if you are wrong, it matters a great deal that you should array the diocese *contra mundum*."

"You are alone in your position." That was a hard thrust. It may remind one of the famous saying concerning Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon*, that it was "an olive branch shot out of a catapult." The opposition, moreover, was desperately embittered by the fact that now the colored congregation of St. Mark's, Charleston, had again a priest, a man of their own race, and his name was on the bishop's list as a matter of course. There was another wrangle of votes, ending constantly in non-concurrence of orders, and then, on the second day of the session, the lay delegates from St. Paul's, Charleston, arose, announced that it was found impossible to organize the convention constitutionally, and left the church,—it was the bishop's own St. Philip's, by the way, where the convention was sitting,—followed by the delegates of St. Philip's parish itself, representing the very hosts on whose floor the convention was assembled by invitation, and a dozen parishes more. The bishop kept his unruffled calm, ordered the roll of parishes to be called for a quorum of the laity, found one, remarked that he would not appoint his committees until the next day, announced his appointment for the preacher of the convention sermon the next year,—the name was that of one of the three or four clergymen who regularly voted with the opposition,—and proceeded with the business of the day. Yet I am mistaken indeed, if that day did not take off many days from the bishop's span of life.

Again the bishop had some parting words to say. I can quote no more than the last third of them:

"It is not only the privilege, but the right, of the bishop to visit every congregation in his diocese, and God helping me, unless the doors of the churches are locked against me, I shall visit them as usual, whether or not they are in union with the convention. But I trust that our brethren will reconsider the case, and see whether there is sufficient ground for these old parishes to go out, because one colored clergyman, who has sat in convention in Virginia for eight years, I am informed,

is here with us. I trust that they will review the case during the coming year, and that we will meet many of them next year at Anderson. I pray God this may be so. We who have remained, I trust, will be there; and may God bless you, my dear brethren, till we meet again."

It may be noted that this convention passed finally the constitutional amendment limiting the right to vote in the clerical order to presbyters, and on the other hand, elected a new Standing Committee, with new men in six out of ten places, with the result that the colored man, Joseph Quarles, was duly recommended for ordination in the following July, and actually ordained as a deacon in September.

May came round once more, May, 1888, and every one felt that the restoration of unity was the first need of the diocese. A layman proposed to amend the constitution so as to limit the right to *vote* to clergymen attached to parishes in union with the convention, and as no colored congregations were, or were likely to be, in such union, the effect would be that the minister of a colored congregation would have a seat, but not a vote. The Rev. Ellison Capers, afterward Bishop Howe's coadjutor, and now his successor as bishop of South Carolina, and the Rev. A. Toomer Porter, head of a remarkably successful school for boys, and rector of a parish in Charleston, brought forward proposals for a commission of clergymen and laymen, with the bishop as chairman, to report to the next convention, 1889, a plan for separate organization of the colored clergy and congregations, under the bishop as a sort of "headstone of the corner," holding the two organizations in one. The resolutions were carefully considered, combined, amended, re-drafted, and finally adopted, without a dissenting vote, at the close of the convention's first day. The *Gloria in excelsis* was sung before that evening's adjournment. The proposal to amend the constitution so as to limit the clerical vote to clergymen ministering to congregations in union with the convention was withdrawn. There was a general sense of joyful relief.

And yet, when May, 1889, drew on, bishop and diocese were again in perplexity and distress. The colored clergy and

all but one of their four chief congregations had in February refused altogether to take any part in any scheme of separate organization. The long strain on men's tempers had had its effect on them also. What would once have been accepted readily enough, would now be felt to be the badge of an overwhelming defeat. Twenty of the seceding lay delegates returned to their places in the convention, but they came on the strength of a pledge which could not be fulfilled, and the bishop's address shows him struggling with a deep despondency.

"The questions," he said, "which have rent us asunder, have, no doubt, tended to cool interest in one another, and to impede diocesan work. Whether these questions can be settled so that we can all work harmoniously together once more, and the parishes resume their accustomed places, remains to be seen. I am not sanguine here, but of one thing I am assured, however it may go with us, and however parishes may go out one by one, like sparks from the chimney-back on a winter's night, I am sure the church to which we belong will, as a whole, in the future of this country, increase and be glorified. And then when we turn our eyes not alone to the church in other dioceses, and rejoice in their growth and order, but also enlarge our horizon so as to take in the entire Anglican Church, which is in communion with the See of Canterbury throughout the English-speaking world, we again take comfort in the thought, that, however it may go with us in this diocese, yet elsewhere the vine is bearing much fruit. If we fail to witness to apostolic truth and ancient order, yet it is not so elsewhere. If we shall be cast aside as a barren church, others are blooming."

Certainly at that moment the fate of the Episcopal Church in South Carolina trembled in a doubtful balance. Happily the better counsels prevailed. A compromise there had to be, of course. It took the form of an amendment to the constitution, establishing as had been once before suggested, that only clergymen attached to congregations in union with the convention should have the privilege of membership therein. But an important proviso added that this article should not deprive

any clergyman of any rights which he had in the convention on the first day of May, 1889. The one colored clergyman remained seated. No more colored clergymen would be let in.

The colored priest, Mr. Pollard, very rightly declined to vote on his own case both in 1889 and again on the final adoption in 1890. In 1890 the sharpness of the still abiding difference was shown in two curious ways. It was to be the 100th convention of the diocese, and St. Philip's, the Mother Church of all the diocese, had very fitly been offered as the place, but in the preceding January a note came to the bishop. The feeling of bitterness against the recognition of Mr. Pollard's right to sit was running so high that the vestry of St. Philip's had voted to ask the bishop to transfer the convention to some other church. On the other hand, when the time came for the final vote on the constitutional amendment which was the one possible ground of hope for peace and prosperity, four clergymen voted "No." One of them obtained leave to record his reason, which was an excellent one. Such a change, making a clergyman to sit, in the church's legislature by right of his connection with some group of lay people, rather than by right of his order, was a violation of a general principle of ecclesiastical order as recognized in the Episcopal Church. Quite true. But Bishop Howe, more wise, held that for a great salvation in time of crisis, men might justly vote to give *something* of their own rights and even of brethren's rights. Only nothing on earth, not even the saving of his diocese from destruction, would have induced him to put his endorsement to a statement which he felt to be untrue. Men might change the constitution of the diocese unjustly, and he might even cast his vote with them as a peacemaker in a woful strife. When they asked him to declare that the constitution *said* what in his eyes it did *not* say, he would have died first, and seen his church die, too!

Two clergymen and a list of laymen so long that it fills a double-columned page of the convention journal of 1890, protested against the adoption of this amendment, now finally ratified, as not sufficiently safe-guarding what they held to be the true meaning of the constitution,—*i. e.*, the entire exclusion of

persons of African descent,—and as not fulfilling the pledge of separate organization given in the convention of 1888. But they did not secede.

It may be added that in this convention of 1890 the Bishop settled by anticipation a curious point of order, which once in the former turmoils he had decided wrong. In an Episcopalian convention great questions are apt to be decided by two orders voting separately. When an appeal was taken from a decision of the chair on a point of order, and the clergy voted to sustain, and the laity not to, what was the result? The bishop had in former times regarded such a vote as reversing the decision of the chair. He now announced that he had taken counsel with very high authorities, and they had assured him that although such a question is put in an affirmative way, "Shall the decision of the chair stand as the decision of the house?" yet in spirit it is a negative proposition. In other words, when the question is put to the house, the decision of the chair is standing, as a matter of fact. It *must* stand, until it is overturned by the action of the house, and a house that votes in two orders, clerical and lay, cannot overrule its chairman without voting so to overrule by a majority in each order. When the two orders do not concur in any matter, nothing is done, and a chairman's decision cannot be set aside by a vote by which, confessedly, "*nothing is done.*" That seems reasonable.

One year more, and in May, 1891, Bishop Howe met his convention for the last time. It had been a year of hot political excitements, but to the diocese a year of profound peace and blessing. I shall refer but to two incidents of this gathering, both minor incidents, it may be said. The first shall illustrate Dr. Howe's profound scrupulosity both about constitutional interpretation and about human rights. The constitution of South Carolina requires a clergyman to be actually and canonically resident in the diocese, to have a vote in the convention. The faithful secretary of the convention had lost all his South Carolina property, and while still working entirely in South Carolina as a pastor, was living in what had been once his summer residence, a few miles over the North

Carolina line. The bishop saw that by the plain letter of the law this clergyman was "entitled to a seat, but not to vote." Yet that was hard on one of the most faithful pastors on the diocesan roll. The bishop placed the name where he thought it belonged by law, but referred the case to the committee on the bishop's list for their further examination of the question. The case was thrown into the convention, and in spite of the considerations of sentiment that appealed to every one the bishop's painful decision was confirmed.

The other incident of 1891 was the adoption of a memorial, pretty evidently penned by Bishop Howe as chairman of the committee which presented it, praying the commissioners of the Chicago Exposition not to open on Sunday. The interest of that memorial to us here lies in one phrase,—“Believing, as they do, that the Lord's Day is . . . sanctioned by, and a part of, the common law, AS ASSERTED BY MR. WEBSTER, we hold,” etc. The great expounder, quoted as an authority in South Carolina, shall be our last reminiscence of the ecclesiastical conferences of that State.

The next Easter Day, April 17, 1892, the bishop suffered a paralytic seizure, and his work was done. He was forced to retire to the country home of his family, at Saluda, in the mountains of North Carolina, and there to wait for the end, which came peacefully on another Lord's Day, Nov. 25, 1894. With his constant magnanimity, he had offered his resignation of his episcopal charge, that his diocese might not be required to support a helpless and dying bishop, and also a coadjutor who should do the needful work. The House of Bishops refused to receive the resignation, holding that a diocese must not be allowed to suppose that it could thus be disburdened of a bishop in age and sickness, and too probably in poverty. I am sure that the diocese of South Carolina never grudged that decision, which made our New Hampshire Bishop Howe to be in a nearer sense *their* Bishop Howe to the last.

The address was one of great interest and delivered in a charming manner.

A vote of thanks to the speaker was passed, and a copy of the address requested for preservation.

Mrs. Ida C. Humphrey and Rev. Daniel C. Roberts, D. D., were elected active members of the Society.

Adjourned to the call of the president at 4 p. m.

At the meeting held Wednesday, February 8, 1899, at 1:30 p. m., the speaker was Rev. James De Normandie, D. D., of Roxbury, Mass., and the subject "The Rev. James Freeman Clarke, D. D." The address was a very able one, and the thanks of the Society were voted the speaker and a copy of the address requested.¹

No further business was transacted. In the absence of the secretary, Rev. N. F. Carter acted as secretary *pro tem*.

The Society adjourned at 2:30 p. m., to the call of the president.

A meeting was held March 8, 1899, at 2 o'clock p. m., the president in the chair.

The speaker announced for the afternoon did not reach the city until a later hour than that appointed for the delivery of the address, and the Hon. Charles R. Corning, who was present, accepted an invitation to read selections from portions of the forthcoming History of Concord which he had prepared, for which the Society expressed its grateful thanks, after which an adjournment was taken till evening.

The Society met again in the evening in the senate chamber at the state house at 8 p. m. Mr. Frank B. Sanborn of Concord, Mass., the speaker appointed for the afternoon, was present, and expressed sincere regrets for his failure to be present at the hour appointed for the delivery of his address, the subject of which was "The Genius and Achievements of Gen. John Stark, or Factors in the Accomplishment of American Independence." Mr. Sanborn presented the Society with a copy of the address and received a vote of thanks for the same.

¹ This address was printed in Vol. XXVIII of the *Granite Monthly*, p. 167.

GENERAL JOHN STARK: HIS GENIUS AND ACHIEVEMENTS
AS FACTORS IN THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF AMERICAN
INDEPENDENCE.

Gentlemen of the Historical Society.—In selecting the topic of an address which you have done me the honor to request from me, you could not better have chosen one agreeable to myself; for the fame of John Stark, united as it has always been with that of John Langdon, of my native county of Rockingham, and that of Meshech Weare, my own townsman, was from earliest boyhood a subject familiar to me. Next to the renowned Lives of Plutarch, which I read with keen interest at the age of eight, I valued that earliest volume of our American Plutarch which contained the biographies of Stark by Edward Everett, Montgomery by General Armstrong, and Ethan Allen by Jared Sparks. From that, and from the current histories of the Revolution, to which our new and hot friends, the English Tories, now object so frequently, because they were not written to disguise the truth, I soon learned the outline of the inestimable services of General Stark, not only to New Hampshire and New England, but to the whole country, and to the world. And in all my reading since, filling up this glorious outline with innumerable details, all honorable to him, my estimate, and I am sure your estimate, has only been raised and made more appreciative. And never more than at this time were the political sentiments of John Stark of true value to his compatriots of New Hampshire, and to his countrymen at large, of all colors and races,—sentiments which he first wrote out in valiant deeds, and then in his vigorous old age, when a British faction within his native land was seeking to renew our severed allegiance to the aristocratic principles of English caste-rule which he reiterated, in terse words, as effective as his bayonet charge, under Washington, at Trenton. To these words, as well as to those deeds, I propose later to direct your attention.

When the infamous Earl of Sandwich, in the spring of 1775, in his dishonored place in parliament, sneered at the American colonists as cowards, he was answered in parliament by Burke

and others,—and presently, before the echo of his miserable slanders reached New Hampshire, by the Chevy Chase of Pitcairn and Earl Percy from Concord and Lexington, and by the death-dealing valor of Prescott and Stark at Bunker Hill. The exact words of Sandwich were: "The colonists are raw, undisciplined and cowardly; at the siege of Louisburg Sir Peter Warren found what egregious cowards they were. Believe me, my lords, the very sound of a cannon would send them off as fast as their feet could carry them." This has been the tone of servile ministries in all times; the same contempt of truth, the same absurdity of administration, has been seen too much of late in war department officers nearer than London. But in fact, the colonists had been trained by the long war with the French and Indians not only to display the courage native to our parent stock, but to learn and practice discipline. And of the many officers thus trained to defeat their new foemen, British or Tory alike, Washington, Putnam, and Stark were the most signal examples.

Four years older than Washington, whom he outlived by more than twenty years, John Stark, of immediate Scotch and more remote German ancestry, had from boyhood been schooled for the hard service of the war for independence, and for the practice of those democratic principles which, more or less consciously, lay at the root of the wish for independence. In a new country caste-distinctions soon fade away, unless kept alive, as in Virginia and Carolina, by the prevalence of negro slavery. The "white man's burden," of which we hear so much of late, must be shared among pioneers, by all who live in the community; there is then no exemption for inherited wealth or grasping commercial avarice; and John Stark, his father and brothers, pioneers were all their earlier life. Archibald, the father, educated at Glasgow in Scotland, and married at Londonderry in Ireland, was one of the pioneers of the New Hampshire Londonderry, and for the last 20 years of his frontier life a pioneer of Derryfield, where now the vast manufactories of the New England Manchester deform the forest-clad banks of the Merrimack, as John Stark first saw them. The sons took to this forest as hunters of the bear and

the beaver, and, like Washington, they spent much of their young life under what Shakespeare calls "the shade of melancholy boughs,"—anything but melancholy to these ardent sportsmen. The future hero of Bennington would rather have answered to the description given a hundred years later by Emerson :

Through these green tents, by eldest Nature drest ;
 He roamed, content alike with man and beast :
 Where darkness found him he lay glad at night,
 There the red morning touched him with its light ;
 Three moons his great heart him a hermit made.
 So long he roved at will the boundless shade.
 The timid it concerns to ask their way,
 And fear what foe in caves and swamps can stray,—
 To make no step until the event is known,
 And ills to come as evils past bemoan :
 Not so the wise ; no coward watch he keeps
 To spy what danger on his pathway creeps ;
 Go where he will, the wise man is at home,
 His hearth the earth,—his hall the azure dome.

The wisdom taught in this wild life of the forest, and the inbred dignity which it fosters—evident even in the savage Indian—were conspicuous qualities in Stark as in Washington. A certain magnanimity, not always found in the canny Scotch or the prudent Yankee character, distinguished him from the first. His adventures in captivity among the Canadian Indians manifested this ; the celebrated result of his running the gauntlet proved to the Indians that he was no "squaw-man," and gained for him privileges which the brave allow to the brave, wherever they meet. As Stark described it afterwards, this scene was amusing, though hazardous :

"The young warriors of the St. Francis village stood in two lines, each armed with a stick to strike the captive, who was to pass them as he could, chanting something they had taught him for the occasion, and carrying a pole six or eight feet long, with a stuffed bird at the end of it. Stark's bird was a loon ; his Indian chant was, 'I'll kiss all your women' (at which, we must fancy him an adept, at the age of 24), and he did not allow himself to receive many blows. Turning his

pole right and left, he hit out on each side, and ran through without much harm—his enemies falling back to avoid the sweeping strokes of his pole—while the old Indians laughed like the loon he bore, to see their youths put to shame by the white man.”

They then tried him with another “white man’s burden”—putting him to hoe their corn—for it was then June, 1752. He began by hilling the weeds and cutting up the corn; but as that did not exempt him from the task, he cast his hoe into the river, telling the tribe what they knew only too well, “It is the business of squaws, not of warriors, to hoe your corn.” This pleased the aristocratic red men, and they allowed the “young chief,” as they styled him, to have the freedom of their tribe, and treated him so well that in his old age he used to say he had received more real kindness from the savages of St. Francis, than he ever knew prisoners of war to experience among the civilized soldiers where he served.

The parallel between the early experiences of Washington and of Stark is curious,—the Virginian being sent to watch and repel French aggression in the Alleghanies, and thereby defeated and captured; while Stark was sent in the same year (1754) as guide to a company under Captain Powers to prevent the building of French forts in the “Upper Cohos,” as the country above Lebanon was then called. More fortunate than Washington’s party, that of Powers and Stark found no enemies to fight, but reported such fertile fields in the Connecticut intervale, where Haverhill and Newbury now are, that these soon began to be settled by hardy pioneers. The opening of the French and Indian war brought both Stark and Washington into service as officers; Washington as a colonel of Virginians, and Stark as a lieutenant of “Rangers.” In his capacity Washington saved the defeated army of Braddock from total ruin; while Stark, in the next campaign, protected from destruction by a superior force of French and Indians the few men left under his command by the wounding of his leader, the celebrated Ranger, Capt. Robert Rogers. With but 74 men in this action, Rogers and Stark killed 116 out of the 250 French and Indians who attacked them, and Stark returned to

Fort William Henry with 48 sound men and six wounded, including in the latter Rogers himself, who had been hit in the head and the wrist. In all their battles neither Stark nor Washington was ever wounded, though greatly exposed; and Stark afterwards said that he was never conscious of killing any foeman with his unerring rifle except an Indian in this early engagement. While his reserve corps, on the crest of a hill near Lake Champlain, was defending the position, he observed that several balls, all coming from one direction, struck near him. Looking that way he saw a big Indian stretched at full length to avoid shots, on a rock behind a tree. Loading his gun, he watched the savage rising to take another shot.—then leveled and fired, and saw him roll from his rock into the winter snow, shot through the head. Later in the fight his gun was broken in the lock by a ball; but seeing a Frenchman fall, Stark sprang forward, seized his gun, returned to his place and went on fighting with the borrowed weapon. For saving his comrades in this, his first pitched battle, Stark was promoted to be captain, in which rank, under the British flag, he fought through the whole French war. Had his advice been taken by Abercrombie, the disastrous defeat of July, 1758, in which George, Viscount Howe, was slain, would have been avoided.

Between this brother of Sir William Howe and Stark a real friendship existed, and Stark was accustomed to say that Lord Howe, killed at 33, was the ablest commander under whom he ever served,—not excepting Washington. He thought his lamented death a future blessing to the colonies, for Lord Howe might have proved more than a match for Washington in the field. This was the young general to whose memory Massachusetts erected a monument in Westminster Abbey. Stark's opinion of him was that of Wolfe also, who called Lord Howe, "that great man—the noblest Englishman that has appeared in my time, and the best soldier in the British army." Care was taken by Providence that no such general should command against Washington and Stark,—William Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, and even Cornwallis, so successful in India, were overmatched by these frontier colonels, who had

learned the art of war in the woods and mountains of Vermont and Virginia.

At the age of 81, writing to Madison, then president of his freed country, Stark wrote contrasting the two nations against whom he had fought successfully; and his words are as well worth pondering now as in 1810. He said,—

“If the enmity of the British is to be feared, their alliance is still more dangerous. I have fought by their side as well as against them, and have found them to be treacherous and ungenerous as friends, and dishonorable as enemies. I have also tried the French,—first as enemies, and since as friends; and although all the strong prejudices of my youth were against them, still, I have formed a more favorable opinion of them than of the English.”

Released from service in this hard war, John Stark returned to his farm and his sawmill in Derryfield and Starkstown (now Dunbarton), and for a time seems to have kept out of public life. The approach of the Revolution, however, recalled him to duties which he was ever ready to perform. The news of the shooting at Lexington and Concord was to him the sign of long-expected war; he mounted his farm-horse and rode to the camp of General Ward, around Boston, where he was soon put in command of a regiment. From that time his achievements were no longer local, but celebrated throughout the world.

There have been many regrets expressed of late years that the colonies of England ever separated from the mother country; and we are now assured by votaries of manifest destiny as confident as were the slaveholding annexers of Texas and coveters of Cuba fifty years ago, that the time has arrived for a new union between the two severed branches of the Anglo-Saxon race,—an alliance defensive, and particularly offensive to our former allies, the French, and to our steady good friends, the Russians. But the war which gave us independence was always justly called the “War of the Revolution;” for it was, in fact, a revolution political and social which gave us independence. Not merely the military power of England was overthrown in the defeats of Burgoyne and Cornwallis,—but her

whole caste system of society, based upon wealth inherited or unjustly accumulated, and unfolding for the protection of ill-gotten wealth a political system based on distinctions of rank and the corruption of Parliament. You have only to read Sir George Trevelyan's new history of our Revolution, or any other good account of the state of politics under George III, to see how wide was the gulf which separated the dominant ideas of America in 1770 from those prevailing in the few hundred families and their dependents who then pretended to govern and to represent so many millions of the British and Irish people. Liberty, unsupported by power or wealth, was an empty word in the three kingdoms; taxes were levied with small regard to justice, and pensions were distributed with no regard at all to merit. Equality, except among the rich, and too often profligate few who governed, not only did not exist, but was dreaded like a pestilence; justice, as between landlord and tenant, local sultan and inmates of his harem, was a thing unknown to experience, though often clumsily aimed at in the courts. The rich wallowed in costly vice, the poor in cheaper nastiness of the same coarse kind; religion was at a standstill, until the forcible crusade of Wesley and Whitfield did something to recall the nation from its drowsy hypocrisy and practical atheism. Crime rioted by night and stalked abroad impudently by day; and the ferocious penalties of unequal laws doubled the enormities they sought to restrain by cruelty.

All this was otherwise in most of the colonies. Caste, though not unknown, was mild in its enforcement, and accessible in its enviable ranks; property was more equally distributed than elsewhere in the world, and freedom and comfort went hand in hand. Opportunity was here opened to all, and that social justice which is the best support of social peace led also insensibly to the substance of democracy. Even in Virginia and Carolina, honest and frugal poverty, especially if connected, as in Patrick Henry's case, with shining abilities, would lead to power, and might easily culminate in what passes among simple communities for wealth.

Hence the colonies were ripe for a gradual development of democratic institutions, such as even now, after a century and

a quarter, are but barely tolerated in England; and when the misgovernment of the mother country had provoked rebellion, the step was a short one from the colonial semi-equality to the profession and awkward practise of republicanism. Theoretic republicanism had indeed been advocated by many Englishmen for more than a century; and it was the freedom-loving disquisitions of Milton, Sidney, and Locke, assisted rather than checked by the trimming eloquence of the great Marquis of Halifax, which more than any doctrinaire writings inspired the American idea in Adams and Jefferson. Calvinism assisted, with its strong emphasis laid on personal religion, as opposed to ritual, and on the right of private judgment, rising up against prelatical assumptions. And not without sudden effect was that hardy English vigor and Irish courage, which Burke had portrayed so clearly.

“No climate,” cried the ardent Burke, praising our whale-fishing ancestors, “no climate that is not witness to their toils; no sea but what is vexed by their fisheries. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hard industry to the extent pushed by this recent people,—still as it were but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood. When I contemplate these things; when I reflect upon these effects, I feel all the pride of power sink, and all presumption in the wisdom of human contrivances melt and die away within me. My rigor relents; I pardon something to the spirit of liberty.”

And of this liberty, which courtly Halifax, a century before, chose to disguise under the less perilous name of Truth, he had said in milder accents, and with a more suggestive tone than imperious Burke could easily adopt, what the oppressors of America soon found to be true:

“Such majesty she carrieth about her that her most prosperous enemies are fain to whisper their treason; all the power upon earth can never extinguish her; she hath lived in all ages, she hath eternity in her; she knoweth not how to die, and from darkest clouds that can shade or cover her, she breaketh from time to time with triumph for her friends and terror to her

enemies." And Halifax added what our history as well as that of England has more than once made evident, "There is a soul in the great body of the people, which may for a time be drowsy and unactive, but when the Leviathan is roused it moveth like an angry creature, and will neither be convinced nor resisted."

It was to rouse this colonial Leviathan for the extension of free institutions, and not merely for release from British misgovernment, that Stark labored and fought, as Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson did. Writing more than thirty years after the crowning mercy at Bennington, Stark said :

"As I was then I am now the friend of the equal rights of men, of representative democracy, of republicanism and the Declaration of Independence, the great charter of our national rights. I am the enemy of all foreign influence,—for all foreign influence is the influence of tyranny. This is the only chosen spot of liberty,—this the only republic on earth."

Certainly this was true in 1809 when Stark said it; and it was to found such a republic that he had fought. Writing to Jefferson, four years earlier,—“I will confess to you, sir, that I once began to think that the labors of the Revolution were in vain; and that I should live to see the system restored which I had assisted in destroying. But my fears are at an end.” That is, Stark saw in the election and re-election of Jefferson, against whom British influence and the revised caste-system had struggled, an assurance that not British but American principles had finally won in our political strife, as they had under Washington in the stress of war.

Bunker Hill was, in fact, an assertion of political equality,—“the equal rights of men” against the old system of king, lords and commons, standing armies, interference with local self-government,—in short, all for which King George and the Tories stood, as opposed to what the Adamses and Jefferson represented. Never was an army more democratically directed, for up to this day it is still in dispute who commanded the American forces. Prescott commanded in the redoubt, and Stark at the rail fence where he overthrew the English heroes of Minden; but who was the general commander nobody really knows. One thing, however, we do know, that more than half

the men who fought against Howe and Clinton that day were from New Hampshire.

We of New Hampshire regret that Mr. Lodge, a recent historian or novelist of the Revolution, has not discovered after so many years that it was the farmers and woodsmen of New Hampshire who did most of the fighting at Bunker Hill, and that the powder they used until their cartridges were exhausted, was from that stock seized by Langdon and Sullivan at New Castle in Portsmouth harbor six months before. This is a well-known fact, I believe, which does not reflect at all upon the courage or prudence of Massachusetts or Connecticut, but certainly is important enough to be mentioned whenever the battle is reported in detail; and we must therefore hope that this new historian in future editions of his entertaining book will condescend to take notice of it. As was said of a brilliant naval action in the late war with Spain, there was glory enough for all in the fight at Bunker Hill, and there is no reason now, after so many years, why it should not be fairly distributed.

