





SOCIETY, WORCESTER, MASS.  
COLLECTIONS.  
PROCEEDINGS

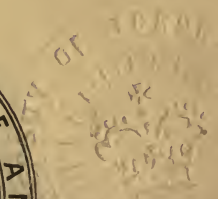
OF THE

# Worcester Society of Antiquity,

FOR THE YEAR

1885.

V. 7



WORCESTER, MASS.:  
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

1886.

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OFFICERS FOR 1886.

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PRESIDENT,  
ELLERY B. CRANE.

VICE-PRESIDENTS,  
ALBERT TOLMAN,      GEORGE SUMNER.

SECRETARY,  
WILLIAM F. ABBOT,

TREASURER,  
HENRY F. STEDMAN.

LIBRARIAN,  
THOMAS A. DICKINSON.

# DEPARTMENTS OF WORK.

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## LOCAL HISTORY AND GENEALOGY.

HENRY M. SMITH, *Chairman.*

## ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS, PUBLICATIONS AND ENGRAVINGS.

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## RELICS, COINS AND CURIOSITIES.

THOMAS A. DICKINSON, *Chairman.*

## MILITARY HISTORY.

AUGUSTUS B. R. SPRAGUE, *Chairman.*

# COMMITTEES FOR 1886.

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GEORGE SUMNER,                      WILLIAM F. ABBOT,  
HENRY F. STEDMAN.

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DANIEL SEAGRAVE, FOR TWO YEARS ;  
JOSEPH JACKSON, FOR THREE YEARS.

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NATHANIEL PAINE,                      CLARK JILLSON,  
SAMUEL E. STAPLES.

## COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS :

ELLERY B. CRANE,                      SAMUEL E. STAPLES,  
FRANKLIN P. RICE.

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admitted in 1885.

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JOSEPH JACKSON,	. . . . .	Worcester.
FRANKLIN WHITING BRIGHAM, M. D.	. . . . .	Shrewsbury.
HENRY GLEASON TAFT,	. . . . .	Worcester.
ADDISON PALMER,	. . . . .	Worcester.
GEORGE MILTON PIERCE,	. . . . .	Worcester.
URIEL WALDO CUTLER,	. . . . .	Worcester.
WILLIAM TOWLE SOUTHER, M. D.	. . . . .	Worcester.
JOHN IRA SOUTHER,	. . . . .	Worcester.
MYRON EDWARD BARROWS,	. . . . .	Worcester.
DANIEL BAYARD HUBBARD,	. . . . .	Grafton.
DAVID SEWALL MESSINGER,	. . . . .	Worcester.
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JAMES GREEN,	. . . . .	Worcester.
DANIEL WATERHOUSE NILES, M. D.	. . . . .	Worcester.
WILLIAM WOODWARD,	. . . . .	Worcester.
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CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS, M. D.	. . . . .	Worcester.
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BERNARD AMMIDOWN LEONARD,	. . . . .	Southbridge.
WILLIAM HENRY SAWYER,	. . . . .	Worcester.
ALBERT FREMONT SIMMONS,	. . . . .	Worcester.
DANIEL WEBSTER ABERCROMBIE,	. . . . .	Worcester.
Rev. JOHN GREGSON,	. . . . .	Wilkinsonville.
JOHN CARTER OTIS,	. . . . .	Worcester.
JOHN CALVIN CRANE,	. . . . .	Millbury.

## CORRESPONDING MEMBER.

RAY GREENE HULING,	. . . . .	Fitchburg.
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PROCEEDINGS.





## PROCEEDINGS

FOR 1885.

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**T**HE JANUARY MEETING was held on the evening of Tuesday the 6th. President Crane in the chair.

The following named members attended : Messrs. Crane, Staples, T. A. Dickinson, Rice, Stedman, J. A. Smith, Gould, Maynard and Seagrave.

The President made the following

### ADDRESS.

*Members of The Worcester Society of Antiquity :*

We are just approaching the end of the first decade in the life and achievements of this Society. On the 24th day of this present month, the shadow upon the dial will mark the close of ten eventful and prosperous years of its existence. I say eventful, for a few of you may remember something of the anxiety felt at the time of its institution and organization, how

skeptical some were as to its future, and how the hope was kept alive meeting after meeting by a few zealous workers, whose minds were thoroughly imbued with the desire and love for antiquarian research.

It was not long, however, before a sufficient amount of faith had been generated to enable nearly all its members to feel that to labor within the circle of such an organization would not only prove to be a profitable employment of their time, but would also gratify a noble and worthy ambition. Of the genuineness of that love and desire we seem to be surrounded in these rooms with abundant and unmistakable evidence.

As I glance backward over the years that are gone, and recall the little beginnings made at those pleasant and enjoyable meetings held from time to time at the homes of the different members, and trace the line of events along down to the act of incorporation, when the organization became clothed with definite responsibility; and even when we assumed, as was thought by some, the hazardous risk of the care and expense of this one room, and still further when, owing to rapid accumulations, it became necessary to take the second room,—all along up to the present hour, I do not remember that there has been a moment of doubt or misgiving as to the future of this Society.

It is only seven years since we began to collect books upon these shelves, and less time than that since we began to arrange curiosities and antiques in these cases, but already we are crowded for want of space in which to give proper display to many of the valuable and interesting relics in our possession.

The past year has brought upon us more than our usual measure of success. Fourteen names have been added to our list of membership, and we have received over 8,600 additions to our library and collection of curiosities. This includes the George Allen Library of 2300 bound volumes and 2000 pamphlets, which came into the possession of the Society last April through the generosity of a few leading gentlemen of our city. That gift marked an important era in the growth and importance of our library, and gave us a red-letter day in the history of our Society.

The average attendance at our monthly meetings has also increased, and there seems to be a corresponding development of interest in all matters pertaining to the work of the Society. The generous amount of important and serviceable material furnished for publication causes your Committee having that matter in charge to express their disappointment in not being able, through want of funds, to put in print all they might. The Proceedings of the Society for 1884, now in press, will comprise about 240 pages of the usual style. This will make over 2,500 pages of printed matter issued under the seal of this Society during the short period of its existence. We are quite sure that this will be deemed a rare accomplishment when it is known that it has all been done through our own immediate efforts, without the aid of either endowment or bequest, and almost wholly through personal labor, assisted by a small annual assessment laid upon our members, which tax has in addition, served to defray all other needful expenses of the Society.

The reports from the several Departments of Work for the past year have not yet been made public, but as they are soon to be placed before you in print, you will no doubt enjoy their perusal and find them full of interest. I regret, however, that owing to my ignorance of their contents, I am unable to bring more emphatically to your notice some of their chief and more important features.

In the Department of Relics and Curiosities we now have 1,342 articles. Included among the number are various maps and pictures, with several oil paintings, such as portraits of the poet Whittier, by Robert Peckham; Elihu Burritt, by W. S. Elwell; Peter Willard, by Jeremiah Stiles; and one of the last named artist, by his grandson, Major Frederick G. Stiles.

With this collection of treasures, a library of more than 5,000 bound volumes and 15,000 pamphlets, and a large and increasing membership generously supplied with a stock of courage and good will, we enter upon the duties of the new year. Surely, to be chosen as the chief servant of an organization so well equipped is a real honor, and for that honor I thank you most heartily.

Joseph Jackson and Joseph H. Perry were elected members of the Society.

The Librarian reported 103 additions to the Library during the month.

The meeting was then adjourned.

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The February Meeting was held at the rooms of the Society on the evening of Tuesday the 3rd.

Present: Messrs. Crane, Staples, Rice, T. A. Dickinson, Seagrave, Haskins, J. A. Smith, Lovell, Edwards, C. Jillson, Maynard, Hubbard, Meriam, Estey, Shumway, Bartlett and Abbot, members; and Mr. Joseph Lovell.—18.

Mr. William F. Abbot was unanimously elected Secretary of the Society in place of Mr. Seagrave, resigned.

Dr. Franklin W. Brigham, of Shrewsbury, was elected a member of the Society.

The Librarian reported 311 contributions to the Library and Museum for the month. He also read a letter from Mrs. Charlotte Downes, of Washington, D. C., expressing her intention of presenting to the Society the library of her late husband, John Downes, Esq.

Correspondence from the Hon. Joseph W. Lawrence, President of the New Brunswick Historical

Society, at St. John, was read, requesting that a collection of one hundred volumes be made and presented by The Worcester Society of Antiquity to the City of St. John, as a memorial of either of the Worcester royalist refugees, James Putnam and William Campbell. After considerable discussion, the sense of the meeting evidently being against taking action as proposed by Mr. Lawrence, the matter was referred to the Executive Committee.

The thanks of the Society were voted to the Rev. Carlton A. Staples, for his eloquent Address on the Tenth Anniversary; to Mrs. J. F. Lovering, for the Ode written by her for that occasion; and to Rev. J. F. Lovering, for his services as Chaplain.

The Committee on Publications was authorized by vote to prepare for the press and have printed, the Proceedings at the Tenth Anniversary of the Society, the same to be numbered xxii. On motion of Mr. Shumway, it was voted to assess the members one dollar each to defray the expense of said publication.

Adjourned.

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The regular monthly meeting was held at the rooms on Tuesday evening, March 3.

Present: Messrs. Crane, Simmons, Meriam, Rice, Sumner, Seagrave, Barton, Maynard, Estey, Gould,

T. A. Dickinson, C. Jillson, E. H. Thompson, E. F. Thompson, Tucker, Wall, Abbot and F. W. Brigham. —18.

Henry G. Taft was elected to membership.

The Librarian reported 267 donations, and read an interesting paper on Indian Soapstone Dishes, some specimens of which were shown. Remarks followed by Messrs. Sumner and Simmons, and Hon. Clark Jillson.

William S. Barton, Esq., presented to the Society in behalf of Mrs. C. B. Damon, several interesting articles, one being the crape badge worn by the grandfather of the donor, Theophilus Wheeler, in the funeral procession in honor of Gen. Washington, Feb. 22, 1800. Mr. Barton also presented a copy of the tax list of Worcester for 1834, and made some comments thereon.

Mr. Edward H. Thompson, United States Consul at Yucatan, made brief remarks, expressing his intention to further the interests of the Society in his new field of labor.

The meeting was then adjourned.

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The next regular meeting was held Tuesday evening, April 7th. Present: Messrs. Crane, Rice, T. A. Dickinson, C. R. Johnson, Wall, Meriam, J. A.



Smith, Blake, Fowler, Lyford, Jackson, Edwards, Seagrave, Hubbard, Gould, Maynard, Staples, Has- kins, Prentiss, Estey, Wesby, C. Jillson, F. C. Jillson, Sumner, Roe, Paine, Tucker, O'Flynn, H. M. Smith and Abbot, members; and Dr. D. Towne, Joseph Lovell, Daniel Bartlett, M. E. Barrows and F. T. Meriam, visitors.—35.

The Librarian reported 317 additions.

Mr. Blake read the following papers :

### SOME WORCESTER MATTERS,

1689 - 1743.

BY FRANCIS E. BLAKE.

#### DANIEL GOOKIN, THE FIRST SHERIFF OF THE COUNTY.

Daniel Gookin was a son of Samuel Gookin, Esq., of Cambridge, and grandson of Major General Daniel Gookin. The date of his birth is unknown, but it is supposed to have been about the year 1700. His father was for several years Sheriff of Middlesex County, and his brother, Captain Samuel Gookin, Jr., an under-sheriff and keeper of the house of correction, while Daniel himself appears to have been employed in various duties about the jail and house of correction, having charge of the latter. Among the Middlesex Court Files are sundry bills rendered by him for repairs of the prison and for "diet" furnished certain prisoners. The frequent occurrence of the names of the father and his two sons savors somewhat of nepotism, and would at this day be duly considered by the public press.

On the 6th of July, 1731, Captain Daniel Gookin presented to the Court his account, amounting to fifty shillings, for services of keeping the house of correction to that date; and from that time his name disappears from the records of Middlesex County, he having received, one week previous (June 30), the appointment

of Sheriff of the newly constituted County of Worcester. His training in the prison and house of correction at Cambridge, under the eye of his father, was, doubtless, considered by the Council in making the appointment.

There are but few facts now obtainable concerning Mr. Gookin, and these chiefly refer to his management of the responsible office of Sheriff.\* His name first appears upon the records of the Court of Sessions of the new county in August, 1732, when he presented for approval his first account of expenditures. The following November, for some unexplained reason, he withdrew this account and substituted another, which was allowed by the Court.

This action would not be noticed but for the facts hereafter mentioned. His second account presented and allowed by the Court in November, 1733, is interesting as it shows a few of the duties of the Sheriff at that period. It is as follows: †

OCTOBER	<i>the County of Worcester</i>	<i>Dr</i>	£	S	D
1732	to Distributing 16 proclamations for thanksgiving		0	16	0
	to 21 County treasury Warrants		1	1	0
MARCH	to 16 proclamations for a fast		0	16	0
APRIL	to 16 precepts		1	12	0
1733	paid James Hamilton for Cloth for bedding		3	0	0
	to making the bed and Bolsters		0	6	0
	to Returning ye precepts		2	0	0
AUGUST	to 16 Tax bills & Country treasury Warrants		1	12	0
	to four blanketts for ye prison		5	4	0
NOV <sup>r</sup>	to 16 proclamations for thanksgiving		0	16	0
	Salary ending August 1733		5	0	0
	Keeping ye house of Corection nothing				
			22	3	0

DAN<sup>l</sup> GOOKIN

Some items of record regarding Mr. Gookin's performance of official duty, which attracted my attention, may prove of interest to all, and instructive to those in similar positions of trust.

\* In 1733 he had a house lot granted him near the present corner of Main and Park streets. See "Records of the Proprietors."

† The original is in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society.

On the 1st of July, 1737, Mr. John Wolcot, administrator of the estate of Captain Peter Papillon, deceased, made complaint to the Council that one Manassah Osmore, against whom he had recovered judgment, and who was committed to jail in Worcester by Sheriff Gookin, had "through the negligence or connivance of the Gaoler, made his escape & yo<sup>r</sup> Petitioner could never yet understand it was thro' the Deficiency of the Gaol or that there was any break in the Gaol or any Lock broak"; and that he, the petitioner, had thereby lost all benefit of the judgment, and that the said Sheriff had taken no pains to secure the escaped prisoner. [Mass. Archives, vol. 41, page 219.]

Upon hearing this complaint the Council ordered the Sheriff to appear before them on the 14th instant, which date allowed thirteen days for service of notice. The following letter from Mr. Gookin, written on the 14th, shows the uncertainty of communication between the several towns in the Province, and what would be called to-day a slipshod method of attending to business.

*May it please yo<sup>r</sup> Excellency & Honourable Council*

Last night at Ten of the Clock it Being the Thirteenth Instant (by the Hands of Coll<sup>o</sup> Chandler) I Received a Copy of Mr Wolcots Petition Wherein it is your Excellencys & Hon<sup>ble</sup> Councils pleasure to Direct me to appear Before your Excellency and the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Council ye fourteenth Instant To make answer to s<sup>d</sup> petition which is Impossible for me to do at such a short and sudden warning It very much Surprised me when I Saw ye Date of the order and no Longer Time to make my answer and should not Have Known it now if it had [not] been very accidently Brought by Mr. Dwight a Tavern keeper in Boston who Told me it was Left at his house for Conveyance, but by whom he knows not. I would Therefore Humbly Intreat yo<sup>r</sup> Excellency and y<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> Council That that petition may be suspended untill I can have Time to make my answer to it.

I Humbly Begg yr Excellency and Hon<sup>rs</sup> favour in this affair and Humbly Subscribe myself Yo<sup>r</sup> Excellencys and Hon<sup>rs</sup> most Dutifull and obedient Servt

DAN<sup>l</sup> GOOKIN

Worcester July 14 1737

[Mass. Archives, vol. 105, page 148.]

The hearing was postponed from time to time until Oct. 6, 1737, when the Sheriff presented himself, and, "having made some ex-

cuses was ordered to withdraw & the complaint to ly for further Consideration"; and this, so far as the records are concerned, appears to be the end of that affair.

On the 4th of April, 1740, a similar complaint against the Sheriff was made by Hezekiah Maynard, but on the 17th instant Mr. Maynard acknowledged that he had received the amount of his judgment, and appeared satisfied. However, upon the same day, Mr. Paul Brintnall complained that the Sheriff had liberated from jail one James Holden, Jr., of Worcester, against whom he had recovered judgment in the sum of £33, 17, 1; that he had made frequent applications for his money, but had received only £23. He adds: "Unless aided by the Justice of your Excellency & Honours [he] is well assured that He shall never get one farthing more altho' your Petitioner shall sue him. The demonstration of which arises from the Office He Sustains & the Circumstances He is in. Wherefore as he is an officer appointed by your Excellency & Honours as it is a most Grievous thing that the subject should be put to their Action for all the Money he gets into His hands by force of any Executions committed to him he prays the Compassionate & just regards of your Excellency & Honours to a whole Country & Province by the amendment or removal of so bad an officer & as in duty bound shall ever pray."

The Council thereupon directed the Secretary to write to Mr. Gookin, and order him to appear before them the following week. The letter of the Secretary is here given :

BOSTON APRIL 17 1740.

Sir

I am directed by the Gov<sup>t</sup> & Council to acquaint you that they are much displeas'd with you that your Conduct gives them so much Trouble of hearing so many Complaints. And that if you don't presently reform, they will take Care to remedy these things by putting in another Officer in your room.

Your humble Servant

J. WILLARD.

The Sheriff, however, did not appear at the time named, and an order was sent him to attend the Council at its next meeting the following week "upon pain of their highest Displeasure." The

displeasure of the honorable body must have been great when they found upon the day fixed that Mr. Gookin had concluded not to come to Boston in person, but had sent a letter instead. This letter read as follows :

APRIL 29, 1741.

May it please yo<sup>r</sup> Excellency and your Hon<sup>ble</sup> Council These may Certify That I have paid Mr Brintnall his Debt & Charges as yo<sup>r</sup> Excellency and Hon<sup>rs</sup> will see by his Receipt I Do Heartily acknowledge That it was by my means that mr Holding was Dismist out of Gaol His parents Came to me (They being my near neighbours) and was so Concerned for their son being in prison and were grieved and made so many promisses for the Speedy payment of the Remanding part of the Debt That I had Compassion on their aged Tears and Did upon their promise Dismiss him but Their failing of their promise has put me to this Cost and Trouble.

I Do Therefore Humbly Intreat yo<sup>r</sup> Excellency and Hon<sup>rs</sup> to Take these Lines into yo<sup>r</sup> wise Consideration and according to yo<sup>r</sup> Great Clemency and Goodness Have Compassion on me and family and wherein I have offended yo<sup>r</sup> Excellency and Hon<sup>rs</sup> and any Others I will by Divine assistance Do so no more Mr Brintnall might had his money when he was up the Last Time but Refus<sup>d</sup> it it was offered him as yo<sup>r</sup> Excellency and Hon<sup>rs</sup> may see on ye Back of the Complaints But being instigated by some malicious persons as is by Every body supposed would not Take it for it was Thought would be a means of my being Dismis<sup>d</sup> from my office; I Therefore Humbly Intreat yo<sup>r</sup> Excellency and Hon<sup>r</sup> that you would be pleas<sup>d</sup> in yo<sup>r</sup> Great wisdom to Continue me Still and I Shall (in all Regards) indeavor a universall amendment for the Time to Come upon all accounts

I am yo<sup>r</sup> Excellency's and Hon<sup>rs</sup> most unworthy (tho' most obedient)  
Serv<sup>t</sup>

DAN<sup>t</sup> GOOKIN

[Mass. Archives, vol. 41, page 509.]

This letter was accompanied by certificates of Joshua Eaton, Jr. and Isaac Barnard that the complaint of Mr. Brintnall had been read to Mr. Gookin, and an acknowledgment of Mr. Brintnall (witnessed by Caleb Johnson and William Jennison) that he had received the money claimed by him. There is also a brief note from William Jennison stating that Mr. Brintnall might have had his money five days before, but would not take it because Mr. Gookin was unwilling to pay £8. for charge and trouble.

The Council peremptorily ordered the Sheriff to be present at the meeting on the 29th of May next following, and Mr. Gookin

appears to have been sufficiently impressed by the order, and made his appearance. The Council record reads [May 29, 1740]: "Daniel Gookin Esq<sup>r</sup> Sheriff of the County of Worcester, being by the order of this Board of the first of May last required to attend this Board to answer for his disobedience in not appearing personally upon divers summons as also for his neglect & misconduct in his office, appeared this day and after he was heard in answer to these complaints, His Excell<sup>ty</sup> admonish<sup>d</sup> him for his ill conduct and warned him against such behaviour for the time to come lest he should render himself utterly unworthy of his office."

Notwithstanding this reprimand, within two weeks another complaint was made that he had paid over only a portion of a debt recovered in a case (Andrew Caverly vs. Thomas Harback and James Waite of Worcester), but no action appears on the records; and in October following, a similar complaint was preferred by Joseph Crosby, of Worcester, which was subsequently dismissed by the Council.

Accompanying this last complaint is the following interesting letter addressed to Governor Belcher by Hon. John Chandler, the Chief Justice:

WORCESTER JANUARY 26<sup>th</sup> 1740/1

*May It Please Your Excellency*

S<sup>r</sup>

I am very sensible Mr Sheriff Gookin has some enemies in this County as well as myself; I suppose we are envied because we (by your Excellency's favour) enjoy Posts of Profit within the same.

I humbly apprehend if it be True what he tells me as doubtless tis, our neighbor Crosby had no Reason to Complain; However that be, yet I would humbly beg leave to inform your Excellency, that his conduct since he was before your Excellency and the Honourable Board is less Exceptionable then before.

I humbly ask your Excellencys Pardon for making this Excuse for Mr Gookin, when my own conduct is so Liable to Exceptions.

But Relying upon your Excellencys great Goodness to excuse mine,

I am S<sup>r</sup> your Excellencys

most Hum<sup>le</sup> Obed<sup>t</sup> & Dutifull Servant

JOHN CHANDLER

The reason for Judge Chandler's allusion to his own conduct being liable to exceptions, was on account of his connection with the Land Bank Scheme, to which I shall presently refer.

With this gratifying statement of the Judge that Mr. Gookin had made some improvement in the management of his office, we must leave the subject, trusting that before his death in June, 1743,\* he became a model Sheriff.

The inventory of his estate, presented by Jabez Tatman, shows a value of only £134. in all, which indicates that he did not grow rich during his administration. In the settlement of the estate no mention is made of his wife or children, although he had four children in Cambridge.

#### MANUFACTORY BILLS OR LAND BANK SCHEME.

In the year 1740 the Province of Massachusetts Bay was passing through a period of financial difficulties occasioned by an over-issue of paper currency, whereby the credit of the Province was placed in a lamentable condition. Many schemes to meet the exigency and relieve the distress were proposed and abandoned; and to add to the difficulty of the situation, Governor Belcher and his Council were not in accord with the views of the House as to the solution of the problem.

Among the plans proposed by private individuals was that known as the Manufactory Company or Land Bank Scheme. This company was organized with about four hundred partners, with the design to loan the sum of £150,000 on notes on land security, payable in twenty years in various articles of merchandise. The Governor was bitterly opposed to this company, and issued proclamations denouncing it as a fraud, and enjoining upon all in the civil and military service of the Province to discountenance it in every way upon peril of dismissal.

Among the papers in the State Archives are lists returned by Registers of Deeds of all mortgages recorded in behalf of this

\*June 17th, 1743, the Council had notice of his death, and on the 23d appointed Benjamin Flagg as his successor.

company. In these lists the names of many Worcester men appear, among them the following : Daniel Bigelow, Robert Barber, Daniel Boyden, John Boyden, Luke Brown, Palmer Goulding, Elisha Hedge, James How, William Johnson, James Holden, Henry Lee, James Moore, Matthias Rice, Eliakim Rice, Gershom Rice, Jr., Jotham Rice, John Stearns, Daniel Ward.

The Bank proved a sad failure either from the unsoundness of its basis, or the determined opposition of the Governor, or from both causes.

My object in bringing this to your notice is to present letters from three gentlemen holding official positions in Worcester, showing their relations to the scheme, and with what spirit they "faced the music." The first letter is from William Jennison, Esq., one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas ; the second from Chief Justice John Chandler ; and the third from Henry Lee, Esq., one of the Justices of the Peace.

On the 6th of January, 1740/1, by order of the Council, letters were addressed by the Secretary to the several Courts in the Province, instructing them "to take all convenient opportunities and methods both when in Court, and when separate to prevent the spreading of the great Fraud & particularly you are desired strictly to charge your officers by no means to pass receive or countenance the said Bills." [Mass. Archives, vol. 102, page 130.]

In addition to this circular letter, it is very probable that specific charges were brought to the notice of the three gentlemen above named.

Mr. Jennison's reply was as follows :

WORCESTER JANUARY ye 9<sup>th</sup> 1740[1]

Honored Sir

This day I Receiued yours wharein your honour Informs me that his Exlency the Govenour and the Hono<sup>le</sup> Council are informed that I haue in Couriged the passing of the bills called manufactory bills over His Excellencys proclamation to warn all offesors in the Gouverment against In coriging the same Hon<sup>rd</sup> Sir this is to inform your honour that be fou<sup>r</sup> nor sen his Excellencys procklimation I never did anything to in Corige the pasing of S<sup>d</sup> bills for I never Licked them so well neather was I any way conserved about that afayor for I never Licked the Skeme that was



Laid about S<sup>d</sup> bills I can't say but I have sum time past Reseved sum of S<sup>d</sup> bills but at this time I han't one of them and had youre honour not wrot to me about them I had Concluded not to have tacken them any moore

I am Redy to answer any Complaint made against me on that acount sir & that I have write is the truth of the mater honored sir pray Give my duty to his Excellency and the hon<sup>ble</sup> Council and Sir I am your Honours most  
humbel Saruant

WILLIAM JENNISON

[Mass. Archives, vol. 102, page 132. This letter is in Mr. Jennison's handwriting.]

Judge Chandler's reply was :

WORCESTER JAN<sup>ry</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 1740/I

Hon<sup>bl</sup> Sr

Your letter of ye 6<sup>th</sup> Instant I Rec<sup>d</sup> by Oliver Partridge Esq. and in answer to it would Humbly say.

I account it my Hon<sup>r</sup> and Happiness to have such for my Judges in this affair, as I am Sure will hear me with Patience and give Judgment with mercy; So agreeable to their Known Justice, goodness & Clemency.

The Truth of ye affair is this; vizt; the night before I was called before ye Governour and Council I was Accidentally in Company with Capt Blanchard & two or three people living his way, and discoursing about the Line between This, & the province of New Hampshire, as Lately Settled by the King in Council, I ask'd him whither Groton Gore so called, being a Tract of Land Lately Granted by the Generall Court would fall into New Hampshire, he said it would. I Replyed, I have one hundred Acres of Land in said Gore, and since it falls out of the province, I w<sup>d</sup> sell it him for Just what he w<sup>d</sup> give, & if he said Twas worth nothing, he should have it free or words to that effect. After a few words pass'd, he Reply'd I will give you four pound in Manufactory Bills & no more. I told him he had my word, and I would not go back, accordingly he paid me the Same at that time. The next day & soon after Mr. Blanchard\* had been before ye Gov<sup>r</sup> & Council, my Self being sent for also, I desired him to keep ye money till I had been up, being under Surprize & concern, but as the property was in me the Night before and as I informed the Hon<sup>bl</sup> Board how much I had in which Sun was included Said four pounds, I apprehended I did not Break my promis in taking what was my own before I believe I told this To the Hon<sup>bl</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Danforth Esq<sup>r</sup> in Mr. Blanchards presence in order to set the matter in a True Light. I would Add that before Capt Blanchard & my Self had finished our Bargain Mr Partridge

\* Mr. Blanchard lost his position through his connection with the scheme.

I think came into ye same Room and heard Something of the Affair, & I left him with Mr. Blanchard and the other people.

This may it please Your Hon<sup>r</sup>. is the Truth of this Story, if it is a Crime twas done in a Surprize, I hope my thus frankly discovering ye whole matter will not be improved to my disgrace or hurt, but Rather intitle me to favour, and Especially Since in answer to ye last Clause in your Hon<sup>rs</sup> Letter: I do with great freeness Sincerity and Honesty declare that I will not give countenance directly or indirectly to the Bills called Land Bank or Manufactory Bills. This is my firm and finall Resolution in the affair.

I am Hon<sup>bl</sup> Sr  
Your very humble  
most Obliged and  
Obed<sup>t</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup>

To the Hon<sup>bl</sup> JOHN CHANDLER  
Josiah Willard Esq<sup>r</sup>.

[Mass. Archives, vol. 102, page 133. This letter is a fine specimen of penmanship.]

The following is Mr. Lee's letter :

From Henry Lee to Hon Josiah Willard, Secretary &c  
Sir

In obedience to yours of April 3<sup>d</sup> I hereby Inform your Honour that having to the Best of my Power strictly Examined the Manufactory Scheam with all the Proceedings on it I am fully of opinion 'tis well calculated to serve the Interest of the Province and therefore am determined to do what I can to Encourage it and think that the Priviledge of an Englishman is my Suffishant warrant therefor espechally as it is not Contrary to aney lawfull Authority to do so for I never heard that the undertakers had evere a hering therefore think it impossible they should be condemned as yet—

As I act my conscience I Regard being Punished aney way for Differing in my opinion from the Governor and Council to be a Civil Persecution and to be deprived of my office untell I be Proved unfaithfull in it or have violate the laws of the Land I Look on as an invasion of my Native Rights But on the whole I think it [degrading?] your honours to aney man to sustain an office which must obledge him to so grate a meanness as blindly to follow the Inclinations of those above him tho not Prescribed much less Supported by Laws therefore to sacrifice my Post for the Servis of my Cuntry is Infinitely more Honourable then to keep it on such Base Conditions I am Sr your

Humb<sup>l</sup> Servant

Worcester Apl 14: 1741 HENRY LEE

[Mass. Archives, vol. 102, page 153. This letter is not in Mr. Lee's handwriting, but his signature is affixed to it.]

Without passing judgment upon the letters of Messrs. Jennison and Chandler, most certainly that of Mr. Lee is worthy of our highest commendation. The spirit manifested by him indicates his manliness in living up to his convictions of right; that same spirit which has given inspiration to multitudes under trial, and has led brave men to face dangers fearful and foes most bitter.

The explanations of Messrs. Jennison and Chandler were, doubtless, satisfactory; but we can imagine the reception accorded to Mr. Lee's, and scarcely need to read that at a meeting of the Council, April 30, 1741, after hearing the above letter read, it was voted that Henry Lee be "dismissed and removed from his office of a Justice of the Peace in the County of Worcester."

#### PALMER GOULDING'S CURE.

In 1734 Palmer Goulding, of Worcester, petitioned the General Court for a gift of land in consideration of his making known an "infallible cure" for the bite of the rattlesnake. He failed to obtain what he desired, but in 1741 made another attempt, and presented the following petition:

"Palmer Goulding to General Court Sept 23 1741.

"The memoriall of Palmer Goulding of Worcester Humbly Sheweth

"That your memorialist in his travills, has with a Considerable Cost, attained to Such Skill and Knowledge, in the Curing the bite of a Ratle Snake, that were he present when a person was bit, he Could So soon Efectually Cure it, that y<sup>e</sup> person would never be Sensible of any hurt, and the Same medison if Ritely aplied, has no les operation on y<sup>e</sup> Body of men to Cure any Enflamation of y<sup>e</sup> blood, or to prevent or Cure any breeding Sore Whatsoever. a womans Sore brest or fever Sores, it is also an Enfallible medison to Cure or prevent the Coming of fistilorr or pole. Evill in horses, which Knowledge he is very willing to Communicate for y<sup>e</sup> good of mankind But inasmuch as he was Really at Considerable

Cost in gaining y<sup>e</sup> same, he most humbly prays your Excellency and Honers, would upon his So doing, be pleased to make him a grant of Sum of the wild and uncultivated Lands of the Province, and your memorialist will Cheerfully Submit to Such terms or conditions Respecting Setling, as your Excellency and Honers In your Great Wisdom Shall think proper & as in Duty Bound Shall Ever pray &c

PALMER GOULDING”

[Mass. Archives, vol. 105, page 168.]

The House of Representatives ordered that a tract of two hundred acres of land be granted Mr. Goulding upon certain conditions, and with the proviso that he should give such a description of the medicine that it might be publicly known, and bring credible proof of his having successfully applied the remedy in the several cases mentioned in the memorial, “whereof yet there is no certain demonstration.”

The Council refused to concur, but the matter was again brought up the following year and passed. I fail, however, to find any record of a survey or plan of land returned by Mr. Goulding, possibly because of his inability to satisfy the authorities as to the value of his discovery.

Accompanying these petitions are quite a number of certificates to the efficacy of the medicine. John Gray, of Worcester, had a heifer bitten in one of her feet by a rattlesnake, and Mr. Goulding gave her “some boiled herbs & cured her.” Jacob Holmes was equally fortunate with a steer, after using a “root about y<sup>e</sup> Bigness of a wallnut” ; and John Durkin certified that some one gave him a horse that had been bitten by a rattlesnake, and after Mr. Goulding had applied his remedies the creature “became a *Considerable Horse again.*”

There are other certificates of equal value from men residing in the neighboring towns. It would be interesting to know if this remedy was ever disclosed to the public, or if the descendants of Mr. Goulding, still living in Worcester, can throw any light upon the matter.

## PETITION OF INHABITANTS OF THE GORE.

The following is a copy of a petition of several inhabitants of the Gore between Sutton and Worcester, asking to be annexed to the latter town.

“February 14 : 1742/3

“To the  
of Worcester etc.

“The Humble Petition of us y<sup>e</sup> Subscribers being Proprietors of Lands in the County of worcester & Adjoyning to said Town of worcester and are now Living on said Land Called the County Goar and several of us having part of our Lands in Said Town of worcester and what priuelidge we have Allredy Received, both sivel and Ecliseastical we Redeily acknowlidg we have Received in said Town of worcester from both minister & people which lays us under Strong obligations to offer our Selves with our Lands Lying in Said Gore to be annexed to Said Town of worcester as a part of Said Town both to doe Duty and Receive priuelidg if y<sup>e</sup> Hon<sup>tbl</sup> General Court So order it.

“Gentlm our Desire & Request is that the Town of worcester will take our Difficult Circumstances in such a Dark and Difficult day as this is under Consideration and So far Incourige us as to pass a vote of said Town with Submission to General Court to accept of us & our lands aforesd to be annexed as a part of said Town of worcester both to doe Duty & to Receive priuelidges Equil to other Inhabitents of said Town—

“And Further to appoint a Comitte to Preffer a Petition with us the Subscribors to the grate and General Court in order to obtain y<sup>e</sup> desired End or any other way that the Town in their wisdom Shall think best to obtain an act of y<sup>e</sup> General Court for that purpose .

“Gent<sup>lem</sup> we offer one thing more to your Consideration which Incouriges us to ask such a feauour ; besides the peace and good order, those is in y<sup>e</sup> Church and Town which is Sufficiant wear

there no other—part of y<sup>e</sup> aforesd land was formerly Remoued by y<sup>e</sup> General Court from y<sup>e</sup> place whear your meetinghouse now stands for y<sup>e</sup> accomodating of your Town, to y<sup>e</sup> place, and being part of y<sup>e</sup> land above mentioned & with that Reserve that it Joyned to worcester ; which seems to us strongly Impliyed by y<sup>e</sup> General Court that it was their Intention that part of said Land Last mentioned should be annexed to the Town of worcester if not part of sd Town

“And as in Duty bound shall ever pray &c

“a true Copsy Exam<sup>d</sup>  
 “~~of~~ Jonas Rice T Cl

“EPHRIM CURTIS  
 “THOMAS RICHARDSON  
 “DANIL BOYDEN  
 “TIMOTHY GREEN  
 “JOHN BARBER  
 “JABEZ TATMAN  
 “MATTHIAS RICE”

[Mass. Archives, vol. 115, page 9. The Petition to the General Court for this object is in Mass. Archives, vol. 115, pages 22-23. A copy is printed in “Early Records of the Town of Worcester,” Book II., page 38. It will be found in the second volume of The Worcester Society of Antiquity’s Collections.] \*

#### ADDITIONAL ITEMS.

The following items escaped my notice while preparing the paper entitled *Incidents of the First and Second Settlements of Worcester*, read before the Society last year.

“July 22, 1689. Ordered that six men be allowed for the strengthening of the Garrison at Worcester until farther orders.

\*The original petition of the inhabitants of the north part of Worcester, now Holden, for incorporation as a district or town, with accompanying papers, is in Mass. Archives, vol. 114, pages 525, 558, 590. The documents are printed in full in the History of Holden.

“Sept. 1, 1689 10<sup>lb</sup> powder & shot to be furnished to Capt Wing & Serg<sup>t</sup> Edw<sup>d</sup> Taylor, John Pym, and John Carely were dismissed from prison upon the promise to go out with Cap<sup>ne</sup> Wing to y<sup>e</sup> Garrison at Worcester.

“Aug 9, 1689. Cap<sup>ne</sup> Wing have six of the soldiers late drawn off from Sagadahock to be sett up to the Reliefe of Worcester And that Captain Wing discharge their Quarters : And dispose of them for the safety of said place. Cap<sup>ne</sup> Timothy Prout is likewise ordered to deliver to Cap<sup>ne</sup> Wing Ten pound of powder and a proportionable Quantity of Shott for the use of Worcester.

“Oct 25, 1691. In answer to Capt Jno Wing his pet<sup>n</sup> ordered that Capt Penn Townsend Capt Ephraim Hunt and decon John Haynes be aded to Capt Jn<sup>o</sup> prentice mr Adam Winthrop Capt Jn<sup>o</sup> Wing [who] were appointed to be of a Comitee for the ordering and setling of the plantation called Worcester Anny four of them being fully Impowered to Act in that affair according to former order of this Court.”

[Mass. Archives, vol. 81 : Council Records.]

The names of Mr. Townsend and Mr. Hunt have not before appeared in the lists of committees for managing Worcester affairs.

# RUTLAND AND THE INDIAN TROUBLES, 1723-30.

BY FRANCIS E. BLAKE.

## PREFATORY.

### RECORDS OF THE PROPRIETORS OF RUTLAND TOWNSHIP.

The Proprietors of this township, numbering thirty-two persons representing thirty-three shares, held their first meeting in Boston, April 14, 1714. Subsequent meetings were held at very irregular intervals until 1770, two or three years sometimes passing by, and at one period thirteen years, without a meeting, the necessity for more frequent gatherings being obviated by placing the general management of the business in the hands of a standing committee.

Among the places mentioned in the records where the Proprietors held their meetings in Boston, were the *Star*, *King's Head*, *Green Dragon*, *Exchange* or *Royal Exchange*, *Light House*, and *British Coffee House* taverns; and the private houses of Rev. Thomas Prince, T. Allen, Jonas Clarke, Thos. Hubbard, John Jeffries, Thos. Fairweather, Faith Waldo, and Moses Gill.

The records of these Proprietors' meetings have, fortunately, been preserved. The writer of this article learning that such records were in existence fifty years ago, made a diligent and prolonged search for them which resulted in finding two volumes covering the period from 1714 to 1770. One of these was in the possession of Hon. Charles T. Russell, of Cambridge, the historian of Princeton; the other in the hands of Mrs. Edwin Woods, of Barre.

These books were never the property of the *Town* of Rutland, nor of any other town, but of the Proprietors of the Township, by whom they, with all their plans of land, were committed to the custody of their clerk, until 1767, when Hon. Moses Gill was authorized to hold all the papers and books for safe keeping. Although the volumes contain some items of general interest, yet they are of special worth to the towns originally forming a part of the township. They show the distribution or allotment of land in







PLAN OF RUTLAND, MASS.

1 Meeting House. 2 Cemetery. 3 Rev. Joseph Willard's house, 1724; Muschopauge Hotel, 1885. 4 Capt. Sam'l Wright's house, 1724. 5 Lt. Simon Davis's house, 1724. 6 Dea. Joseph Stevens's House, 1724. 7 Where the Stevens boys were killed, 1723. 8 - 9 Both these spots are indicated on a plan by Dea. Reed as the place where Rev. Mr. Willard was killed, 9 being on the border of the ministry meadow.

the several divisions, the grants for mills, taverns and ministers, the methods adopted to raise funds to meet expenses of surveys, repairs of roads, building of bridges, etc. They also contain the plans of the lots in the Northwest Quarter (Barre), and Northeast Quarter (Hubbardston). Unfortunately the plans of the East Wing (Princeton) and West Wing (Oakham) were not recorded, although the clerk was directed so to do.

The plans of the "Settlers Part" are with the town records of Rutland, and copies of the divisions of lands in Barre and Hubbardston are in these respective towns. The *original* plan of Barre, however, showing the various lots, the streams and "paths" is in possession of the writer. It was drawn in 1739 by Rev. Thomas Prince, and bears the endorsement of Adam Winthrop for the Proprietors, and of Abner Lee, the surveyor. Mr. Prince became one of the Proprietors in 1723, and until his death was one of the most efficient among their number. To him was committed the drawing of many of their plans, and the few that have escaped destruction indicate excellent workmanship.

The two volumes of records, so long separated, have, by the cheerful coöperation of Mr. Russell and Mrs. Woods, been brought together, and by them presented to the Town of Princeton, to be placed in the fire-proof safe in the Goodnow Memorial Building. An index has been prepared to facilitate examination of the records.

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In 1686 certain Indians conveyed by deed to Henry Willard and others, a tract of land twelve miles square, which purchase was confirmed by the General Court, February 23, 1713/14, to the heirs of Simon Willard. This tract, embracing the present towns of Rutland, Barre, Hubbardston and Oakham, and a large portion of Princeton and Paxton, was called RUTLAND.\*

December 14, 1715, the Proprietors set off an area of six miles square, which was known as "the Settlers Part," and was incorporated as the Town of Rutland in 1722. The progress of this settlement had been comparatively rapid, some forty or fifty families

\* In regard to the name given this territory see Proceedings of this Society for 1884, page 99.

at that date having made their homes there. With lands unbroken, roads poor and few in number, the settlers found enough to occupy their time in erecting houses for their families, providing shelter for their cattle, and clearing the lands and bringing them under cultivation. These hardships, incident to all new settlements, were increased by the fear of the Indian foe, from whose depredations many a New England town had suffered, and the mere suspicion of whose presence spread anxiety in the homes of the people.

The inhabitants took such precautions as their slender means permitted, and provided garrisons to which their families could resort in the hour of danger; and in 1722 a fort was ordered to be built about the house of the minister, which was located upon the hill on what is now the main street of the town. A portion of this house was lately standing on or near the the same spot, forming a part of the hotel. There must have been quite a number of these garrisons in different parts of the settlement, but I have been unable to determine their location; and it is surprising that the order for building the fort is the only reference upon the books of the Town or the records of the Proprietors, to any precautions taken by the inhabitants to avert danger, and neither of the words *Indian* or *enemy* once appears there.

Although the protection afforded by these garrisons was imperfect, yet it was all that in the circumstances could be provided, and at least, the people felt a degree of security from this concentration of men and arms.

With the year 1722 came rumors of discontent among the Abenakis or Eastern Indians, occasioned by real or fancied wrongs in the taking of their lands, and this was fomented and increased by the machinations of the French officials in Canada. The note of alarm was sounded throughout the settlements of the Province, and a large proportion—perhaps two-thirds—of the families in Rutland left the town; but it was not until the succeeding year, 1723, in the early summer, that the Indians commenced their bitter work, carrying confusion and distress to every frontier town. Rumors became realities, and the stories of the past, when the cry of the savage made pale the faces of women and children clinging

for protection to husbands, fathers and brothers, whose own stout hearts almost quailed before the dreaded foe, were again to be repeated.

On the 13th of August, 1723, Gray Lock, an old chief of the Waranokes, whose hiding-place during the early summer had been unknown, with four other Indians, approached the town of Northfield, and there, waylaying two of its prominent men, killed them on the spot ; and long before the inhabitants could organize a force for pursuit, they were far beyond reach on the way to the exposed settlement of Rutland. Hovering about the town, easily concealed by the woods, with which they were doubtless familiar, they awaited an opportunity to wreak their vengeance upon some of the innocent people there. The succeeding day, Wednesday, the 14th of August, Deacon Joseph Stevens was at work alone in a meadow (probably the ministry meadow) a half mile northeast of the meeting house. Four of his sons, leaving their home upon the hill, went down into the meadow to join their father, when they were suddenly surrounded by the five Indians, who quickly with their blows killing two, Samuel and Joseph, seized the others, Phinehas and Isaac, and held them captives. The father heard the cries and saw the fearful deed, but knowing that he was utterly powerless to cope with the savages, escaped into the neighboring bushes, and from thence subsequently to his home.

Three of the Indians guarded the two boys, while two passing on, laid in wait for Simon Davis and his son Simon, who were at work in a meadow near by, unconscious of the impending danger. Mr. Davis, however, prevented the accomplishment of the plan by fortunately returning home by another path, and the Indians, thwarted in their designs, moved onward to join their companions, and while in sight of them, near the southeasterly corner of Cheney hill, came upon the Rev. Mr. Willard, the minister of the town, who with his gun had been hunting game. Both of the Indians fired upon him, but did him no harm, while he returned the fire, severely wounding one of them. The other sprang upon him and the two closed together, fought for the mastery, and when the valor and strength of the minister seemed about to overcome the savage, the three other Indians running to the spot, quickly over-

powered him and took his life. The only witness to tell of this deed in after years, Phinehas Stevens, testified to the brave resistance and the manliness of Mr. Willard in this struggle for his life.

With the two captive boys, a portion of the clothing and the scalp of the murdered man, and their own wounded companion, the Indians hastened away to the north without stopping on their march to molest others, retreating to a fort erected on the shore of Missisquoi Bay, at the northerly end of Lake Champlain.

The long dreaded hour had come to the town, and as the families gathered about their homes or in the garrisons, naturally clinging together for better security, the little that was known of the sorrowful events of the day was rehearsed in every detail again and again. Two houses were desolate ; in one, a widow with her only child mourned the loss of her brave husband, and in the other, loving parents grieved for two dead and two captive boys.\*

The news of the massacres at Northfield and Rutland was speedily sent by messenger to Boston, and on the 16th of August the Lieutenant-Governor issued orders for the impressment of men to be assigned to duty on the northern and western frontiers to scout and range the woods with increased vigilance.

The following account of the tragedy was published in Boston : †

“At Rutland on the 14th, a Scout of 10 or 14 Indians came suddenly upon *Joseph Stevens* and four of his sons (as they were making Hay in a Meadow,) the Father hid in the Bushes and got safe home, but his Sons fell a Prey to the Enemy, two whereof were found *Murder'd*, but they hear nothing of the other two. Mr. *Joseph Willard* the Minister went out with his Gun a little before the Children were taken, his Body was afterwards found Barbarously Murder'd by those Blood thirsty Heathen : it was Decently Interr'd on Friday the 16th.”

It is doubtless true that the murder of Mr. Willard, from his position as a minister of the gospel, as one has remarked, “sent a thrill of horror through the country,” while the loss sustained by Deacon Stevens appealed strongly to the sympathy of all.

\* Tradition relates that amid the sadness and excitement of the week that followed, one little fellow first opened his eyes upon the world in one of the garrisons, where the mother had sought protection.

† Boston News Letter, No. 1021, Aug. 1723.

In a letter written by Lieutenant-Governor Dummer to Mons. Vaudreuil, the Governor of Canada, January 19, 1724 (referring to the alleged massacre of Father Ralle, a Jesuit teacher), he says : "And I think I have much greater cause to complain that Mr. Willard, the Minister of Rutland (who never had been guilty of the Facts chargeable upon Mr. Ralle), was by the Indians you sent to attack that Town, assaulted, Slain & Scalped & his Scalp carried in triumph to Quebec."\*

The military forces in the service of the Province were small in number, the equipment very deficient, and but few men could be assigned to each town for its defence. In October following the raid on Rutland there was a scout in that town under command of Capt. Wright† consisting of only seven men, and loud calls for help were sent to the authorities. One letter of Capt. Wright ‡ shows the condition of affairs at that time, and the anxiety of the people. In November the force was increased to thirty-five men, to cover the country from Brookfield to Worcester, and the Governor writes the Captain : "I doubt not but you will be very vigilant in y<sup>r</sup> Command & if possible Shew us the Scalp of an Enemy," something we fear Capt. Wright never had the pleasure of doing.§

Many of the inhabitants of the town who had, up to this time, faced the dangers, feared longer to remain, and left the place seeking homes in less exposed settlements. In October another descent was made upon Northfield by the enemy, who again returned to their hiding places ; and no further trouble was experienced in Rutland in the year 1723. The Indians appear to have desisted from their warfare during the winter months, and the people had a little respite from their trials.

As the spring of 1724 opened the Indians were on the alert. They required no expensive outfit, and from their familiarity with the paths through the woods, and the many places of safe retreat,

\* For interesting facts regarding Mr. Willard see Appendix H. The story of Mr. Stevens's trials and attempts to regain his captive boys is given in full in Appendix I.

† For facts regarding Capt. Wright see Appendix K.

‡ Appendix A. § Appendix B.

their work could be done speedily and effectively. They learned to study the habits of the settlers, and would lay in wait to pounce upon them unawares, and retreat unmolested. Capt. Wright received a few additional soldiers, but complained of the inefficiency of some who knew nothing of the use of guns.\*

By June, Old Gray Lock with his own men, some Abenakis and others who had joined him, were on the move, watching their opportunity to fall again upon the town of Northfield. All through the summer the dwellers of Groton, Dunstable, Lancaster, Rutland, and other exposed towns, were calling for soldiers to protect their homes, and to guard the men in the fields making their hay and gathering their crops. In Rutland a few of the inhabitants were enlisted as soldiers, and by July there were, in all, thirty-eight men posted in and about the town.

The letters of Capt. Wright give a good idea of the condition of affairs at this time, when the Indians were "keeping them in a continual hubbub."† The help which Capt. Wright had hoped for was not supplied, and on Monday, the 3d of August, 1724, his fears were realized in the appearance of the enemy, and Rutland once more became the scene of disaster and death. A letter written by the Captain on the afternoon or evening of that day, only a few hours after the event, tells the story; and we can imagine with what haste a messenger was sent to Boston to convey the news.

May it please your Hon<sup>or</sup>

these are to Informe your Hon<sup>or</sup> That

what I feared is Come upon us for want [of men] to guard us at our work; this day about 12 a'clock five men & a boy, being in a meadow (in the middle of the Town) making hay; a number of Indians Surrounded them and shot first at the boy, which allarm<sup>d</sup> the men—they Ran to their guns, but the Indians shot down three of the men and Scalp'd them wounded another in the arm a flesh wound who gat home the fift gat home without any danger. the boy is not yet found, the action was hardly ouer before Coll Tyng Came into Town with 30 men but was a Little too Late but we Joyned him and Divided our men one party with the Coll to follow the other with me to head them but they gat away another way than which we thought and were before us the Coll sent back for provisions and is now in quest of them, our men

\* Appendix C. † Appendix D.



what we could Make Joyned him. not more being in hast but begg your Hon<sup>or</sup> would have pittty upon us and not Let us be kept here, without Covering which we had had seasonably we might have made our party good with them;

I am yo<sup>r</sup>

Hono<sup>r</sup><sup>s</sup> most humble servt

Rutland aug<sup>t</sup> 3d 1724

Sam<sup>l</sup> Wright

thee men that are killed are James Clark Joseph Wood & Uriah Ward (the boy missing is ——— James Clark abousd the men that escaped are Daniel B[owker?] and Eleazer Ball who is wounded.

Superscribed :

On his Maj<sup>ties</sup> Service

His Hono<sup>r</sup> William Dummer

Liev<sup>t</sup> Gouenour &c

at Boston——\*

A brief account of this affair was published in Boston papers.

Letters from Capt. Wright of the 5th and 7th of August show the attempts made to pursue the Indians; and Col. Tyng, who reached the town "a little too late" for effective service, gives an account of himself and replies to criticisms upon his movements.†

The more we read the reports made by the officers during this war, the more clearly do we see that the soldiers were always a *little* behind the enemy, reaching their camping places just too late for capture, and discovering their tracks only to find the savages vanished. This was due in a measure to the inefficient equipment and discipline of the troops, but in a greater degree to the better knowledge of the country possessed by the Indians, and their ability to hide in, and range through the woods and over the mountains.

Of the five men who exposed themselves, as Capt. Wright says, "so rashly" on the 3d of August, four at least were in the service as soldiers, and probably the fifth also. Nothing is known regarding the fate of the boy reported as missing.‡

This second attack upon Rutland greatly aroused the fears of the people there, and quickened the vigilance of the soldiers. The Governor saw the necessity of larger detachments of men and

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. 72, page 183. †See Appendix E.

‡ Some items of interest relating to the three men killed as above narrated Uriah Ward, Joseph Wood and James Clark, appear in Appendix H.

continual activity, and through the succeeding fall and winter a strong military guard was on duty at Rutland. Several times the Indians were discovered lurking about the town, but they accomplished nothing, neither did the scouts manage to accomplish the capture of even one Indian. The condition of the inhabitants in the early winter of 1725 is described in the following memorials to the Lieutenant-Governor and Council :

Province of the Mass Bay

To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> William Dummer Esqr

Lt Governour and Commander in Cheif &c

the petition of the Inhabitants of Rutland hereto Subscribers,  
Humbly Sheweth

That Whereas yr pet<sup>rs</sup> ye last Sumer laboured under Great Difficultys and hardships by reason of the warr with the Indian Enemy; not being able to raise the Corn & other provisions, so that they were obliged to travell near twenty miles for ye same & purchase it at a very dear rate, which renders it very difficult to Subsist them selves & their ffamilys more Especially ye Soldiers posted there, the allowance made for them by the Province being so small that the pet<sup>rs</sup> find by Experience they cannot afford to billet them at that rate. And ye said Inhabitants being but few in number could they have the benefit of being Soldiers there, they would be the better able to go thro their sd difficulty, & hardships.

Wherefore ye pet<sup>rs</sup> humbly pray that Four of their number may be added to the Five Soldiers already allowed of ye Inhabitants, and put under ye Care of some proper officer to be appointed in ye Town, as a Town Scout, wch would be much For ye benefit & advantage of ye Town in General. what they desire or otherwise y<sup>t</sup> Four of ye Soldiers there that are not Inhabitants may be released & Four others belonging to the Town put in their room, to be added to ye Five aforement<sup>d</sup>. as a Town scout under a proper officer, And this yr pet<sup>rs</sup> conceive to be very reasonable for there are divers soldiers there now allowed of, who only removed off their ffamileys & in a week or some Short time returned again as Soldiers under pay, by means whereof they have a Great advantage beyond yr pet<sup>rs</sup> For that they can now as well take care of their Estates as when their Familys were there; and unless the pet<sup>rs</sup> can be releived in the premises they must necessarily leave their Settlements in ye Spring & the Town will be intirely broke up. and as in duty bound they shall ever pray &c

<sup>his</sup>  
John Laccoar Sener  
<sup>mark</sup>

Malkem hendery  
Moses How

Dunkin M farland  
William fftenen

<sup>his</sup>  
Elexander x Bothall  
<sup>mark</sup>

John laccoar Juner  
Robard Maklam\*

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. 72, page 219. Probable date, Feb., 1725.

To Lt Gov. Dummer & Council, Memorial of Thos Smith.