I have spoken of the direction of the forces at Bunker Hill as "democratic." But a distinguished son of New Hampshire, forty years ago, went a little farther and called it "individualism," which is in fact the inspiring force of democracy, and that which makes our American principle of society so formidable in time of war. Colonel Potter of Manchester said, in a speech on Washington's birthday, in 1859:

"It was individualism that stamped the heights of Bunker Hill with the impress of American valor. Each battalion seemed to be actuated by individualism; the battle was fought by individualism. Each commander of a battalion or regiment seemed to fight in his own way, and 'on his own hook.' Putnam fought at his redoubt; Warren, with a major-general's commission in his pocket, fought as a volunteer. Stark came up to the rail fence breastwork (itself an individualism), continued it down to the beach, and in a moment, as it were, built a wall to the water's edge of the stones upon the beach. Then was displayed that individualism so often spoken of by Washington to Stark's honor. Taking a stake in his hand Stark deliberately walked in front of his line, the distance of thirty or

forty yards, where, setting the stake in the ground, he shouted, 'Boys, the redcoats are coming up the hill; if one of you fire a gun till they reach that stake, I'll shoot him.' The same individualism at Bennington dictated the memorable speech, 'There are the enemy, boys, the redcoats and tories; you must beat them, or Betty Stark sleeps a widow to-night.' It was the same quality that, on the news of the Lexington battle, led him to throw down his crowbar, shut down the gate of his sawmill, seize his arms, mount his horse, and ride to the post of danger. It was his striking individualism that induced fourteen full companies to flock to his standard in less than as many days."

It is true that Stark had the strong quality here so well illustrated; but it was his special trait not to manifest it except for the common good. At Bunker Hill and ever after he did not let his ambition or his pride of opinion bring him into quarrels or intrigues to the disparagement of Washington, as so many of the officers and congressmen did. At Bunker Hill he took orders at headquarters from the incapable commander, Ward; but once on the field he acted as he thought best, and as long experience had taught him. Courage was everywhere shown that day,—on the British side as on ours,—but the only strategy on our side was that of Stark in fortifying and holding what a glance told him was the key of the position, if a retreat became needful, as probably Stark foresaw. When marching his men to the field through a battery fire which to young soldiers seemed alarming, he refused to quicken his march, saying to Captain Dearborn (afterwards General and Secretary of War), "One fresh man in action is worth ten tired ones."

It seems that Stark had enlisted fifteen companies for his regiment, but two of them were transferred to Reed's regiment before the battle and three of them afterwards to Massachusetts regiments; so that he had in the fight not less than 1,000 men of his own raising, besides 300 more enlisted by Colonel Reed. Against them came 700 men of the Welsh Fusileers, heroes of the battle of Minden, besides other good British soldiers. Of the 700 Welshmen less than 100 mustered at parade the next morning; and when General Winslow, a Tory, landed at the beach that morning he counted 96 pri-

vate soldiers lying dead before Stark's impromptu stone wall, where Capt. John Moore's company was posted by Stark. Out of Stark's 1,300 men, only 93 were lost, and only 18 of these were killed. Stark could therefore well say in his report to the New Hampshire authorities,—“We remain in good spirits, being well satisfied that where we have lost one the enemy have lost three.” In his own part of the battle this was true; but in the whole action the American loss was 450, as against 1,054 on the British side. In effect it was a victory for the colonists; and from that day forth the invaders were cooped up in Boston.

After the capture of Boston in March, 1776, Stark was sent to join the army in Canada, whose misfortunes were not owing to his leadership or advice, but rather to the neglect of them. He was then sent to reinforce Washington's small force in the Jerseys, arriving shortly before the night attack on Trenton, which gave Washington so much deserved glory. But it was Stark who made that victory certain,—first, by persuading the New Hampshire soldiers, whose time had expired, to stay until after the attack, and then by leading them in the charge against the Hessians at Trenton. Another New Hampshire general, Sullivan, commanded the division, in which Colonel Stark led the advance,—and from Sullivan, writing home to President Weare, we have this account of that eventful night:

“You may want to know how your men fight. I will tell you,—exceedingly well. . . . Believe me, sir, the Yankees took Trenton before the other troops knew anything of the matter,—more than that there was an engagement; and, what will surprise you still more, the line that attacked the town consisted of 800 Yankees, and there were 1,600 Hessians to oppose them.”

This has often been quoted,—but there is a pardonable exaggeration in it. The division of Sullivan was composed of three brigades,—St. Clair's, headed by Stark's regiment with but little more than 100 men fit for duty,—Sargent's, with 800 men, and Glover's with nearly 1,000 men, nominally present. In all, if all these men were engaged, Sullivan would have had more than 2,000 under his command. In fact, the whole

attacking force of Washington was stated by him at 2,400. But General Greene's division was about as large as Sullivan's,—so that I suppose Sullivan had about 1,000 in the action, of whom about 350 were New Hampshire men. They forced the town from the southwest, and captured one of the three Hessian regiments; but the others seem to have yielded, after a short resistance, to Greene's division, to which was attached the Virginia company of Capt. William Washington who, with his lieutenant, James Monroe, afterwards president, was wounded in capturing the Hessian cannon. Indeed, these were the only officers wounded on the American side,—so violent was the assault and so unprepared were the enemy. The principal fighting was outside the town, after Sullivan's division had entered it; so it is perhaps strictly true that Sullivan's men, headed by Stark, Poor, and Cilley, took Trenton before Greene and Washington himself were actually engaged. In any case the conduct of Stark met with universal praise. "The dauntless Stark," says an eye-witness, "dealt death wherever he found resistance, and broke down all opposition before him."

The condition of the New Hampshire regiments which had marched down from Canada to reinforce Washington's small army, was particularly bad as regards clothing and shoes; yet Washington would not make his attack on Trenton without them. This appears from his confidential letter to Colonel Reed two days before, in which he said, "Christmas day at night, one hour before day, is the time fixed upon for our attempt upon Trenton. For Heaven's sake keep this to yourself, as the discovery of it may prove fatal to us,—our numbers, sorry I am to say, being less than I had any conception of; but necessity, dire necessity, will, nay, must, justify an attempt. We could not ripen matters for our attack before Christmas,—so much out of sorts, and so much in want of everything are the troops under Sullivan." They in fact had to march through the snowstorm of that night, with old rags tied about their feet for shoes, and some of them even barefoot. When the two battles of Trenton and Princeton were over, Stark took his men back to New Hampshire, and proceeded to recruit a new

regiment. It was ready for service in March, 1777, but when he went to Exeter, then the capital, to receive instructions where to march it, he was met by the news that congress had made brigadiers by promoting younger men, while omitting to give him promotion. He was approaching 50, his services had been great, but by some wretched intrigue at Philadelphia, no notice had been taken of his merits. His letter to the legislature of New Hampshire, announcing his resignation, very curious in itself and in results, was as follows :

" To the Honorable the Council and House of Representatives, for the State of New Hampshire, in General Court assembled :

"GENTLEMEN: Ever since hostilities commenced, I have, so far as in me lay, endeavored to prevent my country from being ravaged and enslaved by our cruel and unnatural enemy. I have undergone the hardships and fatigues of two campaigns with cheerfulness and alacrity, ever enjoying the pleasing satisfaction that I was doing my God and country the greatest service my abilities would admit of; and it was with the utmost gratitude that I accepted the important command to which the State appointed me. I should have served with the greatest pleasure, more especially at this important crisis, when our country calls for the utmost exertions of every American; but am extremely grieved that I am in honor bound to leave the service, Congress having thought proper to promote junior officers over my head. So that, lest I should show myself unworthy of the honor conferred on me, and a want of that spirit which ought to glow in the breast of every officer appointed by this honorable House, in not suitably resenting an indignity, I must (though grieved to leave the service of my country), beg leave to resign my commission; hoping that you will make choice of some gentleman, who may honor the cause and his country, to succeed

"Your most obliged humble servant,

"JOHN STARK."

I have always thought this sincere and manly letter to be due to something better than personal pique; that he foresaw the mischief which the congressional intrigues against Washington would do, and took this means to warn his country against them. He was quite right in throwing up his commission for the reason alleged, yet had not his success at Ben

nington afterwards spoken in his behalf, he would have been censured for abandoning a cause in which he could have done much good. But probably he felt in his soul that he was most needed in New Hampshire,—as indeed he was.

Yet Stark was very far from abandoning the cause of New England and the country. The expedition of Burgoyne was threatening, and he probably foresaw—what was the fact—that New Hampshire and Vermont would be important factors in the defeat of the invasion of New York and New England from Canada. In consequence of errors made the preceding year, against the protest of Stark, the great fortress of Ticonderoga had been laid open to Burgoyne's attack; it was abandoned in July, 1777, and the retreating army was pursued by Frazer and Riedesel at Hubbardton, in Vermont. The rear guard, under Seth Warner, were overtaken and defeated, after vigorous resistance. New Hampshire was aroused by the news of invasion, as never before—for it has been, and still is, the boast of our little state "that she has never seen a foreign foeman within her borders save as a prisoner or a guest." Her government, then in session at Exeter, had for Speaker of the assembly John Langdon of Portsmouth, and for President of the council, Weare of Hampton Falls; these patriots both spoke and acted as the crisis demanded; and Stark was at his farm in Manchester waiting to obey the orders of a State which never failed him. Less than three weeks after the fall of Ticonderoga, orders were out for three battalions under Stark, who was as ready then as at the news of Concord fight, to march across Vermont and meet the victorious invaders in the eastern limits of New York. This array of men, raised as if by the fiery cross of Scotch Highlanders, traversing the mountains and plains of the small state, was preceded and made possible by that speech of Langdon which can never be too often quoted:

"I have \$3,000 in hard money; my plate shall be pledged for as much more; my 70 hogsheads of Tobago rum shall be sold for the most they will bring. These are at the service of the State; if we succeed I shall be remunerated—if not, they will be of no use to me. We can raise a brigade; our friend

Stark, who so nobly sustained the honor of New Hampshire at Bunker Hill, may safely be trusted to command, and we will check Burgoyne!"

So said, so done; in one short month from that memorable speech Bennington had witnessed the defeat and capture of 1,000 of the invading army; one wing of the great bird of prey hovering over Vermont and the Hudson had been broken by the marksmen of New England; its flight was impeded, and soon it could neither go forward nor limp back towards the lurking places of its savage allies. Burgoyne's surrender followed,—as directly a result of the Bennington battle as if Stark had slain half of his invading forces. But this fight, which, in what Napoleon called "a war of skirmishes," was the most momentous skirmish, deserves more than such brief mention. It was the crowning achievement of John Stark, and the proudest testimonial of New Hampshire's ready and effective courage.

I take it that in assigning my subject as "the genius and achievements" of Stark, your Society meant to imply that this plain citizen, farmer and lumberman, fighter of Indians and leader of men, had something more in him than these terms indicate,—that to him genius was granted,—that gift indefinable, but indispensable in every great movement and crisis of mankind. In military affairs genius combines with good fortune, to such a degree that it is always open to debate which of the two gave the great general his successes. But it may also co-exist—I mean genius—with ill fortune, as in Washington's case, in order further to develop itself, and grow from mere military leadership into the higher genius of the constructive statesman. It is not alone for his success in war—marked as that finally became—but for his far-seeing, unselfish statesmanship, that Washington is now held in honor, everywhere but in the high places of the government which his valor made possible for vaunting mediocrity to occupy. "Great empire and little minds," said Burke, "go ill together." Washington's was a great mind in a small empire.

Stark had, in a less degree, but of the same nature, the genius for war and government which the great Virginian pos-

sessed. He was probably never beaten in a battle or a campaign which was directed by himself, or where he was left free to act. At Bunker Hill, his resistance and his orderly retreat were the strategic features of the day; all else was reckless courage, displayed in desperate battle. At Bennington he was left free to show his genius in planning and finishing a campaign. His postponement, rather than neglect, of Schuyler's orders to join the army near Albany, enabled him to give to Burgoyne's army the wound from which it could never recover. He has sometimes been blamed for not controlling his men after the first victory, and thus laying himself open to the assault of Breyman's fresh troops; but he had ordered in time the reinforcement which he received himself from Warner, and it arrived by good fortune in the very nick of time. When the double victory was gained, he advanced with his victorious farmers to a junction with Gates, to whom he reported a month after the Bennington engagement, but his men having done their task and served their time, returned to New Hampshire. Thither also went Stark, and by his personal influence and the renown of his victory, raised nearly 3,000 fresh troops, with which he cut off the retreat of Burgoyne towards Canada. Here again, Stark manifested that military insight which would have won many victories, had he been placed, as Washington and Greene were, at the head of armies subject to his own direction.

In civil life Stark's genius was also displayed; it was less needed in New Hampshire, because men of prudence, like Weare and his associates, were at the helm. But in the troubled affairs of Vermont in its infancy, he showed how well he understood the principles of equity which alone make free governments succeed. The rival claims of New York and of New Hampshire to the territory of Vermont, made those states forgetful of the just rights of the people who occupied that territory; and the controversy was long and bitter at one stage. When Stark thought statesmanship had prevailed over selfish interests, he wrote a remarkable letter to Chittenden, the wise governor of the infant State, saying:

"I only waited the prudent and happy determination of congress to congratulate you. No intervening circumstance in the

grand political system of America, since the war began, has given me more real pleasure than your acceptance into the Union,—a measure that I do now and always did think was highly compatible with the real interest of the country. In my opinion, nothing can wound a generous mind more than the mortifying thought of making a large country miserable; and the people of your state, by their utter detestation of the management of New York, must have been wretched under their government. To have been connected with New Hampshire is what many in the state would have been very sorry for, as very inconvenient and expensive for both bodies of people, and no real good resulting from such a connection, therefore I am of the opinion that every man who consulted the public interest must be an advocate for a separation; for, had they been connected, there would ever have been a jealousy between the two states, which would have been infallibly dangerous to both; but that jealousy, by the separation, must entirely subside, and New Hampshire and Vermont live in perfect friendship as sister States.”

So, too, after the war ended, when factions and personages in our state were turmoiling the community for impossible changes of the law, or for personal grants and favors to themselves, Stark is never heard of as countenancing anything but good government and democracy. His expenditures during the war were never fully repaid. He had been almost impoverished, but he considered only the success of the good cause, followed the example of Washington, and was willing that others should hold the reins of government, and win the honors of office. He refused to join Armstrong and other officers in the offer of a throne to Washington; he declined to take part in the hereditary order of the Cincinnati, and he looked with high disfavor on the predominance of what an eccentric writer has called the infectious atmosphere of the counting-house in the Confederation; and it was true of Stark as of Dearborn, his subaltern at Bunker Hill, that they belonged to the great Republican party; made, carried through, and upheld to their last hour by Jefferson and John Langdon, as Langdon's grandson said.

In sustaining this Republican party, General Stark no doubt favored the acquisition of the mouth of the Mississippi, and the wide territory then called Louisiana ; but he favored it, as Jefferson did,—not as a means of entering upon foreign wars, but of guarding our republic from the risk of them. Conquest was not in the minds of Jefferson and his friends, as it was in those of Hamilton, Rufus King, and the Federalist leaders, after the guiding hand of Washington was withdrawn from their counsels and activities. It is only within the past year or two that we have had revealed, by the publication of King's correspondence, the singular, and, I must add, the atrocious plot of Hamilton and his friends, combining with the English Tory government, to excite war with Spain, by invading her American colonies with a British fleet and an American army, the latter to be commanded by Hamilton himself. To such lengths did this plot go that it was only by the good sense of John Adams, then President, that so criminal a war was not engaged in, at a time when every interest of the young republic demanded peace. It was in the remembrance of schemes like this, and of the aristocratic and military tendencies of Hamilton, Morris, and their faction, that Stark wrote, in 1809, to the patriots of Vermont who were celebrating the battle of Bennington :

“ You well know, gentlemen, that at the time of the event you celebrate, there was a powerful British faction in the country (called Tories) a material part of the force we contended with. This faction was rankling in our councils, until it had laid a foundation for the subversion of our liberties ; but, by having good sentinels at our outposts, we were apprised of our danger. The sons of freedom beat the alarm, and (as at Bennington) they saw, they conquered. ‘ Look to our sentries ! ’ these are my orders now, and will be my last orders to all my volunteers ; for there is now a dangerous British party in the country, lurking in hiding places, more dangerous than all our foreign enemies. Whenever they shall appear, let us render the same account of them as was given at Bennington, though they assume what name they will.”

‘ Freedom, not Conquest,’ such was the motto of Stark—as it

was, in June, 1786, the motto of New Hampshire on its battle-flag, as you, gentlemen of the Historical Society, may remember. The Committee of our General Court "to devise Standards" reported in that year,—

"That the field of the New Hampshire flag be a dark purple on a white ground, an oval shield in the middle, encircled with laurel, within which is to be the following device, viz. : A man armed at all points, in a posture of defence, his hand on his sword, the sword half-drawn, the motto, 'Freedom, not Conquest,' thirteen silver stars dispersed over the field of the standard, and properly arranged so as to encircle the device and motto."

That was a flag such as Washington, Stark, and all our heroes might have marched under ; it is the flag, as I believe, under which New Hampshire marches to-day, for I cannot think my native state is ready to follow in the wake of England's bloody and piratical imperialists, listen to a dangerous British party in our country, such as Stark warned us against, and slide into an alliance, for perpetual warfare, side by side with those Englishmen whom Stark said he had found "treacherous and ungenerous as friends, and dishonorable as enemies." We wish them to be now what our glorious Declaration of Independence said they must be, "enemies in war, in peace, friends," not, as we should too probably find them, if we entangled ourselves in alliance with them, "friends in war with England's enemies, in peace, enemies of ourselves."

It may not be remembered by all who hear me that the Tories of Vermont, New York, and Canada were an important part of the armed force which Stark met at Bennington. Colonel Skene, who had been an officer in the British army, gathered and headed this force of Tories. He had settled at Whitehall in New York, where he had extensive lands, mills, forges, etc., and had many followers. His horse was shot at Bennington by a New Hampshire soldier, and the Tory colonel barely escaped on an artillery horse. From an account by one of Stark's men, Thomas Mellen, given in 1848, some curious particulars of the Bennington campaign are to be gathered.

This Thomas Mellen, from Francestown, had been one of Stark's men in Canada, and was personally known to his general for years. After the battle, as he was returning to the neighborhood of the entrenchment, he was ordered by Stark to help draw off one of the captured cannon. "I told him I was worn out; his answer was, 'Don't seem to disobey; take hold, and if you can't hold out slip away in the dark.'" At the beginning of the day, Stark had ridden near the entrenchments of the British, to reconnoiter; the cannon were trained on him, and he came galloping back, bending in the saddle, and calling out to his own men,—“Those rascals know I am an officer; don't you see how they honor me with a salute from the big gun?” These sayings, and the legendary one, as he led his men to the charge,—“There are your enemies, the red-coats and the tories; we must have them in half an hour, or this night Betty Stark's a widow”—indicate the familiar terms on which he stood with his men. At the same time, he was strict in his discipline; and these two qualities of a successful commander, familiarity and discipline, mark him as the best possible leader for New Hampshire soldiers. Nor was his talent for describing a battle below his other qualifications; for seldom has a campaign been more tersely and sufficiently portrayed than was Stark's in his dispatch to President Weare and the council at Exeter. After detailing his manœuvres, which were all seasonable and successful, he said,—“Colonel Nichols commenced the attack precisely at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, which was followed by all the rest. I pushed forward the remainder with all speed. Our people behaved with the greatest spirit and bravery imaginable. Had they been Alexanders, or Charles of Sweden, they could not have behaved better. The action lasted two hours; at the expiration of which time we forced their breastworks, at the muzzle of their guns; took two pieces of brass cannon, with a number of prisoners; but before I could get them into proper form again” (that is, his own men) “I received intelligence that there was a large reinforcement within two miles of us, on their march, which occasioned us to renew the attack. But, luckily for us, Col. Warner's regiment came up, which put a

stop to their career. We soon rallied, and in a few minutes the action began very warm and desperate,—which lasted until night. We used their cannon against them, which proved of great service to us. At sunset we obliged them to retreat a second time. We pursued them till dark, when I was obliged to halt for fear of killing our men. I think in this action we have returned the enemy a proper compliment for their Hubbardton engagement.”

It was indeed a crushing defeat for the unlucky Burgoyne; writing to London, upon hearing of the defeat, he said, “The Hampshire Grants, a country unpeopled, and almost unknown in the last war (with the French) now abounds in the most warlike and rebellious race of the continent, and hangs like a gathering storm on my left.” And Washington said, “One more such stroke and we shall have no great cause for anxiety as to the future designs of Britain.” It was followed up by the surrender of Burgoyne’s whole army, and that signal event by the alliance with France, which in effect gave us the victory. And to this whole result Stark not only contributed,—but, if he had not been in New Hampshire to raise the army, and in Vermont to lead it, the final issue of the contest might have been very different. It showed, too, that the same leader, and the same kind of soldiers, who had defended themselves so gallantly and judiciously at Bunker Hill, could also assault and carry fortified places, defended with cannon.

For the rest of the war, Stark was usually recruiting soldiers or performing guard duty in the New England states and New York. For both these functions he was admirably fitted; but they kept Stark from winning more victory in the field.

He was admirably equipped for this disagreeable task which he undertook,—that of controlling the vicious, patrolling a large district with a force always too small, and with little or no money in the military chest; while, at the same time he was beset with dangers and annoyances of all kinds. Albany and Saratoga were his chief headquarters, and how unlike these towns were in 1781 to their present situation in regard to the luxuries of life, may be seen by a statement which Stark made to Washington in August of that year: “There is not a drop

of public rum in this department. Your excellency must know that, if I do my duty, I must keep scouts continually in the woods.—and men on that service ought to have a little grog, in addition to their fresh beef and water. I wish to live up to my station, which cannot be done on the bare allowance of a brigadier; for instance, a gallon of rum is \$14, a pound of sugar \$2.50, and so in proportion.”

In an earlier letter, June, 1778, to President Weare, Stark had related more serious difficulties,—for even scouts can get along without rum, much more brigadiers. “The people of Albany do very well in the hanging way. They hanged nine on the 16th of May; on the 5th of June, nine; and they have 120 in jail, of whom I believe more than half will go the same way. Murders and robberies are committed here every day. So you may judge of my situation, with the enemy in front, and the devil in my rear.” Yet in every situation, whether of peace or war, Stark performed his duty, adhered to his early character and his popular principles, and died as he had lived, the advocate of “Freedom, not Conquest;” the enemy of foreign influences, boldly attacking or subtly undermining the institutions which Washington and his generals made possible, but which they never sought to overthrow, and never, like some recent generals, fond of standing armies and military glory in conquest, told us they were outgrown and must be thrown aside. As if a Constitution, sacredly established, and solemnly sworn to by these very epauletted jurists, could be thrown aside like a pair of soiled gloves, or a can of Chicago beef,—made to sell, like the green spectacles of Moses, the verdant, in Goldsmith's Vicar. It is hard to fancy Stark alive now, gazing on his monuments and statues, in a period when the Syndicate and the Trust have supplanted fair dealing and equal rights; when corporations, the creatures of free government, seek to grasp the reins of government; and when the rural democracy to which Stark belonged, and for which, and by the aid of which he fought, seems to be giving way to an oligarchy of wealth and trade. But if Stark were now alive with all that firm purpose and sturdy strength which withheld the defeat of Bunker Hill from ending in disgraceful rout,

and snatched victory in Vermont from the hands of the confident British aristocrats,—what would he say and do in the impending crisis of our national history? Would he bid us follow the example of England, our old enemy, and arm ourselves for war against France and Russia, our ancient allies and friends? Would he urge us to shoot down the sons of liberty at Manila, as Howe and Burgoyne shot them down in Massachusetts and Vermont? Would those be his orders for the day? or would he not rather say, “Raise again the Granite State flag that was good enough to float over the gray heads of Langdon, Stark and Sullivan, with its noble legend, ‘Freedom, not conquest!’ make your warships once more the refuge of oppressed insurgents, as when a New Hampshire commodore brought the exiled Hungarians to America! let them not be the incendiaries of churches and poor men’s homesteads, as was the British navy at Charlestown and Portland! Turn ye, my countrymen, from the bloody pathway of tyranny,—for why will ye die fighting against the God of your fathers? and worshipping the Golden Calf of Destiny?”

Gentlemen, I leave it for you to say which of these contrasted utterances rings most like the voice that sounded to victory at Bennington.

Rear Admiral George E. Belknap, LL. D., of Boston, the speaker engaged for the evening, then gave an admirable address upon “John Paul Jones,” the intrepid naval commander of the Revolutionary War.

THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF JOHN PAUL JONES.

In every need and emergency of national life, involving the conditions and the stress of war, whether in the days of antiquity or of this modern age, great captains have been developed on land and sea, who from their inborn genius for command and intuitive capacity for the organization and the handling of large bodies of men, have led their compatriots to successful issues in battle, glorified their nationality, and made for themselves a place among the immortals of their race as born leaders of men.

Among such exceptional personages of modern times we may undoubtedly name John Paul Jones, our great naval captain of the Revolution.

The son of John Paul, a reputable and well-to-do Scotch gardener, he was born at Arbigland, parish of Kirkbean, on the southern coast of Scotland, in July, 1747. From the moment of his birth he sniffed the salt sea air of Solway Firth, and as his infantile eyes began to look upon the things about him with expanding intelligence, he took in the sights of that sail-whitened arm of old ocean with a delight that grew more fervid with his years of increasing strength and perception until he could comprehend no other life, no other sphere of activity, than that which pertained to the sea. Every environment stimulated such fondness for the water and suggested the witcheries of its life—for the homestead was located on a promontory overlooking the bold and broad expanse of the Firth—and the child, looking down on the numerous craft continually passing on their commercial errands to and fro, and often hugging the shore at his feet, as it were, soon came to distinguish the differing rigs of the vessels, to understand the methods of their handling, and to know the orders that were given for the manipulation of the helm, yards, and sails, whether of the simple trading craft, the smart revenue cutter, or the king's trim ships-of-war. He could, indeed, be no more kept at the spade, the hoe, and the pruning hook of his father's occupation than Abraham Lincoln could have been kept at splitting rails or continuing the work of a flat-boatman.

And so leading his playmates in every sport that smacked of boats and ships and dared the waves, his continued dream, his ever-growing passion, was the sea. He longed to sail over its vast expanse, to dare its tempests, to explore its secrets, and to become a skilled master of the seaman's art—the hardest, the most heroic, of all professions. No inducement could prevail upon him to change a purpose so deeply anchored in his soul, and at the age of twelve years he prevailed upon his parents to take him out of the parish school and bind him as an apprentice to a Mr. Younger, a shipping merchant in White-

haven, on the opposite English shore, and principally engaged in the American trade. This was in 1759.

Soon after such momentous step, the ambitious little youngster, now happy in the prospect before him, went to sea in the ship *Friendship*, bound to the Rappahannock. Some years before, his brother William, considerably older than himself, had emigrated to Virginia, married a native of that colony, and settled upon a plantation at Fredericksburg. This was a fortunate circumstance for young Paul, giving him as it did a welcoming place of visit and a good chance for quiet study, when he could be spared from the ship, for in those days of small trading, slow disposal of inward cargoes, and equally tardy receipt of outward ventures, the stays in port were often prolonged for months, and in such enforced waiting the *Friendship* formed no exception to the general experience in that regard.

To the ordinary seafaring youth of our subject's antecedents and surroundings such opportunity for mental improvement would most likely have been idled away; but that was neither his temperament nor purpose, for when he had fairly entered upon his cherished scheme of life, he by no means proposed to remain in a subordinate position. On the contrary, he intended from the outset to climb to the topmost round of the professional ladder, and achieve the distinction of rank and command which in his inmost soul he believed to be his destiny. And so in his stay in Virginia waters he took up at that formative time, with resolute diligence and persistent application, the study of navigation and other branches of science and knowledge, best calculated to equip him for the positions of trust and honor he meant to reach. But his connection with his brother had other results, for the independent life and the unhampered ways of the colonists in those halcyon days of the Old Dominion impressed his ardent imagination with an admiration he did not affect to conceal, and filled his receptive mind with a spirit of sturdiness and aspiration that bore abundant fruit to the glory of the country, and to his own renown subsequently.

Nor let it be forgotten that while he improved every spare

moment in scholastic endeavor, he neglected none of his duties on shipboard, duties performed with an intelligence and an alertness that commended him alike to the master of the vessel and to its owner. But in the midst of such days of preparation and promise, his kindly patron, Mr. Younger, became so much embarrassed in business that he was compelled to abandon his shipping interests, and to cancel his young ward's indentures.

Thus the young seaman suddenly found himself thrown upon his own resources, but he soon obtained the position of third mate on board the *King George*, of Whitehaven, then engaged in the African slave trade. He seems to have served on board that craft until 1766 when, now being nineteen years of age, he became the first mate of the brigantine *Two Friends*, of Kingston, Jamaica, also a slaver in character and pursuit. Two years later, having got a surfeit of that abominable business of man-trading and its attendant horrors of the middle passage, he quitted the brigantine and returned to Scotland as a passenger in the brigantine *John*, of Kirkcudbright. On the passage homeward both the captain and the mate sickened and died, and Paul, now being the most capable navigator and seaman on board, assumed command, and carried the vessel into her destined port. This to him was a stroke of good luck, for the owners were so much pleased at his ready assumption of command and skilful management that they immediately appointed him as master and supercargo of the vessel.

Let me digress a moment here to say that British writers, ever virulent in their criticisms of Jones, his life and character, have generally denounced him in unmeasured terms for his five years' service on board the two slavers, *King George* and the *Two Friends*, but if there is any topic in the world's history that Englishmen should be especially reticent or modest about, it is the story of the rise, the furtherance, and long-continued infamy of the African slave trade.

Begun by that typical Englishman of his time, stout John Hawkins, in 1562; fostered and encouraged by Queen Bess through the contributions of her purse, the loan of her ships,

and her unblushing attitude as an eager sharer in the profits of the traffic, it continued under the protection of English law and the countenance of the Crown until 1807, when it was abolished by act of Parliament.

Moreover, although Lord Mansfield had rendered his memorable decision in 1772, declaring that the moment a slave set his foot on British soil he became a free man, yet fourteen years later, or in 1786, and long after Jones's connection with a slaver, one hundred and thirty vessels were employed, under the British flag, in the man-trading business, and carried off from the African shores, in that one year alone, some 42,000 of the wretched captives to be sold as slaves wherever they were marketable; nor was it until 1834, despite Lord Mansfield's dictum, as you will remember, that slavery was finally abolished in the British West Indies.

In view of such facts, and many more that might be cited, it behooves British writers to be a little less boastful of the final judgment and actions of Britons with regard to slavery and its abominable concomitants of cruelty and wrong, and to abate somewhat their Pecksniffian expressions of opinion, not only as to the past connection of our people with that villainous institution, but as regards our differing modes of procedure and conduct in other directions that go to make up the characteristics of national life and ordering. Recent events, indeed, go to show that a new light has dawned upon the British mind concerning things and doings on this side of the water, and from the haunts of the penny-a-liner in Grub street to the chambers of the prime minister in Downing street, the erstwhile harp of disparagement and disdain is now attuned to notes of pride in kinship and syren suggestions of quasi alliance, for mutual commercial defense and expansion. As, in truth, the average Britisher dearly loves a lord, so does he profoundly respect the spirit and pluck of a people who force him with an undaunted front and indomitable resolution that knows no fear and brooks no international meddling. In Brother Jonathan, John Bull has now found such type of man, such impersonation of nationality and imperial strength, and perforce, he governs himself accordingly. Nevertheless, it

behooves Jonathan to keep his weather eye ever open, for the Bull is tireless and indefatigable in every direction of effort towards the maintenance of his maritime dominance and the extension of his sphere of influence—commercial and political. Not at the Philippines is he now directing the most subtle wiles of his diplomacy, but at the strategic points of Nicaragua and the golden-laden regions of Alaska. While he pats Dewey on the back, and contemplates with smiling complacency our gathering of Philippine chestnuts and the establishment of the open door there, he quietly works at the nearer problem of Nicaragua canal control and the grabbing of Alaskan territory—a grabbing that never would have been thought of but for the discovery of gold in that inhospitable possession, and the continued prodding of the Queen's government by our greedy neighbors of the Dominion north of us.

But to return from this digression, our adventurer, as British writers have been wont to call him, after voyaging some time in the brigantine *John*, left that vessel, for reasons not clearly given, and took command of the *Betsey*, a vessel of similar rig and also engaged in the West India trade. In such abandonment of *John* for *Betsey*, I feel sure that no woman here present to-night will find fault, for it was a natural thing to do.

Yet the incipient hero soon forsook the *Betsey* and went to Virginia to take charge of his brother's estate, his brother having suddenly died intestate and without children. This was in 1773. The estate seems to have been considerable for the time, and its management demanded a far different experience and knowledge than the life and ways on shipboard had required. It was also at this time, according to all accounts, that John Paul assumed, in addition to his surname, the patronymic of Jones. Why such addition was made none of his biographers seem to have known, but as a matter of fact the Christian name of John was generally eliminated thereafter, and he became thenceforth plain Paul Jones.

Jones continued to administer the affairs of his deceased brother's estate until the outbreak of the Revolution. Now had come his opportunity. Like most sailors who had undertaken farming, he had made a poor fist at it, and the echoes

of Lexington and Bunker Hill sounded joyfully in his ears and thrilled his soul with delight.

Burning with desire to battle once more with the breeze and wave, and to meet the enemy on his own accustomed element, he at once tendered his services to congress, which were gladly accepted.

On the 22d of December, 1775, congress appointed one commander-in-chief, four captains, and five first lieutenants, Jones standing as the senior officer of the latter grade.

His first service was as first lieutenant of the flagship *Alfred*, thirty guns and three hundred men. With his own hands, when she was put into commission, he ran the pine-tree flag up to her masthead amidst an acclaim and enthusiasm that bespoke the patriotic thought and fervid purpose that pervaded the entire ship's company. He was then in his twenty-ninth year. Of medium height and light, graceful figure, his every movement instinct with energy and alertness, and a countenance tinged with a sober melancholy and sternness of expression that forbade too much familiarity, his bearing was both distinguished and officer-like. His qualities as a dashing, skilful seaman could not be gainsaid, nor his forceful qualifications for command be denied. Experienced and self-respecting, and chivalrously according to all others their just rights, he ever stood tenaciously for what he regarded his own just due, and thus awoke at times the jealousies and underhanded work of inferior men, a sort who lived in that day as well as in this.

But to skim over the record, after much valiant service on board the *Alfred*, and subsequently in command of the sloop *Providence*, in which duties Jones illustrated his exceptional genius for the tactics of the sea, and his clear apprehension of the amenities and discipline necessary to constitute an efficient ship-of-war, he was commissioned as a captain in the navy. Congress, in appreciation of his ability and zealous conduct, at first intended to despatch him to France with an order to the American commissioners there to purchase a suitable ship for service in British waters, and to invest him with its command.

But in those days, as well as in these, plans were often changed, and on the 14th of June, 1777, Jones received orders to assume command of the ship *Ranger*, eighteen guns, then building at Portsmouth, N. H.

On that same summer's day of Jones's commission, the congress decreed the main features of the flag which we all so honor and love to-day, and under which so many men have fought and died, and Jones had the undying privilege of being the first officer to display it from the peak of an American man-of-war when the *Ranger* was commissioned, adding to the glory of the act by hoisting it with his own hands, as he had similarly done with the pine-tree flag on board the *Alfred*, two years before.

When Jones reached Portsmouth he found the ship in a very backward state of readiness. But the Republic was then, as we know, in a tentative state, its resources undeveloped, its financial means pitiful, and its naval stores, with the exception of ship timber, scant. There were then no great centers of supply, such as we have to-day, and every incident in the building and equipping of ships involved vexatious delay and the skimping of outfits. Even at this time, when we have taken upon us obligations of international concern that will render our liability to meet the conditions of war far more likely and graver than ever before, we have seen congress adjourn without providing the means for the quality of armor necessary to make our latest authorized ships equal in resisting power to those of foreign navies, and delaying authorized construction, that may some day cost our naval arms a great disaster.

Despite all of Jones's energetic efforts, it took him more than four months to fully equip and man the *Ranger*, but finally on the first of November, 1777, he was enabled to put to sea, although he lamented her deficiency of stores, and especially that there were only thirty gallons of rum in her spirit room for the refreshment of the crew when off soundings—a lament that would sound in unsympathetic ears at this day, and especially here in New Hampshire, if all reports are true as to recent legislative action. Her battery consisted of eighteen

six-pounders—an armament that seems ridiculously weak at this day but which Jones found to be quite heavy enough for that vessel, for he found her to be a crank, slow-sailing craft, and on the passage across the Atlantic he struck some of her guns below.

The passage occupied thirty-one days, and the first port made was Nantes, France. Two prizes had been captured on the run out and sent into port, the forerunner of many other losses to the British flag which Jones was to inflict.

Soon after arriving in European waters he fell in with the ship of a French admiral, from whom he had the honor of receiving, as he says in his journal, the first salute ever given to the flag by a foreign power—its first recognition on the ocean as the insignia of nationality of a new power that demanded to be respected.

This third incident pertaining to the new flag—that flag which the Chinese called “as beautiful as a flower” when they first beheld it from a ship’s peak in Canton river, added another incident, if true, of glory to the swelling fame of Jones; but Admiral Preble, in his exhaustive history of the American flag, states that the brig, *Andrew Dorea*, Captain Robinson, called in the summer of 1776 at the island of St. Eustatia, where he saluted the Dutch flag and received a return salute from the governor, who was subsequently removed for his alleged indiscretion. The flag so saluted must have been the first continental flag without the present union, for the stars of the present ensign were not combined with the stripes until June, 1777, as already stated.

But as regards the flag it was a long time before uniformity was established. When, indeed, Vermont and Kentucky were admitted into the Union, an act was passed to take effect in May, 1795, increasing the stars and stripes in the flag from thirteen to fifteen, and such continued to be the flag for twenty-three years. After several other states had been admitted to statehood, however, the absurdity of increasing the number of stripes every time a new state came into the Union became but too manifest, wherefore, in 1818, congress, by enactment, restored the original thirteen stripes of white and red to repre-

sent the original number of the states, and directing that white stars be placed in the blue field of the union to stand for each and every state—present and to come. Thus we now have in the blue field of the union forty-five stars. Had the practice continued of adding a fresh stripe on the admission of every new state, the flag would now have more stripes than a zebra displays on its skin, and present an appearance trivial and meaningless in the extreme.

But up to the outbreak of the Rebellion there was great carelessness in the make-up of the flag—outside army and navy uses—not only on shore but on shipboard. Sometimes a red stripe would be placed next under the blue union which marred the effect—a mistake often made by foreign flag-makers, but the chief error was the manner of placing the stars on the blue field of the union. On some flags they were ranged in concentric circles, with a star in each corner of the union; in others one big star in the center, built up of smaller stars, was seen. Then again the proper number of stars was neglected, especially in the merchant marine, and Admiral Preble tells us that on the 4th of July, 1857, a gentleman of New York amused himself in hunting up the differing ensigns flung to the breeze in that city on that day. Their number amounted to nine—not one of which was lawfully fashioned.

The American commissioners, Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, had been secretly building a fine frigate in Holland to which Jones was to have been appointed to the command, but the British minister at Amsterdam got wind of such facts and protested so vigorously to the Dutch government against such action that the project had to be abandoned.

Jones, thus obliged to remain for the time being in the smaller command of the *Ranger*, and following up the previous brilliant raiding work of the *Reprisal* and *Lexington*, *Surprise*, and the *Revenge*, in British waters, now set about a varied and romantic cruise of daring and harassment in that quarter, as successful as it was daring and audacious. Knowing the waters well in every part, he appeared at the most unexpected points with a suddenness and impunity that threw the good folk of the British Isles into throes of bewilderment. No town

was safe from visitation, no single ship secure from an attack, and no harbor so well guarded that he could not force his way into it. British merchants were seized with such panic that they forsook their own bottoms and shipped their goods abroad either under the French or Dutch flags to ensure their safe transportation. Here was a case when Britannia no longer ruled the wave, and the average Britisher contemplated such loss of prestige so humiliating to him with an exasperation that knew no bounds.

One of his deeds of audacity was this: On the evening of the 23d of April, 1778, he anchored off the mouth of the river Dee, on the west coast of Scotland, and landed a force on St. Mary's island, where the Earl of Selkirk had a country seat. Jones's object was to seize the earl, carry him on board ship, and hold him as a hostage of exchange for Americans who were languishing in British prisons, amidst privations and cruelties that would have put to shame the barbarities then practised by the deys of Algiers or Morocco. The earl, luckily for himself, was not at home; the expedition, therefore, only resulted in the agreeable hour that Jones spent with the countess and her fair companions. Some of his crew, however, carried off five hundred dollars' worth of the family plate, which Jones in due season restored to the earl and his countess with expressions of regret at such untoward action of the blue-jackets.

The earl was at first disposed to refuse the proffered return, on the ground that Jones was a pirate and felon beyond the amenities of civilization, but he finally concluded to recognize Jones's generosity and to make cold acknowledgment to him for his chivalrous action, for the crew of the *Ranger* had made way with a portion of the plate, and Jones had bought it back with his own funds to enable him to return it as proposed.

Immediately after this affair Jones ran over to Carrickfergus, on the Irish coast, to tempt a meeting with the British sloop-of-war *Drake*. He had entered that port once before at night to surprise her and attempt her capture, but at the crucial moment the wind failed him, for there was no steam in those days, and an adverse tide completed his discomfiture. It was only through superb seamanship, indeed, and a grim

determination that never failed him, that allowed him to get safely out of the port without loss or damage of any sort.

Now by a *ruse-de-guerre* he succeeded in drawing the *Drake* out of the harbor. This was on the evening of the 24th of April, 1778.

As the British ship ran out into the channel she was accompanied at a safe distance by five small craft crowded with people, filled with desire to see a sea fight, while the shores were lined with spectators with the same object in view, and all filled with the anticipation of victory to their flag. When the *Drake* had reached mid-channel, Jones hove to, cleared ship for action, and coolly waited her coming. The suspense was brief, for the *Drake* was under all sail, and soon Captain Burton, the British commander, got near enough to hail and demand to know the *Ranger's* name and business. "The American continental ship *Rangèr*," was the swift response, "and ready to meet you at the muzzles of your guns." Then, without further parley, Jones put up his helm and poured a full broadside into his antagonist. The *Drake* instantly returned the fire; the battle, a close yard-arm to yard-arm fight, went on, and was waged most valiantly for an hour and four minutes, when the enemy struck.

The ships were of the same class, but in the number of guns and men the British vessel was clearly the superior.

Captain Burton and his first lieutenant were mortally wounded, and the *Drake* was much cut up in her sails, rigging, and spars, and her loss in killed and wounded was 26 per cent. of her officers and crew; while the *Ranger* came out of the fight with a loss of but 6 per cent. of her ship's company, and with so slight damage that every hurt was put in good repair before daylight the next morning.

The fight was a brilliant one from beginning to end. In its every phase and incident Jones not only showed his superiority as a seaman, but illustrated his transcendent ability as a fighting commander, while the good gunnery and intrepid conduct of his officers and men gave notice to the seamen of Great Britain, who claimed to be lords of the wave, that they must fight better than they had ever fought before if they

expected to overmatch in quality, and outdo in valor, the men who were now bearing a new flag upon the ocean.

Jones, now running northward with his prize, passed through North Channel into the Atlantic, and skirting the western coast of Ireland, made for Brest, where he safely arrived with both ships on the 8th of May.

When we recall the fact that during all this time numerous British cruisers had been diligently seeking Jones and his gallant colleagues of two other small ships, in order to capture or destroy them and their audacious craft, we must say, with an eminent historian, that the "daring and success of Jones's short cruise of twenty-eight days in the Irish Channel and German Ocean are unsurpassed in the annals of the sea."

All England was astounded at the work of the active rebel and his gallant compeers. His name, indeed, became a synonym of terror all along the coasts of the British Isles. Unruly children were threatened with visitations of that dreaded man if they did not mend their ways, just as a generation later Napoleon's name was used to terrorize naughty little Britons into obedience. Nor let it be forgotten that the British ministry so far lost their heads as to proclaim Jones as a pirate to be hanged at short order if captured, although he bore the commission of the Continental Congress and was no more pirate than any man who, though born a British subject, was now, both on land and sea, in rebellion against the Crown.

In this limning of Jones's career up to this point I have only attempted to portray its most salient features, for to tell all the incidents of his adventures and exploits in face of overwhelming odds would take too much time, and must be forborne.

In May, 1778, Jones having put into Brest, as we have already seen, now relinquished command of the *Ranger*, and was succeeded in command by his first lieutenant, Lieutenant Simpson. But for the purposes of this paper we follow no further the fortunes of that vessel than to say that she subsequently participated in the capture of eleven vessels of the English merchant marine, but that in 1779, having put in at Charlestown, South Carolina, she shared the destiny of other

national ships at that time in being called upon to surrender to the British forces, when that harbor and city were captured by the British army and fleet.

Jones, in the meanwhile, had been promised a new and larger ship and a squadron command, but the intrigues of the time at the French court, its tortuous policy, and the differences among the American commissioners, defeated all unity of purpose, blasted his expectations in every direction of aspiration and endeavor, and threw him hopelessly upon his own wits of resource and pluck.

Lee seems to have been the marplot of the commission, and he denounced Jones "as a rascal in league with the other rascal Franklin," and protested in a letter to a member of congress against Jones being kept upon a cruising job of Chaumont, a Frenchman in Paris, and Dr. Franklin, and predicted that "Jones would go over to the enemy."

In the midst of such depreciation, such vicious discouragement, the resolute will, versatile character, and unconquerable determination of Jones shone forth with all the glow of a mid-day sun. Brushing aside with all the scorn his restless temperament and intrepid spirit could make manifest against such unworthy and malicious aspersions, he set about with dauntless purpose and untiring effort to create and equip a squadron in order to harass the sea enemy more effectively than he had hitherto been able to do. After many delays and countless obstacles deliberately thrown across his path, or "athwart his hawse" as a seaman would say, on every hand, he secured a rotten old East India merchant ship, and converted her into an indifferent frigate of 42 guns, which he named the *Bon Homme Richard*. He also managed to collect four other vessels, the *Alliance* of 32 guns, the *Pallas*, 30 guns, the *Cerf Cutter*, 18 guns, and the brig *Vengeance*, of unknown battery, but manned by wretched crews and commanded by indifferent French officers who had no real sympathy for the American cause. Unfortunately, the squadron so constituted never accomplished much as a concentrated force, though for the *Bon Homme Richard*, Jones made a name imperishable. The story of his efforts in France for many weary months was but a chronicle

of a lack of funds, difficulty of getting crews, powerlessness of our commissioners at the French court, tortuous methods of the French ministry, and traitorous conduct of French naval officers who had taken service under congress. That Jones overcame so much obstruction, persistent, appalling, and treacherous, is a great tribute to his indefatigable efforts, his surpassing genius and resolute character, as well as a crown of glory to him as one of the great sea-kings in the world's history.

But it was on the afternoon of the 23d of September that the greatest thing of his life came to him. It was then that being off Flamborough Head, on the northeast coast of England with his flag-ship, the *Bon Homme Richard*, the *Alliance*, Captain Landais, the *Pallas*, Captain Cottineau, and the *Vengeance*, he discovered coming around the Head, a fleet of British merchantmen, under convoy of the British frigate, *Serapis*, of 50 guns, and the small frigate, *Countess of Scarborough*, of 20 guns of the calibre of the day. At sight of Jones's squadron, Captain Pearson of the *Serapis* made signal for the convoy to scatter, but the wind was light and it was not until 7 o'clock in the evening that Jones could engage the *Serapis*, the *Pallas* meanwhile seeking battle with the *Countess of Scarborough*, while the *Alliance*, under Landais's command, treacherously kept out of harm's way.

To give the full story of that fight, one of the most celebrated and significant in all naval history, is beyond the scope of this paper. Many diffuse accounts of that action have been given because of its exceptional character and determining influences, and English writers have exhausted their powers of excuse to account for the defeat of one of the best ships of war of that time by a vessel of provincial and rebel America.

Suffice it to say that after an hour's cannonade and manœuvre, the two ships came together, yard-arm to yard-arm, the bow of the one lashed to the stern of the other, through the skill, the determined effort, and the peerless courage of Jones, and for three and one half hours the fight raged between the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Serapis*, with a determination and a valor that bespoke the incarnation of war's fiercest work; a

rage of battle, a grim inheritance of man's original nature that civilization may modify, but can never wholly suppress. Many incidents of the battle were unparalleled in naval annals. The *Serapis* was a fine new ship, superior to the *Bon Homme Richard* in every respect, whether we consider the build of the ship, the character of her appointments, the homogeneity of her crew, and the opportunities of their training.

The one represented a service centuries old, of high discipline and thorough organization, with a wealth of valorous achievement back of it that no other navy in the world could boast. The other stood for a new service, provincial in character, hurriedly organized, and acting under laws and regulations not yet fairly systematized, and of sufficiently mandatory authority to enforce the necessary discipline that ships of war must ever have to be effective and worthy of the name.

That under such conditions Jones achieved the wonderful victory he did, astonished the naval world then as it still profoundly impresses naval men to-day. Several times during the fight his motley crew wanted him to surrender, but his unconquerable will, his imperious personality, and unquailing port compelled them to obedience. And when, in the midst of the action, the British captain hailed Jones to know if he had surrendered, and Jones made reply, "I have not yet begun to fight," he displayed a pluck and intrepid belief in himself never surpassed in the annals of heroism. It was, in fact, his overmastering individuality, his iron-bound will, and dogged pluck alone that carried the fight along amidst all its incidents and vicissitudes of conduct and slaughter and won the victory. And at what cost! Of his 304 souls on board the *Richard*, he lost 69 killed and 67 wounded. Of the 320 souls on board the *Serapis*, 49 were killed and 68 wounded, or a grand total of 233 for the two ships. Over the scandalous actions of Captain Landais on that memorable evening let the mantle of oblivion be thrown. Suffice it to say that he was subsequently dismissed both from the French navy and our own.

One incident of the combat had, perhaps, no parallel in sea annals. That was the necessity that compelled Jones to abandon his own battered ship and shift his flag and crew to his

prize. We know that at the battle of Lake Erie, Perry was compelled to shift his flag from the *Lawrence* to the *Niagara*, but this abandonment by Jones of his sinking ship, and the transfer of his officers and men to the deck of the defeated enemy, was a different matter.

Of this fight, of such significant consequence and celebrity, Prof. John Knox Laughton, an English writer, says, in his "Studies in Naval History," that "Jones's conduct as the captain of a ship-of-war throughout the action was beyond all praise. His ship was in every way inferior to the *Serapis*, and Pearson was a man of known courage and of good repute. It is impossible to overrate the ability, the pluck, the determination, and the presence of mind with which Jones fought and won the battle. It was Jones, Jones alone, rather than the *Bon Homme Richard*, who first beat Pearson to a standstill."

This is praise from Sir Hubert indeed, but, as in other parts of his sketch, Mr. Laughton treats of Jones as an adventurer and smuggler, filled with vainglory and conceit and devoid of all sense of morality, we may abate our appreciation somewhat as to his testimony to the heroic qualities of our hero, who stands in such romantic relation to the American people as the first great sea king of the country.

This ballad, familiar to London's streets a hundred years ago, suggests, among other things, the popular English impression of Jones and his prowess:

Of heroes and statesmen, I'll just mention four
That cannot be matched if we trace the world o'er;
For none of such fame ever stept o'er the stones,
As Germain, Jemmy Twitcher, Lord North, and Paul Jones.

Through a mad-headed war which Old England will rue,
At London, at Dublin, and Edinburgh too,
The tradesmen stand still, and the merchant bemoans
The losses he meets with from such as Paul Jones.

If success to our fleets be not quickly restored,
The leaders in office to shove from the board,
May they all fare alike, and the Dev'l pick the bones
Of Germain, Jemmy Twitcher, Lord North, and Paul Jones.

While all England was stunned with the news of the capture of the *Serapis*, no greater tribute could have been paid to the

superb achievement of Jones than the action of the British Crown in making a baronet of Captain Pearson for his stout conduct and undoubted gallantry in the fight, which, though resulting in the loss of his own ship and the *Scarborough*, enabled the rich convoy to make its escape and reach its destination. When Jones heard of it, he jocularly said that nothing would delight him more than to give the king a chance to make his gallant opponent a lord! But, unfortunately, perhaps for both, he never got the chance!

When Jones had completely possessed himself of his noble prize, made good some of her worst hurts, and seen the *Bon Homme Richard* go down from the sore battering she had received in the conflict, he sailed with his little squadron for the Texel.

Soon after his arrival there, the pressure of the British government, after much contention, compelled the government of Holland to order Jones out of her waters. Shifting his flag to the *Alliance* sloop-of-war, he went fearlessly out in the face of the British fleet, passed so close to Dover that he counted the English men-of-war in the Downs, and made the port of Coruna in safety.

On reaching Paris he was showered with honors on every hand, but a man of his ardent temperament could not rest content with affairs of mere compliment, and he sought another command commensurate with his ability and achievements. In that he was disappointed, and, to add to his vexation, was the continued impertinence and insubordinate conduct of Captain Landais, who seems to have been endowed with all the meaner qualities of the Frenchman, with none of his graces. The disposition of prizes, and the differences among the American commissioners, also together with the hampering methods of the French foreign office, made his position at the French capital unbearable, and so he sailed for the United States in the *Ariel*, arriving in New York in the fall of 1780.

His reception was alike honorable to the country and gratifying to him. All doors were opened to him with profusest hospitality. The leading men of the land vied with one

another in paying him every attention. Congress also voted him a gold medal, and placed him at the head of the navy; and, seeking to do him still further honor, assigned him to the command of the line-of-battle ship *America*, then building at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the first ship of the line built on this continent.

The ship was still on the stocks, and when Jones arrived at Portsmouth to hasten her launch and outfit, he found her not half built, and neither timbers, iron, nor any other material in store to complete her construction. But Jones with his accustomed energy tided over the difficulties that confronted him in so far as was possible, and before winter her construction was considerably advanced.

Meanwhile the enemy learning what was going on towards her completion, took secret measures to compass her destruction, but Jones having been apprised of such movement, asked the state of New Hampshire for a guard. The legislature voted to supply it, but the guard was never forthcoming. On further information of the plot furnished by General Washington, Mr. Hackett, the master builder in charge, mounted guard with his ship carpenters at night. In such work Jones took command of the watch in turn with Mr. Hackett, and it is said that for some time he paid the men's wages out of his own pocket. The story also runs that large whale boats of the enemy, pulled under muffled oars, often passed up and down the river close to the ship, but never ventured to attempt a landing.

But in the midst of these zealous efforts of Jones there came to him another great disappointment, for in the summer of 1782, the French line-of-battle ship *Magnifique* having been lost in Boston harbor, congress, by its resolve, presented the *America* to the French king, our then helpful ally. This, it may be well understood, was a crushing blow to the hopes and ambition of Jones, for he had indulged in full anticipation of the day when with a fine battle ship under his command he could once more meet and engage the enemy, and perhaps make another British lord!

But pocketing his chagrin and disappointment as bravely as

might be, he continued by request, his supervision of the ship's completion, and diligently urged on the work until her successful launching in November, 1782.

The difficulties attending the launch were great. The water of the harbor where her ways were laid was much circumscribed and ledgy, and the tides were exceptionally fickle and strong, but accomplished seaman as Jones was, he overcame all obstacles by the wisdom of his preparations, and not a hitch of any sort occurred to mar the success of the occasion. An interesting account in detail of these proceedings and Jones's connection with Portsmouth, will be found in Admiral Preble's History of the Navy Yard there, prepared by order of the Navy Department some years ago.

It only remains to add to this sketch of necessary limitation that soon after the launching of the *America* Jones quitted Portsmouth for good, and the near approach of peace precluded him from further opportunity of serving his adopted country on the sea.

In every phase of his naval career he had commanded the esteem of Franklin and his hearty support. Jefferson had also styled him as "the hope of our future efforts on the ocean," and it was proposed to create the grade of Rear Admiral for him, but that was never done, for congress has generally been slow to give adequate recognition of the deeds of her men of the sea. To this rule, however, the recent action of congress with regard to Dewey makes happy exception.

For sometime after the Revolution, Jones was engaged in Paris on matters relating to the distribution of the prize money won by him and his gallant compeers during the war. Subsequently he visited Denmark on public business, and in 1788 entered the Russian service with the rank of Rear Admiral, reserving the right to return to the orders of congress when he should be required to do so. In a campaign against the Turks he displayed his wonted skill and intrepidity, but owing to intrigues in the squadron against the foreigner, which frustrated his hopes of obtaining an independent command, he returned to St. Petersburg, and having been granted leave of absence by the Russian government, returned to Paris in broken health.