The presing requests and desires of the Inhabitants of Rutland, that I would represent to yo<sup>r</sup> Honours, their Difficult Circumstances, in their behalf's to Petition for further regards and Protection is the occation of my troubling y<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>rs</sup> with this Memorial wherein I take Leave to Say, that through the Difficultyes, dangers, the said Inhabitants Laboured under, the year past, by reason of the present warr; they were Disabled and prevented, the providing of food Sufficient for themselves and & families, & now are obliged to goe Tenn, and Sometimes fifteen miles or more, to purchase provisions that its computed (at the Least) their provision costs them Seven shillings for Each person pr week, whilst they are allowed but five Shillings for billitting their Soldiers &c; The present apprehensions they now are in, of the Indian Enemy being Lurking about their garrisons (as they have reason to believe) and their fears (if the warr continves) that they shall be again Disabled or prevented, the providing food for themselves & Creatures, the Ensueing Summer; the number of their Inhabitants being reduced to a very few &c as also the Soldiers which Last Year were thirty five, Eleven of which were since ordered to brookfield and they being a barrier to foure or five other Towns &c. under all which Circumstances, they are quite Discouraged to Stand it out any Longer; and not being able so to Continue Seame resolved to Draw off some of them forthwith, and the rest in about a month, that this Town will become Destitute of Inhabitants unless by yo<sup>r</sup> Hono<sup>rs</sup> power it be timely prevented, by putting a number of the present Inhabitants into the service of the Province that thereby they may be Enabled to Subsist there. also when y<sup>r</sup> Hono<sup>r</sup> think propper by adding to the number of their Soldiers; or Such other Methods be taken as in yo<sup>r</sup> Honours Great Wisdom you may think best.

Feb. 12 1724[5]

Endorsed :

"Capt. Sam<sup>l</sup> Wright's Memorial"\*

The Council promptly considered the petitions and advised the Lieutenant-Governor to "put four of the Memorialists into the service & pay of the Govt."

The Journals of Capt. Wright covering a period of nearly a year from Nov. 27, 1724, have been preserved, and are very interesting. From their perusal the reader can gain some idea of the difficulties surrounding the settlers in their daily avocations, and also of the duties the military were called upon to perform.†

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. 113, page 672.

† See Appendix F.

A letter of Capt. Wright written in May, 1725, sent "by Moses Rice from Worcester," is worth the reading.

May it please your honor :

I give your honor thanks for care of us in sending a new recruit of 12 men. Your honor's directions were, to scout, but at present we have business. The Indians are among us, and have discovered themselves several times, and we have had several pursuits after them, and have been very vigilant in prosecuting all methods to come up with them by watching and ranging the swamps and lurking places, and by watching a nights in private places without the garrisons: but they are so much like wolves that we cannot yet surprise them, but hope we shall by some means *trepan* them. We have now taken a method to hunt them with dogs, and have started them out of their thickets twice, and see them run out, but at such a distance we could not come at them. Having an opportunity, thought it my duty to acquaint your honor with it: but having but a minutes time to write could but only give you an account in short, and remain your honor's dutiful and obliged servant.

Samuel Wright.\*

The detachment of twelve men referred to continued in service several months, "lying round the meadows while the people were making & getting in their hay."† In October orders were issued to reduce the number of soldiers on the frontiers, "the Enemy being drawn off & the Season of Danger pretty well over," and twenty-five men were reserved for Rutland. There was, however, but little for the soldiers to do, and in December following, a treaty of peace with the Eastern Indians being signed, hostilities ceased.

A few of the absent families returned to the town immediately upon the announcement of peace, but others either abandoned or sold their farms and made their homes elsewhere. A petition presented to the General Court by Simon Davis, in behalf of the town, in December, 1727, shows how the growth of the place was retarded, and sets forth clearly their condition at that time as to the support of public worship.

\* American Antiquarian Society's manuscripts. Copied by permission.

† The instructions given Capt. Wright and other officers, their own reports with names of Rutland men in the service, and other papers relating thereto, will be found in Appendix G.

This petition, praying that a tax of a penny an acre might be laid on lands of non-residents and others for the support of the ministry, recites that "about three or four years since Mr. Willard the then Minister of the S<sup>d</sup> Town, was killed by the Indian Enemy, and it being a time of Warr, many of the Inhabitants of the S<sup>d</sup> Town (who were in number Sixty Families then Settled) drew off and left their habitations, So that there was not above Fifteen Families remaining. But after ye Peace with the Indians was Concluded, several of them returned again, and are now grown to the number of Twenty Five Families or thereabout.

"And being willing to promote the said Settlement and keep up the Worship of God among them, have called another Minister there, who abt three months since was Ordained, & made provision so farr as they are able For his honourable Support and a Meeting house being Erected, the Outside thereof is Inclosed, and they are Finishing the same with what Speed they can, But by reason of the Smalness of their number, they Find it very difficult at present, to provide a Suitable Support for their Minister, the Non Resident Proprietors (many of them) declining Either to settle on their Lands, or to pay towards his Support," etc.\*

After the sad experience of the past, the presence of an Indian in their neighborhood caused suspicion and anxiety; and as late as 1730, quite a commotion was excited by the report that some Indians were near the town, and the action of the Provincial Government, given below, shows how easily the authorities were disturbed by such rumors.

Sir,

I have considered your Relation refering to the Appearance of the Indians near Rutland, and I Judge it necessary and accordingly order that you immediately consult with Some of the Principal Officers in the neighbouring Towns, and with them agree upon two or three discreet Persons (one to be an Interpreter) to send forthwith on a Message to the Indians to this Effect:

That the Lieut Governor is informed of their being gathered in a Body near our Frontiers, which makes the Inhabitants uneasie and fearfull of going on their necessary Business. And therefore he desires to know the occasion

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. 113, page 732.

of their assembling in so Extraordinary a manner. That as this Government has done Justice to the Indians and Exactly performed all the Articles of the Treaty of Peace and will still do every Thing on their Part to maintain the same, so they Expect that the Indians according to their Engagements in the said Treaty behave themselves peaceably towards the English and not give them any Disturbance in their Business or hurt their Creatures, Corn, Hay & other Things belonging to them. And that if the Indians have any message to me it shall be carefully delivered.

Immediately upon the return of the messengers Send me an account of the affair, and in the mean Time see that your People are well on their Guard & sufficiently provided with Arms & Ammunitions, and that they don't straggle alone in the woods.

If any Assault should be made on you Send forthwith to the officers of the neighbouring Towns to come to your assistance.

Your Serv<sup>t</sup>

Boston Aug 8, 1730.

W<sup>m</sup> Taylor

To Capt Samuel Wright

In Rutland \*

Upon receipt of this letter Capt. Wright consulted with others, and selected Joseph Wilder, Esq., Capt. John Shepley and Capt. Samuel Willard to carry the message to the Indians, and their report is as follows :

Rutland august ye 14<sup>th</sup> 1730

May it Pleas your Excellency

Wee the Subscribers, Persewant to an order from the Leuten<sup>t</sup> Govern<sup>r</sup> to the Commishon Officers of ye neighbouring Towns haue bin in Quest of ye Indians that are hunting aboue our frunteer Towns : and on the Thirteenth of this Instant : about seven miles north of Rutland and five miles west of wachuset we Lit on a Campt of Indians, being Sixteen in number viz : nine men Two women and five Children, Six of which men told us that they Came from Albaney. We Delivered them the Govern<sup>r</sup>s message : they Seamed to us very frendly and told us that they had bin hunting in them woods about thirty Days, that they knew of but four Indians beside them selves that ware hunting on this side Northfield, and that they had not heard any of ye Indians any tim this year express any Dissatisfaction toward ye English wee are your Excell<sup>y</sup> in all Duty

To His Excellency

Jonathan Belcher Esq<sup>r</sup>

Capt General &c

Joseph Wilder

John Sheple

Sam<sup>l</sup> Willard †

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. 72, page 376.

† Massachusetts Archives, vol. 31, page 170.

To His Excellency ye Governour and to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> His Majesties Council and Hous of Representatives in General Court assembled at Cambridge the 26<sup>th</sup> of august 1730

An accompt of Joseph Wilder John Sheply and Samuel Willard of Service Don ye Province Persewant to an order of Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Liue<sup>t</sup> Governour, in Repairing in to the woods above Rutland to Demand of the Indians Huntin their a reson of their assembling there in such an Exterordinari maner: on ye 11 of august Curent and onward praying ye Courts allowance—

John Wilder 3 Dayes	6/	o. 18. o
John Sheply 4 Dayes	6/	1. 4. o
Samuel Willard 3 Dayes		o. 18. o
Phinehas Stephens 1 Day Pilot		o. 6. o
Expended in money		1. 14. 1

£5. o. 1

August ye 14<sup>th</sup> 1730.

Joseph Wilder  
Sam<sup>l</sup> Willard  
John Sheple\*

This bill was paid the following month.

We have no account of any subsequent disturbance in Rutland occasioned by the Indians.

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. 31, page 169.

## APPENDIXES.

It is intended to include in these Appendixes copies of all the Official Papers relating to the Military Service in Rutland, 1723-1730, which do not appear in the preceding pages.

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 APPENDIX A.

An abstract of a letter from Capt. Wright.

Oct 16 1723

—If it might be that we might have our Scout much bigger Seven men being too Little to Range without our Town, from the Watchusett Hills on the Back Side of Ware River, & so to the Back side of Brookfield, which might be of tenn times the Service to these Towns, that this Scout can be, because these Scouts only goe in Small percel within the Towns where we may be sure will come no Indians, Except One or two to Spie who go So private they cant be seen. But on the back side the Indians Lye and hunt, about twelve miles distance &c. from the Town, so that we hearing their gunns if our Scouts were Strong might follow or track them, and so we may Likely have advantage upon them but our Scouting between the Towns dos but putt the Cuntry to Charge ; & not Likely to Discover & Destroy any Indians.

It might be best to take them out of the three Towns, to which the Scout belongs if the authority thinks fitt, or of others as they think best ; but it is my Humble opinion, it will be best to alter the Scout as before mentioned, and to have about 25 men together w<sup>ch</sup> might be able to give them battle, if they should Light on a Large party of the Enemy, who Lye there in bigger parcels, and so Divide into Less, to our Several Towns &c This comes with Lievt Newel of Leicester who is of the same opinion about this affaure & So are all the officers in the front, that I have Spoke



with, who will no Doubt back me in this affaire &c. our people are Daily drawing off w<sup>ch</sup> is very Discouraging to those y<sup>t</sup> remaine I wish the govern<sup>t</sup> would do Something to prevent it.

Rutland Octob<sup>r</sup> 16 1723\*

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APPENDIX B.

Sir, Having commissioned You to Command a Party of Men in his Majesties Service for the Security of the Towns of Brookfield, Leicester, Rutland, Shrewsbury & Worcester, These are to Order you to make up your Company thirty five able bodied effective Men & the Remainder if any there be in the s<sup>d</sup> Towns to dismiss—to keep the said Party of Men constantly Scouting (either together or a Part as may be most for the Service) & guarding & ranging about those Towns in Places most likely for discovery of the Enemy & so as best to protect & encourage the Inhabitants. Let me have a constant Acc<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>r</sup> Proceedings.

Nov. 9, 1723. [To] L<sup>t</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Wright.†

Sir

Boston, Nov 25, 1723.

I rec<sup>d</sup> y<sup>r</sup> Lett<sup>r</sup> of Nov. 21 & the Journal enclosed, I have nothing ag<sup>st</sup> Changing y<sup>r</sup> Men for better, so as the Service may be advanced & as you desire for the Scouts of y<sup>r</sup> Town, assuring my Self that you will take no Money or Reward of any Person for so doing, w<sup>ch</sup> has been practiced by Some Officers formerly of whom Compl<sup>ts</sup> were made And no Officer who shall be found guilty of any Such Corruption shall continue in the Service while I have the Hon<sup>r</sup> to Command. I shall give the Treas<sup>r</sup> ord<sup>rs</sup> about y<sup>r</sup> ammunition: I doubt not but you will be very vigilant in y<sup>r</sup> Command & if possible Shew us the Scalp of an Enemy.

W Dummer‡

Cpt Sam<sup>l</sup> Wright §

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. 72, page 262.

† Massachusetts Archives, vol. 72, page 132.

‡ Massachusetts Archives, vol. 72, page 139.

§ This is in Secretary Willard's writing.

## APPENDIX C.

Rutland april 16th 1724

May it please your Hono<sup>r</sup>

I have attended your Last Instructions, as to the gaurd and scouting it gives pretty good Content, but the Changing our Inhabitants makes the Case more diffucult then it was before, for my order was to Immediately dismiss the Inhabitants that were in the service here, Two of which were my Clerk & a Corporal, men most fit and Capeable for Service of any in the Company, which is a great weakening to the Service being men used to the Woods and Leading the men, and the men put in their Room are Irish men, who (at Least one of them) I sopose scarce ever shoot of a gun in their Lives so that we have a name for so many men when Indeed some of them stand for o. those fore mention 2 men being at first Imprest for the standing Scout ordered their affairs to attend wholly upon duty being single men, and now being out of business are moveing away to leave the Town, to loose which I had rather Loose four other men, (but I have thoughts that if your Hon<sup>r</sup> think it might be best to put them in the Room of those two Leicester men that are dismist) (tho' I have sent to the Inhabitants moved of from Rutland as I was directed yet they will not Come back, because it is sumer and Ingaged in business & those Two men before mentioned being going of) it might answer the End as well to keep them in y<sup>e</sup> Room of the Leicester men, and let them be Standing men, if your Hono<sup>r</sup> think best to grant this it is thought it may be best for the service but if not pray your Hono<sup>r</sup> to giue order for Impressing men in the Room of those Two Leicester men. there is so much diffuculty in Exchanging all the Inhabitants Som of them, quarilsome Irish men for fear they should not be in so Leasure a season or that they do more duty in gaurding or Scouting then their neighbours that I am wery with hereing them, and that unless they Could be all in pay it would be best to have five able men (that have not families) to be standing men & them to Constantly gaurd the others from field to field as they shall be required according to the discession of the officer, which I think might be better for their managing

their affairs then to be in the Service and neglect their business and loose their oppertunity: pray your Hono<sup>r</sup> would send me Instructions by the bearer that I may know what to doe and the Company Complete. I remain your Hono<sup>r</sup>s Most Dutifull and obliged Serv<sup>t</sup>  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Wright

[Superscribed] To his Hono<sup>r</sup> William Dummer Esq<sup>r</sup> Lievt Governour &c \*

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APPENDIX D.

Rutland July 8th 1724.

Sr. These are to acquaint your Hono<sup>r</sup> that Last thursday night while I was at Boston the Indians apear'd at an out Garrison, they shot from the Garrison at them made them Immediately draw of. the next day about Eleven a clock a Souldier and a boy was at a deserted house (about a quarter of a mile from Capt Hatches Garrison) they spied an Indian somewhat nearer the Garrison than they the Soldier bid the boy run to the Garrison he stayed behind presented his gun at the Indian; an other Indian Rose up by the first so he dare not shoot, but they both gatt safe to the Garrison: the same Evening Two Soldiers belonging to another garrison were going home were waylaid by two or 3 Indians the men Spieing them before they Shot at the Indians one of the Indians Shot again at them but mised them but hit a tree by them which bullet is since Cut out. the guns were all heard to the Garrisons; the Indians Left them whether they killed or wounded any of the Indians they could not tell; but they got safe home to the Garrisons. the people mad an alarm & the Indians answerd the alarm by shooting [shouting?] and when the alarm was over they beat upon the side of a deserted house Like a drum as if they did it in a banter to show us the Drum was [wanting?]† I wrote this to your hon<sup>r</sup> the sixth Curant but not sending it Direct fearing

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. 72, page 168.

† "after they had Drummed they gave a Cohoope & then were still for a while."

it might miscary as the other before, and haveing it renewed Last night they appearing at a garrison the Shoulders Shot at them and made an alarm and they answered in an other garrison when no sooner the watch shot in the flanker ; but an Indian fired at him out of a piece of wheat by the fort the bullet went very near his head but mist him. they were about every Garrison in Town by manifest signs. In Short they are so among us keeping us in a Continual hubbub so that we can do nothing but secure our Selves & Garrisons & have not men to Scout nor guard us so that we cant get hay nor tend our fields there being but four or five men in a Garrison, so that if not help Either by an addition of Souldiers or some Vollentiers to Come and Clear them from us we must of nesessity Draw of. Praying your assistance herein being our Regimentall father & a Proper person to be applied to

Trusting in your Care and Cander subscrib myself yo<sup>r</sup> hon<sup>rs</sup>  
 most Humble servt in hast Sam<sup>l</sup> Wright\*

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#### APPENDIX E.

Honord S<sup>r</sup>

haveing wrote you the third Instant of the mischief done here by the Indians the first night Co<sup>ll</sup> Tyng with my men Joyning with him marcht on next morning in pursuit of the Enemy & followed upon their Tracks out on the westward of Great Wat- chusett till at Last they Scatterd and being in hemlock wood, they Could follow the Track no further & Returned back, wanting bread. Just at their return Co<sup>ll</sup> Goff Came into Rutland & ordered Co<sup>ll</sup> Tyngs Lievt with Twelve of his men, my serg<sup>t</sup> with Twelve of my men with severall Days prouision to Martch out again and Range the woods in pursuit of the Enemy, who this morning sett out. the Lad that was not found when I wrote before we are satisfied

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. 72, page 181.

is Carried Captive the men finding where they had Tied him to a tree. I shall no more but remain your hono<sup>rs</sup> humble and obliged  
 Servt  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Wright

(Endorsed Aug. 5, 1724.)

Superscription: "on his Majty<sup>s</sup> service  
 "his Hono<sup>r</sup> William Dummer Esq<sup>r</sup>  
 "Lt Governor &c  
 "at Boston"\*

Honor<sup>d</sup> Sr

These are to Inform your Hon<sup>r</sup> that when our Scout came in the night before Last about five miles on the back of Rutland they came upon the Track of Indians coming toward the Town semeing to be as new as their own, as if they were but Just before them. they pursued upon the Trak (which seemed to be a Considerable Scout) till they Came within a mile & half of the Town then the Indians scattered so they Could no ways follow them. they Came and made Report. they ye Indians Came in at a Distance from where the Other Came in & newer, so we are satisfied they are yet by a fresh party watching of us as we have reason to fear and since Coll Tyng went from us we have made a moore particular discovery of their number & Contrivances in waylaying the meadow where they killed the people, there being in number as near as Can be thote neare about thirty by their squating places or seats in where they sett to watch, & by which we Can Learn there might be near half the Company that Lay in ambush to shoot Down those who should Come to their Releif there being but one way they Could Conveniently get to their help so that if there were but a smal party of men had gone they would Likely have shot them down before they had seen the Indians. those persons that were killed went presumtiously Contrary to my orders for I forbad them going without a considerable Company and a strong guard but they went a way privatly to their own Ruins, and the action was quit ouer before I knew. it not heareing the guns, not knowing they were gone before I heard they

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. 72, page 186.

were killed, the bearer hereof Can give your Hono<sup>r</sup> account of what is about written as well as many Others ; I am your Hono<sup>r</sup> most humble servt  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Wright

Rutland aug<sup>t</sup> 7th 1724

we are in great want of amunition our stock being quit out that night Co<sup>l</sup> Goffe went away Two Children had like to have been taken had it not been for a dogg in a feild nigh a house &c\*

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By an Express from Rutland, We are inform'd That on Monday last the 3d Instant, a company of the Enemy Indians surpriz'd and fir'd upon some of our Men at work, kill'd three, wounded another that made his escape, and took one Captive.†

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May it please your Honour

On Monday after we had travailed & scouted from Sunrise till (as nigh as we judge) about two o'clock without any refreshments 17 or 18 miles we came into Rutland where ye Enemy in a Meadow just by ye Town had kiled 3 men wounded 1 & captivated a Boy about an Hour before. none of ye Town neither Inhabitants nor Soldiers had made after them. I divided the Men into two parçells to surround ye Swamp & scoured it while we tract them out. my Party had but one man for a Guide & had left all our Cloths & Provisions behind us. We went upon yr Trail in Expectation of these things to be sent after till Rain & ye night prevented us for yt Day. I could not persuade any except two to assist in the Pursuit they alledging they could not leave y<sup>r</sup> Garrisons our Party met us about a mile out of Town at Sundown. Early ye next morning I set out with as many of my men as capable & six I obtained of Capt. Wright. I found their track & pursued about 10 miles till ye woods were so we could find no track by Reason of y<sup>r</sup> scattering. They marched away in yr own Back Track & travailed in ye night for we could find no place where y<sup>r</sup> had lodged. They diverted yr Course towards Wadchu-

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. 72, page 187.

† Boston News Letter, No. 1071, August, 1724.

setts y<sup>e</sup> number I judge to be about 12 or 13 in y<sup>r</sup> Company. For want of Bread & by reason of y<sup>e</sup> Lameness & Sickness of our Men we could pursue no further & then besides ye men y<sup>t</sup> knew y<sup>e</sup> woods declared y<sup>v</sup> were such as Indians could not be tract in for 20 miles together. Just upon our return Col. Goff arrived at Rutland. I am your Honours Obedt humble Servt.

Eleazer Tyng

Rutland Aug 4. 1724.

P. S. Colle Goffe gives his Duty to y<sup>r</sup> Honour & would have writ but y<sup>t</sup> he designs to wait upon you on y<sup>e</sup> next Saturday.\*

May it please your Honour,

I was very much Surprized with a Relation of the Management of our affairs at Rutland signed by one Haywood that after I & my men had done to the extent of our Power our Actions should be so misrepresented & such aspersions causesly be cast upon my Conduct. I hope that your honour will not judge me guilty, from the relation of one that was not psent at any of the actions. I doubt not by sufficient evidence to clear my self from what I am unjustly charged with. We met no men that took any Circuit to come to us y<sup>v</sup> came from Capt. Wright where we saw one that was wounded & one that had escaped. The first notices we had of any mischief or Danger was about three quarters of a mile behind on which we run forward as fast as possible. Before y<sup>v</sup> had well done telling y<sup>e</sup> Story all our Men came up & one Party I ordered away imediately with my Ensign to head y<sup>e</sup> Indians & went with ye other my self where y<sup>v</sup> ym selves s<sup>d</sup> y<sup>v</sup> judged the Indians were. Instead of some Pilots as ye Relation says, I had but one man. I never said that I designed to wait but to have them follow after us. The horses never came quite to ye Place but were met by one of our Men y<sup>t</sup> returned back & this was just at night. There was but one Party of the Men that went with me that came to them there. I sent men eno to back & support them that sent for help but our Rutland Guide carryed them away

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. 52, page 25.

& never went to them. They waited for y<sup>m</sup> in vain i. e. my Lieut & our men but y<sup>y</sup> not coming they came to me as I was going round ye swamp & He & I took ye Track & pursued upon them as long as y<sup>r</sup> Men were capable of going.

It being so near night, The Rains our Men being Faint we having no Cloths, Blankets nor Provisions I was forced to Return. The next day Instead of 12 Rutland men which Capt Wright promised I was forced to take up with six & wait for y<sup>m</sup> too which occasioned ye Lateness in the Morning y<sup>y</sup> complain of. I sent not my Lieut but actually went myself as far as it was possible to make out Tracks & till y<sup>e</sup> Men universally said it was to no Purpose to try to pursue upon them any longer, for ye woods were so we could find none. I should be very glad to confront this Relator & that your Honour would give me opportunity to set my management in a truer light than He has & Vindicate myself which I doubt not but that I can from all y<sup>r</sup> is alledged against me.

I am your Hon<sup>rs</sup> Obedt humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

Eleazer Tyng

P S. I am in a great hurry going with Col. Goff to Rutland or had writ fuller.\*

[Date probably August, 1724.]

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August 14, 1724, the Lieutenant-Governor was advised by the Council to order Col. Tyng to detach ten men out of his company to Rutland.†

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. 52, page 28.

† Council Records.



## APPENDIX F.\*

1724 November 27 A Journal of my Scouting since Last Muster Roll.

Novbr 27	kept garrison	20	warded
28	Ditto	21	Scouted
29	Scouted toward wachusetts & Cross toward Brookfield	22	Stormy
30	Stormy returned	23	Stormy [trees
Decembr		24	Snow hung on the
1	kept garison	25	Scouted every way
2	foul wether	26	kept garison
3	Scouted	27	Scouted
4	Could not go out with Snow Shoes nor without snow deep & soft	28	Scouted
5	kept garison	29	Stormy snow
6	Scouted	30	kept garison
7	Came in with Scout	31	Scouted
8	Stormy	Janry 1	Scouted
9	Trees hung with Ise Could not go out	2	Ditto
10	kept in no Travilling in the woods	3	Ditto
11	Scouted	4	Ditto
12	Came in being Ex-tream Cold	5	Ditto
13	Scouted	6	Stormy
14	Stormey	7	kept garison
15	kept garison	8	gaured to Brookfield mill
16	Ditto	9	warded
17	Scouted	10	Scouted
18	Scouted about 10 miles	11	Some to Brookfield some to Woster to mill
19	Came in	12	Scouted
		13	Ditto
		14	Ditto
		15	Stormy [out
		16	Ditto Could not go

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. 38A, page 100.

- |   |                          |
|---|--------------------------|
| 17 Scouted [ye town                         | 17 Scouted               |
| 18 Scoute on the back of                    | 18 Ditto                 |
| 19 Scouted over ware river                  | 19 Ditto                 |
| 20 & back of Brookfield                     | 20 Stormy                |
| 21 back into the woods                      | 21 kept garison          |
| 22 Lay out [again                           | 22 Scouted               |
| 23 Came in again                            | 23 Ditto                 |
| 24 warded                                   | 24 Ditto                 |
| 25 Scouted                                  | 25 Ditto                 |
| 26 kept garison stormy                      | 26 went a company to     |
| 27 Ditto                                    | buy Corn at brook-       |
| 28 Stormy                                   | field                    |
| 29 Scouted                                  | 27 not returned          |
| 30 Ditto                                    | 28 Returned              |
| 31 warded                                   | March 1 Scouted          |
| Febru <sup>y</sup> 1 Scouted alarm at night | 2 kept garison stormy    |
| 2 Scouted Discovered                        | 3 Ditto                  |
| some Tracks                                 | 4 went to Brookfield to  |
| 3 went out after them                       | fetch Provision          |
| but they Scattered                          | 5 Scouted                |
| we Could not follow                         | 6 Stormy                 |
| y <sup>m</sup>                              | 7 Ditto no Travilling    |
| 4 Came in                                   | 8 went to woster for     |
| 5 kept Garison                              | provision                |
| 6 Scouted                                   | 9 Returned               |
| 7 Stormy keep garison                       | 10 Scouted over ware     |
| 8 Ditto                                     | river                    |
| 9 Scouted                                   | 11 Lay out               |
| 10 gaurd to mill to                         | 12 Returned              |
| Brookfield                                  | 13 Scout went out 3 days |
| 11 not returned                             | 14 Discovered nothing    |
| 12 Returned                                 | 15 Returned              |
| 13 Scouted                                  | 16 Scouted               |
| 14 Ditto                                    | 17 Scouted               |
| 15 kept garison                             | 18 gaurded the people    |
| 16 Ditto                                    | fenceing their meadows   |

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 19 gaurded , , , , , , , ,                   | 17 Ditto  |
| 20 Scouted                                   | 18 Ditto  |
| 21 warded                                    | 19 Mustered Read the<br>Laws                            |
| 22 Scouted                                   | 20 gaurded  |
| 23 Stormy                                    | 21 Ditto  |
| 24 kept garison                              | 22 Scouted  |
| 25 Scouted                                   | 23 Ditto  |
| 26 Ditto                                     | 24 gaurded the people                                   |
| 27 Rain                                      | 25 warded   |
| 28 Ditto kept garison                        | 26 gaurded the people<br>to plow                        |
| 29 Ditto                                     | 27 Scouted  |
| 30 Scouted &c                                | 28 Ditto  |
| 31 gaurded the Stoars<br>up from marlborough | 29 gaurded  |
| Aprl 1 garde the people at<br>the Corn mill  | 30 Ditto  |
| 2 gaurded at mill<br>Ditto                   | May 1 gaurded the people<br>at plow                     |
| 3 & the carts to bring<br>Stoars             | 2 warded  |
| 4 Scouted                                    | 4 gaurded the people<br>to plant                        |
| 5 Scouted ouer ware<br>river                 | 5 Ditto   |
| 6 & toward Wattchu-<br>setts hills           | 6 Ditto at the Corn<br>mill                             |
| 7 Stormy                                     | 7 Ditto   |
| 8 Ditto                                      | 8 gaurded   |
| 9 kept garison                               | 9 warded  |
| 10 Scouted                                   | 10 Scouted Discovered<br>Indian Tracks by<br>ware river |
| 11 Ditto                                     | 11 gaurded the people<br>to plant                       |
| 12 gaurded the people<br>at their feilds     | 12 Ditto  |
| 13 Ditto                                     | 13 Ditto  |
| 14 Ditto                                     | 14 Scouted  |
| 15 Scouted & gaurded                         | 15 Ditto  |
| 16 kept garison                              |   |

16	kept garison warded		Lay out woods made
17	Scouted		fires put up blankets
18	gaurded		to deceive the In-
19	kept garison		dians &c
20	bad wether	June 1	Ranged Ditto
21	gaurded the Carts to fetch	2	ambushed the places where the
22	Stoars from Marl- borough	3	Indians were Likly to come and weiglaid
23	Ditto		the fences &c
24	Returned	4	Scout came in
25	on the 25 day	5	gaurd the people at the feilds
26	Scouted the Swamps	6	Ditto
27	Scout sent out	7	Scouted Cross to the borders of Brookfield
28	Indians came about garisons	8	Part gaurded part Scouted
29	Scouted the Swamps in pursuit	9	Ditto
30	of the Indians		
31	watched without the garisons and Ranged the Swamps with Doggs		Sam <sup>l</sup> Wright

Rutland June 9th 1725

[The above is in Capt. Wright's own writing, but the following is evidently a copy.]

A Journal of Scouting Guarding &c from June 10th to Novr 10th 1725.\*

June 10	Scouted 15 Men way laid the Swamps
11	Gaurded in the Field ;
12	Gaurded the people in the fields,
13	Scouted for 3 days 12 Men, over Ware River
14	Lay out

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. 38A, page 122.

- 15 the Scout returned ;
- 16 Guarded the people at their work ;
- 17 Guarded Ditto 14 Men.
- 18 Guarded Ditto 12 Men.
- 19 Scouted 14 Men toward Wachusett.
- 20 Lay out about 10 Miles from the Town.
- 21 Scout returned,
- 22 Scouted 9 Men Northwest of Wachusett Hills
- 23 Lay out.
- 24 Scout returned ;
- 25 Guarded 10 Men Scouted 9 North of Ware River,
- 26 Guarded the people in the Fields
- 27 kept in being Sabbath day ;
- 28 Guarded the Carts with Stores ;
- 29 from Marlborough to Rutland ;
- 30 Returned.
- July 1 Guarded the Carts back 8 mile
- 2 Scouted
- 3 Lay out
- 4 Returned
- 5 Stormy,
- 6 Storm kept Garrison & Cleansed the Arms
- 7 Scouted
- 8 Returned
- 9 Guarded 22 Men in a Meadow
- 10 Guarded 23 Men in Ditto
- 11 Scouted 12 Men round the Town
- 12 for 4 days
- 13 Lay out
- 14 Returned
- 15 Stormy
- 16 Stormy kept Garrison
- 17 Capt Willard here with his Volunteers
- 18 Guarded about the Meeting house
- 19 Capt Willard marched from Rutland wth his Men
- 20 I sent a Scout with him 2 days march who

- 21 discovered tracks they Supposed to be Indians
  - 22 Scouted round the town ranging the Swamps 19 Men
  - 23 Gaurded the Carts to Marlbo. for provisions
  - 24 Stormy
  - 25 Gaurd returned with the Stores
  - 26 Scouted about the meadows 22 Men
  - 27 Scouted Lay out
  - 28 Scouted round the meadows, 6 Miles out
  - 29 Scouted round the Town and divided our Men in 2 parties
  - 30 Gaurded the Meadows 25 Men
  - 31 Gaurded Ditto
- Augt
- 1 Warded in the Town
  - 2 Part Guarded & part Scouted
  - 3 Scouted round the meadows,
  - 4 Searched the Swamps & Gaurded
  - 5 Gaurded the meadows 25 Men,
  - 6 Scouted 22 Men 4 days
  - 7 Lay out
  - 8 Lay out
  - 9 Wet weather returned
  - 10 Wet weather Cleans'd our Arms
  - 11 Gaurded the people at the meadow 19 Men
  - 12 Gaurded the meadows and Scouted
  - 13 Scouted 2 days
  - 14 Returned
  - 15 Stay in
  - 16 Scouted
  - 17 Gaurded
  - 18 Gaurded
  - 19 Scouted
  - 20 Guarded
  - 21 Guarded
  - 22 Warded about the Town
  - 23 Scouted to Lancaster
  - 24 Returned
  - 25 Scouted to Brookfield

- 26 Gaurded the meadows
- 27 Scouted & Gaurded ; a part. a Man wounded at Dear-  
field the Indians alarmed us at the meadows.
- 28 Scouted & Gaurded sd Meadow, & discover'd Indian  
tracts
- 29 Scouted Round the Meeting house in 3 Guards
- 30 Gaurded and Scouted
- 31 Gaurded
- Sept 1 Scouted & Gaurded at the meadows
- 2 Gaurded people Stacking Hay.
- 3 Gaurded the meadows
- 4 Scouting and Guarding
- 5 kept in being Sabbath
- 6 Gaurded & Scouted ye meadows discover'd tracts.
- 7 Gaurded Stacking Hay 21 Men
- 8 2 Guards each 10 Men att the meadows
- 9 part Gaurded & part Scouted
- 10 Scouted 18 Men 4 days
- 11 Stayed out
- 12 Lay out
- 13 returned
- 14 Gaurded the people in the fields
- 15 Scouted about 10 Miles discover'd Indian Tracks
- 16 Lay out
- 17 Gaurded to Stack Hay
- 18 Gaurded the people Cutting Stalks
- 19 Warded
- 20 Scout went out for 10 days 16 Men
- 21 An Indian appear'd at my Garison & we fired at him
- 22 Gaurded the people 3 of the Scout came in sick
- 23 Fetched in Cattle ; Leut Ting Came in with his Scout
- 24 Gaurded the people to gather Corn
- 25 Gaurded
- 26 kept in being Sabbath
- 27 Stormy
- 28 Gaurded & Scouted about the Town
- 29 Gaurded the people to gather Corn

- 30 Scout Came in ; another went out over Ware river,  
 Octr 1 Scout went out for 3 days 14 Men  
 2 Lay out  
 3 Lay out  
 4 Guarded the people to gett in harvest  
 5 Scout Came in  
 6 Scout went out for 3 days 13 Men  
 7 Lay out  
 8 Lay out  
 9 returned  
 10 kept in being Sabbath  
 11 Stormy kept Garrison  
 12 Scout went for 3 days  
 13 Lay out  
 14 Came in  
 15 Guarded the Carts  
 16 kept Garrison  
 17 Warded  
 18 Went down to Shrewsbury to guard ye Stores 16 Men  
 19 Scouted  
 20 Returned with the Stores  
 21 Stormy kept Garrison  
 22 Guarded the Carts from Lancaster  
 23 Scout for 5 days to Come in at Turkey hills  
 24 Warded  
 25 Scout came in at Turkey Hill  
 26 Came into Lancaster  
 27 Came into Rutland  
 28 Thanksgiving  
 29 Scout out 10 Miles Northward Ware river 2 days  
 30 Came in  
 31 Kept in being Sabbath  
 Novr 1 Scout went out for 3 days 15 Men  
 2 Lay out  
 3 returned  
 4 Stormy kept Garrison



- 5 Stormy
- 6 Stormy
- 7 Released the Men
- 8 Scout of 3 men over Ware river
- 9 Scouted 2 Men
- 10 Scouted 4 Men

Sam<sup>l</sup> Wright

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Among the expenditures of the Province appear two items "for wages and subsistence of Capt. Wright's company":

"Dec. 12, 1724, £85 1-13-10 June 11, 1724,--Nov. 25, 1724.

"June 22, 1725, 7 17-10-7 Nov. 26, 1724,--June 9, 1725."

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#### APPENDIX G.

[From Lieutenant-Governor Dummer to Captain Wright, May, 1725.]

Cpt Wright

Sir I have Order'd Coll. — to reinforce you with twelve able bodied Men, one of which will be a Serjeant whom you must Continue in ye post of a Serjeant. When they arrive you will be strong, And therefore I expect that you keep your Men upon vigorous & constant Service: You must always have a Party of Eight or ten Men abroad to Scout on the Borders of your Town at some distance & to ly out six or eight days together in the most likely Places for the Enemies Passing, & some times to scout across the Countrey from the Borders of Brookfield to the Borders of Lancaster & Groton. They must be silent & patient in their Marches & Ambushm<sup>ts</sup>, And if they do their duty faithfully I doubt not but they will protect the Towns and Surprize the Enemy. Whên one Scout comes in forthwith order out another; It will be best not to return upon the Tracks outward, & you are to require a Journal

from Every Scout of their March & all the occurrences that should hapen therein ; & render the Same to me.

Coll. Tyng & Cpt. Willard to have their Scouts constantly——\*

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May 8, 1725, A reinforcement of one Sergeant and eleven men ordered for Rutland.†

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Rutland, may 24th 1725

Honor<sup>d</sup> Sr These are to Inform your honr that I have Received the men from your Rigement for Worcester, tho' some at Least 2 not so able and Efective as I Could be glad they were, (uizt Ebenr White & John Field both from Capt Thayer of Mendon, who are not able to Travill. his Honor the Lieut Governours order to me was that I should put Suitable officers ouer the men, & that they should Scout & gaurd, but in as much as my orders are not so Clear as I Dare uenture to put one of the Inhabitants officer over them, I have Left ym under the Care and Conduct of Capt Ponds Son at present, but in as much as he nor any of the men have not any knowledge of the woods so are not Like to do much Service in Scouting, unless there be an Inhabitant put an officer ouer them. I desire therefore you would get his honors Leave to put Moses Rice & Benjn Flag in to be the officer ouer them alternately when one Comes in, the Other to go out to have but one mans pay ; which will be Likly to have the Duty better prformed and is the mind of the Town. as for news I refer you to the Inclosd Letter to his hon<sup>r</sup> then desire you would deliver it to his hono<sup>r</sup> after you have sealed it ; with humble Respects I Remain your hono<sup>rs</sup> very humble and dutifull Servt

Sam<sup>l</sup> Wright

Superscribed To the Honourable William Dummer Esqr  
Lieut Governour and Commander in Chief &c ‡

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. 72, page 229.

† Council Records.

‡ Massachusetts Archives, vol. 72, page 237.

Boston June 2 1725

S<sup>r</sup> I just now received these from Capt Wright, at my Lodging, and having taken physick this morning cannot well come forth.

If your Honour approves of Capt Wrights proposal for Flagg and Rice to Command alternately, it seems as if it would be to very good purpose I am

S<sup>r</sup> your most obedient humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

John Chandler

On his Maj<sup>ties</sup> Service

To Coll John Chandler

Boston

Present

pr Mr Moses Rice

May it please your Hon<sup>r</sup>

having this opportunity by Thomas Taylor, These are to acquaint your Hon<sup>r</sup> that there is Ten men Come from the uper Country to Brookfield for his Maj<sup>ties</sup> Service & I have had no Orders or direction from your hon<sup>r</sup> whether they are a Recruit of my Company; or whether they are by them selves. Ensign Warner being going with Capt Willard I sopose I may send an officer to take Care of them untill further orders. I am now going ouer to see they do their Duty & wait your hon<sup>rs</sup> Direction. Your hon<sup>r</sup> was pleased to permitt 4 or 5 of my men to go with Capt White & Capt Willard &c so that we are weakned by it Except your Hon<sup>r</sup> sends men in their Room our people are now beginning to mow their out meadows we shall want a Strong guard, one Scout Came in Last night discovered no Indians; tho the watch at one of the garisons Discovered an Indian as they say 2 nights agoe by a Garison as they lay at some distance this morn- ing we found a mare as we Sopose Shot that her guts hung out & Dead & Sopose the Indians shot her.\*

Y<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>rs</sup> most humble & obliged servt

Rutland July 10th 1725

Sam<sup>l</sup> Wright†

\* A meadow in Rutland East Wing, now the southerly part of Princeton, was for many years known as *Dead Mare Meadow*.

† Massachusetts Archives, vol. 72, page 252.

Honoured Sr. these are to Inform your Hon<sup>r</sup> that Capt Samuel Willard marcht out from Rutland the 19th Instant with 52 able bodied men and Camped the first night south of ware river then marched west of Watchusett hills my Scout Camp<sup>t</sup> with them 2 nights Came from there yesterday brought news their Scouts Discovered Indian Tracks &c I Let Capt Willard have five of my best men and have five of his men in their Room to Incorage the Expedition. Likewise furnisht with what Provisions he wanted out of our Stoars. I have Received 4 men from Coll Buckminster &c your Hon<sup>r</sup> to Command Samuel Wright\*

Rutland July 23d 1725

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July 28. 1725. A warrant was approved by the Council to pay John Taylour (a soldier) the sum of "thirty shillings for his Horse Hire & expence in riding express from Rutland to Boston & back by Framingham."†

---

Sir I approve of your Projection for watching the Motions of the Indians about Rutland meadows, and have given directions to Mr. Brintnall according. I desire you would assist him with your advice and put him and your own People forward that so no time be lost in the Execution of this design‡

Cpt Wright

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Aug 10 1725 Sergt. William Brintnall was ordered to take command of "such of the men belonging to Capt Samuel Willards Company as are returned into any of the frontier towns & with them forthwith to march Out in Quest of the Enemy & to ly round

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. 72, page 254.

† Council Records.

‡ This has no date or signature. Probably instructions of Lieutenant-Governor Dummer, in August, 1725.

the meadows of Rutland while the People are making & Getting in their hay: You must be very secret in your Motions & use all possible means to conceal your selves from the Enemy. And be very watchful to make seasonable discovery of them & to use all possible Advantage in Attacking them. You must Consult with Cpt Wright & take his advice for your further Proceeding: If you can not make twelve out of those that are return'd you are directed to enlist what are wanting of that Number\*

Rutland August 19, 1725.

Honoured Sr

After my duty to you presented these are to Informe your Honr that by vertue of the order I Received from you to go to Rutland in quest of the Indian Enemie and Scout about the Meadow with twelve Volenteers I have accordingly obeyed Said orders by having the twelve men Eight of which are Capt Willards and four who I Enlisted and Came to Rutland with ym on fryday Last & have Ever since Scouted and guarded the meadows for ye people in their getting of Hay we discovered no Signs of Indians as yet but Expect them dayly for Ensighn Stevens is arrived with his son from Canada, and saith that y<sup>r</sup> was a Company designed for New England when he Came from Canada. he Intends to be att Boston with your Honour Monday next all at present I Remain Your Hon<sup>r</sup>s Ever Devoted

Servt Wm Brintnall

The new men I Enlisted were Paul Brintnall, Benjn Dudley, Saml Goodenow, Jonathan Priest.

Capt. Willards men were Will<sup>m</sup> Brintnall, Sam<sup>l</sup> How, James Nutting, Joshua Parker, Cyprian Wright, Deliv<sup>ee</sup> Brooks, Thomas Lamb, Jacob Moor.†

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. 72, page 256.

The roll of this detachment is in Massachusetts Archives, vol. 91, page 173. It shows service from Aug. 17 to Oct. 27, 1725. The pay of Sergt. Brintnall was 32 shillings 6 pence per week, and that of the men 28 shillings.

† Endorsed letter to Wm. Dummer. Massachusetts Archives, vol. 72, p. 258.

A letter from Col. Eleazar Tyng, Dunstable, August 30, 1725, reads: "I have ordered a Scout from Brookfield & Rutland each of them distinctly to be kept Constantly out, the men to lie out for 4 or 5 nights at a time & to go about 15 or 20 miles from the Towns. The Number I left to ye Direction of the Commanding officer. The Rest of ye Towns und<sup>r</sup> Capt Wrights Inspection to keep out constantly smaller Scouts & to be exceeding vigilant."

Referring to his plans for the future Col. Tyng says that "young Stevens lately arrived from Canada informs me that there is a Place just by Pigwocket which the Indians call half way where they meet & muster & that he has been at it," and the Colonel proposed scouting in that direction.\*

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"A Muster Roll of the Company in His Majestys Service under the command of Samuel Wright Captain," Nov., 1723, to June, 1724. The roll contains 61 names, the following belonging to Rutland :

Samuel Wright,	Cyprian Wright,	Edward Rice,
Aaron Rice,	John Lecore,	John Lecore, Jr.,
Moses How,	William Fenten,	Duncan McFarland,
William Gibbs,	Eleazar Ball,	Malcom Hendry,
Simon Davis,	Joseph Wood,	Alexander Bothel,
Jonas Brown,	Robert Mclem,	James Clark,
John Clark,	John Crawford,	Andrew Mclem,
John Hameton.†		

---

Sergt. Brintnall says, Sept. 6, 1725: "the people have got in yr Hay," and he wanted to go off on a long scout.‡

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Oct. 20, 1725, Col. Tyng received orders to reduce the number

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. 52, page 258.

† Massachusetts Archives, vol. 91, page 116.

‡ Massachusetts Archives, vol. 52, page 266.

of soldiers on the frontiers, "the Enemy being drawn off & the Season of danger pretty well over"; and Rutland was to have 25 men.\*

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July, 1724, there were 38 men posted at Rutland.

February, 1725, Rutland had 25 out of 149 men in service in that region.

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#### APPENDIX H.

JOSEPH WILLARD, a son of Samuel and Sarah (Clark) Willard, was born in Saybrook, Connecticut, and graduated at Yale College in 1714. He received the degree of Master of Arts from Harvard College in 1723.

After a short settlement as minister at Sunderland, he went to Rutland to preach, and on the 12th of July, 1721, was invited by a unanimous vote of the town to settle there. Mr. Willard on the same day (being in the town) signified his acceptance of the call, provided "they give him suitable maintainance and settlement," whereupon the inhabitants voted him as a "sallary Eighty pounds a year for the first three years, after y<sup>t</sup> ninety pounds pr year"; and for a "settlement" the sum of one hundred pounds "in work or money, to be paid and performed when he shall have occasion and call for it, provided that he does settle with us in Gospel Order." This proposition being satisfactory to Mr. Willard, he enteréd upon his work. Some of the difficulties which he encountered during the next year are set forth in the following letter, which is recorded in the first volume of "Records of the Proprietors of Rutland," although it does not appear in the town book.

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. 72, page 263.

To Capt Samuel Wright, Leu<sup>t</sup> Simon Davis and Ens Joseph Stevens the Selectmen of Rutland

Gentlemen — Sometime in the year 1721 the Inhabitants of this Town at a town meeting were pleased to make choyce of me for their minister, and for my Incouragement voted me a stated Sallery 80 pounds pr annum for the first three years and then £90 pr annum and also £100 in money or work towards building, to be paid as I should have occasion for it, to carry on my work which proposealls after Serious Consideration and humble adresses to heaven for direction I did accept, and accordingly began my building but have not been able to go on with it by reason of the peoples backwardness and neglect of helping it forward by their work as they might have done, which, as also the Remoucal of nigh or about Two thirds of the Inhabitants out of the town, has Discouraged me from any further attempt towards building, and with the Concurance of several other things have altered my thought of settleing among you.

I have therefore (Eying the Divine providence therein) thot it my duty to acquaint you with my purpose and design speedily to Remoue from you and desire you to Communicate this to the Inhabitants that they may timely seek out for some other person to labour in the work of the Ministry among them.

I am your serv<sup>t</sup>

Oct. 19. 1722

Joseph Willard

No action appears to have been taken by the town upon this communication, but Mr. Willard continued his services; and the following January purchased several lots of land adjoining the estate of his relative, Capt. Wright, which indicated a purpose to remain. The buildings which he erected were on lot No. 61, known as the Ministry Lot, near the meeting house, and lately occupied by the hotel. A portion of Mr. Willard's house, forming a part of the hotel, remained in good preservation for over one hundred and sixty years, and when removed, a few months since, was in better condition than the more modern building adjoining.

Mr. Willard's reconsideration of his decision, "speedily to Remoue from" Rutland, cost him his life. After his death on the 14th of August, 1723, as previously related, his widow (whose maiden name was Susanna Lynde) removed the household goods to Sudbury, and subsequently, with her two little children, William and Joseph, the latter born three months after her husband's de- cease, she went to Saybrook, the early home of Mr. Willard.





**OLD TAVERN, RUTLAND.**

Site of Rev. Mr. Willard's House.



The inventory of Mr. Willard's estate, as copied from the original on file in Middlesex Probate Office, is as follows :

An Inventory of ye Real and Personal Estate of ye Rev<sup>nd</sup> Mr Joseph Willard of Rutland dec<sup>d</sup> Intestate as it was presented to us by w<sup>d</sup> Susanna willard and m<sup>r</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Willard administrators on s<sup>d</sup> Estate and by Cap<sup>t</sup> Thomas Brintnall and John Rice attorneys for s<sup>d</sup> adm<sup>rs</sup> In Sep<sup>tember</sup> October and November 1723 as followeth viz.

Imprimis his wearing aprill and horse [house?] furniture at	21. 07. 06
Item his Libri with ye assistance of ye Rev <sup>d</sup> Isrel Loring & w <sup>m</sup> Cook at	83. 03. 04
Item plate and Som Smal Silver vesals : Snufh boxes pen Knife & hamer	19. 07. 06
Item beds & beding Table Lining and Mantle for Children at	63. 00. 06
Item Coten wool Lining yarn and Meal Sacks at	06. 17. 10
Item puter tin and Som fine Earthen ware at	13. 00. 00
Item Brace Iron and wooden ware at	19. 09. 00
Item one horse and one Cow at	22. 00. 00
Item his Lands in s <sup>d</sup> Rutland ye Lot on which ye House Stands and ye Two halfe lots with ye Divisions belong- ing to them : and all ye buildings and fences Euen all ye Improvements Made there on at	405. 00. 00
Sam <sup>l</sup> Stone mark Johh x Meed his Peter Moor*	

The amount of personal estate was subsequently reduced by £47 owing to a "mistake in casting" the value of the books, etc. The funeral charges were £10.

Among the names appearing in the administrators' accounts are the following : Samuel Willard, a brother of Joseph ; Hannah Lynde, Robert Macklem, Caleb Lyman, Joseph Crosby, Eleazer Heywood, John Dakin, John Guillet (Frenchman), Edward Joyner, Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, Duncan McFarland, Thomas Amsden.

\* This was acknowledged by the appraisers before a justice of the peace at Sudbury.

The heirs of Mr. Willard made claim to the ministry lot in Rutland, or certainly to the improvements made upon it, and the matter was in controversy for several years. In 1729, Rev. Mr. Frink, the successor in the pastoral office, offered to relinquish the sum of £40., voted to him, if the town would pay to Mr. Willard's heirs the sum of £46. 3. 6, "for what said Willard did in erecting buildings &c on Lot No. 61." The proposal was thankfully accepted, the money paid over, and the controversy ended.

Mrs. Willard married, previous to 1729, Rev. Andrew Gardner, for several years minister at Worcester, and subsequently at Lunenburg, from which latter place he was dismissed in 1732. He is described as a very eccentric man, and was "accused of remissness of duty, and of too ardent love for the chase of the deer and the sports of the hunter."

He removed to "Number 4," on the Connecticut river (Charlestown, N. H.); and during the French and Indian war he served as chaplain at Fort Dummer. It is an interesting fact that one of Mrs. Willard's sons, Joseph, was in 1760, with his wife and five children, taken captive by the Indians. The youngest child was killed, and the rest of the family carried to Canada, where they remained until the surrender of Montreal, when they were released.

In 1729, Mr. Gardner, in behalf of the children of Rev. Joseph Willard, petitioned the General Court for a grant of Province Land, stating that in defending his own life Mr. Willard "did in all probability kill one or more Indians." A tract of three hundred acres of land was granted, and located easterly of Wachusett mountain, northerly from the present village of East Princeton.

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## APPENDIX I.

JOSEPH STEVENS was the son of Simon and Mary (Willard) Stevens, of Sudbury. He married Prudence Rice, and resided in Sudbury, Framingham, Lancaster and Rutland. Of the latter town he was one of the original proprietors, and settled upon Lot No. 15, where he built his dwelling. He was a very worthy man, gaining the esteem of his neighbors, and was selected to fill many important offices in the town, such as selectman, treasurer, deacon in the church, and officer in the militia. He was also keeper of an inn from 1723 to 1730.

After the attack upon his children on the 3d of August, 1723, as previously related, while grieving for the dead, Deacon Stevens spared no efforts to accomplish the release of the two captives. The Indians, soon after leaving Rutland on their journey northward, manifested an intention of killing the youngest boy, Isaac, then only four years old, but his brother Phineas, who was about seventeen years of age, quickly apprehending their design, succeeded in making them understand that if they would spare the child, he would relieve them on the journey of all trouble in relation to him by carrying him on his back. The life of the boy was spared, and Phineas fulfilled his agreement and carried him through the long and weary march to Canada.

In furtherance of his purpose to find and redeem his boys, in the spring of 1724 the father undertook a journey to Canada, a project involving great expense, toil and danger. Before starting on his mission he enlisted the sympathy of Lieutenant-Governor Dummer in his behalf, and the latter, in a letter to the Intendant-General of Canada, under date of April 15, 1724, wrote: "The unhappy Man M<sup>r</sup> — Stevens, had two of his Children murder'd by the Salvages & two more carried into Captivity by them. I know I need not say anything to a Gent of y<sup>r</sup> Rank & Goodness to move you to a generous Compassion for the distress'd."\* Whatever this letter may have accomplished, the father, after remaining in Canada several months, succeeded in obtaining the release of

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. 51, page 399.

the oldest boy, Phineas, and in the month of August, they arrived safely at their home in Rutland.\*

In regard to the boy, Isaac, it is stated that he was given by Gray Lock to the Cagnowagas, securing by the gift the friendship of that tribe; and this act rendered his release a matter of greater difficulty. It was, however, finally achieved, after another visit of the father to Canada some two years after his capture. This boy easily acquired the habits of the Indians, entered into the rude sports of the children, and became so much attached to his Indian mother that he would willingly have remained with her. When grown to manhood, he married in Rutland and had a large family.

Phineas also married in Rutland, but about the year 1745, removed with his family to "No. 4," now Charlestown, N. H., and there took a prominent position in public affairs. His observation of "Indian habits and character, and of their peculiar mode of strategy and warfare," during his captivity, specially fitted him for the military duties he was called to perform. In 1749 he was commissioned by the Governor of the Province of Massachusetts to go to Canada and negotiate for the redemption of captives held by the Indians; and he subsequently made several journeys for the same purpose. In one of these visits he succeeded in securing the release of John Stark, afterwards General, at the cost of an Indian pony valued at £103. One of his own children was taken captive. For a more extended sketch of his life and services, see History of Charlestown, N. H.; Memoir and Official Correspondence of Gen. John Stark; and papers in Massachusetts Archives.

Soon after the return of Deacon Stevens from Canada the first time, he addressed the following memorial to the Governor and General Court:

To the Hon<sup>ble</sup> William Dummer Esq<sup>r</sup>

Lieu<sup>t</sup> Governour and Comander in Cheif in and over the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, the Honob<sup>le</sup> His Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Council and House of Representatives in General Court assembled at Boston November 11<sup>th</sup> 1724.

\* See Letter of Sergt. Wm. Brintnall, *ante* page 65: "Ensign Stevens is arrived with his son from Canada."

The Memorial of Joseph Stevens of Rutland in the County of Middlesex,  
Yeoman

Humbly Sheweth,

That Whereas your Memorialist the last Summer went to Canada in order to Redeem two of his Children that were taken Captive by the Indian Enemy, one of whom he obtained, but the other Still remains a Prisoner in their hands:— That Y<sup>r</sup> Mem<sup>t</sup>. when at Mont Real, discoursing with Several of the Cheifs of the Indians, they seemed very desirous to have an Exchange of Captives, and said they would become Engaged that if the Hostages here might be released, they would give Fifteen For One, or otherwise they would release all our people in their hands, provided they might have all theirs in our hands released, and the Indian Interpreter afterwards told me Several times that they were very uneasy about the Indian Prisoners here, Especially the Hostages and that I might depend upon it, the Indians would do any thing in reason in order to obtain their own people again, and would undoubtedly make good what they said to me when I discoursed with them as aforesaid, if this Govern<sup>t</sup> would give their Consent.