In 1792 our government sent him an appointment as commissioner and consul of the United States to Algiers, but before such commission reached him he died. He was then only forty-five years of age. In that brief time he had made a name that will never die, but like all men of genius and marked ability, he had many detractors, some of whom were of his own cloth.

His journal and letters to the Marine Committee of congress show that he was a man of exceptional grasp and forceful character; that his ideas of naval methods and discipline, and his suggestions as to the advantages of high rank were not only sound and comprehensive, but such as may be well followed to-day. Denounced as an American pirate by George III in a manifesto to the States General of Holland, the American people took him into their heart of hearts as a valiant seaman who had done most brilliant work for their righteous cause; while the peoples of the continent, remembering the piratical depredations of Hawkins and Drake in Elizabeth's reign, shrugged their shoulders in scorn at such foolish characterization of the stupid king.

Francis Marion, John Stark, and Paul Jones were perhaps, in popular estimation, the most romantic figures in the Revolution; but to Jones we must accord more, for as the most distinguished and ablest representative of the Continental Navy, he stood for the sea, as Washington stood for the land, in the momentous struggle that achieved our independence.

But further, as Farragut was our greatest naval hero of the War of the Rebellion, Macdonough the ablest of naval captains in the War of 1812, and Dewey the most distinguished figure of this Spanish war—whether of land or sea—so was Paul Jones our greatest sea king in the days of the Revolution. Grand seaman, consummate commander, dauntless fighter, we part with you with great regret in the considerations of this hour, but your name will ever be ranked with the immortals in the resplendent roll of the mightiest men of our country's sword!

At its conclusion, the thanks of the Society were presented to the speaker, and a request made for a copy of the address.

James G. Chesley was elected an active member of the Society.

At 9 : 30 p. m. adjourned to the call of the president.

The meeting in April, 1899, was held on the 12th inst., at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the president in the chair. The address was delivered by Samuel Collins Beane, D. D., of Newburyport, Mass., the subject of which was "Gen. Enoch Poor."

GENERAL ENOCH POOR.

It is genealogically recorded that the first person now known to have borne the name of Poor was Roger, a chaplain in the army of William of Normandy. Of him it was said that partly owing to his short prayers he enjoyed great popularity with the soldiers. In this mental trait the subject of this paper did justice to his lineage, being a man of timely action, deliberate but unfaltering purpose, sententious speech, and great popularity.

That early Roger Poor became bishop of Sarum, then Lord High Chancellor of England, governing the kingdom a short time as regent. Among other high ecclesiastics of the name was Richard, bishop of Chichester and dean of Sarum, who oversaw and partly directed the building of the magnificent Salisbury cathedral.

Daniel Poor, the great-grandfather of our general, came from the south of England in 1638, as a passenger in the ship *Bevis*, and joined his older brothers, John and Samuel, who were already residents of Newbury, in Massachusetts. Six years later we find him among the first settlers of Cochichewick, which place, in 1646, received the name of Andover, from the English town whence so many of its settlers had come. Here Daniel was married to Mary Farnham, who had migrated hither from the mother country in 1635. Here, too, he built a garrison house for a home on the east bank of the Shawsheen river, a mile from its junction with the Merrimack ; where, living an honest, laborious, and devoutly religious life,

he became the father of two sons and nine daughters, was selectman of the town, and member of the first military company for protection against the savages. His son, Daniel, 2d, marrying Mehitable Osgood, had nineteen children, including Thomas, the father of the general,—this Thomas being at the siege of Louisburg in 1745, under Gen. William Pepperell.

Here at Andover the family remained, and here, June 21, 1736, was born Enoch Poor, of the fourth American generation, the birthplace being still marked and honored, though the family mansion has been removed, in the present town of North Andover. It is close to the Merrimack and Shawsheen rivers, about a mile from the present North Andover station on the main line of the western division of the Boston & Maine railroad.

The early life of Enoch Poor was that of the farmer's boy of one hundred and fifty years ago, with plenty of hardship, little schooling, and no luxuries or gay diversions. He served his time as a cabinet-maker, and that he was proficient in his work is indisputably proved by a desk from his hand and tools, which descended to his grandson, the late Bradbury Poor Cilley of Manchester, N. H., which is still in the possession of the family, and whose ingenious contrivance, whose elegant cherry-wood finish, and whose seven secret spring-drawers adroitly planned to outwit the skilfulest burglar, I have had great interest and wonder in examining. The mental ingenuity and patience here betokened must have been valuable in war and statecraft.

In 1755 Enoch Poor as a private, and his brother Thomas as a captain, enlisted in the French and Indian War, joining the expedition under Gen. John Winslow for the subjection of the French inhabitants of Nova Scotia, and the protection of that peninsula from the government of France. Enoch was then nineteen years old.

Such was the strong blood, and such the hardy and varied training, of this patriot and hero of the American Revolution.

In 1760, or a little later, Enoch Poor had removed to Exeter, N. H., there exchanging the trade of cabinet-maker for the vocation of ship-builder.

From an early period Exeter derived much importance and gained much profit from the construction of sailing craft. As early as 1651 we find on the Exeter river a vessel of about fifty tons, and the business grew into the production for market, at home and in England, of the largest ocean ships of that period. With rare and partial interruptions this enterprise continued until the war with Great Britain in 1812.

Not long after his removal to Exeter, Poor returned to his native town to claim in marriage the hand of Martha, daughter of Col. John Osgood, which marital purpose his invincible affection and manly determination succeeded in accomplishing in spite of the objections of the young lady's parents. Tradition colors this quest and its triumph with a charm of adventure and romance.

In 1765 we find the name of Enoch Poor, then a young man of twenty-nine years, signed with the names of thirty other men to an agreement to combine for the maintenance of peace and the suppression of lawlessness, in view of the almost uncontrollable indignation of the people caused by the Stamp Act.

In 1770 the town took action for the encouragement of home products and against the use of unnecessary articles of importation, especially against the purchase of tea until the oppressive duty on that article should be removed; and of the committee of six to instruct the representatives in this matter, he was one. In 1774, the town having voted to adopt the non-importation agreement passed by the Continental Congress, a committee to cause the enforcement of the act contained the then familiar name of Enoch Poor. Of the three Provincial Congresses held in 1775, Poor was a member of two, being prevented from participating in the third by his other patriotic engagements.

The battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775, caused about 1,200 New Hampshire men to rally to the neighborhood of Boston, but it was an informal enlistment, and many volunteers soon returned to their homes. On May 17th of that memorable year the Provincial Congress of New Hampshire decided to raise 2,000 men, to be formed into three regiments, those who

had remained of the 1,200 around Boston, organized now under the authority of the Massachusetts convention, to be counted as two of the New Hampshire regiments, and the third to be enlisted immediately within the state. To the raising of this regiment Enoch Poor devoted himself with characteristic energy, and was by the New Hampshire Assembly, then sitting at Exeter, appointed its colonel. This was properly the First New Hampshire Regiment, but out of deference to John Stark and in consideration of Stark's greater military experience, Poor's regiment was named the Second, and that commanded by James Reed was called the Third; while Stark had the prestige of having his command known as the First. These three regiments and subsequent enlistments were placed under the command of Brig.-Gen. Nathaniel Folsom of Exeter, now made a major-general.

Only Stark's and Reed's regiments were engaged at the battle of Bunker Hill, Poor being largely employed at Exeter until after that time in building fire-rafts to protect the Exeter river, while many of his men were busy in guarding the neighboring sea-coast. These regiments all reported in due time at Cambridge, Mass. Poor's commission as colonel, conferred by the Provincial Congress on recommendation of the Committee of Safety, dates from May 24, 1775. With him were appointed John McDuffie of Rochester, lieutenant-colonel, and Joseph Cilley of Nottingham, major. At the same time the Committee of Safety was empowered to enlist a regiment. Accordingly orders were issued by the Committee to the following persons to raise each a company of sixty-two "able-bodied effective men": Winborn Adams, Durham; Winthrop Rowe, Kensington; Henry Elkins, Hampton; Samuel Gilman, Newmarket; Philip Tilton, Kingston; Benjamin Titcomb, Dover; Jona. Wentworth, Somersworth; Jeremiah Clough, Canterbury; James Norris, Epping; Zaccheus Clough, Poplin. All of these became captains of their respective companies except Zaccheus Clough, who yielded his command to Richard Shortridge.

Directly after the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17th, Colonel Poor's regiment, thus raised, was ordered to the seat of war in

the investment of Boston. One company, however, that of Captain Elkins, was reserved for coast duty at Hampton until August 1st.

From the receipt of his first commission until his lamentable death Enoch Poor was in command of either a regiment or a brigade.

Through the fall and winter of 1775-6 the New Hampshire regiments were with the forces near Boston; but on the evacuation of Boston in March, 1776, they were ordered, as part of the main army, to New York. Meanwhile, however, seventy-seven men of Stark's and Poor's command had gone to join Capt. Henry Dearborn's company in the Canadian expedition led by Benedict Arnold.

Shortly after the arrival of these New Hampshire troops at New York, Colonel Thompson, with four regiments, including Poor's, was despatched to strengthen the forces which had been sent for the conquest of Canada. The disaster which had befallen that little army of invasion is sadly familiar to us. The death of General Montgomery at Quebec turned what seemed accomplished triumph into bitter defeat. The forces fell back to Crown Point, and a council of generals decided on further retirement to Ticonderoga. Against this last retreat there was presented an earnest protest of regimental officers, General Stark's name heading the signatures, and General Poor's immediately following.

In an army regularly and strictly organized such remonstrance, thus expressed, would have been nothing short of insubordination, but our revolutionary forces were hardly an army as yet; and our civil government was little more than a succession of temporary and almost informal agreements between the incipient states to maintain a degree of social order in common. No student of the matter to-day doubts that the advice of these New Hampshire officers was wiser than that of their superiors in rank, and it is known that Washington so regarded it.

At Ticonderoga Colonel Poor was twice made président of a court-martial; first, in the case of Captain Wentworth, charged with "refusing to go on duty when warned by the

adjutant of the regiment to which he belonged ;" and second, for the trial of Colonel Hazen, under some charges brought by Gen. Benedict Arnold. In the latter case the court refused to accept the testimony of one of Arnold's chief witnesses, a Major Scott, on the ground that the witness was obviously prejudiced beyond the point of judicious truth-telling. For this rejection of testimony a remonstrance was sent by Arnold against the proceedings of the court. This remonstrance was, by General Poor, as president, represented to General Gates as being "couched in indecent terms." The court demanded of Arnold an apology and a change of language, which was refused. "The whole of the General's (Arnold's) conduct during the course of the trial," writes Poor to Gates, "was marked with contempt and disrespect toward the court, and (he) by his extraordinary answer has added insult to injury." The court refused to enter Arnold's protest on its minutes, as being "illegal, illiberal, and ungentlemanly." The final written retort of Arnold to the court contained these words: "*This* I can assure you, I shall ever, in public or private, be ready to support the character of a man of honor, and as your very nice and delicate honor, in your apprehension, is injured, you may depend, as soon as this disagreeable service is at an end . . . I will by no means withhold from any gentleman of the court the satisfaction his nice honor may require."

Arnold, sad to say, was not the only high officer in the armies of the Revolution who held the code of the duel paramount to that of the army, and that of the state; but it is doubtful if any other general could have replied to the official rescript of a court-martial with so contemptuous and unmanly a sneer. Of course our cause at that time could not afford the risk of Arnold's alienation or resignation, consequently General Gates dissolved the court.

Three months later, namely, in November, 1776, Sir Guy Carleton, the British commander, who had pursued our forces from Canada as far as Crown Point, having retired to winter quarters, the three New Hampshire regiments were no longer pressingly needed in the North. No testimony to the sufferings and endurance of our men during the campaign could be

stronger than this communication of General Gates to General Ward, dated Nov. 9, 1776: "Dear General: The deputies from New Hampshire having informed me that there is a continental regiment raised in the state under command of Col. Pierce Long, stationed at Portsmouth, as the regiments from that state now at this port have suffered exceedingly from defeat, disease, and fatigue, it would most certainly be for the immediate benefit of the service that Colonel Long's regiment should be directed to march directly to this place, and the three regiments commanded by Stark, Poor, and Reed, should upon arrival, march to Portsmouth, where they can not only be recruited, but recovered and refreshed, after the almost unspeakable fatigues and distresses they have undergone."

Notwithstanding this most appreciative and humane recommendation, however, we find the New Hampshire regiments which had been and still remained at Ticonderoga, holding themselves to active service, and the very next month, which was December, marching "by way of the river Minnisink," to join Washington's army, then in New Jersey.

The commander-in-chief in that terrible December weather was retreating before a larger and well-equipped British force, his own men being poorly armed and less than half fed and clothed. The exigency was tremendous, and to it New Hampshire responded bravely.

The term of the New Hampshire men was near its close, but a strong appeal from their commanders induced them to renew their enlistment, so that during the additional six weeks of their stay a good number of them shared in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. The last year had witnessed the death of nearly one half of their number by small-pox and other maladies.

We pass now to a new and critical chapter in the career of General Poor. In March, 1777, the term of the New Hampshire volunteers having finally ended, new enlistments must be had, and a larger number of general officers being required, the present seemed the right occasion for such promotion. In creating a brigadier-general from New Hampshire, the Continental Congress made choice of Col. Enoch Poor. Upon this,

Col. John Stark, claiming that the high position belonged by custom, if not by right, to himself, as the senior officer in the service, and, as having held official rank in two campaigns while his successful rival was of junior rank and had seen far less of army experience, resigned his commission, and betook himself to his usual industry at his farm and sawmill in Manchester. In his letter of resignation, addressed to the General Court of New Hampshire, he says, after pleading the "hardships of two campaigns . . . endured with cheerfulness and alacrity": "I should have served with the greatest pleasure, more especially at this important crisis when our country calls for the utmost exertions of every American; but am extremely grieved that I am in honor bound to leave the service, Congress having thought proper to promote junior officers over my head; so that, lest I should show myself unworthy of the honor conferred on me, and a want of that spirit which ought to glow in the breast of every officer appointed by the Honorable House in not suitably resenting an indignity . . . I must beg leave to resign my commission."

Perhaps persons of historic tastes who are conversant or half conversant with the facts of this case will never be done discussing the justification of the vote of Congress, and the action of Stark, and with weighing the comparative claims of Stark and Poor. Something can with truth be said on both sides.

On the one hand it is true that Poor's regiment was the first to enlist and report for duty under the new call. On the other hand, the rules of precedence from past record were altogether favorable to the claims of Stark. He was the senior, both in official and in active service; he had done valiant duty in the "Seven Years' War," between the English and the French, and by vote of the Provincial Convention he had been made colonel of the "First New Hampshire Regiment"—the ranking regiment. Poor had been a private in the Nova Scotia campaign, and had held no commission whatever until he received the colonelcy on May 20, 1775.

It would appear that this most unpleasant episode was the sequel to, or continuance of, a former contest, in which Stark

and Nathaniel Folsom had been the competing candidates, and in which it seemed to many that Folsom was in the right, and that the claims of Stark were without justification. At all events, a considerably large and influential party of Folsom's adherents were afterwards ready to oppose Stark at every opportunity. The first controversy had been settled by passing over both Folsom and Stark, and elevating John Sullivan to the coveted position. In the present case, Folsom is again a candidate in rivalry with Stark, and now, as in the former instance, both contestants are passed by, while Poor, who seems not to have been an aspirant at all, receives the promotion from Congress. Other causes, doubtless, conspired with that which I have named, but the *animus* of this settlement was plainly, in the interests of concord, not to award triumph or defeat to either band of partisans. In the earlier contest for rank, undoubtedly, by all established military rules Folsom was the ranking officer; but Stark had refused to report to him as such, and this, if not contrary to the *de jure* state of things at the time, was surely not in accord with the *de facto* condition, and members of Congress may have feared the independent spirit of Stark, which, as some seriously thought, though with what justice it does not concern us now to determine, bordered upon insubordination. At all events we find Poor made a brigadier-general, while Stark became for a period of three months a civilian.

Let me here say that nothing has been found, even by the warmest champions of John Stark, which indicates other than the most manly and cordial relations between him and General Poor. When the latter expressed to the former his hesitancy, under the peculiar circumstances, to accept his commission, Stark urgently advised its acceptance, and rendered to the new general all the information and friendly services within his power.

But this contest for priority, which for a time threatened to produce lasting bitterness and weakening division among loyal men, proved in the end an inestimable blessing to the American cause. Sullivan came grandly to the front. Folsom had an honorable military career. Poor, as we shall see, grew into an

invaluable officer in his higher command. Concerning Stark, it may be said that his splendid qualities, in such a temperament as his, might have been almost fatally hampered and obscured had he then received the brigadier's appointment in the main army, instead of the commission awarded him a few months later, not by Congress, but by the state of New Hampshire, for an independent campaign for the protection and deliverance of the northeastern border.

In the latter part of the year 1776 the temporary and poorly regulated enlistment of men, and appointment of officers, came to an end. Henceforth the more important officers were to be commissioned by congress instead of the states, and for the entire war. The men were to be enlisted for three years or as long as the contest might continue. Three regiments, in virtual continuance of the former three already spoken of, were organized in New Hampshire under the new standard. These were commanded by Colonels Joseph Cilley, Nathan Hale, and Alexander Scammell, and were ordered to report at Ticonderoga under Gen. Enoch Poor, as part of the forces for the overthrow of the British army under Burgoyne. The British commander in furtherance of his purpose to establish a chain of military posts reaching from Manhattan Island to Canada, thus absolutely cutting off rebellious New England from the rest of the country, had descended from Canada toward Ticonderoga, leading a force of more than 7,000 British and German soldiers. On May 28th, just past, General Poor had written from Ticonderoga to General Gates: "We have only 2,240 effective rank and file now on the ground," and implored prompt reinforcements. June 12th a council was held consisting of Generals Schuyler, now in command of the Northern army, Roche de Fermoy, St. Clair, Poor, and Patterson, which reluctantly decided that the fort at Ticonderoga could not be longer held for lack of troops and provisions. July 2d, Burgoyne being close at hand, and the American forces being at that juncture nearly encompassed by the British, a similar council, of which Poor was a member, decided upon immediate evacuation and retreat. By this action congress was shocked and demoralized; it demanded the removal of

Schuyler, and voted that Major-Generals Schuyler and St. Clair, and Brigadiers Poor, Patterson, and Fermoy should report at once at army headquarters. But Washington, with cool head and quick judgment, seeing that the surrender of the fort had been inevitable, declined to supersede Schuyler, and induced congress to postpone the order for the brigadiers to repair to headquarters. Later the major-generals were arraigned before court-martial, and after trial honorably acquitted and justified. Congress, however, was not satisfied, but transferred Schuyler's command to Gates, the latter's authority dating from Aug. 6, 1777.

Poor's brigade at this time consisted of the three New Hampshire regiments, two small detachments from New York, and a considerable number of Connecticut men; and was now in camp at Lowden's Ferry on the Mohawk river. In this immediate neighborhood clearly the issues of the war were now concentrating.

The miniature army that had come from Ticonderoga was one of several additions recently made to that main force in eastern New York. This, as I said, in the middle of the year 1777, was the critical centre of the contest; the very gravest results depending upon whether Burgoyne should succeed in severing New England from connection with the other provinces, or whether by any miracle of military skill and courage the British forces could be subdued and driven from the project.

On the 19th of September Burgoyne lustily attacked the little Revolutionary army, and the battle of Stillwater was fought, often called the first battle of Saratoga. On both sides it was a desperate action. The British were the stronger in numbers, and incomparably the better disciplined, but just now they had become beset by their enemy on several sides. On this engagement and what should speedily follow, seemed to depend the outcome of the general contest so far as the issues were then made up, and so far as one event could determine its successors.

The principal body of our men, under the immediate command of Gates, constituted the right wing. The left wing

under Gen. Benedict Arnold, consisted of Poor's brigade, some New York troops under Van Cortland and Henry Livingston, some militia from Connecticut led by Latimer and Cook, and the famous rifle corps of Virginia under Colonel Morgan, with Major Dearborn's battalion of infantry for support.

It should here be said that the nerve of this army had been appreciably strengthened by the recent signal triumph of Stark at Bennington. And yet the relation of Stark and his men to the Continental army, and even the New Hampshire portion of that army, was so peculiar, and sometimes embarrassing, that it might almost seem as if the two bodies of soldiers had no organic agreement in accomplishing the purpose of national independence and unity. Stark's command, as we remember, was strictly no part of the Continental army. In the massing of forces that preceded the battle of Stillwater he acknowledged no officer of the Continental army as entitled to command him and his men; and it was some time before he consented, for the sake of the common cause, to join his forces to the main body. However, the very day before the battle of Stillwater, the term for which his command was enlisted had expired, so that at that engagement he had no following of soldiery. It should be said that New Hampshire, to which alone he acknowledged bounden allegiance, through the people's representatives, had just voted to instruct him to join his forces to the main body, but he did not receive notice of such action until after the battle.

At Stillwater Arnold was in command. Poor's brigade constituted about one half of the left wing, which was the only part of the army which was in the thick of the fight. Not more than 3,000 Continental troops were engaged against 3,500 of Burgoyne's choicest and best disciplined soldiers. The three regiments from New Hampshire, with Colonels Joseph Cilley, George Reid, and Alexander Scammell at their head, numbered more than 1,000 men. Of Poor's brigade 217 were lost or killed, wounded, and missing, of whom 118 were from New Hampshire, the whole loss from this state during the battle being 161. General Williamson, the assistant adjutant-

general, who carried the orders of the commander of the day says that "the stress of the action on our part was borne by Morgan's regiment and Poor's brigade." The late Judge George W. Nesmith, a careful student of the affair, says that "the New Hampshire troops suffered as much or more in officers and men than all the others combined," a statement which my own investigation fully confirms.

The results of Stillwater were undecisive, and on October 8, Burgoyne made a deadly assault on the Continental forces. This second battle of Saratoga was the most hard fought and unflinching engagement of the War of the Revolution. General Wilkinson says that the first order given him to promulgate was in these words: "Tell Morgan to begin the *game*." The next order was for the New Hampshire troops to march to the front and left flank of the enemy. Wilkinson says, "After I had given the order to General Poor, directing him to the point of attack, I was commanded to bring up Ten Broeck's brigade of New York troops, 3,000 strong. I performed this service, and regained the field of battle at the moment when the enemy had turned their back; only fifty-two minutes after the first shot was fired, I found the courageous Colonel Cilley astraddle of a brass 12-pounder, and exulting in the capture."

The British at length gave way and retreated to their intrenchments, and were afterwards attacked and driven outside. Only ten days later, on October 17, Burgoyne and his army surrendered under stern necessity.

The part which New Hampshire acted in these two battles can hardly be overestimated. Besides Poor's brigade two New Hampshire companies were in Col. Michael Jackson's Massachusetts regiment, which, with Dearborn's battalion and Whipple's brigade of militia, were all actually engaged in the battle of October 8. No regular list of the casualties on the Continental side during this engagement is preserved, but the losses of New Hampshire soldiers, and especially in Poor's brigade, are believed to equal, or even surpass, those of September 17. Gen. Jacob Bailey of Vermont, who was in the campaign, wrote to President Meshech Weare: "I congratulate you on the happy reduction of Burgoyne's army by General Gates, in

which New Hampshire, first and last, was *very instrumental*. The turning out of your volunteers was extraordinarily advantageous in that affair." By all contemporary accounts no part of the army showed more courage or telling efficiency than did the brigade commanded by General Poor, in league with the Virginia rifles, at the very front.

The surrender of General Burgoyne as the direct result of these two engagements suspended the war in the North, and Poor and his men now joined Washington's army near Philadelphia. Washington and Howe were contending for the possession of Philadelphia, that place having been captured by British forces on September 26. For its recovery Washington fought the battle of Germantown, but a panic seized our soldiers at the very moment of victory, and the prize was forfeited. Contrasting the engagement at Germantown with the recent battle at Saratoga, Washington writes: "Had the same spirit pervaded the people of this and the neighboring states . . . as (did) the states of New York and New England . . . we might before this time have had General Howe nearly in the same situation of General Burgoyne, with this difference—that the former would never have been out of the reach of his ships, while the latter increased his danger every step he took."

During the temporary absence of Lord Cornwallis who had been holding the city with a portion of his troops, a new attack on Philadelphia was contemplated. Washington submitted the project to a council of officers, requesting a deliberate written opinion from each member on the next day. Four members favored the assault, ten opposed, General Poor among the latter. Poor and those who voted with him in the majority believed that in the sadly weakened state of the army during that fall and winter, such a movement would be unreasonably perilous, and considering the critical condition of affairs just then and there, might work irretrievable disaster to our forces.

In December following, the army took up its winter quarters at Valley Forge on the Schuylkill river, some twenty miles northwest of Philadelphia. Of that ghastly winter encampment no description of mine is needed. It is pictured to the life with its sufferings and terrors, in the official correspondence,

and in the home letters still preserved of brave men who endured existence at Valley Forge from the autumn of 1777 to the opening spring of 1778. Few armies, if any, have ever experienced more of cold and hunger, and lack of the rudimentary provisions for human comfort. It was also a winter of painful suspense concerning our cause in general. The sky was not entirely dark, to be sure, because of the splendid victory at Saratoga, and the surrender of Burgoyne. Another partial relief of hope came from the Articles of Confederation between the states, drawn up in the previous November, which were then undergoing brisk and animating discussion, and which were adopted in the following July. The instinct of unity, system, and permanent authority, had now begun to assert itself, and the go-as-you-please custom of the early days of the conflict, when everything was voluntary with the several provinces, and it could almost be said, with each individual man, was slowly but surely being abandoned as inefficient and disastrous.

January 21, 1778, General Poor addressed an order to "all such officers and soldiers of the first, second, and third New Hampshire regiments whose furlo's are expired," in which he requires that "those who at different times have been left sick, and also . . . those who were captured by the enemy, and have been retaken, and by any other means made their escape, shall forthwith join the Regiments at Head-Quarters," and also that "those numbers of soldiers that have deserted from their regiments . . . probably willing to return to their duty, but deterred from it through fear of punishment," shall "report to some officer on or before the twentieth of March, on which terms a full and free pardon" will be granted them; while the severest penalties of martial law are threatened upon those who neglect to obey. Exeter is named as the rendezvous for these scattered and straggling men.

On February 18, 1778, a Board of War was constituted by the state of New Hampshire, consisting of Col. Joshua Wentworth of Portsmouth, John Penhallow of Portsmouth, and Ephraim Robinson of Exeter, "whose business shall be," according to the House record, "to supply the continental regi-

ments of the state with clothing and all Necessaries," and to attend to whatsoever other duties the Committee of Safety may impose upon them.

On the previous December 7th, when the troops were about marching to their winter quarters at Valley Forge, General Poor had written to Thomas Odiorne, a member of the state house of representatives from Exeter, portraying the destitution of the troops, and imploring direct aid from New Hampshire to its own soldiers. "Did you know," he says, "how much your men suffered for want of shirts, Britches, Blankitts, Stockens, and shoes, your hart would ache for them. Sure I am that one third are now suffering for want of those Artickels, which gives the soldier great Reason to complain, after the incurrigment given by the state to supplie those of its Inhabitants who should engage in their servis. . . . When you Ingaged your men to serve for three years or during the war, they were promised a sum for their servises; your State at the same time fixed a reasonable price upon such artickles as the country produs'd and which they *new* their Familys must be supplied with, which would but bearily support them at those prices. But soon after they left home it seems by some means or other the contract on the side of the State was brocken, and those very artickels which their familys must have or suffer rose four or five hundred per cent.; soldiers' wages remain the same. How can it be expected that men under these circumstances can quietly continue to undergo every hardship and Danger which they have been and are still exposed to? and what is more distressing is their daily hearing of the sufferings of their wives and children at home. . . . I fear we shall have many of our best officers resign, and many soldiers desert for no other reason than to put themselves in a way to support their Familys or shear with them their sufferings, and should that be the case I fear the consequences."