And Inasmuch as there are upwards of Fifty of our People Prisoners in the hands of the Indians, that have been taken this War who unless some Speedy care be taken to Release them will probably Turn Roman Catholicks and Embrace their Religion as above one hundred others, (taken Prisoners Before this Warr) have done, who will by no means be persuaded to Return to their native Country again, but are led on in Superstition and Idolatry.

The Mem<sup>t</sup> therefore out of pity and Compassion to the poor Captives in the hands of the Indians, is Emboldened to give this humble Representation to Yo<sup>r</sup>. Hon<sup>rs</sup>., praying, that some Speedy and effectual method may be taken for the Redemption of the English Captives out of the hands of the barbarous Salvages:—

Inasmuch as they may be obtained by Exchange as aforesaid, that So those that are now led on in darkness and Ignorance may be brought to their Native places again where they may have the benefit of the Christian Religion instead of Paganism and Idolatry which they are now brought up in; and the Mem<sup>r</sup> may have the Comfort and Enjoyment of his Child again, as well as others, their Freinds and Relatives in Captivity as aforesaid.

And, as in duty bound, the Mem<sup>t</sup> Shall ever pray &c.

Joseph Stevens

In the House of Representatives, Nov<sup>r</sup>. 30<sup>th</sup> 1724 Read and Sent up,  
W Dudley Speak<sup>r</sup>.\*

No action appears to have been taken by the Council upon this communication.

\* Massachusetts Archives, vol. II, page 407.

The expenses of Captain Stevens in his efforts for his children's liberation bore very heavily upon him and nearly impoverished him. His severe loss appealed to the sympathy of all, and assistance was tendered him from various sources : in Framingham, at about the time of his first trip to Canada, a collection was taken in the church for him amounting to £15. 5. He was obliged, however, to dispose, one after another, of some of his lots of land ; and finally in 1732 he petitioned the General Court for a grant of unappropriated land in the Province to "settle his sons on." This petition is, unfortunately, missing ; but the Court record states the substance of his request on the ground that "his great losses & sufferings occasioned by the late Indian war, more especially his great Charge in two Journeys to Canada, which he took to get his two Sons released out of Captivity which has obliged him to sell the greatest part of his land."

A grant was made him of 200 acres of land, which was subsequently surveyed and laid out southeasterly from Wachusett mountain, in the present town of Princeton ; and seven months after this Mr. Stevens sold the tract for £100., current money, to Benjamin Houghton.

Deacon Stevens died at a very advanced age, November 15, 1769, having suffered in the later years of his life from extreme poverty.

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#### APPENDIX J.

URIAH WARD, who was killed at Rutland, August 3, 1724, belonged to Worcester, being a son of Obadiah and Joanna (Harrington) Ward, born in Sudbury, December 3, 1704.

He was one of the guard posted at Rutland in the summer of 1724, and was less than twenty years of age at the time of his death.

The inventory of his estate is as follows :



Worcester January<sup>th</sup>6 1724/5

We the Subscribers being Chosen and Sworne to make an inventory of the Estate of Vuriah ward Lat Desesed, it is as folloeth—

1	a peas of Land of one hundred akers at	70 - 0 - 0	
2	a fiftene aker Right in the North halfe parte of worceser	25 - 0 - 0	95-0-0
3	their being two Coats the best at	2-10-0	
4	the other at	0-16-0	
5	one paire of briches at	0-3-0	
6	their being two Shirts the one at	0-3-6	
7	the other Shirts at	0-4-0	
8	a silk hankerchief	0-7-0	
9	one neck cloth at	0-3-0	
10	a paire of gloues at	0-1-3	
11	two paire of Stockins at	0-2-6	
12	a pice of Cloth at	0-9-8	
13	two Jackets at	0-3-0	
14	two Stears at	4-0-0	9-2-11
15	the Deets amounting to 7. 9		
	Total		104-2-11
	John Hubbard	} prisers	
	Jacob Holmes		
	Zephaniah Rice		

His brother, Richard Ward, administered on the estate, and other heirs named are Joanna, his mother, of Framingham; Daniel Heywood, and Daniel Ward, his brother; Obediah Ward, of Marlboro'; and Isaac and Thankfull, children of a deceased brother.

In the administrator's account among the items are the following received :

of the Province Treasurer for wages as a Soldier	£3. 17
of one Allen a Soldier note	1. 10.

and paid :

Capt Wright of Rutland for the funeral of said deced	0. 8. 0
Daniel Ward looking up two steers that were in the woods and keeping em about two Months	0. 15. 0
Doct <sup>r</sup> Prescott	2. 5. 0

JOSEPH WOOD, another victim, was a son of Joseph and Mary Wood, born at Charlestown, March 16, 1700, and one of the early settlers of Rutland. He was probably never married.

The inventory of his estate was taken by Samuel Wright, Joseph Stevens and Moses How, and the original on file is in the handwriting of Capt. Wright. The real estate comprised two 30 acre house lots numbered 21 and 30, with a 50 acre lot, "both lying together on or by a hill called Brintnall Hill," valued with house, orchards &c. £120. Other lots and rights at Birch Hill, Mill Brook, &c. £110.

The personal estate (which was used to pay debts) is recorded as follows :

to Cloathes	£ 11 - 9-0	
to one Swine	0-11-6	
to money from Mr. Stevens	0 - 9-7	
to money	7 - 1-0	
to 2 mairs	9 - 0-0	
to tools	3-10-1	
to a wigg	1 - 7-6	
to blankets	0-15-0	34. 3. 8.

to which was subsequently added a pistol, a coat and a horse, the latter valued at £4.

Mr. Wood at the time of his death was a constable of the town, and a settlement between his administrator and the selectmen appears on record.

The following items are among the expenditures on account of the estate :

Will <sup>m</sup> Tomson for digging the Grave	s 5. 0
Cap <sup>t</sup> Wright for the Coffin	6. 0
Drink and Gloves & necessaries for the funeral	17. 6

In examining the files of the *Boston News Letter*, the following articles attracted my attention, and may appropriately be given a place in this brief notice of Mr. Wood :

On Thursday last the 13th Currant the following Remarkable Relation was brought to the publisher of this Intelligence, to be made Publick, by Mr. *Samuel French* of Concord, who that Day Fortnight, the 28th of Nov. past, being at Rutland, with Mr *Joseph Wood*, formerly of Charlstown, now of said Rutland, Shingling the Roof of the Meeting-House, the Weather all over Cloudy, with a Strong S. E. wind; about 9 a Clock in the Morning, Mr *French* hearing a ratling on the Shingles, he said to Mr *Wood*, *It Hails, and we must leave off*; No reply'd *Wood*, *It is not a shower of Hail*, but Barly; both being astonished at it, left off shingling, and found it to be real dry Barly, both by Taste and feeling. the shower lasted about two Minutes, and Supposes there might fall about a Peck of it, and also some Rye; They carryed Some of it to Mrs *Willard*. the Minister's wife; it Snowed afterwards; And Mr *French* says, that several others also did see it, and that they intended to pick up some of it to Sow, it is the more observable, that 'tis thought no Barly yet grows, or was Sowed in the Town. To the truth where of the said Mr *French* is ready to make Oath, as well as *Wood*.\*

Our last gave you a Relation of a shower of Barly at Rutland; and since some others of that Town confirm the Truth of it; but it was a wrong Information we then had, of no Barly's being sow'd in that Town, for there had been.†

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JAMES CLARK, the third of the men killed, was a much older man than either Wood or Ward, and left a wife and seven children. The small estate shown by the inventory below was scarcely sufficient to meet the wants of that large family. I have been unable to find any record indicating the former residence of Mr. Clark, but he may have come to Rutland from Ireland, as did others with whom he was associated.

A True Inventory of all & Singular the Reall & personall Estate of James Clark who Deces<sup>d</sup> the 3<sup>d</sup> of aug<sup>t</sup> 1724 praised by Samuel Wright Moses How & Rob<sup>t</sup> M<sup>c</sup>lem October 2<sup>d</sup> 1724

\* Boston News Letter, No. 985, December, 1722.

† Boston News Letter, No. 986, December, 1722.

	£	s	d
Imp <sup>rs</sup> his Cash & apparill Cash 5£ apparill £1	6.	0.	0.
Item Real Estate half a twenty acre lot & half the Rights	80.	0.	0.
Item personall Estate To a Steer Coming 3 years old at	2.	0.	0.
To a Calf at *15	0.	15.	0.
To a hors Colt Coming four years old at	5.	0.	0.
To Seven grown hoggs at a year & uantage	8.	0.	0.
To Two Shoats @ 10 <sup>s</sup>	1.	0.	0.
To Six piggs at 3 <sup>s</sup>	0.	18.	0.
Item To a beedstead Beed & furniture at	3.	10.	0.
To forty pounds of Sheeps wool at 15 <sup>d</sup>	2.	10.	0.
Item To peauter four great basons at 2/ 2 Smal Ditto			
Six Spoons 5.	0.	13.	4.
Item Iron ware one pot & hook at 12/ one Smal Ditto			
at 3/6 Tramils 5/	1.	0.	6.
To a Spining Wheel 15/	0.	15.	0.
To a hand Saw 5/ one auger 2/6 2 axes 6/ 2 Spad			
Tips 2/ an add 4/ a Chisell 2/	1.	1.	6.
To flax in the Straw	1.	0.	0.
Item To four Tubs of butter weight 20 <sup>lb</sup> Each	3.	4.	0.
To 2 Coolers at 1/ To a Churn 3/ To a pail & Sive 1/	0.	6.	0.
To a Tub 2/6 To Two Chests 8/ Two Chairs 3/	0.	13.	6.
To Indian Corn 30 bushels £3 12 Ditto Rye £1. 16			
2 wheat 8/	5.	13.	0.
To 4 bus <sup>ls</sup> Barly at 2/3: 9			
To a Cart & wheels Irons Excepted	1.	0.	0.
Total	124-	19-	10
Sam <sup>ll</sup> Wright			
robert maklem			
Moses How			

Presented in Probate Court, September 13, 1725.

The widow, Isabella Clark, administered on the estate (John Crawford of Rutland and Jona. Stanhope of Sudbury, bondsmen). There were seven children: John, Hannah, Anna, Isabella, Jane aged 17, Adam aged 14, and Elizabeth aged 4. The widow died before February 3, 1726-7. The real estate, valued at £108., including house and 15 acres of lot No. 14 on Meeting House Hill (South by Country road, North & East by Highway), was set off to the eldest son, John, in June, 1727. Among the

names appearing on these papers are Moses How, glazier, John Crawford, blacksmith, Robert Lotherage, Andrew Macklam and Malkem Hendry.

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#### APPENDIX K.

SAMUEL WRIGHT was born in Sudbury, April 9, 1670, a son of Edward and Hannah Wright. His wife was Mary, daughter of Cyprian Stevens. He early became one of the proprietors of Rutland, and was one of the committee appointed by them to manage its affairs; and, as one of the first to settle in the town he became familiar with its history, and assumed a conspicuous position, being moderator at the first town meeting, in June, 1722, and serving subsequently as town clerk, selectman, assessor, etc.

He was also one of the deacons of the church, and for twenty years was evidently the principal man of Rutland. Upon the incorporation of the County of Worcester, in 1731, he was commissioned one of its Justices of the Peace.

Many of the records of the proprietors and of the town were written by him, and one can scarcely examine the papers connected with any Rutland estate previous to 1739 without finding the writing or the name of Mr. Wright.

As early as 1722 he was in the service of the Province, having command of the military scouts guarding the towns and watching for the Indians, and, until the peace of 1726, he was busily employed in similar duties. His letters and journals appearing in these pages comprise about all that is known of his military career. His death occurred at Rutland, January 15, 1739-40, and his large estate was left by will to his son William, and daughters, Hannah Rice, Dorothy Phelps, Mary Willard, Abigail Willard and Isabel Frink. A portion of the house in which he lived in Rutland was standing a few years since.

The next meeting was held Tuesday evening, May 5th.

Present: Messrs. Crane, T. A. Dickinson, Wall, Wesby, Maynard, C. Jillson, Jackson, Estey, Simmons, Tolman, Lyford, Cutler, Staples, Paine, J. A. Smith, Hubbard, Gould, Stedman and Abbot, members (19); and 10 visitors.—29.

Dr. William T. Souther and Mr. John I. Souther were elected to membership in the Society.

The Librarian reported 396 contributions for the month.

Mr. Caleb A. Wall read a valuable paper upon "The Old Center School House, and its relation to the early school days of Worcester."\*

This was followed by remarks upon the subject from Messrs. Tolman, Simmons, Paine and Estey; and Mr. Albert S. Brown, a visitor.

The President, Mr. Crane, read a paper entitled "Early Colonial Settlements on the North Atlantic Coast." This paper had special reference to New Hampshire settlements.†

The meeting was then adjourned.

\* Printed in the *Worcester Daily Spy*.

† Previously read before the Sons and Daughters of New Hampshire, and printed in the Memoirs of that society.

Monthly meeting, Tuesday evening, June 2nd.

Present: Messrs. Crane, C. Jillson, Rice, Wesby, Edwards, Estey, Simmons, Meriam, Maynard, T. A. Dickinson, Seagrave, Staples, H. M. Smith, Gould, Wall, Sumner, Abbot, and Brooks of Princeton—18.

211 donations for the month were reported by the Librarian. He also read letters concerning the Downes Collection, recently received, which comprised 400 bound volumes, 600 almanacs, 200 miscellaneous papers, 10 New England Primers, and a collection of toy books printed by Isaiah Thomas. Remarks upon the value of the collection were made by Judge Jillson and Mr. Rice.

On motion of Mr. H. M. Smith a committee of five was appointed by the President to arrange for the Annual Excursion and Field Day of the Society. The gentlemen designated were (Mr. Smith declining to serve): Daniel Seagrave, F. P. Rice, P. A. Lee, George Sumner and Herbert Wesby. On motion the President was by vote made a member of the Committee.

Hon. Clark Jillson read a Memorial of the late Dr. Harvey Dwight Jillson, a member of the Society some years deceased.

On motion of Mr. Staples it was voted to invite Senator Hoar to read a paper before the Society.

The meeting was then adjourned.

SEVENTH ANNUAL FIELD DAY  
OF  
THE WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY  
TO THE  
HISTORIC TOWN OF MENDON,  
JUNE 17, 1885.

This year the Society were almost unanimous in their choice in selecting "Old Mendum" as the locality to pass their Annual Field Day. Accordingly a Committee of Arrangements, consisting of Daniel Seagrave, Franklin P. Rice, Pardon A. Lee, George Sumner and Herbert Wesby (the President, Mr. E. B. Crane, being added by vote), was appointed at the June meeting to carry out the wishes of the Society, and selected the historic June 17th as the time for its observance. The morning was a little inauspicious on account of rain, but before the party left the cars at Millville the sun shone, and the remainder of the day was sunny and fair, and all that could be desired.

The following gentlemen composed the party: Rev. Carlton A. Staples of Lexington, Francis E. Blake of Boston, Judge Adin Thayer, Sheriff A. B. R. Sprague, Superintendent of Schools A. P. Marble, President E. B. Crane, Albert Tolman, J. L. Estey, Geo. Maynard, H. W. Hubbard, C. S. Chapin, R. O'Flynn, Thos. A. Dickinson, R. N. Meriam, Lieut. F. G. Hyde of Oxford, John Brooks of Princeton, J. A. Smith, A. K. Gould, W. F. Abbot, A. E. Peck, C. A. Wall (*Worcester Spy*), C. B. Knight, W. H. Bartlett, P. A. Lee, Daniel Seagrave, H. M. Smith, H. H. Chamberlin, Joseph Lovell, B. A. Leonard of Southbridge, E. W. Shumway (*Worcester Gazette*) and F. P. Rice.



Leaving Worcester on the 10 A. M. Providence train for Millville, omnibuses were taken for Mendon, passing by various points of historic interest. The first halt made was at the birthplace of Hon. Adin Thayer, where his grandfather, Caleb Thayer, first settled; and the next was at the old Chestnut Hill Meeting House, built in 1769, and here all alighted and a stop was made for half an hour, the old edifice in the meantime being examined and commented upon. By request, Rev. C. A. Staples gave a brief address from the high pulpit, in reference to matters connected with the history of the ancient structure. The only change of note made in it since its construction was the substitution, in 1869, just one hundred years after its erection, of several pews of more modern style in place of some of the original square box pews. The timbers are of oak, and the gallery long seats are of solid oak plank. Reference was made to some of the first preachers in the house, Rev. Benjamin Balch, Rev. Caleb Alexander, Rev. Preserved Smith, Rev. Samuel Doggett and others, all but the first named alternating with their services at the First Church in Mendon. Afterwards the pulpit was supplied by ministers of different churches and various denominations; preachers of all shades of theological opinion have spoken here, from the Shaker to, and including, the Mormon.\* For many years there has been no preaching in it except in the summer season, from the difficulty of warming the building. Until the year 1845, when the territory, including Chestnut Hill Parish, then known as the South Parish of Mendon, was incorporated as the town of Blackstone, Mendon town meetings were held in it. Rev. Adin Ballou gave the address at the centennial celebration of this old meeting house, Oct. 6th, 1869. After the remarks of Rev. Mr. Staples, Old Hundred was sung by an extemporized choir in the gallery, Henry M. Smith of Worcester, leader, and Stephen Legg of Blackstone, the veteran violinist, played his favorite instrument.

The old cemetery near the church was then visited, after which the party proceeded on the route, the next halt being at Wigwam

\* Ezra Benson, a prominent Salt Lake Mormon, once spoke in this church in exposition of his peculiar belief. He was a native of Mendon.

Hill, the heights of which were explored, and the stone foundation of the old observatory formerly standing upon it noticed. This old tower was torn down about fifteen years ago. It was built by Thompson Taft, father of the Thompson Taft now owning the premises, the estate being formerly owned by the latter's grandfather, Nathaniel Taft, who built the house at the foot of the hill. This is on the Mendon side of the town line. From the top of this hill twelve of the surrounding towns can be seen.

Among the old homesteads next passed by was that of Abraham Staples of the third generation, great-grandfather of Rev. Carlton A. Staples, an honorary member of the Society, who was born there, and went to school and taught school in the neighboring school house. Close by is the birthplace of Rev. Mr. Staples's cousin, Judge Hamilton B. Staples. Soon after came Nipmuck pond, opposite which is the site of the settlement of the first Robert Taft, in 1680, afterwards the Col. William Crowne place, now owned by Luther Taft. Col. Crowne was the first town clerk of Mendon. Next was noticed the birthplace of Mrs. Huston, the founder of the Taft Public Library at Mendon. Just before reaching the central village of Mendon was noticed the elegant mansion of Mr. Darling, formerly owned and occupied by Hon. Jonathan Russell, Member of Congress, Minister Plenipotentiary to Sweden, and one of the Commissioners to sign the treaty of peace with Great Britain at Ghent in 1814, his associates being John Quincy Adams, Albert Gallatin, Henry Clay and James A. Bayard.

At Mendon Town Hall the visitors were met and welcomed by the Selectmen of the Town, and by Dr. John G. Metcalf, Rev. Adin Ballou and others. Before dinner the Taft Public Library was visited, and other places of historic interest. At 1.30 P. M. dinner was partaken of, the tables being set in the Town Hall, and the divine blessing was asked by Rev. Mr. Staples. After dinner, which was a bountiful one, the company was called to order by Mr. Daniel Seagrave, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, who introduced Mr. E. B. Crane, President of the Society. Mr. Crane responded by explaining the objects of the visit to carry out the aims of the organization in the collection of facts of

important historical interest. He concluded by reading a letter from Hon. Clark Jillson, a former President of the Society, regretting his inability to be present.

Gustavus B. Williams, Esq., Chairman of the Board of Selectmen of Mendon, was then introduced, and welcomed the visitors to the town, highly commending the objects of their organization. Remarks followed by Dr. John G. Metcalf and Rev. Adin Ballou, both octogenarians and Honorary Members of the Society; Judge Adin Thayer, Rev. Carlton A. Staples, Sheriff A. B. R. Sprague, and Superintendent A. P. Marble, all of them of a genial, social and enlivening character, appropriate to the occasion. Judge Thayer was especially at home in his relation of humorous incidents connected with the past in the old town, particularly in his reference to Joel Sullivan, the old fiddler, and closing with a humorous poem, "The Hunter and the Witch."

After leaving the hall the visiting of places of historic note was continued. Among these places were the old cemetery, where are the remains of the first ministers, Rev. Joseph Dorr and Rev. Joseph Willard, and many of the early settlers; the site of the first meeting house, nearly opposite the old tavern estate; the old Samuel Dexter place, where Mrs. Jackson previously lived, who was killed by her negro servant, Jeffrey, in 1745, the hanging of the latter on Worcester Common being one of the first executions in the county;\* and next to the above, the Daniel Thurber place, where Mrs. Puffer and sons were killed by the Indians during King Philip's war; also the house where A. W. Gaskill now resides, which was the birthplace of Abraham Redwood, founder of the Redwood Public Library of Newport, R. I. Before leaving, the thanks of the visitors were cordially expressed to the selectmen and citizens of Mendon for their courtesy and hospitality.

The route from Mendon to Uxbridge in return was by the regularly traveled road, on the west side of Nipmuck pond, of which a full view was had. On arrival at Uxbridge a half-hour was passed

\* See Judge Clark Jillson's forthcoming work: "The Death Penalty in Worcester County."

in visiting the cemetery, common, and other localities of interest. The party returned by the train, reaching Worcester at 6.15 P. M., after an exceedingly pleasant and enjoyable day. Among the relics brought home was one of the old doors of the original pews in the Chestnut Hill Meeting House, built in 1769; an Indian stone pestle, fourteen inches long and three inches thick, presented to the Society by Caleb S. Taft; and several interesting historical papers, the gift of David Adams.

This excursion proved to be one of the most interesting and enjoyable that the members of the Society have ever taken; and this field day passed in old historic Mendon will be long and pleasantly remembered by those who shared its pleasures and enjoyments.



The next regular meeting of the Society was held on the evening of Tuesday, July 7.

Present: Messrs. Crane, T. A. Dickinson, Rice, Meriam, Estey, C. R. Johnson, Stedman, Hubbard, Rich, Wall, Cook, Lyford, Maynard, Seagrave, Edwards, Chandler, and Abbot.—17.

Ray Greene Huling, of Fitchburg, was elected a corresponding member; and Myron E. Barrows, of Worcester, and Daniel B. Hubbard, of Grafton, were admitted as active members.

The Secretary read a letter from Hon. George F. Hoar accepting the invitation to read a paper before the Society, and stating that he would endeavor to fulfill the engagement sometime within a few months.

The Librarian reported 12 volumes, 90 pamphlets, 10 papers, 3 pictures, and 7 articles for the Museum, as the accessions for the month.

The President read a letter from William Sumner Barton, Esq., accompanying a large framed photograph of the Chandler-Barton Mansion, which he presented to the Society. Thanks were voted for the gift.

Mr. Seagrave made a report in behalf of the Committee of Arrangements for the Mendon Excursion ; and on his motion the thanks of the Society were given to the Selectmen and Ladies of Mendon for their attention and hospitality.

The President spoke of the value and interest of some historical papers and ancient manuscripts presented to the Society by David Adams of Mendon.

The subject of Indian Soapstone Manufactories was then introduced by the Librarian, Mr. Dickinson, who spoke at some length of the ancient soapstone quarries in New England, and particularly of the one at Millbury. Remarks followed by Messrs. Johnson, Crane, and Dr. Chandler.

Mr. Rice said that he had the authority of Miss Helen M. Knowlton for the statement that her father, the late Hon. John S. C. Knowlton, was the

author of the series of papers published in the *Worcester Palladium* under the title of "Carl's Tour in Main Street." Some assistance in the collection of the material was probably given by Mr. Clarendon Wheelock.

Mr. Seagrave spoke in high praise of Mr. Clarendon Wheelock's knowledge and ability, and said there were good reasons for the supposition that he was the author of the articles alluded to.

The meeting was then adjourned.

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## VISIT TO MILLBURY.

Within the past year attention has been drawn to the locality in Millbury known as "Soapstone Hill" in consequence of the discovery there of several fine and perfect specimens of Indian steatite pots or cooking dishes. The matter was brought to the notice of the Society early in the year by Mr. T. A. Dickinson; and at the July meeting, having visited and explored the region a few days before, finding many evidences of aboriginal workmanship, some of which, in the shape of broken and unfinished soapstone utensils, he had brought away with him and now exhibited to the meeting, he expressed the opinion that the discovery was an important one, and said that the Society would do well to visit the locality. President Crane, who had examined the ground, concurred in this view, and, a few days later, arrangements were made to carry it into effect.

Saturday afternoon, July 25th, was the time selected for the trip. As many of the members of the Society were absent from the city at this season, a general response to the President's invita-

tion was not expected, and only a small number appeared. The following persons constituted the party: President Crane, Hon. Clark Jillson, Rufus N. Meriam, Thomas A. Dickinson, Daniel Seagrave, Herbert Wesby, Franklin P. Rice, Horatio L. Miller, and Messrs. French of the *Gazette* and Cummings of the *Spy*. These gentlemen enjoyed the roomy convenience of a four-horse omnibus, demonstrating the old adage: "The more the merrier, the less the better fare." Leaving the Rooms of the Society at half-past one, the regularly traveled road was taken through Quinsigamond Village to Millbury, and after an hour's ride the party arrived at their destination. At Millbury they were joined by Dr. George C. Webber and Mr. Charles A. Moore.

Soapstone Hill, also called Bancroft Hill, is situated in Bramanville, in the southerly part of the town of Millbury, and is an elevation of considerable prominence, ledgy in character, with large boulders on the surface. Just down from the summit is a cave or large fissure in the rock, and here it is supposed that the soapstone used by the Indians in the manufacture of their rude utensils was obtained. The hill is in the very heart of the old Nipmuck country, and was admirably adapted to the requirements of an Indian village. It is high enough to command a fine view of a wide stretch of country upon all sides. It stands in the center of a system of ponds, rivers and brooks, which furnished the Indians unlimited fishing grounds. The strata of rock between which the soapstone is found lie at an angle of nearly forty-five degrees, and boldly crop out along the brow of the southerly side of the hill, forming an excellent shelter for wigwams pitched upon the narrow plateau just below. From the summit could be seen watch-fires burning on Wachusett, or upon hills in all directions for a long distance. It was probably a favorite abiding place of the Nipmucks for many years.

President Crane had obtained permission from the owner of the premises to make such investigation as might be necessary to determine the character and value of the evidences of Indian occupation; and he had provided sundry iron bars, picks and shovels with the intention of thoroughly probing the surface, and bringing

forth such secrets as it might disclose. But the hopes of the party in this direction were suddenly overset by the appearance of the daughter of the owner, who had left her employment in the mill close by, and who now interposed her authority against any disturbance of the soil by pick and shovel. It appeared that rumors of the sale of two or three soapstone dishes found on the hill and in the vicinity, and of an interest in, and demand for, such articles among archæologists, had raised visions in the minds of the family of untold wealth lying among the boulders; and the barren old hilltop had now assumed, in their eyes, a value never before contemplated, and was to be guarded with the utmost vigilance against intruders.

After some expostulation the young woman allowed the party to visit the quarry and make a surface search for specimens. Many fragments and partially wrought utensils were scattered about, and other evidences were found which satisfied the visitors that the place had been extensively used by the Indians as a manufactory for their rude vessels of soapstone. After half an hour spent in examining the hill and quarry, the representative of the owner, who had jealously watched proceedings, informed the party that they had been there long enough, and she desired them not to stand upon the order of their going, but to go at once. The members of The Worcester Society of Antiquity were at first disposed to resent this peremptory dismissal, it not being in accordance with the punctilious ceremonial usually observed by such bodies; and the case was laid before Judge Jillson for a legal opinion. Unfortunately the Judge's decision was reserved, and, under the circumstances, deeming discretion the better part, the visitors, somewhat crestfallen, withdrew just over the border of the estate; and taking refuge in the porch of an unoccupied house, listened to the reading of a paper on Indian Soapstone Dishes by Mr. Dickinson. The following is a brief abstract:

Pots or vessels made of soapstone, bearing evidences of considerable antiquity, have been found throughout the New England States. In the Amherst College collection are several well-preserved specimens which were found in the town of Brookfield,



Massachusetts ; and in the museum of The Worcester Society of Antiquity we have one from the same locality, which was dug up several years ago on the old Gilbert farm, near the site of the Indian fort. A very good specimen was found by two Worcester gentlemen last November near the head of Lake Quinsigamond. The color of this is somewhat changed by heat, and it bears evidence of having been exposed for a considerable time to the action of water.

It is probable that many of the surface exposures of steatite or soapstone were worked by the Indians, but the actual existence of such a working place in New England has been known but a few years. This was discovered near Providence, Rhode Island, in 1878 ; and it appears to have been an extensive manufactory of soapstone dishes or pots.

This quarry is on land owned by Mr. H. N. Angell of Providence, known as the "Big Elm Tree Farm." It is situated just north of the Killingly Pike, in the town of Johnson. The excavation had been covered by an accumulation of soil, and it was only after this had been removed that the true character of the place was revealed. Vast quantities of chips were found, and many fragments of pots, as well as a large number of roughly pointed stones of harder material, which were evidently used as chisels for working out the utensils. Similar implements were to be found about the Millbury quarry.

The pots or dishes discovered were of the type found in New England, and very similar to those obtained in other parts of the country. Most of them are oval in form, and are furnished with handles or ear-like projections at each end. These dishes were not used for pounding and grinding the maize or other food, as many suppose, but for baking and cooking, and heating water.

The paper discussed somewhat minutely the details of the manufacture of these utensils, and the varieties of implements used by the workers of these quarries. Reference was made to the widely separated localities where the pots were made, particularly to the Washington, D. C. and the California quarries ; also to the distribution of the pots in remote parts, a suggestion of barter among

the tribes. Inquiry was ventured as to the character of the people who made these utensils : Were they the Indians known to Europeans, or an earlier race? In closing Mr. Dickinson acknowledged his indebtedness to the monographs of Paul Schumacher, F. W. Putnam, and E. R. Reynolds, for materials used in his paper.

At the close of the reading of the paper, the party reëntered the omnibus and started on their return to Worcester. A brief stop was made to view the collections of the Millbury Natural History Society, where Dr. Webber exhibited some fine soapstone dishes which were found on the shores of Singletary pond.\* The city was reached about five o'clock, and the party separated, well pleased with their adventures, notwithstanding their partial disappointment.

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The regular monthly meeting was held Tuesday evening, September 1.

Present : Messrs. Crane, T. A. Dickinson, Estey, Edwards, Meriam, J. A. Smith, Gould, C. Jillson, Dodge, E. F. Thompson, J. A. Howland, Bartlett, Maynard, Lee, Barrows, C. R. Johnson, Seagrave,

\* Sometime early in the summer of 1885 some Indian soapstone dishes were brought to Worcester from Millbury, and sold for a good price to a dealer in antiques. These were found on Soapstone hill by the party who sold them,—at least, such was his statement. Soon after, he produced another lot, which were also purchased by the aforesaid dealer, and placed on exhibition. The collection was examined by President Crane and Messrs. T. A. Dickinson and F. P. Rice of The Worcester Society of Antiquity, and the larger portion was pronounced by them to be spurious. Some three or four of the pots were unquestionably genuine, and the difference in character and workmanship between these and the others was plain, even to an unpracticed eye. But the purchaser remained unconvinced, and stoutly maintained the genuineness of his wares. In the course of the summer another Worcester party was drawn into the net, and invested a large sum in counterfeit Indian pots and non-descript soapstone ornaments. These articles were produced in astonishing

Pierce and Rice, members; and William B. Earle, — Estey, and H. A. Sweet, visitors.—22.

Mr. Abbot being absent, Mr. Rice acted as Secretary.

George S. Adams, M. D., James Green, William Woodward, and Daniel W. Niles, M. D., were elected active members of the Society.

The Secretary read the following letter and inclosure from Hon. Charles Adams, Jr., of North Brookfield:

. NORTH BROOKFIELD, *September 1*, 1885.

To The Worcester Society of Antiquity:

I herewith inclose Copies of Parish Records of the last century, which will show the difference between the views entertained one hundred years ago by religious societies, and those held at the present time, in regard to lotteries, raffles, &c.

I also send by express, directed to the address of your Secretary, an old gun, a part of the armament of the slave schooner "Amistad," confiscated and sold with all its appurtenances, at New London in the year 1839, under a decree of the United States Court. The slaves, so claimed, were declared to be free men, and, after being

quantity, and the place of discovery was now claimed to be on the shores of Singletary pond, in Sutton. The swindle began to assume such proportions that measures were taken to effectually expose it; and on the occasion of the visit of Prof. F. W. Putnam to the locality of the mastodon discovery in Northborough, on October 17th, he was, on his return to Worcester, taken by the gentlemen above named to view the collection of the principal victim. The validity of his judgment could not be questioned. Efforts were made to bring the guilty party to justice, but he had escaped.

educated, were returned to their native country, Mendi, in Africa, by anti-slavery friends. John Quincy Adams appeared as their counsel. A very particular and interesting account of the case is given in Henry Wilson's "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America," vol. 1., pp. 456 to 469. You will make such disposition of the copies of the votes and of the old gun as you may see fit.

With great respect, your ob't S'v't,

CHA<sup>S</sup>. ADAMS, JR.

[Inclosure.]

FROM THE RECORDS OF THE SECOND PRECINCT IN BROOKFIELD.

Communicated by Charles Adams, Jr.

At a legal meeting of the Second Precinct in Brookfield (now the First Congregational Society in North Brookfield), March 7, 1791, it was "Voted: That the Treasurer be directed to sell the old Continental money now in his hands amounting to \$2,148,00, to the best advantage he can, for specie; and that Lieut. William Ayres and Capt. John Waite be a committee to assist him in the disposal thereof, and that they are jointly empowered and instructed to lay out the proceeds of the same in tickets in the Massachusetts Monthly State Lottery, for the benefit of the Precinct."

And at an adjourned meeting, March 30, 1791, it was "Voted, That the Treasurer, with the Committee appointed to assist in the disposal of the old Continental Money, be further directed to continue in the lottery the number of tickets that the said old money shall purchase, provided the first drawing shall produce to the precinct a sum sufficient for the purpose, until they shall receive further orders from the Precinct, and that the overplus, if any, shall, from time to time, be deposited in the treasury for the use of the Precinct."

It appears from the report of Jason Bigelow, Treasurer of the Precinct, made at the next annual meeting, that the \$2,148.00 of

“Old Continental Money” was sold for twelve shillings, New England currency, equivalent to two dollars, or  $9\frac{9}{10}$  mills on the dollar ! And so ended the first, and probably the last, lottery speculation of our religious society.

The thanks of the Society were voted for Mr. Adams’s gifts.

Hon. Clark Jillson read the following Memorial of the late Manning Leonard, Esq., of Southbridge, a life member of the Society :

## MANNING LEONARD.

BY CLARK JILLSON.

The Baptist Church of Sturbridge was established in 1747, and then consisted of fifteen members. They were called “New Lights,” “Separatists,” and various other names tending to show or convey the impression that they were not “Regulars.” It was not then dangerous to be of the Orthodox faith, nor safe to be a Baptist. In 1749 Rev. Ebenezer Moulton, of the Baptist Church in Brimfield, baptised thirteen persons in Sturbridge. The increase of this persecuted church was rapid, and in a few weeks sixty others were baptised.

These persons refused to pay the “minister tax” levied by the town for the support of the Orthodox minister. This was contrary to the laws of Massachusetts Bay. Property was seized to satisfy the demands of the tax collector, and Dea. Daniel Fiske, John Corey, Jeremiah Barstow, Josiah Perry and John Draper were imprisoned in the jail at Worcester ; but individuality and free thought finally triumphed, and the Baptist Church of Sturbridge survived.

The Rev. Zenas Lockwood Leonard came from Bridgewater to Worcester County about 1796, and settled in Sturbridge, where he was pastor of this same Baptist Church for thirty-six years. Of his parents I shall say but little. His father was uncultivated and

somewhat rude in his manners, but his mother was a woman of rare qualities, refined and intelligent. It was through her persistent efforts that her son was enabled to obtain a liberal education at Brown University. He was a faithful minister, and his long service shows that his labor was tolerated to say the least.

In addition to his ministerial qualifications he exhibited considerable enterprise in business affairs, being an owner in the first cotton factory built in the vicinity of Sturbridge, erected in 1811.

His wife, the mother of the subject of this sketch, was Sally Fiske, a descendant of one of the earliest settlers of Sturbridge. They had a family of seven children. MANNING, the fifth child, was born in Sturbridge, June 1, 1814. His early years were spent upon a farm, where he learned the art of husbandry as it was understood in New England before the introduction of the iron plow, the mowing machine, the horse rake, and many other useful farm implements. Here he patiently toiled during the long summer days, attending school only in winter.

With such scanty facilities our young men of to-day would hardly expect to equip themselves to enter any of the higher institutions of learning. But his time was not squandered in bar rooms, in low-bred society or in unprofitable sports. He pursued his studies after the labors of the day had ceased, by the open fire, while around the hearthstone were gathered a numerous family, whose merry voices mingled with the moan of the spinning wheel, urged to its utmost speed by maternal hands. No primitive lamp sent its gloomy haze among the dimly printed pages. No gas jet poured its steady light over the unconquered problem. No electric glare filled nook, corner and crevice of that humble dwelling. But the pine knot, just under the forestick, sent its dancing rays over the lesson of the hour and illumined the catch-word to future success. Thus was this hopeful boy educated and fitted for the sterner duties of life, more than half a century ago. His meagre schooling in Sturbridge and at Amherst Academy constituted his passport into the arena of business.

His desire to engage in mercantile pursuits turned his course towards the great commercial metropolis, the city of New York.

Here he was employed as a clerk in the dry goods house of Tiffany, Anderson & Co., where he became familiar with city life and the ways of trade. New York was not too small to allow his mind legitimate scope, but the dry goods house was too thoroughly understood to afford further satisfaction to his ambition, and like many other young men of his time, he went West.

In 1835 he commenced trade in Indiana where he did an extensive business, but his native town was still remembered, and it may be fairly presumed that the attractions of that vicinity were never overlooked, for, at the age of twenty-six years he married Mary F. Ammidown, daughter of Hon. Ebenezer D. Ammidown, a prominent and much respected citizen of Southbridge.

Locality indicates that these young persons were not strangers to each other, and their future lives confirmed the wisdom of both in the selection they then so trustingly made. They had seven children, five of whom are now living.

In 1844 Mr. Leonard returned to Massachusetts after closing up his business in the West. He was now thirty years of age, with a varied business experience, and was well qualified to make whatever he undertook a success. He was soon associated with his life-long friend, Chester A. Dresser, in running the Central Mills in Southbridge, where they carried on a large business in the manufacture of cotton cloth and delaines. Mr. Leonard continued in this business till failing health caused him to retire from active service, at the age of fifty-nine years.

There were no glaring eccentricities or chance ventures connected with the life of Mr. Leonard. He was always in earnest, always conservative, sincere and truthful, never rash or impetuous. Whenever his analytical mind had canvassed a given subject his decision was final, and generally correct. He left but little room for repentance. He had few dealings with the past except as a historian. He took no retrograde steps, for when he had completed a deliberate purpose he had always done his best, and a review would only waste time and accomplish nothing. The course he intended to pursue was never undertaken without premeditation, consequently he seldom achieved more than he had reason to expect

or less than he was prepared to realize. Sincerity and truthfulness were marked qualities in his character, and when he made a verbal promise no virtue could be added to it by appending his signature, seal or oath.

Mr. Leonard, with his wife, joined the Presbyterian Church at Madison, Indiana, in 1842. The church was no worse after the accession, and he was no better; but possibly the example was a benefit and gave encouragement to others less firmly grounded in Christian hope.

The eminent moral and Christian character of Mr. Leonard was not overlooked by his fellow citizens. He enjoyed the confidence of his neighbors and townsmen in a remarkable degree, being frequently called to occupy places of trust and responsibility in the administration of town affairs, and to fill numerous local offices. He was a justice of the peace for more than thirty years, and in 1869 was a member of the Legislature. He was active, if not the prime mover, in establishing the Southbridge Savings Bank, and was clerk of the corporation thirty-seven years. He was a director of the Southbridge National Bank for a term of thirty-six years, and his financial methods were of great service to both these institutions. He was thoroughly interested in the Free Public Library established in 1871 by his friend, Hon. Holmes Ammidown, and was a member of the committee from the establishment of the library to the time of his death. Like Mr. Ammidown he was a devoted student of local history and genealogy, being a life member of The Worcester Society of Antiquity and of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. He was made a life member of our Society May 3, 1881, and has never failed to advance our interests when it was possible for him to do so. For several years he had been compiling a genealogical record of the Leonard family, and at the time of his death the history of his own branch was fully completed and ready for publication.

Mr. Leonard was a zealous advocate of our American institutions, and during the late rebellion he stood firm by the Union, always hoping and believing that the right would prevail. He had but one political code—one religious creed—both based on



substantial common sense, upon a plane above the bickerings of party strife or sectarian dogma. He was kind to the poor and always in sympathy with the unfortunate, but made no parade of his generosity nor sought public approval. It was enough for him to quietly perform his duty as a good and loyal citizen, without hope of reward.

On Friday, July 30, 1885, conscious of having lived a noble life, he passed on into the unknown future, his dust returning to dust, "his spirit to God who gave it."

The Librarian presented his report showing that the additions during the summer months had been large, and that they included many valuable books and relics.

Mr. Dickinson then exhibited two machines for making card teeth which were constructed in the early part of the present century, one of which he operated. He gave a brief sketch of the invention of these machines and of the manufacture of card clothing. Remarks in relation to this subject were made by William B. Earle, engaged in the card clothing business for more than sixty years; and by Joseph A. Howland and others.

The President gave some account of the recent visit of certain members of the Society to the Indian Soapstone Quarry at Millbury, and read some correspondence pertaining thereto.

The meeting was then adjourned.

Regular monthly meeting, Tuesday evening, October 6th.

Present: Messrs. Crane, T. A. Dickinson, Rice, C. Jillson, Barrows, Stedman, Lyford, Gould, Simmons, Jackson, H. M. Smith, Woodward, Meriam, Seagrave, Taft, Pierce, Hubbard and Abbot, members; and Albert S. Brown and J. Gould, visitors.  
—20.

Dr. Charles L. Nichols, Horatio L. Miller and George H. Mellen of Worcester; Henry D. Woods of Boston, and Bernard A. Leonard of Southbridge, were elected active members of the Society.

The Librarian reported additions to the library and museum for the month of September of 5 volumes, 195 pamphlets, 81 papers, and 10 miscellaneous articles.

Mr. F. P. Rice gave notice of his intention to offer certain amendments to the constitution at some future meeting.

Mr. J. C. Lyford presented as the Report of the Department of Coins, Relics and Curiosities, a valuable and interesting paper on "Medals."\*

Remarks on the same subject were made by Messrs. Crane, Smith, Jillson, Seagrave, Sumner and Dickinson.

\* See Department Reports.

The President mentioned in fitting terms the death of David Oliver Woodman, a member of the Society; and appointed Mr. T. A. Dickinson to prepare a suitable memorial.

The meeting was then adjourned.

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A special meeting of the Society was held Tuesday evening, October 13th.

Present: Messrs. Crane, Rice, Dickinson, Lee, C. Jillson, Meriam, Cutler, Staples, Simmons, Pierce, Tucker, Starr and Abbot, members; and Dr. W. H. Raymenton and H. R. Cummings, visitors.—15.

Mr. Frank F. Starr of Middletown, Connecticut, read a paper entitled "Correspondence relative to the Manufacture and Presentation of Two Swords given by the State of Tennessee to Generals Andrew Jackson and Edmund P. Gaines."\* This paper was especially valuable for the insight it gave into the difficulties and delays of financial transactions between the West and the East sixty or more years ago. Mr. Starr exhibited the model of the swords, which were made by his grandfather. On motion the thanks of the Society were voted for the reading of the paper.

\*This paper was prepared for, and had been read before the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford.

Dr. Raymenton exhibited a human skull found that day in Northborough while excavating in further search for mastodon remains on the farm of William U. Maynard. The skull was discovered firmly imbedded in peat at the bottom of the ditch, within a few feet of the spot where the mastodon fragments were found. Dr. Raymenton gave an account of the discovery in detail, and stated that he removed the skull from the peat with his own hands.

Remarks were made by President Crane, Mr. T. A. Dickinson and others. Some doubts were expressed as to the character and age of the skull, and the probability of a hoax was discussed. Mr. F. P. Rice said that Mr. F. W. Putnam, curator of the Peabody Museum at Cambridge, was well qualified to decide in this matter, and suggested that he be invited to visit the place of discovery, and to make an examination of the skull.\*

The meeting was then adjourned.

\* After some hesitation this suggestion was acted upon, and Dr. Raymenton and Mr. Dickinson both wrote to Prof. Putnam, urging him to visit Worcester. He responded favorably, and appointed Saturday, Oct. 17th, as the time. Accordingly, on that day, in company with President Raymenton and Vice-President Billings of the Worcester Natural History Society; President Crane, Librarian Dickinson, Messrs. H. M. Smith and F. P. Rice of The Worcester Society of Antiquity, he viewed the place of discovery in Northborough. The skull has since undergone a careful examination at Cambridge, and Prof. Putnam's report is awaited with much interest.

Regular monthly meeting, Tuesday evening, November 3d.

Present: Messrs. Crane, Chandler, Staples, Rice, Hubbard, Taft, Meriam, Chase, C. Jillson, Paine, Cutler, Seagrave, Stiles, Sumner, Gould, Lee, Peck, Simmons, Leonard, T. A. Dickinson, Clark, Estey, Forehand, Miller, Nichols, Mellen, Pierce, Stedman, H. M. Smith, Woodward, Tucker, Edwards, Wall and Abbot, members; and Henry H. Chamberlin, Joseph Lovell, A. B. Lovell, E. W. Shumway, John C. Otis, W. H. Sawyer, Dexter Rice, H. G. O. Blake, J. P. Houghton and Samuel A. Porter, visitors.—44.

The Librarian reported 26 volumes, 33 pamphlets, 20 papers, and 4 articles for the museum as the additions for the month.

Mr. Henry H. Chamberlin was then introduced, and read a paper entitled "Worcester Main Street sixty-three years ago." This paper vividly described the appearance of the principal thoroughfare of the town at the time of the author's earliest recollection, and comprised many entertaining reminiscences of persons and places. Remarks in relation to the incidents recalled were made by Messrs. Samuel A. Porter, Joseph Lovell, A. B. Lovell, Nathaniel Paine, H. G. O. Blake, Dr. Chandler and others. On motion of Mr. Paine the thanks of the Society were

given to Mr. Chamberlin, and a copy of his paper was requested for publication.

The meeting was then adjourned.

Mr. Chamberlin prefaced his paper with a brief introduction as follows :

In the preface to Lincoln's History of Worcester is the following remark :

"It seemed desirable, while it was yet possible, to gather the fast fading traditions and scattered records of the past, and present more full view of our local history than was permitted by the limits of religious discourse and festival address, or accorded with the plan of former writers."

In the spirit of this sentence I wish to add my modest gleanings to the fuller sheaves of others.

I am indebted to Lincoln's History, and to the publications of Mr. Nathaniel Paine and Mr. Caleb A. Wall for much information. I also gratefully acknowledge the courteous aid of three ladies of the city to whose recollections I am indebted for interesting and valuable facts.

With this assistance, and relying upon my own memory, I propose to speak of Worcester Main Street sixty-three years ago.

## WORCESTER MAIN STREET

SIXTY-THREE YEARS AGO.

BY HENRY H. CHAMBERLIN.

The quiet village of 1822, now a busy and bustling city, was perhaps as remarkable for the elegant leisure of its inhabitants, as it has since become for its active and successful enterprise.

It is the purpose of this paper to place on record the location of the principal dwellings and other buildings of the town, particularly on Main Street, with the names of their occupants, at the above date.

Beginning at Paine's Hill in Lincoln Street and going southerly, the first house we come to is that of Dr. William Paine, a substantial mansion, with its ample grounds, known as "The Oaks." This had been begun by Hon. Timothy Paine, the founder of the family in Worcester, just before the commencement of the Revolutionary War, but was not finished or occupied till after the war; at the death of Timothy Paine the estate came into the possession of Dr. William Paine, who, after many vicissitudes, came to reside at "The Oaks" in 1793, and made his home there till his death in 1833, thus having spent the last forty years of a long and eventful life in the peaceful shades of his paternal home.

His son and successor was Frederick William Paine, who was one of our most honored, as he was one of our most useful citizens.

The extensive garden at "The Oaks," sloping southerly from the house, always kept in fine order by his assiduous care, and remarkable for the variety, beauty and novelty of its plants and flowers, was a constant witness to Mr. Paine's rare taste and skill in his favorite pursuit.

Just south of the above estate was the "Hancock Mansion." This had been the property of Thomas Hancock, who, at his decease, willed it to his nephew, Gov. John Hancock. In 1781 it became the property of Gov. Levi Lincoln, senior, who lived here till his decease in 1820, a period of nearly forty years. It soon afterwards came under the management of William Lincoln, who enlarged and embellished the garden and grounds. The house was finally removed to Grove Street, where it now stands. The late William A. Wheeler built on the site of the Hancock Mansion an elegant and spacious house, which is now the residence of Philip L. Moen, Esq.

At some distance south of this, standing under two magnificent elms which still shelter it, was and still is, a large plain house, which was occupied by Hon. Timothy Paine (who came here with his widowed mother while still a child) until he built the family mansion known as "The Oaks" above mentioned. At this time (1822) it was occupied by the Misses Kennedy and Mr. Levi Rice.

At a little later period Mr. Isaac Goodwin built and occupied a pleasant house which was afterwards the residence of Edwin Conant, Esq., and is still standing just south of what was the Lincoln garden.

Next south of the Paine house, at a short distance, stood the "Hancock Arms," for many years known as the "Brown and Butman Tavern." A part of this house had been used as the jail till 1753; subsequently it was used as a tavern for many years, but had been abandoned some time before 1822. It was burned in 1824. Near it stood the jail built of wood in 1753, which had been the prison till the building of the stone jail opposite. I believe this wooden jail shared the fate of the "Hancock Arms."

A short distance further south brings us to a wooden building which had been Mr. Salisbury's store for many years till he moved his goods into a part of his house, which had been enlarged and altered for the purpose. The store remained unoccupied except as a storehouse for the residue of his goods on his retiring from business. In 1823 or 4 it was used as a painter's shop by Mr.



Theophilus Western, the same who recommended that the "nots" be left out of the "Ten Commandments" when inscribing them on some tablets for the church. These tablets, the gift of Mr. Samuel B. Scott, still adorn the walls of the First Unitarian Church.

Across the brook, and almost on its very edge, was the Salisbury mansion, Mr. Salisbury's last place of business and his residence for many years. This mansion still stands on its original site and presents much the same appearance, except in color, that it did sixty years ago. This edifice was built in 1770, and after Mr. Salisbury's death was occupied by his widow and their son, the late Hon. Stephen Salisbury, till the marriage of the latter, when he resided in one of a block of houses on the east side of Main street, till he built his elegant and commodious mansion on the hill, west of Main street and just south of the Jo Bill road. This house is now the residence of *his* son, Stephen Salisbury, 3d.

Going westward, across the square, the next building was the store of Dr. Abraham Lincoln, where he dispensed law, liquor and medicine with equal urbanity and respectability.

Directly in the rear of this store, across the street running over Court Hill, was the house of Clark Whittemore, bookbinder; near this stood the brick Court House, surmounted by the statue of Justice, with bandaged eyes, holding her unevenly balanced scales in one hand and her blunted sword in the other.

Just south, on the site of the new stone Court House, was the elegant mansion of Dr. Isaiah Thomas, one of the most patriotic and public-spirited citizens of Worcester, during and after the Revolutionary War. At a little distance south of his dwelling were his printing office and store, then unoccupied, except, perhaps, by some relics of his former business.

South of these small buildings was a lawn sloping down from the house of Dr. Oliver Fiske, from whose abundant gardens the writer and his comrades have received many a hatful of delicious peaches, robbed a little, perhaps, of their most racy flavor, because the Doctor's liberal hands made it impossible to purloin them. Dr. Fiske's house was an ancient structure, built in the early part of the eighteenth century by Judge William Jennison, an early

settler, and ancestor of the later generations of the name. In 1731 a "cage" for prisoners was built in the rear part of it, but this was removed the next year to Deacon Daniel Heywood's tavern, on the site of the Bay State House, where it remained till the first jail was built in 1733.

Next south of this lawn was a long wooden building where Mr. George A. Trumbull had a bookstore which he soon after sold out to Mr. Clarendon Harris. In the south part of the same building T. & W. Keith opened their jewelry store. Next this was the "Dix" place, built before the Revolution. It was occupied by the family of Dr. Joseph Warren while Boston was in possession of the British. At the time of which we are writing it had become a first-class boarding house where Mr. Clarendon Harris and other gentlemen were the guests. This site is now occupied by the fine brick residence of F. H. Dewey, Jr.

Dr. Jeremiah Robinson, with his family of beautiful daughters, occupied the next building, the upper stories for his dwelling and the basement for his store.

Next was a small house where resided Artemas Ward, Esq., Register of Deeds; next came the brick store of Rice & Miller, successors to the extensive business of Mr. Daniel Waldo. This store was built by Mr. Daniel Waldo, senior, soon after his first coming to Worcester in 1782, and is believed to be the first brick building here. Daniel Waldo, junior, succeeded to the business of his father about 1800, and sold his business to Rice & Miller as above, about the year 1818 or 1820. Mr. Henry W. Miller still continues the business "at the old stand." After retiring from the mercantile business Mr. Waldo had his counting room in the south part of the store till his death.

Next south of Rice & Miller's the new Calvinist Church was just a-building; near it, on the south, Mr. William Eaton built a handsome brick store, where Burt & Merrick carried on a large business as a general store.

Across a large yard stood Mr. William Eaton's house, now occupied by Miss Sally Eaton, his only surviving daughter. This ancient mansion (the oldest house now standing on Main street; built about 1750) was owned in 1760 by Mr. Nathan Baldwin,

then by Mr. Nathaniel Coolidge till about the beginning of this century. South of this was the estate of the late Enos Tucker, the house occupied by his widow and the shop by her sons as a harness shop.

At a short distance south stood a one-story cottage that had been occupied for some years by William Eaton as a shoemaker's shop, the business then being continued by Nathaniel Eaton, who, the next year, bought what was known as the "Palmer Goulding" estate, then kept as a tavern by William Chamberlain. There was a large yard between this cottage and the Center School House, which yard daily received the overflow of the boys from the school. This school house, which stood on the site of the Chadwick Building just erected by Mr. Henry S. Pratt, was built by the private munificence of several gentlemen whose names have always been prominent in the annals of the town. They were Elijah Dix, Joseph Allen, Levi Lincoln, Nathan Patch, John Green, John Nazro, Palmer Goulding and others. But as the children of these subscribers were gradually removed to the colleges or engaged in active business the school gradually declined, until in 1799 the house became the property of the inhabitants of the Center District. New interest was excited in the schools in 1823, and from that time to the present our public schools have been a source of pride to the inhabitants.

South of the Center School House stood a small building owned by Dr. Green, and occupied about this time by Mr. Webb, the barber, and O. Ware and Luke N. Perry, tinsmiths and jobbers. Another building stood between this and Dr. Green's house, which after passing through various phases of business was transmuted into the rooms of the Central Bank in 1828, Mr. C. Harris occupying the north part as his store.