Of this letter let me say that if there is in the English language a composition of the same length, which compasses more perfectly or vigorously the writer's thought, with no word lacking and none to spare, it has never fallen under my eye. General Poor puts the sufferings of his officers and soldiers

most impressively and conclusively, and without allusion to himself. It is *your* state that has made and has broken the pledge; it is *your* men who by your neglect are starving and shivering; it is the wives and children of soldiers *you* sent into the field with golden promises against whom *you* allow to be fixed prohibitory prices for the simplest articles of subsistence. This, in spite of its imperfect orthography, is one of the masterpieces of our literature.

On the following 15th of April General Poor writes to John Penhallow, president of the New Hampshire Board of War, reporting the number of private soldiers and non-commissioned officers at about nine hundred, and says of them that they have not more than one shirt apiece. "Some perhaps have two, but many are entirely without." He ends with a modest requisition for supplies. The next day Colonel Joseph Cilley writes to Colonel Joshua Wentworth of the same Board of War, saying that in the New Hampshire regiments one man in five has scarcely a shirt to wear; but adds that the appointment of a Board of War has put new spirits into the soldiers, who now look forward to relief from their extreme physical distress.

The treaty with France had just now been accomplished, and the tidings of it brought fresh heart and courage to the sufferers of Valley Forge. From this time forth, too, the reviving spirits of the army kept pace with the growing sense of national unity and the demand for a more perfect federation.

Philadelphia was still in the hands of the British. Lafayette, a youth of twenty years, had joined our forces, bringing with him the first instalment of that practical sympathy and moral aid for which the United States will always be grateful to France. In May, 1778, Poor and his brigade were under Lafayette in the exploit to spy upon the condition and movements of the enemy between the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers. Here our force was attacked, but successfully retreated, Poor leading the American van. The British evacuated Philadelphia in this month of May, Howe being now superseded by General Clinton. The friendly recognition of the American cause by France determined the British commander, in anticipation of strong foreign reinforcements to the Continental

army, to concentrate everything in and about New York. During the march of the British army hither across New Jersey, General Poor, with his command, under Gen. Charles Lee first, and then Lafayette, were part of the force sent for the annoyance and provocation of the enemy. Our entire army soon followed, and at Monmouth, on June 28th, occurred a fierce engagement between the contending forces. By the timely arrival of Washington, relieving the army from the cowardice, insanity, or constitutional perversity of General Lee, the day was saved to our cause,—the British finding shelter in New York, and Washington leading his army to White Plains, some thirty miles distant; and thus each army remained from June of that year until the Continental forces retired to winter quarters in New Jersey.

We have now arrived at an exceedingly interesting stage in Poor's military career. His brigade, in the summer of 1779, was chosen as a part of Gen. John Sullivan's army for the subjection of the "Six Nations," or, more exactly speaking, the "Five Nations," of Indians. Colonel Scammell was on duty with Washington, and Maj. Henry Dearborn now led the Third New Hampshire regiment. Those Indian tribes, called by the French Iroquois, began with the Mohawks, some forty miles west of Albany, while the other four tribes, the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, extended westward for two hundred miles along and beyond the Mohawk river. It is virtually the old French and Indian War renewed, except that our foe now is the Indian in league with the British, these dusky tribes having been taken into partnership by our mother country to wreak whatever destruction they were able, in their own ruthless way, upon the Continental forces and their friends.

A few considerations need to be borne in mind concerning this sanguinary crusade commanded by General Sullivan of New Hampshire, and in which the New Hampshire brigade bore a very essential part. These Indians were not savages in the usual sense; they were not wandering tribes. They had built for themselves fortified towns. They were cultivating fine fruit orchards and luxuriant fields of maize, like the

best of farmers. They had civil governments that might compare with many which historians have respected. As it is now generally agreed that in New England the early white men were as frequently aggressors as they were innocent victims, so there are historical students to whose judgment we are in the habit of deferring, who affirm that in New York and Pennsylvania there was considerable ground of extenuation for many of the cruelties dealt by the Indians upon the whites.

Says Maj. Douglass Campbell of New York, speaking now of the Dutch: "They treated the Indian as a man. Tolerant in religion, they respected his rude faith; truthful among themselves, to him they never broke their word; honest in their dealings, with him they kept good faith. They suffered from no thefts because they took nothing except by purchase. Their land-titles were respected because for every tract they had an Indian deed. They were scourged by no massacres save from the enemy across the borders, because they committed no robbery or murder."

But whatever the excuse, or lack of it, and we have here no time to consider the matter, the Five Nations had now allied themselves with the British cause, and their coöperation was depended upon by the British government and army. The *animus* of this warlike disposition of the Nations had come down from the French and Indian War, no doubt, even though at that time the red men generally were on the side of the French. How complete the alliance now was with the British, and whether the Indian governments had now taken formal action in the matter, are a subject of doubt. But the massacres of Wyoming and Cherry Valley gave proof unmistakable that these people could now be regarded as enemies to our people, and that their warfare would be of the most merciless sort. Lord Suffolk, in the British parliament, November, 1777, had defended the policy, to quote his own words, of using "all the means put into British hands by the employment of the Indians."

By vote of Congress, Washington is commanded "to carry war into the country of the Six Nations, cut off their settle-

ments, destroy the next year's crops, and do them every mischief which time and circumstances will permit." General Gates, for a reason unknown to us, but as some have thought, a humane one, declined the lead of this expedition, and Gen. John Sullivan was appointed in his place. It has been doubted by many whether Washington really approved this crusade of extermination; but the tone of his instructions to Sullivan, under date of May 31, 1779, seem to breathe his hearty personal approval: "Sir, the expedition you are appointed to command is to be directed against the hostile tribes of the Six Nations of Indians with their associates and adherents. The immediate object is their *total* destruction and devastation, and the capture of as many persons of every sex and age as possible. It will be essential to ruin their crops now in the ground, and prevent their planting more. . . . The troops to be employed are Clinton's, Maxwell's, Poor's, and Hand's brigades, and the independent companies raised in the state of Pennsylvania. . . . You will not by any means listen to overtures of peace before the total destruction of their settlements is effected." By "their associates and adherents" Washington of course means the Tories. It is clearly intended that in this destruction and extermination no regard shall be paid to either sex, race, or color.

April 29, 1779, Sullivan writes in confidence to Gov. George Clinton of New York, giving his plan of campaign: "The main body of our army," he says, "is to move up the Susquehanna to Tioga; the York troops" (these being under command of Gen. James Clinton) "are to march up to Canajoharie, take batteaux across land into Otsego lake, and pass down the Susquehanna." This plan, with minor changes and after considerable delay from lack of men and provisions, was carried to consummation.

Sullivan, under orders from General Washington, collected his forces at Wyoming, Penn., on the 23d of July. His fighting power consisted of the First, Second, Third, and Fourth New Jersey regiments, Poor's New Hampshire brigade, the Eleventh Pennsylvania regiment and a German regiment from the same state, Shott's free corps, Spaulding's company, and

Colonel Proctor's regiment of artillery with two 5½-inch howitzers and four 3-pounders. On the next day arrived a large number of vessels laden with provisions, and on July 31st the march began. Sullivan's forces and Clinton's, from different directions, were to meet at Tioga.

From the diary of Jeremiah Fogg, of General Poor's staff, we obtain this item, dated at Tioga, August 14th, Sullivan's command having already arrived there: "This being the place assigned for General Clinton to join the army, and General Sullivan being apprehensive of his being in danger, detached General Poor with 900 men and eight days' provisions, with orders to proceed up the river as a reinforcement in case of an attack. General Clinton had previously to this received orders not to move from the head of the river until Sullivan had marched nine days from Wyoming." Clinton and his men joined Sullivan safely on the 22d of August.

The objective point of attack was Chemung, or, in English, Newtown, close to the present site of the city of Elmira. This was an Indian town of about fifty houses, surrounded by farms under admirable cultivation. Sullivan had information which led him to expect to find the whole force of the Nations concentrated and massed at Chemung. His army established a post defended by two hundred and fifty soldiers, at the juncture of the Susquehanna and the Tioga rivers, naming it Fort Sullivan, and pressed on for the assault. The battle of Newtown, as we now know it, was waged on Sunday, August 29, 1779. The best record of the affair in existence is found in the journal of Daniel Livermore of Concord, N. H., a captain in the Third New Hampshire regiment. He says: "At ten o'clock this morning the troops proceeded on the march in the usual order. At about twelve o'clock our vanguard came in sight of the enemy's lines, thrown up by our left from the river, half a mile in extent, on a very advantageous piece of ground; the infantry beginning a slow attack on their flanks and advance parties, while General Poor's brigade is sent round their left flank to gain the enemy's rear, which he nearly completed, falling in with their flank, or rather their main body, lying off in the woods in order to cut off our rear. A

very warm action ensued between about six hundred chosen savages commanded by Captain Butler of the Queen's Ranger's, and Poor's brigade, commanded by him in person. The brigade marched on with coolness, with charged bayonets, not a gun being fired till within a short distance, when the enemy were obliged to give back, leaving their dead on the ground, amounting to about twenty. We took three prisoners. At sunset, after a complete victory, encamped near the field of action, carrying off our dead and wounded, among the latter being Major Titcomb, Captain Cloges, and about thirty others. The killed amounted to but four or five. During the action Colonel Reed's and Colonel Dearborn's regiments fared the hardest."

According to the diary of Lieut. John Jenkins, a guide to Sullivan's army, the engagement was four miles from Chemung. The following is from the journal of Staff-officer Jeremiah Fogg, previously quoted: "One Tory was taken prisoner, who told us that their whole force was six hundred Indians commanded by Brant, and two hundred whites commanded by Butler, among whom were a British sergeant, corporal, and twelve privates. A negro was afterwards taken who thought the number of Indians to have been about four hundred." Fogg adds, exultingly: "The New Hampshire brigade may at least add a new feather to their caps. Although the enemy galled us, killing three and wounding forty, yet we convinced them that they may in vain attempt to withstand an army like ours." I here quote in part the admirable report of General Sullivan to the commander-in-chief: "About eleven o'clock a messenger from Major Par, who commanded the rifle-corps, the advance of the light troops under General Hand, informed me the enemy had, about a mile in front of the town, a very extensive breastwork erected on a rising ground which commanded the road in which we were to pass with our artillery, and which would enable them to fire upon our flank and front at the same time. This breastwork they had endeavored to mask in a very artful manner, and had concealed themselves behind it in very large numbers. . . . I found that the work was in a bend of the river, which, by turning northward,

formed a semi-circle. . . . They had posted, also, on a hill about one hundred and fifty rods in their rear, and considerably on their left, a strong party, in order, as I suppose, to fall on our right flank when we were engaged in the work in front, and to cover the retreat of the troops which occupied the works in case they were carried. . . . This hill was very advantageously formed for the purpose, as it terminated in a bold bluff about a mile in the rear of their works, and about two hundred and fifty yards from the river, leaving a hollow way between the hill and the river of about one hundred and fifty yards, and ending on the north in a very narrow defile. This hollow way was clear of trees and bushes, and was occupied by them as a place of encampment for part of their army. General Hand formed the light corps of the army in the wood within four hundred yards of their works. . . . General Hand remained at his post until I arrived with the main army. General Poor's brigade, which formed the right wing of the main army, deployed in the rear of General Hand's; General Maxwell's brigade, which formed the left wing, came abreast with General Poor, and remained in column ready to act as occasion might require. It was observed that there was another chain of hills terminating in a point rather in the rear of our right, and about one mile distant from the rear of our line. It was conjectured that the army had taken post upon one or both the hills, when we attempted to attack their works. General Poor was therefore detached to gain the hill first described and fall onto the enemy's rear. General Clinton's brigade, which forms the second line of the army, was ordered to turn off and follow in the rear of General Poor, and to sustain him in case of necessity, or to form a line to oppose any force which might fall in his rear or attempt to gain the flank or rear of the army. When sufficient time had been given to General Poor to gain the hill in their rear, our artillery was to announce an attack in front. . . . General Poor moved on to gain the hill, and General Clinton followed as directed, but both of them were for some time delayed by a morass. General Poor had already arrived at the foot of the hill when the cannonading began in front of

their works, but upon attempting to ascend it, he found a large body of the enemy posted there who began to fire upon him. His troops charged with bayonets, and sometimes fired as they advanced. The enemy retreated from tree to tree, keeping up an incessant fire until his troops had gained the summit of the hill. General Clinton detached two regiments to reinforce General Poor, and then followed himself with the residue of his brigade as directed. The two regiments arrived just before the summit of the hill was gained, and prevented the enemy from turning his right, which they were attempting. Our cannonade in front, and, I doubt not, the unexpected fire from General Poor on the enemy's left, occasioned them instantly to abandon their works in the utmost confusion. They fled in the greatest disorder. . . . Our loss was three killed and thirty-nine wounded, principally of General Poor's brigade. . . . General Poor, his officers, and men, deserve the highest praise for their intrepidity and soldierly conduct, as do Colonel Proctor and the whole artillery corps.

"The town, which contained about twenty houses, was burned, and Generals Clinton and Poor, on their yesterday's route, fell in with another of thirty buildings, about two miles to the east of this, which was also destroyed. The number of Indian towns destroyed since the commencement of the expedition . . . is, I think, fourteen."

So much from General Sullivan's official report. Washington writes to Congress: "I congratulate Congress on his (Sullivan's) having completed so effectually the destruction of the whole of the towns and settlements of the hostile Indians in so short a time and with so inconsiderable a loss of men."

A thrilling incident of this campaign is that when, following the battle of Newtown, provisions began to fail, and the question was put, how many soldiers would be content to receive half rations, not only was there a unanimous affirmative, but the proposition was received with general loud cheering from the troops.

Concerning the character of this expedition, with its ruthless destructiveness and its disrespect of age or sex, much has been said both *pro* and *con*. It was studiously intended to

uproot the Five Nations, as well as to strike terror into every Indian who might be tempted to trust to the British for protection and give his terrible service to their side. There is no doubt that it was intended, in considerable part, to avenge in ghastly kind the massacres of Cherry Valley and Wyoming perpetrated the year before, and thus to deliver the states from that method of warfare under the lead and patronage of the British army and government. The Wyoming slaughter, from which neither sex nor age was spared, and in which the ruin of property was meant to be absolute, was committed, according to the best authorities, by British and red men combined, only one third or one fourth of them being Indians, the larger portion being Tories disguised in savage fashion. Washington characterized them truly as "a collection of banditti." It is hardly probable, however, that, though at Wyoming the Tory miscreants were a majority, Washington would ever have thought of wreaking vengeance on *white* settlements by such shocking means as he employed in destroying these Indian villages. While the aborigines learned many things in the art of warfare from the European settlers, it is also sadly true that either with justification, or without justification, our ancestors and kindred of the first one hundred and fifty years in America were led into many barbarities by the example of their dark-hued neighbors, under the supposed necessity of fighting fire with fire.

Of several charges afterward brought against General Sullivan one was the accusation of vandalism in wiping out these pretty Indian villages and cultivated farms, contrary to what were generally recognized as the rules of civilized warfare. Of this, as well as the strictly moral character of such a crusade of extermination, every historical student must be his own judge. The charge, it is believed, greatly troubled Sullivan, especially as in some minds it put him in unfavorable contrast with Gates, who, for some reason, had declined to lead the Newtown expedition; and it was by many believed that it hastened the voluntary retirement of Sullivan from the army, although he publicly attributed that act to impaired health.

It would be exceedingly interesting to know whether General

Poor really approved of this campaign in which he was so efficient, but there is no word on record to show.

Our New Hampshire brigade having thus accomplished its work in New York, returned in October, rejoined the main army, and spent the cold months in winter huts at Newtown, Conn.

This, too, was a winter of great discouragement to our cause. The Thanksgiving voted by Congress, on motion of Elbridge Gerry, for the second Thursday in December, in grateful gladness for the victory over the Five Nations, furnished the last note of triumph or buoyant expectation for several months to come. The principal forces were kept quietly distributed as a cordon around Manhattan island, stretching from Connecticut to New Jersey.

At the opening of the season of 1780 we find the New Hampshire brigade for a time at West Point, which was then regarded as the key of the whole Northern situation; it was afterwards in New Jersey, but without participation in events worthy a word of record. The sky of the new republic was darkly clouded. At the North hunger and rags characterized the Continental army; troops deserted, sometimes by the half regiment; and as late as May 25th two Connecticut regiments paraded in desperate fashion and threatened to go home or else fight for food at the bayonet's point.

At the South the cause was no brighter, and considering the dismal defeats and miscarriages, which seemed almost everywhere in that section to attend our arms, it was seriously debated whether any further stand should be made for American liberty in the Southern states.

But a sudden springtime note of joy and hope was again heard, when on May 13, 1780, the Marquis de Lafayette, having returned from his home visit to France, where he had gone mainly to confer with King Louis XVI, and if possible obtain from that country more than surreptitious aid and comfort to the American cause, offered again his services to Congress, which of course were joyfully accepted, and reported assured help and encouragement from his native land, whose fulfilment and results became in due time a grateful chapter in the

history of this republic. The treaty between France and the United States entered into in 1778, important as it was, availed far less for Continental success than did the coming of Lafayette, De Kalb, and other representative Frenchmen with personal pledges of the King's moral support, while they themselves entered heart, hand, and soul into the American conflict.

Lafayette being now appointed the commander of a division, his troops were made the van of Washington's army. Lafayette's division, composed largely of light infantry, was selected from different corps, and chiefly from regiments of the frontier states, whose past experience in border warfare had specially fitted them for such agile service. It consisted of two brigades, the first under the command of General Hand, with Colonels Van Courtlandt, Ogden, and Stewart; the second under command of General Poor, with Colonels Shepherd, Swift, and Gimat. There was also in the division a troop of horse led by Col. Henry Lee, father of the late confederate general, Robert E. Lee, and a major's command of artillery.

This division, well organized and located in an elevated and advantageous New Jersey camp, the soldiers and officers being chiefly clothed and armed at the private expense of Lafayette, and under his admirable scientific drill, each soldier wearing a helmet of hard leather, with a crest of hair, was decidedly the best armed and completely disciplined of the whole army, so that it is said that European veterans pronounced it equal to any corps in any army of Europe. This choice command of Lafayette's, of which Enoch Poor was, by the choice both of Lafayette and of Congress, one of the two brigadiers, was undoubtedly the first body of men in the army of the Revolution that approached the standard of a well-provided and adequately trained soldiery according to the standard of civilized nations at that period. For this, let us never lightly remember, we are indebted to that brilliant French nobleman who gave his long life to European and American liberty. Let us also gratefully and proudly remember that Lafayette, who doubtless for the asking could have had his choice of all the available soldiers and officers for his command, and knowing

by former intimate association the ability and prowess of our New Hampshire general, deliberately preferred him as one of his two highest subordinate officers, held him, as we know, in admiring esteem, and at his death, and again forty years afterward, paid him thankful and affectionate tributes of praise.

But this splendid van of Washington's army was destined by circumstances beyond control, and which we have not time now to consider, to see no active service during the passing summer.

In July, the first French reinforcements arrived, and Washington communicated to the Count de Rochambeau his plans for the remainder of the campaign. There resulted a scheme to attack New York on both land and sea, which was to be carried out on the fifth of August. But the arrival of British Admiral Greaves at New York with six ships of the line deterred our commander-in-chief from the intended movement. In September British Admiral Rodney came over with eleven ships of the line and four frigates. Of course our forces, under these conditions, made no assault, and could only wait and watch their enemies as from time to time detachments of the latter sallied forth on some temporary scheme or adventure.

While our troops and their antagonists were thus situated, on the eighth of September, 1780, the death of General Poor occurred while in camp. The manner of his death has been the subject of interesting discussion in recent years, which is not yet ended. I cannot, with the limit of time and space allotted me in this paper, enter into the debate, or even balance the contentions of others. Let me merely state the three causes to which the deplorable event has, by one and another, been assigned. Immediately after the event it was reported, and so far as written evidence now in existence or known to have existed, set down as true, that General Poor died of "putrid fever," or by another account, "bilious fever," from which he was said to have suffered for thirteen days. This, for some time, seems to have been the general, if not universal, belief throughout the country.

A tradition of some age, for which there appears no written

evidence of an early date, at least by any one who is known to have been at the scene of the occurrence, but which is recorded and credited, among other quarters, in the "Military History of New Hampshire," printed with the adjutant general's report in 1866, attributes General Poor's decease to a duel with a French officer. This was for a considerable time held by many as the true account,—with the important additional circumstance that the affair was carefully concealed from Lafayette, not only through the remainder of the war, but even until after the Marquis's visit to the United States in 1824-25. Many, however, on second thought, if not at first, regarded it as improbable and well-nigh impossible for the tragic and startling death of General Poor to have taken place in camp, almost or quite under the eyes of his commander, and the latter to have been kept ignorant of the cause and circumstances.

Another account, and one which has been adopted by some exceedingly reputable students of the matter, is that General Poor was wounded in a duel with an inferior officer of his own command, and of his own nationality, and that the wound caused a fever to intervene, which after several days terminated fatally. This rendering of the event and its circumstances was given in substance by the late Ellis Ames, and is published in Volume XIX of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Mr. Ames's belief and its grounds were reproduced by the late Major Ben: Perley Poore, at a gathering of the Poor-Poore family, and his address on that occasion is printed in the proceedings of that meeting. A careful search, aided by the families of Mr. Ames and Major Poore, fails to furnish me with the particular data and authorities on which these two able men and earnest historical students based their conclusions. Major Poore affirmed that Mr. Ellis "substantiated them by voluminous and conclusive testimony." These are the essential parts of the account as given by Major Poore: "General Poor was killed in a duel by one of his subordinate officers, Major John Porter, then in command of a Massachusetts continental regiment. . . . In 1780 he (Porter) was temporarily in command of the regiment dur-

ing a forced march in New Jersey. The weather was very hot, and his men, tired, hungry, and thirsty, halted beneath some shade trees to rest themselves. Shortly afterward, General Poor, who was in command of the brigade, rode up and ordered Major Porter to call up his men and proceed with the march. Major Porter repeated the order, but not a man of his command rose. A few minutes later General Poor again rode up and repeated his order, but not a man of the command rose. A few minutes later General Poor again rode up and repeated his order, and at the same time indulged in a criticism upon Major Porter, which that officer regarded as personally offensive; and he said to the General that if they were of equal rank he should hold him promptly responsible for his words. The general promptly replied that he would waive his privilege as commanding officer; whereupon Major Porter obtained a friend as his second, and a challenge was sent and accepted. The duel was fought the next morning at daybreak. The seconds arranged that each should stand back to back against each other, carrying a loaded pistol, that at the word march each should advance five paces, halt, and at the word fire, discharge their pistols over their left shoulders, then face about, return toward each other, and finish the contest with swords. When the first pistols were fired, Poor fell mortally wounded."

The circumstantial character of the story, and its several parts so minutely told, give it an air of truthfulness. But the question at once arises, why was it hidden, and where, until these recent years? By what possibility could all the soldiers of the camp to whom, if it had happened, the event must have been fully known, have been kept from communicating it in their letters to their friends, and relating it among their stories of army events, as perhaps the most engaging of them all, and the hardest to retain untold? Upon this question we cannot enter. Possibly the data upon which Mr. Ames and Major Poor based their belief in it may yet be brought to light.

The age of General Poor at his death was forty-four.

I must not leave this part of our subject without the reminder that at that period the so-called "code of honor" was

generally, almost universally, regarded with no conscientious misgivings—that more than once Lafayette, though he never fought in a duel, yet recognized its unquestioned legitimacy in the settlement of matters of dispute and resentment when ordinary means did not promise to accomplish the purpose. The decision of the manner of General Poor's death, therefore, in one way or another, would hardly affect the character of the man if judged by the standard of that day.

The sorrow at Poor's death was general and sincere throughout the army, and the funeral occasion was exceedingly impressive. The following is copied from the military journal kept by James Thacher, M. D., a surgeon in the war :

“Sept. 10, 1780. We are lamenting the loss of Brigadier-General Enoch Poor, who died last night of putrid fever. His funeral solemnities have been attended this afternoon. The corpse was brought this morning from Paramus, and left at a house a mile from the burying-ground at Hackensack, where it was attended to the place of interment by the following procession :

A regiment of light infantry in uniform with arms reversed, Major Lee's regiment of light horse cavalry, the major on horseback, General Hand with his brigade of light infantry, two chaplains, one of whom, the Rev. Israel Evans, was of Poor's brigade, the horse of the deceased general, with his boots and spurs suspended from the saddle, led by his servant, the corpse borne by four sergeants, and the pall supported by six general officers. The coffin was made of mahogany, and placed on top of which was a pair of pistols and two swords belonging to the general. The swords crossed each other and were tied with black crape. The corpse was followed by the officers of the New Hampshire brigade which Poor has so long commanded. Immediately after these came General Washington, General Lafayette, and others of the general officers of the army. Having arrived at the burying-ground, the troops opened to the right and left, resting on their arms reversed, and the procession passed to the grave, where a eulogy was delivered by the chaplain, Rev. Israel Evans. . . . The regiment of light infantry were in handsome uniform, and wore

in their caps long feathers of black and red. The elegant regiment of light horse commanded by Maj. Henry Lee, were in complete uniform and well disciplined, and exhibited a martial and noble appearance. General Poor was from the state of New Hampshire. He was a true patriot, and took an early part in the cause of his country, and during his military career he was highly respected for his talents and his bravery, and was beloved for the amiable qualities of his heart. It is his sufficient eulogy to say that he enjoyed the confidence, esteem, and love of Washington and Lafayette."

General Washington, in announcing the death of Poor to Congress, said: "He was an officer of distinguished merit, one who as a citizen and a soldier had every claim to the esteem and regard of his country." Congress ordered this communication to be published in testimony of the nation to the character and services of Enoch Poor.

In his funeral oration, afterwards published, Chaplain Evans recounts the general's patriotic services, and to other tributes adds: "Need I say that intemperance and profanity were strangers to him? And here let me observe—for such an omission would be criminal—that during the three years under his immediate command, I never knew him guilty of profane cursing and swearing."

The estimate in which General Poor was held by one of those nearest him is told in the tearful words of a letter from Jeremiah Fogg, of his staff: "My general is gone. A cruel, stubborn fever has deprived us of the second man in the world." The first, in his estimate, was undoubtedly Washington.

The following are short extracts from a calm and judicious tribute by Gov. William Plumer of New Hampshire: "As an officer he was prudent in council, and sound in judgment, firm and steady in his resolutions, cautious of unnecessary danger, but calm and undaunted in battle, vigorous and unwearied in executing military enterprises, patient and persevering under hardship and difficulty . . . and punctual and exact in performing all the duties assigned and devolving upon him. His mind was devoted to the improvement of the army. He pos-

sessed great self-command, was affable and condescending, easy of access, yet preserved his dignity. . . . The soldiers when distressed had free access to him, and he was a father to them. . . . He was the steady, uniform friend of the moral virtues, and inculcated their excellence more by example than profession or argument."

The interment of General Poor's body was made, as we saw, at the cemetery at Hackensack, New Jersey, not far from the spot where he had died; and years afterward a public occasion was made by the citizens of that place, and other admirers, of placing over his grave a large sandstone tablet, originally flat upon the ground, but in 1856 erected on four small pillars. On the tablet are inscribed these words, the last seven lines having been added in 1856:

" IN MEMORY OF THE HON^{BLE}
BRIGADIER GENERAL ENOCH POOR
OF THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
ON THE 8TH DAY OF SEPT. 1780
AGED 44 YEARS.

WASHINGTON, LAFAYETTE AND A PORTION
OF THE AMERICAN ARMY ATTENDED
THE BURIAL OF GENERAL POOR.
IN 1824 LAFAYETTE REVISITED THIS
GRAVE, AND TURNING AWAY MUCH
AFFECTED, EXCLAIMED, " AH! THIS WAS
ONE OF MY GENERALS."

There is an unverified tradition that money for the renovating of the grave of General Poor was left with the clerk of the county by Lafayette on his visit to Hackensack in 1824. There is nothing on the court records concerning the matter. Let me say, before leaving the subject, that the newly aroused interest in General Poor not only proves the lasting value of his character and patriotic services, but has already resulted in a movement to erect a more suitable monument at his grave. For this purpose the New Jersey Society of the Sons of the American Revolution has signified its intention of giving a generous

sum, and the New Hampshire Society of the same organization has intimated a purpose to contribute as much. It is intended, in behalf of the same object, to memorialize the legislature of the state of New Hampshire.