The next house going south was of brick, standing on a considerable elevation which obtruded across the sidewalk, so that foot passengers had to ascend and descend this eminence in going either way. This was Dr. Green's house, built by his father, and was the first brick dwelling house in town. There was an annex on the south end of the house where Green & Heywood kept an apothecaries' shop till April, 1822, when it was occupied by Wood

& Perkins as a dry goods store. In 1824 it was kept by W. & A. Brown, whose successors still continue the tailoring business then established.

The next building on the south was Mr. Samuel Brazer's brick dwelling house, with his store in the basement, built on the ruins of his house burnt in the destructive fire of 1815. Mr. Brazer was probably the first to offer for sale cotton goods made in Worcester, they being the product of a factory established as early as 1789. This house is now (1885) the residence of William Dickinson, Esq. Next south of it was the office of Rejoice Newton, Esq., who was subsequently joined by William Lincoln, the historian of Worcester.

Then came the brick double house of E. & E. Flagg, on the spot devastated by the great fire of 1815 mentioned above. The north part was occupied by Mrs. Bradish and her three charming grand-daughters; the south part by Mr. Elisha Flagg. Next south of the house was the bakery, famous on public days for soft crackers and sugar gingerbread.

Just south of the bakery was the residence of Capt. Asa Hamilton, and across the yard was his store where he sold dry goods and dealt largely in lottery tickets. Lotteries in those days were carried on for the benefit of churches and all respectable charities. Next south was the dwelling of Nathaniel Coolidge, having his harness shop in the basement; next this was a small building occupied by Otis Corbett as a watchmaker's and jewelry store. Mr. Corbett was succeeded by William D. Fenno and Joseph Boyden. The next building south was the store of Earle & Chase, where they carried on a large retail business. Mr. Earle was afterwards editor of the "Spy" for many years. Mr. Chase was county treasurer till his death at eighty years of age.

Next came the house of Nathaniel Maccarty standing well back from the street and approached by a flight of steps; farther south, in the Maccarty grounds, was a small building occupied in part by one Mr. Burr, harness maker; it was afterwards the office of Dr. Butler, a prominent physician.

Next south was the elegant brick mansion built by Governor Lincoln, on the site where stood the "King's Arms," a notorious

tavern in ante-revolutionary times, distinguished as the rendezvous of the royalists. Governor Lincoln lived here till he built the family mansion on Elm street about 1835.

Near the southern boundary of Governor Lincoln's estate stood a small office belonging to Hon. Joseph Allen, and south of that was his house with its portico on the street. Then came the house of Mr. John Miller. At the southern corner of his grounds was a wooden store occupied by Col. Samuel Ward, which was shortly after removed to give place to the, for those times, elegant brick store of Heywood, Paine & Paine. Across the driveway from this was Judge Paine's mansion, and near it, on the south, was his office abutting on Pleasant street.

Across Pleasant street, in a corner of the yard, stood one of those large elm trees which are the glory of some of our old New England towns, and which once made of Main Street a perfect arcade of verdure. The one above mentioned was the monarch of its race; its spreading branches overshadowed the whole breadth of the street in front, while it shaded the whole yard and the house as well, in its rear. This house was known as the "Nazro House," but was said to have been built by Rev. Isaac Burr, and occupied by him from 1725 to 1740. Near it, directly on the street, was a large, one-story building, known for a long time as the Nazro store; both house and store were at this time (1822) occupied by Mr. John Foxcroft.

Proceeding southerly across a meadow, always musical with the songs of bobolinks and other birds in their season, we come to the elegant mansion built by Gardner Chandler. On his departure for England in 1775 it was sold to John Bush and his sons, who added one story to its height, and sold it in 1818 to Deacon Benjamin Butman, who occupied it in 1822 and continued there till he took possession of his new house built just south of it, which has recently given place to the spacious new business block built by Mr. Jonas G. Clark.

Next, after a considerable distance, came the house of the late Dr. Austin, pastor of the Old South Church, then occupied by Mr. John W. Hubbard, his adopted son, a man of brilliant qualities,

whose early death was a public loss. The house was last occupied by the late Samuel H. Colton.

Then came the house of Alpheus Eaton, brother of William and Nathaniel Eaton above mentioned ; this house stood on a knoll just south of what is now Austin street, and at the foot of it was a small, unfailing stream of water, much used as a watering place by teams going to or from the village.

Beyond this stream stretched the estate of Col. Samuel Ward all the way to the Patch road, now known as May street. This estate covered nearly all the land between May street and Pleasant street in the rear of the properties heretofore described as lying on the west side of Main street and south of Pleasant street ; it contained three hundred and fifty acres, and was part of the dower decreed to Mrs. John Chandler when the rest of Judge Chandler's estate was confiscated. On the death of the widow, this, with other parcels of land, became the property in common of Charles and Samuel Chandler, sons of the judge. After the death of Charles, who left by will his interests to his daughter Sarah, the real estate was divided by order of Court, and this portion was set off to this daughter, who subsequently became Mrs. Ward.

The original farm house on this estate was long ago moved to the corner of May street, where it still remains ; in 1822 it was there occupied by William Stowell, machinist. Its place was supplied by a plain commodious house, which in 1822 was the residence of Col. Ward, and afterwards of Abiel Jaques, Esq., and then of his sons, John and George, to the latter of whom the city is indebted for the existence of the Jaques Hospital and its liberal endowment.

Proceeding southerly from May street the next building was the large farm house of Mr. Henry Heywood, who occupied it till his death in 1854 ; the house is standing there yet. Going to the crest of the hill, and descending it a short distance, we find a comfortable cottage some time occupied by Ebenezer Whitney, who at this date had removed to Lincoln street. This cottage was at one time occupied by the late Timothy S. Stone. It is still standing.

Continuing down the hill we come to the house and extensive farm buildings of Mr. Uriah Stone, a prosperous land-holder and farmer; he had owned, and I believe occupied, the tavern standing some rods south of his farm house; this hotel was built by Charles Stearns in 1812.

A small building south of the tavern was kept as a store by Capt. Daniel Stone. There was, perhaps, a small machine shop and water power farther on towards Leicester, where now are the extensive works of Messrs. Coes Brothers.

Across this road to the east, and facing the square, stood the village school house, between the Leicester road and the Oxford road, which intersected at this point. Crossing to the east side we come to the store of Mr. H. G. Henshaw, who, for some years, was clerk to Mr. Salisbury. On the latter's relinquishing business Mr. Henshaw removed to New Worcester. He was made cashier of Leicester Bank on the opening of that institution.

Returning northerly towards the village we find no houses on the east side of Main street south of the crest of the hill. Going still north we come to the Deacon Richards place; this was a substantial house painted green, standing back some rods from the street, which ran some distance west of its present course, leaving a fine avenue of trees between it and the house. This place was about this time occupied by Deacon Simon S. Gates, nephew and heir of Deacon Richards, who, as will be seen, had moved into the village. This house still stands on its original site.

About half a mile north of the Richards place was a brown cottage on the Wiswell place, occupied by Clark Elder; this place was bought by Mr. Ebenezer Collier, who removed the cottage and built on its site the "Ripley Place," still standing a little north-east of the mansion of Mr. Joseph H. Walker.

Nearly half a mile further north we come to the estate of Capt. Ephraim Mower, whose house is still standing on its beautiful site and is now occupied by his daughter. Just south of the house an acre of land had been sold to three elderly ladies by the name of Ranks, who, about this time or before, built themselves a cottage

thereon ; it was afterwards sold to Capt. Mower, and both cottage and occupants have disappeared.

North of Capt. Mower's house, at some distance, was the house of Deacon Richards, then occupied by him, and afterwards, for some years, by Mr. Samuel Jennison, the gentle and genial cashier of the Worcester Bank. Then came the house of Mrs. Greenleaf and Mrs. Mower ; and next was the house of Col. Clapp, whose grounds sloped down to South street, now known as Park street. After the decease of Col. Clapp this place was occupied by Charles Allen till he removed to the house on Elm street, on the site of which his family have since built a handsome residence.

Crossing Park street we come to the Common, overshadowed by its magnificent elms ; and to the "Old South Church," on the gable of which we are told that it was built in 1763. This church in 1822 was in its primitive condition, and one of the handsomest buildings in Worcester ; its principal entrance was at the west side facing Main street. This consisted of a handsome porch projecting towards the street, the cornice of which was elaborately ornamented, the pediment terminating in a beautifully carved scroll. On the steps of this porch the Declaration of Independence was read by Isaiah Thomas in 1776. At the south end of the church was a porch of similar but less elaborate construction ; and at the north end was a tower surmounted by the steeple. On the east side was a large oval window overlooking the pulpit. Below the pulpit were the table for the communion service, and seats for the old men and deaf. Still lower were the deacons' seats. Over the whole was a dome-like structure called the sounding board, which, like the sword of Damocles, continually threatened destruction to those beneath. The body of the church was occupied by square pews ; the seats were hung on hinges and were raised during prayers for the convenience of the occupants, who always stood during prayer time. At the close of the prayer and with the final amen, down went all the seats, thus giving the minister a salute that would do credit to a regiment of infantry at a militia muster. To those who remember the old church in its primitive simplicity and dignity it has always been a matter of



regret that the vandal hands of modern improvement have ever laid hold of it.

On the site of the present City Hall was a two-story building, the lower part of which was occupied as a store by William Harrington. The upper part was for a long time the office of the National Ægis. The store was also occupied by Reuben Munroe before and after its removal to the north side of Front street.

Between this store, after its removal, and Main street, extending some distance northerly from the present Harrington Corner, was a one-story building called "The Compound." Mr. Samuel Allen occupied the corner, fronting on both Main and Front streets, for the sale of leather and various commodities. Going north were several smaller rooms occupied at various times by Emory Washburn, John Weiss, William Towne, Thompson Kimberly, Francis T. Merrick, Christopher C. Baldwin and others as offices and stores.

Across the driveway, near the corner of Mechanic street, stood the "Worcester Hotel" built by William Hovey in 1818, and kept in 1822 by Howe & White. The site of this hotel was first owned by Capt. Moses Rice, who came here from Sudbury and built a tavern on this spot in 1719. After having been kept as a tavern till 1742 it became the residence of the last Judge Chandler, who lived there till he left the country in 1775. At the confiscation of his property, this estate, called the "Homestead," was set off to his wife as part of her dower; it was bounded on three sides by Main, Mechanic and Front streets, and on the southeast by ministerial land. It comprised a large house, two barns, store building, etc.

Mrs. Chandler lived here till her decease about 1785-7, when the house again became a tavern under Major Ephraim Mower and his nephew, Capt. Ephraim Mower, and was called the "Sun Tavern." It was kept by the Mowers, uncle and nephew, till 1818, when it was bought by William Hovey, who built thereon a brick hotel which was known as the "United States Hotel," or more familiarly as "The States." This was kept in 1820-22 by Howe & White, as mentioned above, and thereafter, having had various

fortunes, it fell into the hands of Worthington & Clark, who kept it till 1836, when Mr. Worthington sold his interest in the real estate to Mr. George T. Rice, who in 1841 sold it to Mr. William C. Clark, who afterwards bought the interest of Major Burt and others, and thus became sole proprietor. It was continued as a hotel till 1854 when Mr. Clark built a block of stores and offices. This remained for thirty years, when it was bought by Mr. Joseph H. Walker, who enlarged and remodeled it, and made it one of the finest business blocks in Worcester.

Across Mechanic street stood the house of Mrs. Denny, in the south part of which one of her daughters, Miss Elizabeth Denny, kept a store for the sale of the finer class of dry goods, ladies' fine shoes, etc.

Next north of this, John W. Stiles and Benjamin Butman built a commodious store where they carried on a large business in all kinds of merchandise, including lumber, groceries and dry goods, under the firm name of Stiles & Butman. Next north was a small store, occupied some time after this date by Deacon John Coe as an apothecary's store. Next came the residence of John W. Stiles; this, as well as the store last above mentioned, had been owned and occupied by Capt. John Stanton, Jr. After his death it was owned and kept as a tavern by Thomas Stevens, and was long known as "Stevens's Tavern." Mr. Stevens had erected, annexed to the house on the north, a hall for public meetings, etc. After it became the property of Mr. Stiles this hall was used for a young ladies' school by Miss Mary Robinson, daughter of Dr. Jeremiah Robinson.

The next house north of Mr. Stiles's was the large white house, now and for many years known as the "Burnside Estate," then owned and occupied by Mr. Enoch Flagg. To this, also, was annexed a hall, used by the Masonic fraternity, whose painted walls were covered with their insignia. This hall still stands there, and some of these original Masonic emblems remain.

Quite near this was a small store annexed to the three-story wooden house occupied by Deacon Wilson for some years, the larger building for his residence, the store with the counters and

fixtures then in place, used as the post office. Here in one corner, inclosed by a wooden partition through which was cut a delivery window, the good Deacon sorted the mails, while the boys waited in mischievous glee outside, lounging on the counters, and occasionally popping up a small face to the window to ask for letters when none were expected, and to receive the invariable, patient reply: "Not any at present."

Deacon Wilson wore till his death the long gray stockings, knee buckles, small clothes and capacious coat so fashionable among gentlemen in the beginning of the century; and he was one of the last to appear in our streets in this costume. Dr. Bancroft, Isaiah Thomas, and Samuel Brazer were also similarly attired.

At some distance north was a large brick house built by Mr. Waldo as early as 1806; it was occupied as a residence by himself and his sisters, except the south part of the lower story which was used for the business of the Worcester Bank. This bank was established in March, 1804, and its first president was Daniel Waldo, who, the October following, relinquished the office to Daniel Waldo, Jr., who retained it till his decease in 1845. He was succeeded by Mr. Stephen Salisbury (the second of the name), who was president till his decease in 1884, when he was succeeded by his son Stephen. Two presidents held the office eighty years. As will be seen, only two names have ever been signed to the bills as president.

Going north, across a large stable yard and driveway, you arrive at the "Hathaway Tavern." This was originally known as the "Heywood Tavern"; it was opened about the year 1722, and continued to be kept as an inn for about ninety years. It was then enlarged by Mr. Reuben Wheeler, by the addition of a hall on the north side, thirty by sixty feet, the first story being used as a dining hall, and the second and third stories were thrown into one, making the largest and most elegant hall in town. There were held the meetings of the nascent Agricultural Society, the 4th of July dinners and other festivals, not forgetting the annual Cattle Show Ball, which was the social event of the year, and called together the fashion, grace and beauty of the county.

Mr. Wheeler was succeeded by Samuel Hathaway in 1816, who made of it a very popular tavern, and was known all the country round as the "Prince of Landlords." In 1824 Mr. Hathaway sold the property to Cyrus Stockwell, who again enlarged the house by raising the main building one story. Mr. Stockwell also built a brick store on the south side of the yard which is still standing. Between this store and the hotel, Exchange street, at first called Market street, was opened some years later.

Mr. Stockwell sold the property in 1833 to Gen. Heard and Hon. Isaac Davis, who continued it as a hotel under the management of various tenants, among whom were Z. & D. Bonney, Cyrus Stockwell, Samuel Bannister, Clifford & Swan, E. T. Balcom and others, till it was purchased by the "Bay State Company," moved from the spot, and the "Bay State House" built on its site. This continues to be the popular hotel, the place having been occupied for that business for a period of one hundred and sixty-three years without interruption.

Next to the tavern were the dwelling house and carriage shop of Mr. Stephen Goddard, afterwards removed to give place to Waldo Block.

Next to this was a new brick house built and occupied by Dr. Benjamin F. Heywood, who was a descendant of the Heywood family so long occupants of the tavern that stood on the site of the "Bay State" above mentioned. His father was Hon. Benjamin Heywood, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, besides holding other important offices. The Judge was nephew of the first Daniel Heywood.

A little further north stood the residence of the late Hon. Francis Blake, then occupied by his widow and her numerous family. Mr. Blake had bought, in 1815-16, of Charles and Samuel Chandler, an estate of thirty-one acres, with the buildings thereon, comprising the beautiful site now occupied by Mrs. Edward Earle. At the time of his decease he had built and nearly finished here a modest but very elegant mansion; it has since been enlarged and *improved* till its original proportions are no longer to be recognized. On the death of Mr. Blake it was sold to Mr. William Eaton, who lived there from 1818 to 1822, when he sold

it to Gen. Nathan Heard and moved back to the Baldwin house, heretofore noticed.

Next came the office of Hon. John Davis, who soon afterwards occupied an office a little north, with Governor Lincoln, Col. Isaac Davis taking the small office.

Next was a small building owned by Capt. Peter Slater, whose ropewalk was in the rear and extended to the brook. Peter Slater was at this time building his brick house (an unusual occurrence in those days). Capt. Slater was an ardent and active patriot during Revolutionary times, and made one of that band of rebels, who, disguised as Indians, made a tea-pot of Boston harbor.

North of Capt. Slater's house was a brick block, in the south end of which Governor Lincoln and his associates had their offices, while the rest of the building was the store of John W. Lincoln till he retired from business in 1822, when James Green & Co. established there a large drug and apothecaries' store, which is still occupied for that business by a member of the family.

Next north was the parsonage of Rev. Dr. Bancroft, father of George Bancroft, the historian, and ancestor of others who are becoming distinguished. Annexed to the house on the north was a one-story building where Dr. Bancroft's daughter kept a store for some years before her marriage to Hon. John Davis. It was afterwards used as a school room by her sisters.

Between the parsonage and Thomas street was a building, still standing, having brick ends and a wooden front. In the south part of it about this time lived Judge Pliny Merrick, while the north part was used as the publishing and printing office of the "Massachusetts Spy," then under the management of William Manning and George A. Trumbull.

Across Thomas street, on the corner of Main, Mr. Elnathan Pratt had built, and for some years had occupied, a brick block, the south part being used for his apothecary store, and the rest for his residence; he vacated this about 1822, and Earle & Chase removed their store and business there.

In 1826 Capt. Joseph Lovell opened this house as a hotel, and it was kept as such by him and his successors till 1866, when it

came into the possession of its present occupants. Next north of this house stood a brick store built and occupied by Arthur Adlington in the tin business. This was shortly afterwards bought by Daniel Upham and extended north so that it accommodated Asa Walker, tailor, the Spy office, Mr. Manning's store, and Mr. Upham.

Next came the jewelry store of Luther Goddard & Sons, which building was afterwards extended north to land of the Paine estate, making then one of the most extensive business blocks in town. It had among its earlier occupants Scott & Smith (Mr. Scott was the donor of tablets inscribed with the Decalogue to the Second Parish, and was long a prominent citizen), March & Hobart (dry goods), Dorr & Howland (booksellers), J. P. Kettell & Co. (hatters), P. & D. Goddard & Co., J. Harrington and others.

Elder Luther Goddard was a zealous Baptist when that sect of Christians first appeared in this vicinity and in some parts of Connecticut, and claimed to have suffered much persecution for opinion's sake. He had been an evangelist before coming to Worcester, and not long afterwards relinquished his business to his sons, and devoted the remainder of his days to missionary work.

North of this, on the property of Mr. F. W. Paine, was a house occupied by Mrs. Rose and her family, next to which, standing on the corner of Main and School streets, was the confectionery shop and store of that vivacious Frenchman, A. Gaspard Vottier, who, if not witty himself, was "the cause of much wit in others."

Directly at the head of School street, where it unites with Main, stood one of those large sycamore trees which contributed so much to the beauty of our streets. From it projected a sign with this legend: "Wool Carding and Lead Aqueduct Manufactory," with a hand pointing down the street, following which direction the inquirer would find that the business in both branches was carried on by Washburn & Goddard, in a shop on or near the site of the first factory for the making of textile goods ever built here. "In 1789 an association was formed for the purpose of spinning and weaving cotton." On April 30th of that year it is announced in the Spy, that "on Tuesday last the first piece of corduroy made

at the manufactory in this town was taken from the loom. Good judges speak highly of it as superior to English. A large quantity of fustian, jean and corduroy are for sale now, lasting longer and retaining their color and beauty better than the foreign." This establishment must have been in operation till after 1790, as in that year Mr. Samuel Brazer advertises the above goods with the additions of "Federal rib and cotton."

The manufacturing business was abandoned before 1800, and the building was removed to Main street, between School and Old Market streets, where it was long known as the "Green Store." Its first occupant was probably Joseph Allen, a brother of the late Judge Charles Allen, and of the Rev. George Allen, so fondly remembered and revered by this Society. In 1822 it was occupied by Heard & Manning. Mr. Manning shortly afterwards was succeeded by Col. James Estabrook, who left it for a place in the U. S. Custom House.

I should have mentioned that on the northern corner of School street was a large house, which about the beginning of the century was sold by Joseph Allen, Esq., to David Curtis, but whether this house, or the "Curtis House" on Lincoln street, was the birthplace of the family of the latter, I have not been able to ascertain.

North of the Green store, abutting on Old Market street, stands, somewhat enlarged from its original dimensions, the house of Samuel Porter, Esq., so long known as active in the city government. Here lived his mother and some other members of the family.

Standing back, near where now are the stables of the street railway company, was a small green house, occupied by Mr. Earle, machinist and ingenious worker in wood.

On the north side of what is now Market street stood, and still stands, what was known as Sikes's Coffee House. This had been built and occupied as a tavern as early as 1789; in 1807 it came into the possession of Col. Sikes. In company with Levi Pease of Shrewsbury he was owner of different stage lines which plied between Boston and New York, passing through this place; and this hotel became their general rendezvous and the leading hotel of the town. It had had among its guests Gen. Washington and

Gen. LaFayette. Col. Sikes sold this property to Capt. Samuel B. Thomas in 1826, and it was then known as "Thomas's Coffee House," but was for many years after known as the "Exchange Hotel." There was a one-story annex at the north end of the house, where Henry M. Sikes kept a store. About this time a handsome hall was built over it, which was a favorite place for dancing parties, and it seems to have had an atmosphere especially favorable to flirtation. I have no doubt that those brilliantly decorated walls looked down upon the beginning of many a "match" which the participants thought was being "made in heaven."

Here Emory Perry held his much frequented singing school, where he united with the famous bass singers of his choir, Edward Curtis and Joel Wilder, in those tremendous *tours de force*, which, aided by Jason Collier's great bass viol, caused the very walls to tremble.

Next north came the house of Theophilus Wheeler, Esq., which, with the next one north, was built by Rev. Joseph Wheeler, who was Registrar of Probate from 1776 to 1793. His son Theophilus succeeded him in that office, and held it forty-three years to 1836, residing here till his death. The next house was occupied by Samuel Jennison, Esq., the north part of it being the store of Mr. Charles Wheeler, to whom his brother Henry succeeded, afterwards forming a partnership with his brother-in-law, Mr. Thaxter, under the firm name of Wheeler & Thaxter.

The next house north was that of Mrs. Thomas, widow of Isaiah Thomas, Jr., who had come from Boston with her family to reside here. Annexed to the north end of this house was the office of Hon. Edward D. Bangs, and just north of the office was his house occupied by his family. In the rear of the house, with Mill Brook running through the center, was a lovely garden, which was the delight of all who had access to it.

A lane or passage way, dividing this estate from that of Dr. Abraham Lincoln, led to a machine shop at the foot of a small pond which furnished whatever power was required at the shop. This shop, afterwards known as "Court Mills," was occupied successively by Henry Howard, William Hovey, Clarendon



Wheelock, and other ingenious mechanics; and latterly by Ruggles, Nourse & Mason.

Dr. Lincoln's place covered a considerable space between Main street and the pond, and extended nearly to Lincoln square. Here the Doctor kept a variety of rare fowls, the care of which seemed to be his chief amusement. It will be remembered that Dr. Lincoln died suddenly just as he was about to assume the duties of High Sheriff of the County.

On the corner of Lincoln square and Main street was one of Mr. Salisbury's small warehouses, and, I think, the last receptacle of his treasured merchandise.

Proceeding eastward from the corner last mentioned we come to the hatter's shop of Mr. John P. Kettell, who carried on the business in town for about sixty years, and was respected and honored by all who knew him. This shop stood over the pond which abutted on the west side of the jail yard. The yard was inclosed by a very high board fence surmounted by iron spikes, concealing the windows of the two lower stories of the jail, which stood directly east of the pond. The jail was guarded on the east side by a similar fence. Next east of the jail, on the corner of Summer street, stood the jail tavern; this had been owned and occupied by Gen. Heard and his father until 1822, when he sold it to Harmon Chamberlin, who occupied it two years and sold it to Asahel Bellows.

Across Summer street was Antiquarian Hall, built and presented to the American Antiquarian Society by Dr. Isaiah Thomas, its founder and first president.

The southerly outlet from Lincoln square to the east was the Boston and Worcester turnpike, with its western terminus nearly opposite the end of Summer street. This was indicated by a large arch spanning the road, on the west face of which was this legend: "37½ miles to Boston line." The eastern end of the road had a similar arch whose inscription I do not remember. Over the center of the one at Lincoln square was placed a large bird, the origin and purpose of which no one knew.

Between the turnpike and Lincoln street was the "Lincoln Square Hotel." This was a large house of more than ordinary

pretensions ; it is claimed that it was built and occupied by one of the Chandlers before the Revolution ; however this may be, Mr. Daniel Waldo took up his residence there on his coming from Lancaster with his family to live here in 1782. It was afterwards occupied by Gov. Levi Lincoln, Jr., while building his brick mansion on Main street. In 1814 Capt. Peter Slater kept a hotel there till 1818 when he was succeeded by Benjamin Howard, who was largely interested in the stages running west and south. In 1823 Mr. Howard was succeeded by Capt. Joseph Lovell, who in 1826 gave place to Harmon Chamberlin, and he was succeeded by Nathan Powers. It was afterwards kept for many years by Nathaniel Stearns, and came to be known as Stearns's Hotel.

On the eastern corner of Lincoln street stood the hotel stables, and a short distance north of them lived Mr. Ebenezer Whitney, who came there from the very old house on New Worcester hill.

Next north was a hip-roofed house standing beneath three magnificent elms ; this was occupied in 1822 by Mr. Geer, who had been a contractor in building the turnpike above mentioned. It is claimed that this was the homestead of David Curtis, and that his children were born there, but this point is not settled ; at any rate the widow of Mr. Curtis, who had married Mr. Bigelow, after he sold the Bigelow farm, came there with her husband to live in 1824.

Mr. Blake, a carpenter, and Mr. Stratton, shoemaker, occupied a small white house at the foot of Paine's hill. Then, going up the hill, we came to Mrs. Knower's small cottage, directly opposite "The Oaks," and nestled snugly under the woods of Paine's hill.

This brings us back to our starting point.

NOTE. Between the long wooden building in which were the stores of George A. Trumbull, bookseller, and T. & W. Keith, jewelers, and the "Dix House," on Court Hill, was in 1822 a small wooden tower containing the town scales. In the top of this was hung a large wooden beam, from the outer end of which were suspended four chains for fastening around each wheel of a wagon. The weights were adjusted to the other end of the beam.

There were three parallel roads at this point, the middle one being lower than the one over Court Hill, and higher than Main street, forming terraces above the principal road, which was, of course, much narrower than at present.

The annual meeting was held Tuesday evening, December 1st.

Present: Messrs. Crane, T. A. Dickinson, Staples, Rice, Taft, Adams, Prentiss, Seagrave, Stedman, Hubbard, Maynard, J. I. Souther, H. M. Smith, Gould, Meriam, Estey, Barrows, Pierce, Lyford, Jackson, Knight, Edwards, Bartlett, Tucker, C. R. Johnson, Haskins, Sumner and Abbot, members; J. Brainerd Hall and H. R. Cummings, reporters.—  
30.

William H. Sawyer, John C. Otis, Albert F. Simmons and Daniel W. Abercrombie of Worcester; Rev. John Gregson of Wilkinsonville, and John C. Crane of Millbury, were admitted as active members.

The Librarian reported 7 volumes, 157 pamphlets and 3 articles for the museum as the additions for the month.

The Treasurer and Librarian then presented their annual reports for 1885, which were accepted and placed on file.