On Lafayette's last visit to America he was enthusiastically received by a great multitude of people at Concord, N. H. At the festival given in his honor, the old hero was called upon for a sentiment. He rose, and with deep feeling, with tremulous voice, and an expression of countenance that moved the emotions of all present, gave the following: "Light Infantry Poor and Yorktown Scammell."

I must not omit to mention one priceless memorial of General Poor, now in the possession of the family of his grandson, the late Bradbury Poor Cilley of Manchester, N. H. It is a miniature picture of the general, in military dress, which has the following history: His fellow officer, the Polish general, Thaddeus Kosciusko, was an artist of considerable talent, and being an intimate friend of General Poor, had several times requested him to sit for his picture, the request being as often declined. One day Kosciusko handed General Poor a hymn-book on whose fly leaf a portrait of Poor had been sketched. "How is this?" exclaimed Poor, "I never sat for my picture." "Well," answered the Polish general, "I drew it while sitting near you in church, in this book, and have since then painted it for you." This picture, which is believed to have been taken at Valley Forge, and which family tradition says was brought home by General Poor on his last visit, was regarded by his friends as an excellent likeness. Artists have ascribed to it unusual merit, and it is the original of the large portrait, painted by Tenney, to adorn the state house in Concord. The original from the hand of Kosciusko is sacredly preserved, and is still fresh and lifelike. This picture was also copied for the bas-relief of Poor on the monument at Monmouth, N. J., in the scene of the "Council of War at Hopewell." Here, around a kitchen table, "in an old-fashioned room with its antique fireplace and huge chimney and mantel, and the familiar tall clock in the corner," are standing Washington and Lafayette, the latter urging an immediate attack upon the British, while,

seated around the table, each officer in some characteristic personal attitude, are the "Mad" Wayne, Lee, Green, Sterling, Steuben, Knox, Poor, Woodford, Patterson, Scott, and Dupontail.

Were there time I would trace the career of Poor's brigade, which was New Hampshire's most substantial contribution to the army of the Revolution, from its commander's death to the close of its service, although that does not properly belong to the subject assigned me.

General Poor died at a very discouraging period of the struggle for American Independence, and the sense of loss must have been exceedingly great, especially at that crisis of affairs. It was the very month of the culmination of Arnold's treasonable conspiracy. Poor was just spared the revelation of that diabolical plot.

The British main army, occupying Manhattan island, had lately been reinforced by war vessels against any possible thought of assault. Clinton, himself, with large detachments from New York, had carried the brunt of active warfare into the South. Charleston, and virtually all South Carolina, had fallen into British hands; Gates had been beaten in that state by Cornwallis; and the brave DeKalb had fallen on a Southern battle-field. The British and American loyalists poured down with destruction upon the fields of northern New York, and the Indians and the loyalists were putting in their deadly work in retaliation for Sullivan's campaign. Add to this that sixty dollars in continental money were equal in value to but one sound dollar.

But happily France was at hand with help. Count de Rochambeau wrote back to his native country: "Send us troops, ships and money, but do not depend upon this people, or upon their means." Holland now joined the "Armed Neutrality," and England declared war with her, as she had previously done with France. The Confederation of States received one accession after another, and greater unity of purpose and action began to appear amidst the general weakness and almost desperation. Cornwallis ere long showed his first possibility of defeat on the field, and on the following October he surren-

dered his entire forces at Yorktown. It was in that final conflict that the brilliant Scammell of New Hampshire fell.

It is interesting to imagine what further distinctions Enoch Poor would have won had he lived but thirteen months more—until Cornwallis's surrender. His career was "short, unsullied, bright." A brigadier-general is often hidden by the rank, the dazzling fame, or the overweening egotism of his official superiors. But wherever we get even a glimpse of General Poor, he was equal to the call that summoned him; his ability clearly overflowed the measure of his commission, so that he appears habitually to have been looked to by Washington and Lafayette for advanced position and increased responsibility. Never, in an official report by his superiors in command, or in diaries and letters which have come to light, is he spoken of without stress of esteem and honor. Had he survived, it is almost certain that his commanding reason and judgment, his remarkable popularity, and his power to inspire confidence among his fellows, would have told brilliantly in civil life. Many officers of the Continental army lived to achieve political fame. We can hardly doubt that Poor would have attained to prominence in the statesmanship of the new American era. We can easily and happily imagine his powerful and influential manhood coming forth from the great military struggle to distinguished public service to his adopted state, if not in the nation he had so signally helped into being. Interpreting what he did as pledge and token of what he might have accomplished had he rounded the full period of manhood, we will in our time hold high the name of Enoch Poor, as worthy of the honoring of every patriot of New Hampshire, and of our great Republic.

NOTES.

In the *Pennsylvania Magazine* of September, 1780, appears this advertisement: "Part of the Effects of the late brigadier-general Poor (among which are several Suits of Cloaths, a Genteel Small Sword, Sash, Appaulets, and many other articles) will be Vendued at Lieut. Col. Dearborn's Marquee To-morrow morning Ten O'Clock."

General Poor left no sons to continue his name. Of his three daughters, Patty married Bradbury Cilley of Nottingham, N. H.; Harriet married Jacob Cilley of the same town; and Mary became the wife of Rev. John Cram of Exeter, N. H.

March 24, 1781, General Poor's widow petitioned the state of New Hampshire that the depreciation of her husband's wages during the time between the date of his commission as colonel to the time of his death be made up to her. On her petition, in 1784, her name was entered on the pay-roll in accordance with an act passed Aug. 24, 1780.

The widow of General Poor died at Exeter in 1830, aged 83 years.

Three of the brothers of General Poor were in the battle of Bunker Hill, namely: Major Thomas, Lieutenant Abraham, and private Daniel.

At the corner of Center and Water streets in Exeter, stands now the building of the *Exeter News Letter*. On it is a tablet with this inscription: "Gen. Enoch Poor lived on this site
1765-1780."

Hon. John D. Lyman of Exeter, an accurate historical student, says: "The house was two-storied and unpainted, and is believed not to have been removed but torn down."

Undoubtedly the death of General Poor occurred on the 8th of September, 1780, as stated on his monument, rather than September 9th, as given in the military journal of Dr. James Thatcher, quoted above.

The literary feature of the first meeting of the season of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society was a paper by Capt. Albert A. Folsom upon "Gen. Enoch Poor," who was a native of Andover, distinguished in the Revolution, and a favored friend of Washington. Captain Folsom brought out many interesting points about the brilliant soldier, who was a resident of Exeter, N. H., when he entered the army; and has naturally always been regarded as belonging, in a sense, to New Hampshire. The feature which the essay was intended to particularly emphasize, however, was the fact that, contrary

to generally accepted tradition, prevalent ever since the general's death in 1780, General Poor did not die a violent death, as the result of a duel, but was carried off by fever. A story arose soon after the general's demise that he had been killed by a French officer in the Continental army on the "field of honor," but that the fact had been concealed, for fear of causing hostility toward our French allies of that day. Later it was alleged that new discoveries proved the fatal duel to have been between General Poor and a Massachusetts clergyman in the army whose name was John Porter.

Captain Folsom has been able to prove both stories false by means of an affidavit which he recently unearthed in the Genealogical Society Library. The affidavit, which was sworn to within a year after General Poor's death, recites that the deponent, Jeremiah Fogg, was aide-de-camp to General Poor, was with him constantly for some time previous to his death, and knew positively that fever, and nothing else, was the cause of his death. This discovery by Captain Folsom proved of great interest to the historians present, as it was generally conceded as settling what has hitherto been a source of unending disputation.

A large audience was in attendance, by whom the address was received with great favor. The thanks of the Society were tendered Dr. Beane and a request made for a copy of the address.

The Librarian announced that Rev. J. A. Howe, D. D., had prepared and given to the Society a history of the New Hampton Free Baptist Biblical School, and Rev. William Hurlin of Antrim, an address on the Baptist Theological School of New Hampshire,¹ and a vote of thanks was tendered both gentlemen for their very acceptable and valuable contributions.

Prof. Alfred H. Campbell, principal of the State Normal School at Plymouth, was elected an active member of the Society.

The Standing Committee of the Society, to whom was referred the proposition made two years ago, and renewed at

¹ Printed in the 28th volume of the *Granite Monthly*, page 17.

the last annual meeting, for the purchase of the Chadwick lot, so called, adjoining the Society's lot on the south, made a report recommending the purchase of that property and offered the following resolution, which was adopted by a unanimous vote :

Resolved, That the sum of eighteen hundred and twenty-five dollars (\$1,825) be and hereby is appropriated in payment for the above mentioned lot. The Treasurer is hereby authorized to borrow in the name of the Society any part of this amount that may be necessary. He shall also receive and care for the deeds of said lot.

On motion of William P. Fiske, the Standing Committee was authorized to care for the newly purchased lot.

At 3 : 30 p. m., voted to adjourn to the call of the President.

The meeting in May was held on Wednesday, the 10th instant, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, President Stevens in the chair.

Hon. A. S. Batchellor of Littleton made announcement of a gift to the Society of a "Memorial of Joseph Wait, Lieutenant-Colonel in the Continental Army," by the Hon. Horatio L. Wait of Chicago, and the Secretary was instructed to return the thanks of the Society to the donor.

The following named persons were elected members of the Society :

W. W. GRIFFITHS, Hillsborough Bridge.
 HARRY W. KEYES, Haverhill.
 Col. FRANK G. NOYES, Nashua.
 Gen. DANIEL M. WHITE, Peterborough.
 Hon. VIRGIL C. GILMAN, Nashua.
 Dr. GEORGE M. KIMBALL, Concord.
 Mrs. LUCY R. H. CROSS, Concord.
 Mrs. ANNIE M. (FOSTER) SEATON, New York.
 Dr. WILLIAM H. SEATON, New York.

The Secretary presented a communication from the Rev. Edward Everett Hale of Boston, inviting this Society, by a

Committee, to unite with the Massachusetts Historical Society in the observance of the Third Centennial of the birth of Oliver Cromwell, at the First Church in Boston, May 12, 1899. The Society voted to accept the invitation, and appointed the following Committee as its representatives on that occasion :

President LYMAN D. STEVENS,
Hon. A. S. BATCHELLOR of Littleton,
Hon. JOSEPH B. WALKER, and
Hon. CHARLES R. CORNING of Concord.

After which the speaker for the occasion, Col. Frank G. Noyes of Nashua, was introduced by the President, and delivered an address as previously announced. Subject: "Maj.-Gen. John G. Foster, Son of New Hampshire, Soldier of the Republic."

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN G. FOSTER, SON OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, SOLDIER OF THE REPUBLIC.

The war of the great Rebellion taught the world that the people of the United States were more than a "nation of shopkeepers." The heroism, deeds of daring and courage, displayed by the men of the South, as well as of the North, between the dates of Sumter and Appomattox, compelled mutual respect and admiration for the power and prowess of the men of both sections. They showed to the world that the men of all sections of the United States could "strike with the edge"; that they lacked none of the qualities that make soldiers and heroes.

The Spanish-American War of the year of grace 1898, illustrated the peculiar qualities of our peace-loving people.

The skill and courage of the American navy in the recent war with the Kingdom of Spain, supplemented by the indomitable pluck of our army, brought speedy and marvelous success to our arms, and compelled our haughty foe quickly to sue for peace.

The outcome of the War of the Rebellion showed the people of the world that liberty and republics were possible. It not

only taught the principle of equality, but also flashed the electric fire of freedom to other lands. That principle is immortal, and will stand unchanged amidst the ruins that time and tyranny may scatter over the universe.

More than a hundred and twenty years have elapsed since this republic unfolded to the world the chart of her liberties. It seems as yesterday that she was young and weak; to-day she ranks among the oldest, most stable, and most powerful governments of the earth. Years have not chilled the warm blood of her youth, nor diminished the ensign of her age. Time has written no wrinkles on her brow. With a conscious and just pride, she feels that the foundations of her government have outlasted all the constitutions of civilized Europe. Political systems without number have undergone revision suited to the spirit of the age. But the platform of a constitution erected by the fathers of our Republic has required no further additions to elevate or support it, except the declarations of the 14th and 15th amendments to exemplify the statement that all men are created free and equal.

We are no freer than our fathers were. The amount of liberty which satisfied them has been found sufficient for our happiness and prosperity. We have tested it in the crucible of civil war.

In the historic little red schoolhouse of New Hampshire has been laid the foundations of education and character which have developed men who have been invincible in field and forum.

At the dedication of the Matthew Thornton monument at Merrimack the orator of the day used the following words concerning our state: "The soil, climate, and government of New Hampshire, from its earliest settlement, have conspired to furnish a splendid arena for making completely developed men and women. Physically, mentally, and morally her sons and daughters have ever been distinguished for being solidly equipped, rigidly disciplined, courageous, earnest, ready and able to meet and adapt themselves to any and all circumstances.

"With a history full of romance and war, she has always

found within her territorial limits men who were sufficiently strong and willing to defend and protect her from all assaults, while the nation never called upon her in vain for assistance.

"In every crucial struggle of the Republic, whether civil or military, legal or legislative, moral or constitutional, New Hampshire has been a master force. Her sons, impelled by a patriotism that has never flagged, signed the immortal Declaration of Independence, were first among those who initiated the Revolution at Bunker Hill, were first and foremost at the decisive Battle of Bennington, entered into and helped form the American Union, stormed and captured the heights of Lundy's Lane, marched through Baltimore into the jaws of Death at Bull Run, and fought till the end at Appomattox.

"The world has never seen a more intelligent, loyal, patriotic, resolute race of men than have dominated the soil of New Hampshire since its abdication by the red man.

"Small in area, rough and grand in surface, with pure water, vital and health-inspiring air, and peopled with a sturdy race, she has furnished more than a just share of courage, character, brain, and heart to the country. Almost every page of her history reveals a striking and a noble figure. Her mountain peaks which tower far above the level of the sea are not more numerous than her giant sons whose forceful deeds and lives have been conspicuous at home and abroad."

The Colonial wars, the War of the Revolution, the War of 1812, the War of the Rebellion, and the recent war with Spain,—in all of which New Hampshire men were engaged—produced men and heroes. It is the province of this paper to bring into strong relief the character, merits, and history of a man who was born in New Hampshire, and who illustrated in his public life the strong characteristics of American manhood.

John Gray Foster, son of New Hampshire, soldier of the republic, was born in Whitefield, Coös county, May 27, 1823. He was a descendant of a long line of Scotch-English ancestors who bore conspicuous parts in the field and forum of the mother country. It will answer our purpose to give his lineage in this country (which is the result of researches made by himself, in his own handwriting, about fifty years ago).

Our researches show that men of our hero's patronymic have included those who were distinguished in their day and generation as divines, as soldiers, and as members of the General Court in Massachusetts and in New Hampshire. One of them, Hopedill Foster, was a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery in 1642, representative in 1652, and for twenty years held a commission as captain of militia.

Another, John, who was graduated at Harvard college in 1667, designed the arms of the colony of Massachusetts,—an Indian with bow and arrows.

By the "Genealogical Register of Pilgrims," in the library of the Mechanics' Institute at Lowell, Mass., we learn that prior to the year 1825 no less than thirty-nine men of the name of Foster had been graduated from colleges in New England.

Let us now return to the lineage of John Gray Foster's immediate ancestry, as prepared by himself.

William Foster settled in Ipswich, Mass., in the year 1635. Reginald Foster settled in Ipswich, Mass., in the year 1636. Abraham Foster settled in Ipswich, Mass., in the year 1648. From one of these sprung Jacob Foster. To him and his wife Sarah their child Jacob was born about the year 1668. He was prominent in his section, and deacon in the First church of Ipswich. He died July 19, 1710, leaving Abigail, his widow, and one daughter and four sons, among whom was Joseph. This son Joseph had by his wife Sarah one daughter and five sons. The second son, Isaac, was baptized August 1, 1720. Isaac married Sarah Brow, Nov. 18, 1744, and had five sons and three daughters. The fourth son, John, was born Jan. 28, 1755; married Anna Beard, and by her had five sons and two daughters. The fourth son, Perley, was born Sept. 20, 1792; married Mary Gray, and by her had five sons and one daughter. The second son, issue of Perley Foster and Mary Gray, is the subject of this sketch.

General Foster was born in Whitefield, N. H., May 27, 1823, and died in Nashua, Sept. 2, 1874. His father, Maj. Perley Foster, removed to Nashua in the year 1833, when John Gray Foster was ten years of age. Captain (Maj.) Perley Foster is

well remembered as a military enthusiast in the old time militia days, and "who that then saw them does not remember the independent company of 'Whitefield Highlanders' in their picturesque uniforms and well-ordered movements, and the old-fashioned annual musterings under the dignified conduct of their leader, Capt. Perley Foster, or the Nashua Light Artillery, which under command of the same captain was present at the dedication of the monument at Bunker Hill in the year 1843.

"The father's military spirit was intensified in the son, and as a lad he was always the chosen commander of military companies, which were solemn realities to him in those days of boyish sports."¹

When our hero was ten years old, his father settled in Nashua, and in the schools of that city and at the Hancock academy, as well as at the United States military school at West Point, were laid the foundations of his subsequent career.

He was appointed in the year 1842, to the United States Military Academy, through the influence of Charles G. Atherton of Nashua, who was then a member of congress from New Hampshire, and young Foster proved himself worthy of the confidence of that eminent man.

Foster graduated from West Point in 1846, ranking fourth in a distinguished class with McClellan, Reno, Sturgis, Stoneman, Oakes, Gibbs, and George H. Gordon, names now famous as commanders in the United States' army during the War of the Rebellion, and with "Stonewall" Jackson, Wilcox, and Dabney H. Maury, who were numbered with the best tacticians in the late Confederate army.

Upon his graduation, Foster was commissioned second lieutenant in the Corps of Engineers, and assigned to duty in the bureau at Washington. Immediately thereafter he was attached to the company of sappers, miners, and pontoniers, then just organized for the war with Mexico. He joined General Scott's army at Vera Cruz, and participated with it in the siege of that stronghold from March 9 to 29, 1847, when the

¹ Hist. of Coös Co., p. 484.

famous castle of San Juan d'Ulloa surrendered; at the battles of Cerro Gordo, April 17 to 18; at Contreras in August; at Cherubusco and Molino del Rey.

In leading the storming column of Worth's division in the assault of Molino del Rey, Sept. 8, 1847, he was severely wounded in the hip. His dangerous wound confined him to a sick bed for several months.

The writer has seen in the collection of Hon. Chas. W. Hoitt, of Nashua, a long and friendly letter written to Foster by Lieut. George B. McClellan, from the City of Mexico, dated May 5, 1848. This letter shows the affection in which our young lieutenant was held at that time by his friend and classmate, who in the War of the Rebellion achieved so brilliant a reputation as Major-General George B. McClellan.

CITY OF MEXICO, May 5, 1848.

MY DEAR FOSTER:—You can form some idea of the pleasure with which I received yours of "all fools' day," when I tell you that the last news we heard from you, through Stewart, S. S., were that your physicians had given you up as a gone coon. I was looking for some further news from you with the greatest anxiety and dread, and need not tell you how glad I am to see from the tone of your letter that the venerable subaltern is still alive and kicking,—not only that, but that he is likely to remain so. The mail arrived last night, but as usual brought me not a single letter from home. They have been treating me with the most sovereign contempt for the last four months. I suppose they think that as the chances of my ever getting home are quite small, they will save themselves a vast amount of trouble and letter paper by cutting my acquaintance,—*muy bien, que sea como quieren!* We have been turned out of the Lombardini house since you left, for the old fellow's family, and are now living in the third story of the post-office building, almost immediately opposite. There was no furniture here when we came, but we have managed to get quite a number of chairs and tables from the palace, so that we might be much worse off. We have lost the view from the windows, which is the worst part of the change. Harrison has arrived and is living with us. Smith, Stuart, Lee, Barnard, Beaugard, and Harrison have all gone to Cuernavaca to see the cave, etc. I hope that peace may be made by the time they return; I have my doubts, though. Alexander has arrived since they left, he is for the present staying with me, but he will have to find

other quarters by the time they get back; there is not room enough here.

Since you went, that little attorney Shell has been appointed a second lieutenant in one of the ten regiments, so we are rid of him at last. I received by last night's mail the appointment of Yeager as a second lieutenant in the Third Dragoons. I discharged him this morning so that we now bear on the morning report forty-two present and absent. You will have heard before you receive this that a quorum has at last been got together. Now it remains to be seen what they will, in the plentitude of their wisdom, do. I presume we will know in three weeks, for it would appear to be a moral impossibility to keep together such discordant elements for a longer period—doubtless one very great inducement for them to make peace will be the desire of landing the six millions they are to receive upon the ratification of the treaty. If they don't get that they can't get their pay, and I imagine they care as much for themselves as for their country. Many thanks for your kind wishes in relation to the "consolation" and "the rays of light" from *la casa en frente*, but I fear you are premature. I reckon I should be cut if I tried, and even if I wished to and could succeed, I am so unfortunate as to be a poor damned beggar of a teniente. I have been asked more than once about the "Pob-seato Lerido." I am sincerely sorry for the awkward mistake made about John Earle's books. It rather diminishes my implicit trust in providence. Better luck next time. I have no doubt about having command of one of the four companies when the colonel gets them. The period is the only question. I opine that I will be an old fogie by that time. You are too modest in speaking merely for the first lieutenantcy. Won't you have the second captaincy? I am sorry to say that I have lost sight of Billy (that animal minus his caudal appendage) since Duncan's Battery went out to Taenbaya, but I have been anxiously looking for him among the winners at the race course, so far in vain, but I doubt not that I shall soon behold the tail wagged in all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of a winner of the Oakes.

Hoping that I may soon see you *in propria persona*,

Believe me as ever,

Truly your friend,

GEO. B. McCLELLAN,

Lieutenant of Engineers.

P. S. Give my kindest regards to Stewart when you see him.

I hope that you will have discarded at least one crutch when I see you.

There came by the last mail from the auditor's office an acknowledgment of the receipt of the money for gout salve. I send it to you.

From the end of the Mexican War, in which he had won two brevets for his gallantry and meritorious services, until 1860, Captain Foster was engaged in various engineer duties, and was also at the coast survey office at Washington. From 1855 to 1857, he served as principal assistant professor of engineering in the U. S. Military Academy at West Point.

From the valuable collection of Judge Hoitt, mentioned above, the writer has been shown a letter written from West Point to Foster, dated Sept. 2, 1854, by Col. Robert E. Lee, who was at that time commandant of the Military Academy. This epistle breathes love and esteem in every line, and shows an earnest desire to assist Lieutenant Foster in any way possible. It indicates plainly that our hero possessed those lovable qualities that we claim were developed stronger and stronger as the years rolled on. At any rate, we make no apology for referring to that letter written by no less a man and soldier than Gen. Robert E. Lee, who afterward held the supreme command of all the rebel armies that were arrayed against the United States in the War of the Rebellion.

WEST POINT, Sept. 2, 1854.

MY DEAR CAPT. FOSTER:—I am delighted at having you at W. P. But the same cause that detracts from your anticipations of comfort detracts from my anticipations of pleasure, the want of quarters. On the reception of your note I began to cast around to see what could be done. I am unable to say anything cheering, all the quarters for families will be chosen over you. When you come on you are so fertile in expedients that I hope you will discover some remedy for the difficulty. Till then I hope you will be comfortable and happy with Mrs. F. in Baltimore, and she will then be happy to get rid of you for a season, to escape the long, dreary winter at W. P. by remaining in B. Remember me kindly to her, and though I should be much pleased to have her with us, still, for her comfort I should have been more gratified had you got a more comfortable station.

I am very truly yours,

R. E. LEE.

CAPT. J. G. FOSTER.

In the year 1858 Foster was assigned to duty as chief engineer in charge, and was engaged in building Fort Sumter. July 1, 1860, after fourteen years' continuous service, he was commissioned as full captain of engineers. December 26, 1860, Maj. Robert Anderson, First Artillery, U. S. A., took command of Fort Sumter, which subsequently remained under his command until its surrender, April 13, 1861.

The beginning of the War of the Rebellion found Captain Foster at its initial point, U. S. engineer in charge of the fortifications of Charleston Harbor, S. C., and in building Fort Sumter. Here he displayed marked activity and skill in preparing to meet the anticipated attack upon them. He was in command when the garrison of Fort Moultrie was transferred to Fort Sumter, December 26, 1860.

Foster was on duty at Fort Sumter when the steamer *Star of the West* was fired on. It will be remembered that the U. S. government attempted during the winter of 1860 to succor the garrison at Fort Sumter with stores of food and two hundred well-armed and well-instructed recruits from Fort Columbus. These troops, under able officers, were placed on board the steamer *Star of the West*, and sailed for Charleston Harbor. The steamer was making her way to Fort Sumter, and on crossing the bar she was fired on by the rebel batteries and forced to turn back without accomplishing her errand.

He was engaged in the historic defense of Sumter, being second in command, and was present when it surrendered April 13, 1861. The daily reports made to the chief of engineers of the army by Captain Foster, for several weeks, while in this service, up to the time of the bombardment, gave a concise account of the operations inside the fort, and also outside, so far as his spy-glass could command a distinct view. They also contained sketches of the enemy's batteries and their position, besides the number and calibre of the guns mounted inside Fort Sumter. The final stoppage of the mails by the rebel authorities on the eighth day of April, prevented further commentaries in this way.

Up to and including April 8, 1861, Foster had made daily reports by mail to the chief engineer of the army of the

progress of the work on Fort Sumter. On that date, as stated before, further communication in that way was prevented by the rebel authorities, who then stopped the carriage or delivery of U. S. mails. I find among General Foster's papers, under date of May 20, 1861, a report made by Foster to General Totten, chief engineer, U. S. A., of the operations in Charleston Harbor, from April 9 to the date of the evacuation of Fort Sumter by Major Anderson's command on the 14th of April, 1861. This report is of great interest, giving as it does a detailed statement of the heroic defense of Fort Sumter when attacked by the rebels under Beauregard, which was the overt act which commenced the four years of terrible civil war that only ended with the final and complete triumph of our arms and the surrender at Appomattox.

This report, together with a mass of letters, correspondence, etc., between Captain Foster, Major Anderson, John B. Floyd, the then Secretary of War, S. Cooper, Adjutant-General U. S. A., Colonel De Russey, Commanding Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., Horatio G. Wright, captain of engineers in charge of engineering department, Washington, and others, may be found in Series 1, Vol. 1, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, published pursuant to Act of Congress, approved June 11, 1880. It seems proper to insert here from this report, Foster's statement of the armament of Fort Sumter, and also of the guns, batteries, etc., which the rebels had set up to use against Fort Sumter.

REBEL ARMAMENT.

On Morris Island: Breaching Battery No. 1—two 42-pounders; one 12-pounder, Blakely rifled gun.

Morton Battery (next to No. 7)—four 10-inch mortars.

Breaching Battery No. 2 (Iron Clad Battery)—three 8-inch Columbiads.

Mortar Battery (next to No. 2)—three 10-inch mortars.

On James' Island: Battery at Fort Johnson—three 24-pounders (only one of them being on Fort Sumter).

Mortar Battery, south of Fort Johnson—four 10-inch mortars.

On Sullivan's Island: Iron Clad (Floating) Battery—four 42-pounders.

Columbiad Battery, No. 1—one 9-inch Dahlgren gun.

Columbiad Battery, No. 2—four 8-inch Columbiads.

Mortar Battery, west of Ft. Moultrie—three 10-inch mortars.

Mortar Battery, on parade in rear of Ft. Moultrie—two 10-inch mortars.

Fort Moultrie—three 8-inch Columbiads. Two 8-inch S. C. Howitzers.

Five 32-pounders, four 24-pounders.

At Mount Pleasant—one 10-inch mortar.

Total, firing on Fort Sumter, thirty guns, seventeen mortars.

The armament of Fort Sumter was as follows :

Barbette tier: Right Flank—one 10-inch Columbiad, four 8-inch Columbiads, four 42-pounders.

Right Face—none.

Left Face—three 8-inch Sea-coast Howitzers, one 32-pounder.

Left Flank—one 10-inch Columbiad, two 8-inch Columbiads, two 42-pounders.

Gorge—one 8-inch Sea-coast Howitzer, two 32-pounders, six 24-pounders.

Total in Barbette, twenty-seven guns.

Casemate tier: Right Flank—one 42 pounder, four 32-pounders.

Right Face—three 42-pounders.

Left Face—ten 32-pounders.

Left Flank—five 32-pounders.

Gorge—two 32-pounders.

Total in casemate, twenty-one guns.

Total available in both tiers, forty-eight guns.

After the bombardment and surrender of Sumter, Foster, from New York, as stated above, sent to General Totten, Chief Engineer U. S. Army, Washington, D. C., the record of service up to April 13, when Fort Sumter surrendered.

For a short period after the surrender of Fort Sumter Major Foster was on duty at Washington, D. C., and Sandy

Hook, N. J. He was appointed, October 23, 1861, brigadier-general, U. S. Volunteers, when he entered upon his brilliant career in the Civil War.

With the Burnside North Carolina expedition he won the brevet, February 8, 1862, of lieutenant-colonel, U. S. A., for gallant service and capture of Roanoke Island, N. C., and March 12, 1862, the brevet of colonel, U. S. A., for gallant and meritorious service in the capture of Newberne, N. C. July 1, 1862, General Foster with the Eighteenth Army Corps was placed in command of the Department of North Carolina. (Here several New Hampshire regiments came under his command). In this command he organized and conducted several expeditions, the principal one being for the destruction of the Goldsborough railroad bridge, in which he had to fight four battles in as many days.

In the early part of the year 1863, Foster was actively engaged in resisting the rebel General Hill, who having been repulsed at Newberne made vigorous efforts to capture Little Washington, an important post commanding the passage from Tau to Pamlico river, where Foster with a small garrison was shut up. An attempt was made by land to relieve the Union position, but it failed; all was suspense, and for many days continued so.

At last, on the afternoon of April 10, 1863, with only a forlorn hope for success—the river had been so thoroughly fortified and obstructed by the enemy—to save the garrison from starvation, a steamer was fitted out and left Newberne with supplies of food and a regiment of stout hearts. With much hazard and some loss of life the boat passed the batteries and succeeded in landing its freight. With food, the position being a strong one, the Union troops were able to hold out, but General Foster desired to do more—defeat his besiegers.

Becoming tired of the futile efforts of his subordinates to bring troops to his assistance, he determined to return by the same boat that had brought his command relief in food, and he started on this forlorn hope, the issue of which was extremely doubtful, on the afternoon of April 14, 1863.

On arriving at the rebel batteries they opened on the steamer a furious fire; being within range, the infantry of the enemy poured in volley after volley. The craft was struck by six and twelve pound shot more than twenty times, besides being thoroughly bored by musket balls. A Minié bullet killed the pilot. Shot holes were made at the water line, but the leaks were stopped. One of the missiles passed through General Foster's own stateroom, cutting the mattress in twain, he being at that time in another part of the boat. Balls struck the machinery, but fortunately did not disable it, and the boat went on, reaching Newberne the same night. The presence of the commander of the department restored confidence, and he commenced work at once. A division of troops was soon in marching order, but the enemy knew their man too well; he had escaped from their anticipated capture of him, and they rapidly made haste to get away. Meanwhile General Foster received a commission as major-general, U. S. Vols., to rank from July 18, 1862.

Upon the return of General Foster from North Carolina, President Lincoln was so delighted with his skill, energy, and pluck, that our hero was assigned to a more important command than he had hitherto held, that of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, with headquarters at Fortress Monroe, from whence he made a daring reconnoissance by steamer up the James river, amidst exploding torpedoes.

In the summer of 1863, when Burnside was shut up in Knoxville, Tenn., by Longstreet's invading forces, General Foster was sent to his relief, with the intention of attacking the Confederates in the rear. The movement becoming known to Longstreet, and he being fearful for the safety of his command, threatened in front and rear, raised the siege of Knoxville after a severe repulse at Fort Sanders, and began his retreat eastwardly.

When Burnside was relieved of the command of the army and Department of the Ohio, Foster was assigned thereto, Dec. 12, 1863, but was obliged to ask relief and relinquish it Feb. 9, 1864, in consequence of severe injuries received from the fall of his horse. As soon as he had somewhat recovered,

he was assigned, May 26, 1864, to command the Department of the South, with headquarters at Hilton Head.

At this time a vigorous blockade was maintained by our government. Admiral Dupont had been commanding the South American blockading squadron, but on July 6, 1863, Admiral John A. Dahlgren, the distinguished inventor of the famous Dahlgren guns, relieved Admiral Dupont and let fly his flag on the *Wabash*.

On May 26, 1864, the following entry was made by Admiral Dahlgren in his private journal: "Off Charleston. The new military commander, General Foster, arrived. Sent an aide with my compliments." On the next day this record from the same book is made: "May 27. In the afternoon went ashore to see General Foster."

Courtesies were exchanged by the commanding officers of the army and navy, as shown in the private journal of Admiral Dahlgren of the year 1864, above mentioned. Besides the foregoing extracts, Admiral Dahlgren made, under May 28th, the following: "General Foster visited me in the afternoon." May 30th, the same admiral made the following entry: "General Foster sent me despatches from General Gordon at Jacksonville. Gave an account of his expedition up the river which ended in the loss of the *Columbine*. I sent down the *Hale*."

From this time until General Foster—whose old wound demanded attention at the North—was relieved from his command, General Foster and Admiral Dahlgren, who had learned mutual respect for sterling qualities, not only of patriotism but also of intellect, of courage, and all those qualities of head and of heart that go to make up genius, held each other in high esteem, and the close students of those stirring times are able to learn but very little, if any, of the jealousies that existed both prior and subsequent to the time that General Foster held command of the Department of the South.

Amongst all the thrilling and stirring attempts to recapture Fort Sumter, none promised better results than the attacks planned by Foster during the summer of 1864 by means of powder boats or rafts. General Butler subsequently attempted

to use the same means of aggression and attack during his famous demonstrations on Fort Fisher, but "The best laid schemes o' mice and men gang aft agley," and the same results by these means attended the efforts of both these great generals—failure.

It is impossible in the limits of this biographical sketch to give in detail the history of the events that crowded each other during General Foster's command of the Department of the South between May, 1864, and the succeeding February. Suffice it to say that Foster during all this time not only did his duty faithfully, but won encomiums from every one, and when he turned over his command of the Department of the South, he stood very high not only with all fair-minded men in the country, but also in the confidence and esteem of President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton, and the others who knew him best, as well personally as for his patriotism and devotion.

His wounds sustained while in the line of duty both in the Mexican War and in the War of the Rebellion, from which he suffered intensely, doubtless prevented any very brilliant and startling blows, but he was faithful in the performance of every duty.

When it became known that Sherman was marching through Georgia, Foster opened communications with him by way of the Ossabaw and Warsaw Sounds, and also assisted him by making demonstrations on Pocotaligo, and other points along the line of railway from Savannah to Charleston. So well was this coöperation carried out that the first reliable news of the success of General Sherman's march from Atlanta to the sea, was sent to Washington from General Foster's command, and on Dec. 22, 1864, he opened up communication with Savannah by water. After General Sherman's famous march from Atlanta to the sea, General Foster was assigned to duty in Florida, where he was successfully engaged during the final operation of the Federal arms, which ended in the collapse of the Rebellion and the surrender by General Lee at Appomattox.

Soon after this surrender, the new Department of Florida was organized, and embraced within its limits the whole

state of Florida in the military division of the gulf. General Foster was assigned to command this department, the general headquarters being at Tallahassee, the capital of the state. He and his troops thereby became subject to the orders of General Sheridan. In this new command he continued active, intelligent, and impartial, and closed his military career in the War of the Rebellion in the complete enjoyment of the esteem of his associates, the respect of his subordinates, and in the full confidence of the people and the Government of the United States.

General Foster stood very high in the estimation of Generals Sherman and Sheridan, both of whom recommended him for promotion at the close of the war.

The compiler has seen letters addressed to the secretary of war, and to General Grant, written in behalf of General Foster, and recommending him in the very strongest terms for promotion to high rank in the army. It would seem that letters written by such men as Daniel Clark, Aaron H. Cragin, United States senators at the time they wrote, E. H. Rollins, J. W. Patterson, and Gilman Marston, members of congress, Henry Wilson, United States senator, Gov. William Marvin of Florida, also United States senator, and many other distinguished men of influence would have gained for Foster such rank as was desired for him in the regular army, but the president of the United States, after the close of the war, did not promote him to be a full major-general, U. S. A., or a full brigadier-general, U. S. A., but did not refuse to confer on him the rank of *brevet* major-general, U. S. A.

In a letter written to General Foster under date of July 17, 1866, by the father of the present governor of New Hampshire, who was then in congress, Hon. E. H. Rollins, he used the following words regarding the then president of the United States: "His present conduct indicates that he would not, in the selection of officers, be influenced by his original political friends, and I am in doubt as to the aid our congressional delegation might be able to give you in the line of promotion you desire, and which you deserve." *Ex uno omnes disce.*

He of whom the distinguished congressman just quoted

wrote, was the constitutional president of the United States. Let us, therefore, quote the famous lines of Matthew Prior, and leave him :

Be to his virtues very kind,
Be to his faults a little blind.

General Foster was also regarded very highly by Edwin M. Stanton, the famous secretary of war. This statement is evidenced by letters which the writer has seen, in one of which the distinguished secretary used the following words to Governor Marvin of Florida, in the winter of 1865-66: "I have great confidence in the administrative ability of General Foster."

The marked ability of General Foster was recognized abroad as well as at home. His reputation was international. In the year 1868 he published a pamphlet on submarine blasting. This monograph was recognized throughout the civilized world, and was considered to be authority on that subject. In the year 1869, Gen. Sir John F. Burgoyne, field marshal of the British army, sent a letter to Brevet Major-General John Newton, who ranked General Foster in the Corps of Engineers, and requested that a copy of Foster's book on submarine blasting should be sent to him. General Burgoyne afterward wrote a letter to General Foster thanking him for the book which he had sent through General Newton. This letter, which the compiler has seen, was dated London, September 20, 1869.

General Foster was made president of the Railroad Commission when the project was planned to build a railway through the government land at and near West Point. He was also a member of the Sutro Tunnel Commission. These, together with numerous other high positions that he held, tend to show that he was regarded as a superior "all round man."

During his long service of thirty-two years in the United States army, our hero received from the president no less than sixteen commissions. The following is a list of such commissions with the date and rank conferred by each :

On July 1, 1842, John G. Foster was a cadet in the United States Military Academy, to July 1, 1846. Subsequently he received the following commissions :

July 1, 1846, brevet second lieutenant, U. S. A.

August 20, 1847, brevet first lieutenant, U. S. A., for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battles of Contreras and Cherubusco, Mexico.

September 8, 1847, brevet captain, U. S. A., for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Molino del Rey, Mexico.

May 24, 1848, second lieutenant Corps of Engineers, U. S. A.

April 1, 1854, first lieutenant Corps of Engineers, U. S. A.

July 1, 1860, captain Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., for fourteen years' continuous service.

December 26, 1860, brevet major, U. S. A., for the distinguished part taken by him in the transfer of the garrison of Fort Moultrie, to Fort Sumter, Charleston Harbor, S. C.

May 14, 1861, major Eleventh U. S. Infantry, declined.

October 23, 1861, brigadier-general U. S. Volunteers.

February 8, 1862, brevet lieutenant-colonel, U. S. A., for gallant and meritorious service in the capture of Roanoke Island, N. C.

March 12, 1862, brevet colonel, U. S. A., for gallant and meritorious services in the capture of Newberne, N. C.

July 18, 1862, major-general U. S. Volunteers.

March 3, 1863, major Corps of Engineers, U. S. A.

March 13, 1865, brevet brigadier-general, U. S. A., for gallant and meritorious services in the capture of Savannah, Ga.

March 13, 1865, brevet major-general, U. S. A., for gallant and meritorious services in the field during the Rebellion.

March 7, 1867, lieutenant-colonel Corps of Engineers, U. S. A.

On the first day of September, 1866, he was mustered out of the volunteer service.

On the 30th day of August, 1866, by order of the secretary of war, he was assigned to duty in accordance with his brevet rank of major-general, U. S. A.

General Foster was a man of very commanding presence, possessed of a superior mind and great executive ability, was ardent and energetic in the performance of duty, had undaunted courage and unswerving loyalty. By nature he was genial and

sympathetic, manifested cordiality and affection to his companions, was an admirable *raconteur* with an almost exhaustless store of anecdote and story, and by his family and intimates was greatly beloved.

Following may be found the military history of General Foster in detail:

Entered as cadet U. S. Military Academy, West Point, July 1, 1842, from which he was graduated after a full course of four years, on July 1, 1846.

Served as follows: Assistant engineer in the engineer bureau at Washington, D. C., 1846; in the war with Mexico, 1847-48, attached to the company of sappers, miners, and pontoniers; was engaged in the siege of Vera Cruz, March 9-29, 1847; the battle of Cerra Gordo, April 17-18, 1847; battle of Contreras, Aug. 19-20, 1847; battle of Cherubusco, Aug. 20, 1847; battle of Molino del Rey, Sept. 8, 1847, where he was severely wounded; on sick leave of absence, disabled by wounds, 1847-48; assistant engineer in building Fort Carroll, Patapsco river, Md., 1848-52; at coast survey office, Washington, D. C., March 20, 1852, to April 26, 1854; assistant engineer in building Fort Carroll, Md., 1854; at the military academy as principal assistant, professor of engineering, Jan. 11, 1855, to June 27, 1857; as superintending engineer of the survey of the site of fort at Willetts Point, L. I., N. Y., 1857; of preliminary operations for building fort at Sandy Hook, N. J., 1857-58; of building Fort Sumter and repairs of Fort Moultrie, Charleston harbor, S. C., 1858-61; also in charge of forts Macon and Caswell, N. C., 1858-61; and also of construction of Fort Carroll, Md., 1859-60.

He served in the Rebellion of the seceding states, 1861-66, as follows: As chief engineer of the fortifications of Charleston harbor, S. C., being engaged in strengthening the works in anticipation of attack upon them, transporting the garrison of Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, Dec. 26, 1860, and in defence of Sumter, Dec. 27, 1860, to April 14, 1861, including its bombardment, April 12-14, 1861, when it was surrendered and evacuated; as assistant engineer in the engineer bureau at Washington, D. C., April 22 to May 5, 1861; as

superintending engineer of the construction* of Sandy Hook fort, N. J., May 11 to Nov. 22, 1861; in command of troops (Brig.-Gen. U. S. Vols.) at Annapolis, Md., Nov. 25 to Dec. 20, 1861; on General Burnside's North Carolina expedition, commanding brigade, Dec. 20, 1861, to July 1, 1862, being engaged in the capture of Roanoke Island, with its garrison and armament, Feb. 8, 1862, capture of Newberne, March 14, 1862, and bombardment of Fort Macon, which capitulated April 26, 1862; in command of the Department of North Carolina, July 1, 1862, to July 13, 1863 (his force constituting the 18th Army Corps; Dec. 24, 1862, he was commissioned a major-general, U. S. Volunteers,¹ to rank from July 18, 1862), during which time he successfully conducted the expedition to burn the railroad bridge, December, 1862, being engaged in the Battle of South West Creek, December 14, 1862; combat of Kingston, Dec. 15, 1862; action of Whitehall, Dec. 17, 1862; Battle of Goldsborough Bridge, Dec. 18, 1862; repulse of the Rebel attack on Newberne, March 14, 1863; and defense of Washington, N. C., March 29 to April 16, 1863, when the siege was raised; in command of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, July 15 to Nov. 13, 1863, and of the Army and Department of the Ohio, Dec. 12, 1863, to Feb. 9, 1864, which he was obliged to relinquish in consequence of severe injuries received from the fall of his horse, Dec. 23, 1864; on sick leave or waiting orders, at Baltimore, Md., Feb. 9 to May 5, 1864; in command of the Department of the South, May 26, 1864, to Feb. 11, 1865; in command of the Department of Florida, Aug. 7, 1865, to Dec. 5, 1866.

Mustered out of volunteer service, Sept. 1, 1866.

¹ Special Orders No. 439.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, Sept. 3, 1866.

(Extract.)

5. The telegraphic orders from this office dated Aug. 30, 1866, assigning to duty according to their brevet rank the following named officers, are hereby confirmed:
Brevet Major-General John G. Foster, Major Corps of Engineers.

By order of the Secretary of the War,

E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

Official:

E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

Subsequently he served in the Regular Army as follows: On temporary duty in the engineer bureau at Washington, D. C., January, 1867, to May 10, 1867; as superintending engineer of the defenses of Portsmouth, N. H., and works for the preservation and improvement of Boston harbor (except sea-walls of Great Brewster, Deer, and Lovell's islands), Mass., May 10, 1867, to May 25, 1871; of improvement of Provincetown harbor, Mass., June, 1868, to May 25, 1871; of surveys of Gloucester, Wellfleet, and Wareham harbors, Mass., July, 1870, to May 14, 1871; and of improvement of Taunton and Merrimack rivers, and Hyannis and Plymouth harbors, Mass., July, 1870, to May 14, 1871; as assistant to the chief of engineers at Washington, D. C., May 14, 1871, to June 11, 1874; as superintending engineer of the improvement of Merrimack river and harbors of Gloucester, Salem, Boston, Duxbury, Plymouth, Wellfleet, and Provincetown, Mass., June 11 to Aug. 24, 1874; of repairs and construction of the sea-walls of Great Brewster, Deer, and Lovell's islands, June 11 to Aug. 24, 1874, and of survey of Hingham harbor, Mass., July to August, 1874, and as member of board on wreck of steamer *Scotland* in New York harbor, March 26 to July 31, 1868; on improvement of Oswego harbor, N. Y., July, 1868; on location of West Shore R. R. through public lands at West Point, N. Y., 1870; on improvement of Erie harbor, Pa., October, 1870; on Sutro tunnel, Nevada, April 27, 1871, to Jan. 6, 1872; on locks of Louisville and Portland canal, December, 1871; on improvement of Cape Fear river, May 14, 1872; and on harbor of refuge on Lake Erie, July, 1872.

He died Sept. 2, 1874, at Nashua, N. H., aged 51.

When he was borne to the grave at his Nashua home, business was suspended, thousands of sorrowing friends filled the streets, mourning badges floated from public and private buildings, and the air was filled with the sound of tolling bells, minute guns, and muffled drums.

General Foster, in honor of whom the Post in the Grand Army of the Republic in the city of Nashua was named, was buried at the old cemetery in Nashua with military honors.

On the 5th day of September, 1874, to his parent earth in

the old cemetery of Nashua, N. H., was bequeathed the body of John G. Foster. His remains were followed to the grave by many officers of the army and other distinguished friends.

A comrade of General Foster's in the Mexican War, Col. Thomas P. Pierce, marshaled the civic cortege, and eight general officers, comrades in the War of the Rebellion, including Generals Burnside and Gordon, guarded the hearse, while John G. Foster Post, G. A. R., Col. George Bowers, commander,—another Nashua comrade of the General's in the Mexican War,—and a detachment of the U. S. Regulars escorted the great procession to the grave in the old Nashua cemetery.

A beautiful white marble monument, suitably inscribed, was erected to his memory by his wife soon after the burial, in the lot where his mortal remains now repose.

A bronze memorial urn has been placed near the head of General Foster's grave by his friends and comrades in arms, the members of John G. Foster Post, No. 7, Department of New Hampshire, Grand Army of the Republic, and the urn is kept filled with fresh flowers.

Near by in the same cemetery also rests all that is mortal of Brevet Brig.-Gen. Aaron F. Stevens, Col. 13th N. H. Vols., who was General Foster's townsman and friend.

In this cemetery also repose the remains of many other men who were distinguished in their day and generation as statesmen and soldiers in every war waged by the United States from the War of the Revolution to the present time. The body of Charles G. Atherton, a distinguished senator of the United States, by whose influence General Foster was sent to West Point, was buried in this cemetery and lies near the grave of our hero.

General Foster was twice married; first, at Baltimore, Md., Jan. 21, 1851, by the Most Rev. Archbishop Eccleston, married to Mary L. Moale, daughter of Col. Samuel Moale of Baltimore, who died in New York, June 6, 1871; second, in Washington, Jan. 9, 1872, at St. Matthew's church, to Nannie Davis, daughter of George M. Davis. One daughter was born to him by his first wife, Annie M., born in Baltimore, Md., Nov. 3, 1851, who married Lieut. Henry Seton, U. S. A., at the cathe-

dral in Boston, April 26, 1870. Mrs. Seton has two sons. Her husband now (May, 1899) is a major in the Regular Army of the United States, and is (12th Infantry) in the service in the Philippine Islands.

Through his long military service, General Foster's career was marked by a faithful, devoted, and intelligent discharge of duty by personal gallantry, by honest administration, and by a firmness which was not weakened by his great kindness of heart.

To the discharge of his important functions, he brought eminent personal qualifications, military decision with courtesy, authority with kindness, knowledge with consideration, unflinching integrity and unflinching firmness, fidelity to every trust, and loyalty to his country, and with a restless energy and untiring industry that never left anything unfinished, or to chance.

Though dead, the record of his fame is resplendent with noble deeds well done, and no name on the army register of the United States stands fairer or higher for the personal qualities that command universal respect, honor, affection, and love of mankind. He was not a carpet knight, or one who shirked the bugle call to battle. As was said of Admiral Porter, "he was animated by a detestation of all forms of oppression, whether by governments or peoples." This was in him a consuming passion. His life was filled with exciting events, but it was not until the Civil War that there came to him the opportunity for which he was fitted by lifelong training.

We have ready applause for brilliant deeds and are not slow to admire genius; and yet, that which most commands our profound and abiding reverence is not the flash of some brilliant achievement, but the steady, strong progress of noble character.

This is the kind of power with which the memory of General Foster comes to us to-day. He was great in war and equally so in peace. There are no private discounts to reduce the excellency and glory of his public record.

Foster may be accepted and proclaimed as a typical American soldier, "tempering fire with prudence, and uniting vigor with imperturbability." In the decisive moment of attack, no

columns were more resistless than those that he directed, and in the terrible crisis of a losing day, no front was firmer and more deadly than that which he presented to a rashly exulting foe. His modesty, his valor, his generosity, his soldierly frankness, his kindly fraternal ways with his brother officers, his fatherly interest for his men, his unflinching loyalty, so endeared him to every one who knew his sterling qualities, that all could unite and say, "This was a man, the world was better for his having lived."

The thanks of the Society were presented to the speaker, and a copy of the address requested for preservation.

At 3:30 p. m., on motion of Rev. N. F. Carter, the Society adjourned.

JOHN C. ORDWAY,
Recording Secretary.

NECROLOGY.

BRADBURY LONGFELLOW CILLEY.

BRADBURY L. CILLEY, son of Joseph Longfellow and Lavina B. Cilley, was born in Nottingham, Sept. 6, 1838. He was a direct descendant of Gen. Joseph Cilley of the Revolution, and Col. Joseph Cilley, who served in the War of 1812 and was senator in congress. Other members of the family came to eminence in public life.

Mr. Cilley's preparatory studies were at Phillips Exeter academy, graduating in 1854, and from Harvard college in 1858. After leaving college he taught briefly at the Albany academy, but in December of the same year he was chosen professor of ancient languages in Phillips Exeter academy, and assumed the duties of that position Feb. 14, 1859, and so continued till his death from heart troubles, March 31, 1899. He served through three principalships, and portions of two more, and witnessed the growth of the school from 100 pupils to nearly 350, and the erection of all the buildings except Abbott hall. All but two of the present board of trustees, and four members of the faculty, were his pupils. Only Principals Abbott and Soule, and Rev. A. P. Peabody, D. D., late president of the board of trustees, have been as long identified with its interests. In the upbuilding and prosperity of the school his services were invaluable.

As a citizen he was public spirited and wielded a wide influence. As a member of Phillips parish he was untiring in his endeavors to advance its material interests, and had largely the oversight in the erection of the new church. He served for a time as president of the Pascataqua Congregational club, and took great interest in the society of the Cincinnati and other Revolutionary and Colonial orders. He was



Brodway L. Colley



Moody Currier

elected a member of the New Hampshire Historical Society, June 11, 1873.

He married Amanda Currier Morris, daughter of Capt. John and Harriet Amanda (Currier) Morris, of Dover, Aug. 3, 1864, who survives him, as do also a son and two daughters.

N. F. C.

MOODY CURRIER.

MOODY CURRIER, the forty-second governor of New Hampshire, was born at Boscawen, N. H., April 22, 1806. He was the son of Rhoda Putney and Moody Currier.

He fitted for college at Hopkinton academy and graduated from Dartmouth college in 1834, with high honors, delivering the Greek oration. After graduation he taught in Concord for a time and was editor jointly with Hon. Asa Fowler of the *New Hampshire Gazette*. He was principal of Hopkinton academy for a year and of the high school at Lowell, Mass., 1836-41. In 1841 he entered upon the practice of law at Manchester, N. H., as partner with Hon. George W. Morrison. In 1842 he purchased an interest in the *Manchester Democrat*, and for a year devoted part of his time to editorial work.

In 1848 the Amoskeag bank was incorporated and Mr. Currier became its cashier. He afterwards organized the Amoskeag Savings bank and the Amoskeag National bank, becoming president of both these institutions. He also organized the People's Savings bank.

He was largely interested in other business enterprises. He was a director of the Manchester mills, a director and president of the Manchester Gaslight Company; was treasurer of the Concord & Portsmouth R. R., treasurer of the Concord R. R. in 1871 and 1872, president of the Eastern R. R. in New Hampshire, director of the Blodget Edge Tool Company, president and treasurer of the Amoskeag Axe Company, and treasurer of the N. E. Loan Company. He was a director and member of the Finance Committee of the New Hampshire Fire Insurance Company.

In 1843 he was clerk of the state senate; in 1856-57 a

member of the senate, and its president in the latter year. In 1860 and 1861 he was a member of the Governor's Council. In 1884 he was elected governor of the state, his inauguration taking place in June, 1885. He held the office until 1887.

He received the degree of LL. D. from Dartmouth college and also from another college.

He published a volume of poems for private circulation in 1880. He was thrice married, his first wife being Lucretia C. Dustin, of Bow; his second, Mary W. Kidder, of Manchester; and his third, Hannah A. Slade, of Thetford, Vt., who is now living.

He had two children, a daughter, Lucretia D., who died in 1859, and a son who died in infancy.

Governor Currier's death occurred Aug. 23, 1898.

The long list of New Hampshire's successful and eminent men contains few, if any, names that are entitled to precedence over that of ex-Gov. Moody Currier, and there is certainly no other whose career illustrates more strikingly the rewards that are open to ability, integrity, industry, and perseverance.

Born in poverty and obscurity, obliged from childhood to support himself by manual labor upon a farm, and to obtain what primary education he had from a few stray books by the light of the chimney fire, at the close of his day's labor, which was from sunrise until dark, without material assistance or even encouragement from relatives or friends, with no money except the few dollars he could earn, and no resources except what were entirely within himself, he determined to secure a college training, fit himself for a profession, and win his way by hard work to a high and honorable place among the great men of his state.

Long before he passed away he had succeeded in everything he undertook. He was one of New Hampshire's greatest scholars, and one of her ablest financiers. He held the highest political honors in the gift of her people. He acquired a fortune and contributed largely to the acquirement of a competency by others. He commanded the respect of the community in which he lived and the confidence of all who

were associated with him. His home reflected his large means, great learning, and cultivated tastes. His family idolized him, and in his declining years ministered to him with the greatest watchfulness and tenderest care.

For more than eighty years his books were the constant companions of his leisure hours. He never read merely for amusement, but always for instruction. Probably in all his life he did not read ten works of fiction. He read slowly, passing nothing which he did not understand, and when once he had finished a volume he never forgot what it contained.

His knowledge of the Bible surpassed that of almost any New Hampshire man of his time. He could read and write several languages, ancient and modern, and was a master of pure English. He knew science, art, and literature; was versed in philosophy, astronomy, geology, botany, and natural history, and was a mathematician of a high order. The geography of the world was in his mind, and the world's history was familiar to him.

He was always informed upon current events, and new inventions were the subjects of his constant study. He studied social, moral, theological, industrial, and political problems, and was always able to discuss them intelligently. His mind was a storehouse of rich and varied knowledge upon nearly every subject. As a financier he had no superior in the state. In his management of investments his judgment was seldom at fault. The moneyed institutions which he founded prospered from the first and grew steadily in size and strength until they stood unshaken monuments to his courage, wisdom, prudence, and skill in the face of panics, depressions, and all other adversities.

He was a man of very decided opinions and therefore a strong partisan. From the birth of the Republican party he was one of its most courageous leaders, wisest counselors, and most liberal contributors. He held many public positions and displayed in all of them the same ability which was so conspicuous in his private affairs.

During the War of the Rebellion he was a member of the governor's council, and in this position his financial and

executive ability contributed immensely to the advantage of the state and nation. Probably New Hampshire was more indebted to him than to any other man for her honorable record in providing money and men in response to the repeated calls of the government.

As governor of the state he won a national reputation. His state papers are the classics of our official literature, and all his acts were such as to steadily strengthen him in public confidence and esteem.

He was not an effusive or demonstrative man. His self-control was perfect at all times and under all circumstances. He was always calm, deliberate, and quiet. He never contributed to sensations. He was an ardent lover of nature, and a worshiper of her truth and beauty. His companionship was delightful and helpful to all who appreciated solid worth and enjoyed sound instruction.

He has left to his family and friends a record which is to them a precious legacy and to all an inspiration.

He became a member of the New Hampshire Historical Society, June 14, 1882.

SAMUEL SPARHAWK KIMBALL.

SAMUEL SPARHAWK KIMBALL, one of the most prominent and highly esteemed citizens of Concord, died at his home in that city, May 12, 1899, aged seventy-four years, two months, and eleven days.

He was one of five children, and the second son of Samuel Ayer Kimball, for many years a prominent lawyer of Concord, and Eliza (Hazen) Kimball of New Brunswick, and was born in Concord, March 1, 1825. He was educated in the public and private schools of his native town and at the Bradford, Mass., academy, of which Benjamin Greenleaf, a celebrated mathematician of that period, was principal. Early manifesting a liking and a talent for business pursuits, he went in 1844 to Van Buren, Ark., where he engaged in business until 1852. The latter year he married Hannah Mason of Hubbardston,



SAMUEL S. KIMBALL.

Mass., and removed to Dardanelle, Ark., and with his brother-in-law, the late C. M. Murdock, engaged in trade. They soon built up a successful and profitable business, which was carried on until 1859, when the partnership was dissolved and Mr. Kimball continued the business alone. With the breaking out of the War of the Rebellion he disposed of his interests in that section of the country and not long afterwards returned to his native city. In 1877 he began the erection of a fine house on the site of the homestead of his father, which had been in the possession of the Kimball family for more than a century. The house was finished in 1882, and he resided there till his death.

On his return to Concord, Mr. Kimball was soon called upon to assume important and useful positions, for which his business training peculiarly fitted him. His advice was frequently sought in important matters, and his opinions always had great weight. He was one of the cemetery committee and a member of the board of water commissioners from 1875 to 1891, when he resigned on account of failing health. He was a member of the board of trustees of the Rolfe and Rumford asylum for orphan children from 1878 to his death, and for many years its treasurer. He was president of the New Hampshire Savings bank from 1874 to 1895, during which time the deposits of the bank were very largely increased. He was a director of the two cotton mills in Penacook, and president of the Boscawen mill from its organization to his death. He was prominently identified with the railroad interests of the state, being a director of the Concord & Montreal Railroad and of the Boston, Concord & Montreal Railroad, and president of the latter.

Mr. Kimball was a man of strict integrity, and was highly esteemed, not only by his associates in business, but by all who knew him.

He became a member of this Society June 9, 1875, and was its treasurer from 1875 to 1885.

LEONARD WOOD PEADODY.

DR. LEONARD W. PEABODY, son of Ammi and Sarah (Johnson) Peabody, who died in Henniker, Jan. 15, 1899, was born in Newport, N. H., Sept. 13, 1817.

He received his education at Kimball Union academy and the Concord Literary Institute. He studied medicine with Drs. Timothy Haynes of Concord and John L. Swett of Newport, and graduated from the Woodstock (Vt.) Medical college in 1843. He began the practice of his profession in Epsom, where he was for a time also postmaster, but in 1871 removed to Henniker, where he continued to reside till his death. There he early identified himself with the Congregational church, and was ever after an active and useful member. He also took a deep interest in the cause of temperance. As a man and a citizen he was uncompromising in his integrity, public spirited, and ready to aid in every endeavor to promote the best interests of the community.

During the latter part of his life he became greatly interested in antiquarian and historical matters, attended the meetings of the Eocle Society whenever possible, and seemed to receive new inspiration from these associations. He was elected a member of this Society June 10, 1874.

In his chosen profession he stood manfully for the right, and amidst all its anxieties and perplexities he was ever honest and conscientious. May his life and example stimulate the young to higher and nobler purposes, and create a higher regard for those substantial principles which form the basis for a true and successful life!

He married Louisa Kelley, daughter of Abner Bailey and Jerusha (Fowler) Kelley, Jan. 28, 1845. His wife died June 26, 1901.

G. C. B.



L. W. Peabody



Engraved by Samuel Green, Phil^a

Geo. A. Pillsbury

GEORGE ALFRED PILLSBURY.

GEORGE ALFRED PILLSBURY, the second son of John and Susanna Pillsbury, was born in Sutton, N. H., Aug. 29, 1816, and died in Minneapolis, Minn., July 17, 1898. He was of the sixth generation in descent from William Pillsbury, who came to this country from Essex county, England, in 1640.

Mr. Pillsbury received a good common school education. At the age of eighteen he went to Boston, and found employment for a year in a grocery and fruit store in Boylston market. He then returned to Sutton, and for several years was engaged in the manufacture of stoves and sheet-iron ware with his cousin, John C. Pillsbury. In February, 1840, he was a clerk in the country store of John H. Pearson in Warner, whose business he purchased in July following. He conducted this business till 1848, when he went to Boston and was employed in a wholesale dry goods store. From 1849 to 1851 he was again in business in Warner, and then removed to Concord. During his residence in Warner he was selectman, town treasurer, representative in the legislature in 1850-51, and postmaster from 1844 to 1849.

In 1851 he was made by the county convention one of the committee to select a site for a new jail and superintend the construction of it. In December, 1851, he was appointed purchasing agent of the Concord railroad, which was his chief occupation till 1875. He was one of the organizers of the First National bank in 1864, and its president from 1866 till his removal from the city in 1878. He was also president of the National Savings bank from 1867 to 1874. He served as alderman in 1873-74; representative in the legislature in 1871-72, and was one of a committee of three to appraise the real estate of the city in 1876. He was mayor in 1876-77. He was always prominent in all matters relating to public welfare, and contributed liberally to all benevolent and charitable objects. He was a member of the building committee of the high school in 1863; a trustee of the Centennial Home for the Aged, as well as of the New Hampshire Orphans' Home at Franklin. He gave the bell on the Board of Trade building

to the city, and with his son, Hon. Charles A. Pillsbury, the fine organ in the First Baptist meeting-house.

He removed to Minneapolis, Minn., in 1878, carrying with him numerous testimonials of esteem. He was a member of the milling firm of Charles A. Pillsbury & Co., but his activities were not confined to that business. He was mayor of Minneapolis in 1884-85. He was also president of the common council, of the board of trade, of the chamber of commerce, of the North-Western National bank, and of many other religious and social organizations, and a member of the school board and of the board of park commissioners.

He was a member of the Baptist church, and was always a liberal contributor to the various organizations connected with that denomination.

Mr. Pillsbury aided liberally the Colby academy at New London before he left the state, and gave two buildings in 1886 and 1889, at a cost of \$75,000, to the Pillsbury academy at Owatonna, Minn.

In 1891 he erected a soldiers' monument at Sutton, gave to the town of Warner a handsome building of brick and granite for a free library, and erected the ample and beautiful hospital in Concord known as the Margaret Pillsbury General Hospital, a memorial to his wife in the year of their golden wedding.

Mr. Pillsbury's life was full of activity in the service of his country and of his fellow-men. He has left a record which all may envy and few excel.

He was elected a member of this Society June 24, 1869.

HON. DEXTER RICHARDS.

The Hon. DEXTER RICHARDS, a member of the New Hampshire Historical Society since June 8, 1881, was the son of the late Captain Seth and Fanny Richards, and was born at Newport, N. H., on the 5th day of September, A. D. 1818. He was descended from an ancient English family who emigrated to this country, settling in Massachusetts, in the early part of the seventeenth century. His grandfather, Sylvanus Richards,



DEXTER RICHARDS.

who was the sixth in descent from the original settlers, removed with his family from Dedham, Mass., to Newport about the beginning of the nineteenth century and settled in the westerly part of the town, where he kept a wayside inn, and became the largest landholder and heaviest taxpayer in the town. Dexter Richards had the educational advantages afforded by the public schools of the town, and some terms at the academy in Ludlow, Vermont. He early engaged in the mercantile business in partnership with his father, whose success he shared, but later, in the same connection, became the owner of the Sugar River mills.

On the retirement of the elder Richards, Dexter, his son, prosecuted the business, for a time in partnership with his brother-in-law, the late Perley S. Coffin, but finally became the sole owner. His business from that time was attended with great success, enhanced much by the demand for manufactured goods occasioned by the War of the Rebellion; and he soon became the most wealthy citizen of the town, and finally of the county. He early attained prominence and decided influence in the affairs of the town, and took a deep interest in whatever pertained to its prosperity. He held the office of town clerk, and was for some years chairman of the board of selectmen, serving to the entire acceptance of the people. In the years 1865, 1866, and 1870, and again in 1895, he represented the town in the General Court. In 1871 and 1872 he was a member of the executive council of the state, and in 1887 was a member of the state senate. In all these public positions Mr. Richards devoted himself to the performance of their responsible duties in such manner as to render him conspicuous for his clear views and sound judgment touching all matters involving the public interest and welfare, which, together with unquestioned rectitude of purpose, gave him an influence in both branches of the legislative body which if equalled, certainly was not exceeded by any among his associates. In 1876 he was chosen a delegate from his town to the convention for revising the constitution of the state, and was an acknowledged useful member of that body.

In 1872 Mr. Richards was a delegate in the national con-

vention which nominated General Grant for the presidency, and again in that which put in nomination President Hayes.

Besides these honorable positions in the politics of the state, Mr. Richards held many others which identified him with its business and its social and charitable interests. He was a director in the Northern, N. H., and several other railroads of the state, and a trustee of the State Asylum for the Insane, and the Orphans' Home, each for many years, and up to the time of his decease. Of the latter of these institutions he was one of the founders, contributing largely to the fund raised for its endowment.

He became early interested in the cause of education, was a trustee of the Kimball Union academy at Meriden, contributed liberally to its support, and erected for it the building known as the Dexter Richards hall. He endowed a scholarship at Dartmouth college, and has otherwise contributed to the success and prosperity of that renowned institution of learning of our state.

To his native town of Newport, in its business, its industries, and its educational, its religious, and its social interests, Mr. Richards has been its greatest benefactor. He was the first president of the Newport Savings bank, which position he held for many years and until at his own desire he was succeeded by Mr. Henry G. Carleton, now also deceased. He became president of the First National bank of Newport on the retirement of the late Thomas W. Gilmore, and held the office until his decease. He was for twenty years superintendent of the Sabbath-school of the Congregational church, of which church he was a member from his early manhood. He contributed more largely than all others to the expense of erecting its present parsonage, and also to the extensive additions to its church edifice. He gave to the church its present fine organ, which he presented as a memorial of a beloved daughter, Miss Elizabeth A. Richards, then lately deceased. He was deeply attached to the church of his membership, and greatly devoted to its interests and prosperity, contributing largely each year to its financial needs.

In 1888 he founded and endowed the Richards Free Li-

brary, at an expense of \$55,000, and in 1887, at an expense of \$25,000, erected and presented to the town the Richards High school; two enduring monuments of his munificence and the elevated character of the objects to which he devoted his wealth. He was chiefly instrumental in securing the extension of the Concord & Claremont railroad from Bradford to Newport and Claremont Junction. It was also mainly through Mr. Richards's efforts that in July, 1886, the wires of the Western Union Telegraph were extended to Newport.

Besides greatly enlarging and increasing the manufacturing capabilities of the Sugar River mills, and erecting his fine residence on the main street of the village, Mr. Richards added to the attractive appearance and business facilities of the town the large and imposing structure known as the Richards block. In this building, besides several stores and offices, are the First National bank of Newport, the Newport Savings bank, and the Odd Fellows and Grand Army of the Republic halls. He also greatly enlarged and reconstructed the brick dwelling-house erected by the late William Cheney, and more lately owned by the late Dr. Thomas Sanborn, transforming it into a business building, to which he appropriately gave the name of the Cheney block. In this are the post-office and the Masonic hall.

On the 27th of January, 1847, Mr. Richards married Miss Louisa F. Hatch, a daughter of the late Dr. Mason Hatch, a prominent and leading physician of the town. She was also a member of the Congregational church, and a devout, sincere, and consistent Christian. During all the years of their long married life Mrs. Richards was in hearty sympathy with her husband in all his business enterprises and all his plans and purposes, and his great success in life was much promoted by her uniform and cordial coöperation.

On the 27th of January, 1897, Mr. and Mrs. Richards celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of their marriage, when the great and recognized usefulness of Mr. Richards's public life, and his well-known and acknowledged virtues, as well as the great respect entertained for Mrs. Richards, brought to their residence with congratulations many of the prominent people

of the state. In token of their recognition of the great benefactions to the town by Mr. and Mrs. Richards, and of the deep gratitude, love, and esteem in which they were held, the citizens of the town presented them with a most elegant and magnificent golden casket, richly embossed and highly ornamented, with a testimonial engrossed upon parchment, in which was expressed, besides their congratulations, their grateful recognition of their munificence to the town, and their great esteem for their virtues and the high purposes evinced in their lives.

A little before this time, realizing the influence of advancing years upon his physical powers, though in the full possession of the mental vigor of earlier life, Mr. Richards had to a large extent retired from the more active pursuits of business life, being succeeded therein by his two sons, Seth M. and William F. Richards.

In the early part of the year 1898, from the weight of years, Mr. Richards's health began gradually to decline, and, his strength almost imperceptibly ebbing away, on the 7th of August of that year, in the early evening of a Sabbath day, he surrendered to Him who gave it a life of great usefulness and dignified by great virtues and the accomplishment of worthy purposes.

Besides the two sons, Seth M. and William F., there were born to Mr. and Mrs. Richards two others, James D. and Eugene B., who died young; Elizabeth A., an estimable young lady, whom we have mentioned in another connection, who died May 5, 1868, at the age of twenty; and Josephine E., now the wife of Professor Moses C. Gile of Colorado college, located at Colorado Springs.

Mrs. Richards survived her husband until the 9th of January, 1891, when she also gave up a life made beautiful by long years of usefulness and the exemplification of every Christian virtue.

ARTHUR WILSON SILSBY.

ARTHUR W. SILSBY, judge of probate for Merrimack county, was born in Concord on the 28th of August, 1851, and in that city, with but little intermission, he passed his life. Handicapped from childhood with lameness which at times brought severe and fatiguing pain, he manfully overcame his infliction in his resolution to acquire an education. Attending the public school, including the high school, he entered Phillips academy, Exeter, hoping to prepare for college. At this juncture his health became impaired, his lameness increased, and following the advice of physicians, the hoped for college course was abandoned. He then set his thoughts on a professional career and entered the well-known law office of Minot, Tappan & Mugridge, remained the prescribed term, when he was duly admitted to the bar of his native county. About this time, 1877, the firm under whose direction he had pursued his studies had been dissolved, leaving Mr. Mugridge to conduct the business at the old office. With that generosity toward young lawyers so characteristic of Mr. Mugridge, that distinguished lawyer tendered to Mr. Silsby the valuable opportunity of desk room. In this connection there was no change until the death of Mr. Mugridge in 1884. While no partnership existed between the occupants of the office, the friendship of the older toward the younger was of inestimable benefit and profit to the latter. When the judge of probate, Nehemiah Butler, died, in 1883, there were several candidates for the succession but Mr. Silsby was not among them until circumstances conspired to make his candidacy an agreeable outcome of the situation: Accordingly in September, 1883, Gov. Samuel W. Hale appointed Arthur W. Silsby judge of probate. How carefully and conservatively Judge Silsby performed his duties in that highly responsible and exacting judicial office is well known to our people. The judge continued his general practice in a modest way, being satisfied with his rewards and contented with his lot in life. He shunned publicity and manifested but little ambition for political favors; his tastes were of the quiet order

for his disposition did not tend toward wide acquaintance-ship. In the affairs of the Historical Society he manifested a strong interest for history and particularly local and state annals and legends gave him great pleasure. Judge Silsby joined the Society September 30, 1887.

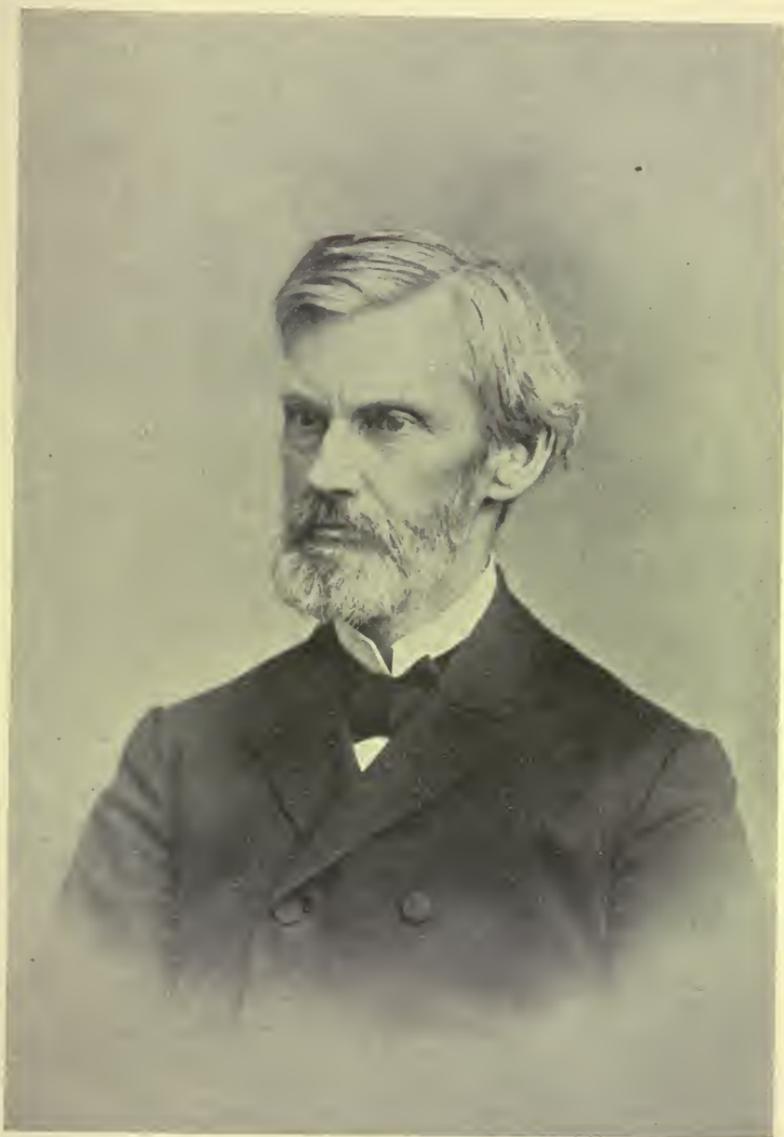
A few months preceding his decease, his friends did not fail to observe a pronounced and disquieting change in his health and appearance and as spring advanced his condition grew alarming. Yet with courage and determination beyond his powers, Judge Silsby held his terms of court to within a few weeks of the end. He seemed hopeful when unpractised eyes read the fatal issue, and he struggled with a hero's spirit for the boon of lengthened life. The end came on the 6th of May, 1899, and he lies among his kindred on the slopes of Blossom Hill cemetery.

C. R. C.

ISAAC WILLIAM SMITH.

ISAAC WILLIAM SMITH, the second child of Isaac and Mary (Clarke) Smith, was born in Hampstead, N. H., May 18, 1825, and died in Manchester, November 28, 1898.

He graduated from Dartmouth college in 1846; was admitted to the bar, July 9, 1850; settled down to the practice of his profession in Manchester, N. H., where he lived until his death. He was recognized by his fellow-citizens as a public-spirited man, able and trustworthy. He was elected president of the common council in 1851, city solicitor in 1854, and mayor in 1869. He served two years upon the board of school committee. In 1855 he was appointed judge of the police court of Manchester. In 1859 he was elected a representative to the state legislature, and re-elected in the following year. In 1862-63 he was a member of the state senate and chairman of its judiciary committee. Governor Straw appointed him associate justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of New Hampshire in 1874. In 1877 Governor Prescott appointed him a judge of the Supreme Court, which office he held until he reached the age limit in 1895. In his judicial capacity Judge Smith was noted for untiring industry and unswerving



ISAAC W. SMITH.

integrity. He was president of the Dartmouth Alumni Association, 1881-83, and Phi Beta Kappa Society, 1882-84.

In his time Judge Smith filled many responsible and honorable offices. He received the degree of LL. D. from Dartmouth college in 1889, and was elected a trustee of the college in 1885. He was a trustee of the Manchester Public Library, and of the Manchester Savings bank. In politics he had been a Republican since the organization of the party. In 1856 he was a delegate to the national convention which nominated Fremont and Dayton as candidates for president and vice-president. He united with the Franklin-street Congregational church in 1870. His interests were wide and his sympathies with every enterprise that tended to the welfare of the city. Into his religious life he brought the earnest, conscientious spirit which he put into everything. At different times he held the offices of president, treasurer, and director of the Franklin Street Congregational society.

He became a member of the New Hampshire Historical Society June 10, 1863.

In 1880 he delivered before the Alumni Association an eulogy on the life and character of Hon. William H. Bartlett of the New Hampshire Supreme Court; also the address at the centennial celebration of Hampstead, his native town.

On August 16, 1854, Judge Smith was united in marriage with Amanda W., daughter of Hon. Hiram Brown, the first mayor of Manchester. Eight children blessed their union: Mary A., wife of V. C. Ferguson, Port Arthur, Texas; William I., Bustleton, Penn.; Arthur Whitney, deceased March 5, 1866; Julia B., wife of the late W. B. Cowan, Saratoga, Wyo.; Edward C., Manchester, N. H.; Daniel C., Lawrence, Mass.; Jennie P., wife of Dr. J. F. Bothfield, Newton, Mass.; Grace L., Manchester, N. H.

In the decease of Judge Smith the community lost one of those men whose numbers are rapidly diminishing, who have helped for almost a half century to build and give character to Manchester. He was faithful, honorable, simple, sincere. His work speaks for him and bears witness to the soundness and sturdiness of his manhood.

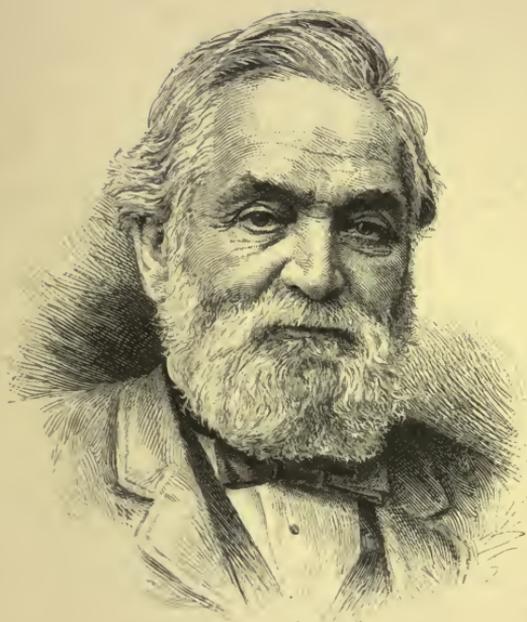
B. W. L.

FREDERICK SMYTH.

FREDERICK SMYTH, a member of the New Hampshire Historical Society from June 21, 1888, was born in Candia, March 9, 1819. His father was a farmer, well-to-do, as country people considered him, and his ancestry on the mother's side was of fighting colonial and revolutionary stock. He received his rudimentary education in the town schools, supplemented by one term at Phillips academy at Andover, Mass. As the home farm of fifty acres hardly afforded for himself and his two brothers a chance to earn much except a bare living, Frederick, at the age of sixteen, sought employment at a hotel in Lowell, Mass. In 1837 he taught school in Auburn and Hooksett, and in 1838, in company with a townsman, bought out a store in Candia for the sale of general merchandise. In 1839 he removed to Manchester and entered into the employ of George Porter, in one of the only two stores at that time on Elm street. After a few years with Mr. Porter he began trade for himself, being much interested, meanwhile, in all that concerned the civil and political life of the new town.

In 1849 he was chosen city clerk, which office he held three years. He was city treasurer in 1851, mayor in 1852-3-4, and again in 1863. In 1855 he was chairman of the board of commissioners for building what is now the State Industrial school. In 1865 and 1866 he was elected governor of New Hampshire. In 1866 he was chosen by congress one of the board of managers of national asylums for disabled soldiers, which office he held until a change in the administration, for seventeen years. In 1861 he was appointed an agent to the international exhibition at London, on which occasion he made his first trip abroad. At that exhibition Mr. Smyth was made a juror on the merits of certain exhibits and was of great service to the manufacturing interests of this country. He subsequently visited Europe and the East many times, and made extensive journeys in our own country from Alaska to Mexico and Cuba.

In the course of his busy life he accepted and held numerous places of trust, the duties of which he discharged with scrupulous fidelity. He was appointed by President Hayes



Frederick Douglass

commissioner to the Paris exposition of 1878, and was very active in securing a congressional appropriation for the New Hampshire College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts, of which institution he was treasurer and a trustee until his last fatal illness. Always loyal to the race of farmers from which he sprang, he was active in the formation and maintenance of a state agricultural society—of the National Agricultural society, and was a member of the Horticultural club of Boston, of which Marshall P. Wilder was the most widely known promoter. For many years Governor Smyth's financial reputation was second to that of no one in the state, and he was thus able to be of great service to New Hampshire at a period when the war debts weighed heavily upon her. Largely by his personal influence the First National and the Merrimack River Savings banks were established in Manchester, and he was president of the first and treasurer of the latter for many years prior to his death. He was president of the Concord railroad from 1884 to the date of its lease by the Boston and Maine, and had been a director in its management since 1870.

He succeeded the late Hon. Geo. W. Nesmith as president of the New Hampshire Orphans' Home on the Webster place, at Franklin. In local and home affairs he was an active and interested participant. During his mayoralty the city library was founded, and he was noted for his personal attention to the details of his office. He was a member of the Franklin Street church, and for nineteen years president of the Society. His public and private charities were large, and he gave with a hearty and cheerful readiness to any cause which he considered worthy of support. By extensive travel and intelligent observation he acquired a knowledge of men and affairs which made him an interesting conversationalist. He was on speaking terms with most of the great men of the country, its statesmen, and generals in the time of our supremest trial, and welcomed many of them to share his hospitalities at "The Willows," his fine estate in Manchester.

In June, 1895, Mr. Smyth had an attack of paralysis affecting his left side and threatening immediate fatal results. From that, however, he rallied to a considerable degree, but

was obliged to retire from active business. The last three winters of his life were spent in Bermuda, where he died on Saturday, April 22, 1899.

Mr. Smyth was twice married, first, in 1844, to Miss Emily Lane, daughter of John Lane, Esq., of Candia, who died January 14, 1885; and second, in 1886, to Miss Marion Hamilton Cossar, who survives him.

NOTE.—See *Life of Frederick Smyth*, compiled by Ben: Perley Poore and F B. Eaton, 8vo., 458 pp., not published but printed for private circulation. To be found in the Historical Society library and in many town libraries.

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