## TREASURER'S REPORT.

To the Officers and Members of

The Worcester Society of Antiquity :

GENTLEMEN :—In accordance with the requirements of the By-Laws of this Society, I herewith present this Annual Report, showing the receipts and expenditures of the Society, from Dec. 9, 1884, to Dec. 1, 1885, as follows :

CASH RECEIVED.		CASH PAID.	
1885.	DR.	1885.	CR.
Assessments,	\$353 25	Rent,	\$175 00
Admissions,	40 00	Fuel,	2 00
Donations,	39 00	Gas,	11 60
Sale of Proceedings,	35 50	Water,	2 00
Sale of Keys, etc.	1 31	Printing Proceedings,	125 00
	<hr/>	Postage,	6 47
	469 06	Insurance,	9 00
Balance from 1884,	10 40	Printing Notices,	23 07
		Binding,	3 00
		Express and Cartage,	2 20
		Collecting,	8 00
		Supplies for Librarian,	27 31
		Three Card Machines,	5 00
		Maps and frame,	5 75
		Carriages at Bi-Centennial,	10 00
		Excursion balance,	8 10
		Signs at door,	3 00
		Use of Old South Church,	10 00
		Athol Transcript,	6 00
			<hr/>
		Balance on hand,	442 50
			36 96
			<hr/>
	\$479 46		\$479 46

There are accounts due the Treasurer to the amount of \$170.

Respectfully submitted,

H. F. STEDMAN, *Treasurer.*

## LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

The whole number of gifts to the Library and Museum received during the year 1885 is 3233. Number of contributors, 132. These additions comprise 659 bound volumes, 1167 pamphlets, 631 almanacs, 700 papers (including original manuscripts), 20 pictures, 24 maps, and 32 articles for the museum.

The largest and most important accession is a collection of rare books, almanacs, pamphlets, paper money, etc., given to the Society by Mrs. Charlotte Downes as a memorial of her husband, the late John Downes, Esq., of Washington. The collection comprises 479 volumes, 58 pamphlets, 631 almanacs, with broadsides, papers, manuscripts, etc., gathered by Mr. Downes during the course of his long life. Among the books are many scarce and valuable historical, mathematical and scientific works, while the large collection of almanacs is especially noteworthy, including sets of the principal American issues, as well as fine specimens of English almanacs of the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries. There are also copies of many of the juvenile and other publications of Isaiah Thomas; and twelve different issues of the New England Primer, the oldest being an original of 1779.

The entire collection has, through the generosity of our President, Mr. Crane, been placed in two substantial cases, and is to be known henceforth as the "Downes Collection." A card catalogue has been made, but it is expected that this will be superseded in the near future by a printed one. The gift of this collection is one of many gratifying assurances that the work of our Society is known and appreciated abroad.

Some work has been done in the George Allen Library during the past year towards the preparation for a printed catalogue of that remarkable collection, which it is hoped will be undertaken as soon as the powers of the Society admit. This should contain all of Mr. Allen's marginal and other notes made in the books, as they furnish a wealth of curious information. The advantages of a printed catalogue of such a collection I need not set forth.

We have received 32 additions to our Museum, some of them objects of interest and value. I desire particularly to mention two card teeth machines made by one of the best mechanics of his day, Charles Elliott of Leicester, about 1816. These machines are made in the most thorough manner, and were capable of running at great speed, producing as many as 30,000 perfect card teeth per hour, the inserting of which into leather for cotton and wool cards formed the chief industry of the families of Leicester and adjoining towns at that time. Our collection of card teeth machines is now wellnigh complete, and is the nucleus of what will make our Museum of great practical use to the mechanics of Worcester County.

Our relic department is increasing rapidly, and will soon overreach our capacity for arrangement. A printed catalogue of the articles in the Museum would add to their value and interest.

I need not mention here individual donors to the Library and Museum by name, as a complete list accompanies this report.

Two publications (Nos. 21 and 22) have been issued since my last report—Proceedings of the Society for 1884, and Proceedings at the Tenth Anniversary, Jan. 27, 1885. These have been distributed to members, and other societies and libraries.

The Rooms have been open to the public Tuesday afternoon of each week. I would now recommend that they be open Saturday afternoons also, and hope soon to see them open daily in charge of an efficient attendant.

It is very evident that The Worcester Society of Antiquity is, and is to be, one of the public institutions of Worcester. The chief thing to be accomplished is to make this mass of material we are accumulating (wholly by donation) valuable and useful to the people who pay *our* tax. In receiving these gifts we are in duty bound to make return in every way to the public.

This Society is very generous to its members. Few institutions offer so much for so small a yearly assessment. It is also generous in its dealings with other bodies of like character, for it has always been our policy to give a liberal distribution to our publications, whether we received an equivalent or not. Our exchange

list has been added to during the past year, and I would suggest that it be further enlarged by designating at least one depository for our publications in every state and territory in the Union.

Many who visit our Rooms are surprised that so much has been accomplished in so short a time. All honor to the men who were the pioneers in this enterprise, and who have labored unceasingly to bring this Society to its present state of prosperity.

THOMAS A. DICKINSON, *Librarian.*

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### GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

- ABBOT, W. F., 21 papers, 15 pamphlets  
 ADAMS, Hon. Charles, Jr., North Brookfield. Gun from the slave ship Amistad; church records.  
 ADAMS, David, Mendon. 11 pamphlets, some rare.  
 ADAMS, Dr. George S., Piece of the Mormon Temple, Salt Lake City.  
 ADAMS, Mrs. G. S., Specimen brick, Philadelphia Bi-Centennial.  
 AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings as issued; Lechford's Note Book.  
 ANGLIM & Co., Washington, D. C. Monthly Bulletin for the year.  
 BANISTER, Charles H. 69 papers, 1 pamphlet.  
 BARBER, Miss Ruth. Foot stove used in the Barber family; pair hand cards; hand reel.  
 BARTLETT, William H. 18 volumes, 138 pamphlets, 41 papers; old lithograph; autographs of Peter Cooper and others.  
 BARTON, William S. Large framed photograph of the Chandler-Barton mansion; 1 pamphlet; Tax list for 1834.  
 BICKNELL, Hon. T. W., Hingham. 1 volume.  
 BIGELOW, Mrs. Charles A. 43 magazines, 3 pamphlets, 105 papers.  
 BLAKE, Francis E., Boston. 2 volumes.  
 BOYDEN, John. 6 volumes Channing's works; Confederate bond.  
 BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 2 pamphlets.  
 CALDWELL, Rev. Augustine. 2 historical pamphlets relating to Ipswich.  
 CALIFORNIA, University of. Register, Report and Library Bulletin.  
 CANADIAN INSTITUTE. Proceedings.  
 CHANDLER, Dr. George. 1 volume, 4 pamphlets.  
 CHASE, Charles A. His memoir of Henshaw Dana.  
 CHENEY, Mrs. A. B. Old letter.  
 CITY MESSENGER, Boston. 2 Reports of Record Commissioners.

- CLEMENCE, Henry M. 210 pamphlets; tin kitchen and baker.
- CRANE, E. B. Dutch Church Register, London, 1571-1874; framed picture of Isaiah Thomas paper mill; Indian stone axe; 7 pamphlets; cases for Downes Collection.
- CURRIER, A. N. 2 volumes, 114 pamphlets, 12 papers.
- DANA, Mrs. John A. Memorial of Henshaw Dana.
- DAMON, Mrs. Harriet Wheeler. Washington funeral badge; invitation to ball in commemoration of peace, 1815; invitation to cotillion party, 1826; Constitution of Mass. Washington Benevolent Society; 2 papers.
- DAVENPORT ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES, Davenport, Iowa. Proceedings.
- DAVIS, Alonzo. Fitchburg City Document.
- DEVENS, Gen. Charles. His Commemorative Addresses on Gen. Grant.
- DICKIE, James H. German bottle corker.
- DICKINSON, Thomas A. His Memorial of Francis G. Sanborn.
- DODGE, Benjamin J. Memoir of R. R. Dodge; Davis Family; Educational chart; Worcester Co. Naturalist; 10 pamphlets, 4 papers, 3 broadsides, 1 picture.
- DOWNES, Mrs. Charlotte, Washington. The Downes Collection.
- ESSEX INSTITUTE, Salem. Bulletin as issued.
- ESTEY, James L. Spy "Extra" framed, (Burns riot in Boston May 27, 1854.)
- GODDARD, Lucius P. 13 volumes, 64 pamphlets, 4 papers.
- GOULD, A. K. 1 paper.
- GREEN, Hon. Samuel A., M. D., Boston. His Groton Historical Series and other pamphlets.
- HAMMOND, T. W. 1 pamphlet.
- HARDING, Alpheus, Barre. Ancient horse shoe.
- HARVARD UNIVERSITY, Library of. Bulletin as issued.
- HASKINS, D. W. Photograph of Guiteau.
- HEWITT, G. F. California Pilgrimage of Boston Commandery of Knights Templars, 1883.
- HODGMAN, Charles O. 1 photograph.
- HOLDEN, Howard. 8 pamphlets.
- HOWARD, Joseph Jackson, LL. D., London. Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica for the year.
- HOWE, W. B. 1 pamphlet.
- HOWLAND, Henry J. 11 volumes, 33 pamphlets, 14 papers.
- HULING, Ray Greene, Fitchburg. 3 pamphlets.
- IOWA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Historical Record.
- JILLSON, Hon. Clark. Granite Monthly for the year; 11 volumes, 8 pamphlets, 18 papers; 4 Government Reports; 42 manuscripts; photograph, picture and map; nutmeg grater; ancient piece of needlework.
- JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, Baltimore. Publications as issued.
- KENDALL, S. M. 1 pamphlet, 2 papers; large photograph of H. W. Beecher; engraving of Isaac Davis.



- KINNEY, B. H. 140 pamphlets; files of newspapers.
- LEE, Pardon A. Fine specimens of variegated quartz from New Mexico.
- LEICESTER PUBLIC LIBRARY. 1 volume, 1 pamphlet.
- LEONARD, B. A., Southbridge. 1 volume, 23 pamphlets and 4 papers.
- LIBBIE, C. F. & Co. Sale catalogues.
- LINCOLN, E. W. 1 pamphlet.
- MANITOBA HISTORICAL and SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY. 7 pamphlets.
- MARBLE, A. P. 8 pamphlets.
- MAY, Rev. Samuel, Leicester. 38 papers.
- MCCAUSLAND, ——. Petrified buffalo's horn.
- MERIAM, R. N. 24 volumes, 29 pamphlets, 287 papers; 2 pictures; ancient button-hole cutter.
- MERRIMAN, Rev. Daniel. 1 pamphlet.
- MESSINGER, D. S. 10 pamphlets.
- MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 1 volume, 1 pamphlet.
- MORGAN, Charles A., Fitchburg. 1 volume, 2 papers.
- MORGAN, G. Blacker, London, Eng. 1 pamphlet.
- MORRISON, C. P., St Louis. 7 numbers of his musical compositions.
- MORSE, C. C. & Son, Haverhill. 2 catalogues.
- NARRAGANSETT PUBLISHING CO., Rhode Island. Historical Register, 1885.
- NEBRASKA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Transactions, Vol. I.
- NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY. Register as issued; vol. 4, Memorial Biographies; Proceedings at annual meeting.
- NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 7 volumes Collections; Proceedings complete from the beginning.
- NEW YORK: AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY. Publications complete to date.
- NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY. 1 volume, 2 pamphlets.
- NEWTON, E. H. 1 paper.
- NILES, Dr. D. W. Colonial bill, 1775.
- O'FLYNN, Richard. 4 volumes, 12 papers; package of old letters and deeds; solid shot fired into the "Congress"; other relics.
- PAINE, Nathaniel. 5 pamphlets, 30 papers.
- PEABODY MUSEUM, Cambridge. Publications complete.
- PECK, A. E. 1 pamphlet; framed photograph; 1 portrait and 5 engravings.
- PEIRCE, Hon. H. B., Secretary of the Commonwealth. 7 vols., 1 pamphlet.
- PENNSYLVANIA, Historical Society of. Pennsylvania Magazine for the year.
- PERRY, C. O., Chicago. 1 pamphlet.
- PHILADELPHIA, Library Company of. Bulletin.
- PHILLIPS, Rev. G. W. 1 pamphlet.
- PRINCE, Lucian. 3 papers.
- PROVIDENCE ATHENÆUM. 1 pamphlet.
- PROVIDENCE PUBLIC LIBRARY. 7th Annual Report.
- PUTNAM, DAVIS & Co. 2 volumes, 66 pamphlets, 247 papers.

- PUTNAM, Samuel H. 4 volumes, 2 engravings.
- REED, Hon. Charles G. His inaugural address as Mayor.
- RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 1 volume, 1 pamphlet.
- RICE, Franklin P. 1 pamphlet, 1 paper and 2 photographs.
- RICE, Hon. W. W., Member of Congress. 3 volumes.
- ROE, Alfred S. 8 volumes, 43 pamphlets, 52 papers; 68 lbs. of manuscript sermons; piece of gun carriage, Fort Sumter.
- SALISBURY, Stephen. 2 volumes; Memorial of Hon. Stephen Salisbury.
- SCRIBNER & WELFORD, New York. 2 catalogues.
- SEAGRAVE, Daniel. 5 volumes, 4 pamphlets and 1 paper.
- SHELDON, Hon. George, Deerfield. 1 engraving and 1 paper.
- SHUMWAY, Henry L. Magazine of American History for the year; 3 volumes, 83 pamphlets, 10 papers; 1 photograph; door handle and lock from old Wheeler house.
- SIMMONS, Rev. C. E. 2 ancient chairs; patent rat trap; brass door handle.
- SMITH, H. M. 5 volumes, 44 pamphlets.
- SMITH, J. A. 1 volume, 1 pamphlet.
- SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, Washington. 1 volume.
- STAPLES, Rev. C. A., Lexington. 4 pamphlets.
- STAPLES, S. E. 4 pamphlets; hymns composed by himself.
- STEVENS, Henry & Son, London. 2 catalogues.
- STONE, Augustus. 1 paper.
- STRYKER, Gen. W. S., Trenton. 1 volume Colonial Documents, New Jersey.
- SUMNER, George. 1 volume, 31 pamphlets, 3 papers and 2 photographs.
- SURREY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, England. Collections, Vol. IX., part 1.
- SYPHER & Co. 3 catalogues.
- TAFT, Caleb S. Indian stone pestle.
- THAYER, Hon. Adin. 1 pamphlet.
- THAYER, Hon. Eli. 1 pamphlet.
- THAYER, Perry. 17 volumes.
- TILLINGHAST, C. B., Boston. Report of State Library.
- TOWNE, E. H., City Clerk. Worcester City Documents, 1885.
- TYLER, Rev. Albert, Oxford. 1 pamphlet, 3 papers.
- WESBY, Herbert. 2 volumes, 32 pamphlets, 24 papers; old door latch.
- WESTERN RESERVE AND NORTHERN OHIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 7 pamphlets.
- WILDER, H. B. 10 pamphlets.
- WILCOX, Francis E., Philadelphia. Vermont cent, 1786.
- WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 1 volume, 4 pamphlets.
- WOODMAN, Mrs. D. O. Door knocker of Henry Woodman, Springfield.
- YALE COLLEGE LIBRARY. Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Yale College, 1701-1745; 2 pamphlets.

The Society then proceeded to ballot for the choice of officers for 1886, and the following were elected.

President : ELLERY B. CRANE ; 1st Vice-President : ALBERT TOLMAN ; 2d Vice-President : GEORGE SUMNER ; Secretary : WILLIAM F. ABBOT ; Treasurer : HENRY F. STEDMAN ; Librarian : THOMAS A. DICKINSON ; Member of Committee on Nominations to serve three years : JOSEPH JACKSON.

The annual assessment for 1886 was fixed at four dollars.

The President appointed Hon. Clark Jillson, W. H. Bartlett and R. N. Meriam a committee to take into consideration the recommendation of the Librarian in regard to opening the Rooms an additional afternoon in each week, and to make report of the result at the adjournment of the meeting, with the expense necessary to carry out said recommendation.

The meeting was then adjourned for two weeks.

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Tuesday evening, December 15th. The Society met according to adjournment.

Present : Messrs. Staples, Dickinson, Edwards, C. Jillson, Meriam, Simmons, Maynard, Rice and Abbot.—9.

The President being absent, Mr. Staples was chosen to preside.

The Committee appointed to consider the advisability of having the Rooms open an additional afternoon weekly, reported through the chairman, Hon. Clark Jillson, recommending that the Rooms be kept open Saturday afternoons, and that seventy-five dollars be appropriated to cover the expense for the year. On motion the report was accepted and its recommendations were adopted.

On motion of Mr. Dickinson, Messrs. Crane, Staples and Rice were re-elected to serve as the Committee on Publications for 1886.

On motion the Chairmen of the Departments not reported were authorized to make their reports in print.

The meeting was then adjourned.

This completes the record of the work of The Worcester Society of Antiquity in the year 1885.

## DAVID OLIVER WOODMAN.

BY THOMAS A. DICKINSON.

DAVID OLIVER WOODMAN was a native of Springfield, Massachusetts, born March 20th, 1820. His father, Henry Woodman, who was born in Boston March 15th, 1785, was when very young bound an apprentice, and lost all trace of his ancestors, except that he knew that his mother's name before marriage was Betsey Oliver. Henry Woodman married Lucinda Ayers who was born in Brookfield, Massachusetts, March 26th, 1787. He settled in Springfield. By occupation he was a farmer and mechanic. His farming was chiefly confined to a vegetable garden. For the last fifteen years of his life he was town crier.

Mr. Thomas Thomas, an old resident of Springfield, writes of Mr. Henry Woodman: "I knew him for thirty-five or forty years, and for fifteen years as city crier. He was a famous raiser of cabbage plants; he raised them for sale, and it was said that they grew better than those raised by others. As bell-ringer and crier for auction sales the boys would sometimes follow him and make remarks that would rumpel his temper, but he was generally jolly, jovial and full of fun, and is well remembered by the old residents of Springfield." He had a powerful voice of which some anecdotes are told. His death occurred in June, 1861.

David Oliver Woodman was one of a family of nine children. His education was that furnished by the common district schools of Springfield, which at that time ranked among the best. At the age of fifteen he bought his time of his father for seventy-five dollars, and began to learn the trade of card-making at Willimansett, a village on the Connecticut river, between Holyoke and Springfield. He also worked at the old Shepard card factory

in Springfield previous to his coming to Worcester in 1845, when he entered the employ of T. K. Earle & Co., at their card factory then located in Washington square. In 1849 he returned to Springfield and worked two years in the United States Armory. At this time the old flint-lock muskets were being altered to percussion locks, and the Government employed about all the good mechanics as well as many farmers and boys in the vicinity. Besides the guns stored in the arsenal here (numbering 93,876) nearly all the guns belonging to the United States were altered at Springfield, or the parts were made there and sent to the different arsenals to be attached to the arms.

In 1851 Mr. Woodman removed to Walpole, Massachusetts, and was employed by Everett Stetson, card maker, for eight years. While in Walpole Mr. Woodman was prominent in advocating the principles of the Free Soil Party with such associates as Hon. F. W. Bird, Rev. Edwin Thompson, Farmer Allen and others, who were then in the minority, but were foremost in the cause that was finally triumphant.

Returning to Worcester he was again engaged with T. K. Earle & Co. until 1865, when he commenced the building of card-setting machines. This enterprise was started by a company in Springfield, but after a short time the machines were withdrawn and sold to the Card Clothing Association. In 1867 Mr. Woodman started the card business in Uxbridge, forming a company known as the Uxbridge Card Company, and disposing of his interest to that organization. He then built more machines in Worcester, which he removed to Fitchburg, and opened another factory. This was operated for a year and a half, when it also fell into the possession of the Card Clothing Association.

Not to be put down by monopoly, Mr. Woodman continued to build card machines, and was about starting the business for the fourth time when the Card Clothing Association bought out his entire stock, and placed him under bonds not to build or start any more machines for ten years. This was in July, 1876.

Mr. Woodman contributed to the growth and prosperity of the card business by increasing the number of machines nearly one

hundred and fifty (less than twelve hundred were running in the United States). His machines can be found in nearly every card factory in the country. Many of them were hastily constructed by job work, but generally the working parts were well made, and I think none of them have ever been condemned as unfit for use.

The fact that the Card Clothing Association was obliged to buy him out several times, and finally to place him under bonds not to engage in the business, is pretty good evidence of his ability and enterprise. Mr. T. K. Earle said of him: "He was one of the quickest and most active of workmen, capable of turning off more work than any other man in my employ."

Mr. Woodman was a man of determination and perseverance, energetic and driving in his business. He possessed a jovial disposition, and was ready for fun at any time. He was liberal in his religious views. He was an active worker in the Free Soil party, and later in the Prohibition party; and was thoroughly a temperance man in practice and principle, using neither tea nor coffee. He usually voted with the minority.

He became a member of this Society Oct. 7th, 1884, and died Saturday, Sept. 26th, 1885.

His death was sad and untimely. It was caused by falling a few feet from a ladder while engaged in gathering fruit from a small tree in front of his house.

## DEPARTMENT REPORTS.

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### ARCHÆOLOGY AND GENERAL HISTORY.

The past year has been fruitful in rich rewards of archæological research in various parts of the world, and it would be our province to make mention here of some of the more important of these discoveries were not all the space allotted this Department required to record the doings of one of our own members in a distant field of labor.

In the report of last year reference was made to the appointment of Edward H. Thompson as Consul to Yucatan, and the hope was then expressed that we should be able this year to give some account of his explorations in the Land of the Mayas. That hope has fortunately been realized, and in the annexed communication we leave Mr. Thompson to describe his experiences and discoveries in his own words.

CHARLES R. JOHNSON, *Chairman.*

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CONSULATE, MERIDA, YUCATAN,

*January 29th, 1886.*

Mr. E. B. Crane,

My Dear Sir :

I promised you that when I found or accomplished anything of interest or worthy of note I would communicate it to the Society. The contents of the inclosed



sketch may, perhaps, be considered in that light, inasmuch as it is a member of the Society who has first made a systematic study of the ruined cities of Labná and Lebatsche.

I am very glad to hear, from time to time, of the continued prosperity of the Society. I trust that upon my return I can present the Society with various souvenirs of this interesting region.

EDWARD H. THOMPSON.

THE RUINED CITY OF LABNA.

By traveling night and day, with fresh relays to take the place of jaded animals, I was able to reach, early in the week, the large sugar plantation of Tabi, where, thanks to the kindness of Señors Miguel and Carlos Peon, as well as that of their able superintendent, Don Antonio Fajardo, I found saddle horses, pack mules and men in readiness and awaiting my coming.

This large sugar plantation, the hacienda of Tabi, has in its employ nearly three hundred persons. It is upon the confines of civilization in this portion of Yucatan, and has always a strong military force quartered upon it for its protection. It was upon this hacienda that the first fury of the savage Mayan outbreak expended itself. But little is known as to what occurs in the dark depths of the forest beyond its boundaries. It is one of the many haciendas all over Yucatan owned by the members of the *Peon* family. This family and the name of Peon is all over Yucatan a synonym for sturdy, uncompromising loyalty, is noted for its broad, progressive ideas and generous hospitality. Long may their numbers increase and furnish guides for Yucatan's true prosperity.

After the usual trials incident to such an expedition we reached the ruins of Labná, just as a tropical twilight was swiftly gathering its shadows around the matted tree trunks. The last rays of the sun brightly illumined one gray old ruin built upon a lofty mound. I intended to make one of the chambers in the ruin my quarters for the night, but on descending to the valley where the horses were tethered for the night, I found the men talking about "un tigre" that they had seen or heard. I then deemed it prudent for

the safety of our animals that we should bivouac close beside them. Consequently our hammocks were swung from tree to tree, a huge fire kindled, our quickly prepared supper soon disposed of, and the usual evening talk around the camp fire commenced.

A really merry lot these Mayas were, of whom but one could really speak the Spanish tongue. They told me Mayan legends and sang me Mayan songs, and then in return asked me to tell them of my far off country. In, I fear, a somewhat faulty manner, for my knowledge of the Maya tongue is not yet perfect, I told them of my country, of New England, its forests hidden beneath the snow, and its rivers still with ice. As they sat in a circle around the fire, their black eyes glistening in its light, and interested red-brown faces, the picture brought vividly to my mind a similar incident told me by Paul DuChaillu of his journey mid the jungle tribes of Africa.

After a while when all save the watcher had bid me *Ki-tan ta bagage* (good night), and taken to their hammocks, I was left alone to write my notes by the flickering fire light. These finished, the fire low, and the watchman drowsily sitting with his back against a tree, I took to my hammock stretched between two cha-car trees, and with my knife and pistol still in my belt in anticipation of a midnight visit from a jaguar, I sought to sleep. The moon shone as bright and clear as it does at home. Every leaf and twig above me, as well as the old ruined temple upon the pyramid was clearly outlined against the sky. I was far away from civilized life, and, if the Indians said truly, the only white traveler that had ever slept amid these scenes. Once in a while some low, strange cry would come wailing up from the distant depths of the forest. The hard jaunt of the preceding days soon gave me sleep. No tiger disturbed either man or beast, and early next morning we awoke refreshed and in good shape for the coming day's hard labor with the axe, measuring chain and photographic apparatus.

Of the four buildings still standing in a comparatively good state of preservation, a person could pass within fifty yards of all save one and still remain unaware of their existence, so dense is the growth of tropical verdure. The one exception is the ruined temple before referred to. Having itself an altitude of thirty feet

and standing upon a pyramid whose sharply inclined plane measures sixty-four feet from base to crown, it overtops all save the neighboring hills. The edifice stands upon what was once a platform crowning a terraced pyramid. This platform, and also the terraces below it, are broken and buried beneath the accumulation of *débris*. Two doorways now exist, facing south, and circumstances would seem to indicate the former presence of one, if not of two, more. Within the edifice still exists one entire, and the greater portion of two other chambers, each nineteen and one half feet long, six feet eight inches wide, and twelve feet nine inches from apex of the arched roof to the chamber floor. It is not the chambers that excite wonder, for they are small and plain; but the façade that rises a huge perpendicular wall, thirty feet from base to top, almost twenty feet above the chamber roof, and thirty-three feet wide. This façade, facing south by west, was once nearly covered with figures in *haute relief*, and strange emblems done in stucco. I lament greatly the ruin that has fallen upon so many of them.

Just above the line of the chamber doorways there were once eight, and with the portion of the façade spoken of by Stephens as destroyed, possibly ten, statues of human figures, heroic size. Of these figures only fragments remain. Of one, however, the upper part of the bust and head is still intact, while of another the lower part remains. These fragments enabled me to form an idea of the perfect figures. Not only were these figures in high relief, and well modeled, but they were evidently once tinted with bright pigments, of which vestiges still remain. When perfect the effect of the whole façade must have been remarkable. Slight stone canopies projected over each figure, and the under side of each of these was tinted a greenish blue, possibly to imitate the heavens. Around each head was a crown, or possibly a plaited head dress of hair; this was painted a bright red. Above these figures are many more of greater or less importance, of which time will not now allow me to write.

A short distance to the west of this building, which I believe to have been a temple (*kuná*), is a richly ornamented portal entrance leading to a once grand court yard. This portal, which was, until cleared to view by the axes of my men, completely hidden by the

trees and vines, is truly beautiful. Its decorations are rich and artistic, and would do credit to any nation at any period of art. The walls of this portal edifice are fully thirteen feet in thickness, while the arched portal entrance itself is ten feet wide. Facing north by east upon each side of the entrance is a chamber, probably occupied by the guards of the entrance. Over each chamber entrance is a square recess, each of which once contained a brightly colored representation of the sun and its divergent rays. These once handsome stucco ornaments are now very much mutilated.

Northeast of the portal some hundred yards or more, lies the largest ruin of the whole group now standing. It is truly a *casa grande* nearly three hundred feet in length, with many turns and angles. It now contains nearly twenty chambers, nearly perfect and similar in size to the chambers of the temple. How many more there were in the portions that now are shapeless ruins I could only judge.

In this brief and unsatisfactory sketch I can only outline the salient points of interest. The entire façade of this building is encrusted with pillars, carvings and figures executed not in plastic stucco, but in stone itself. Of these figures two objects are of especial interest. One of these is the lower portion of a figure carved in stone, perfect from the waist down. This figure has a Falstaffian look about it as if the person or god whom it was designed to represent enjoyed good living. The dress consisted apparently of a tunic, the embroidered lower part of which is still visible. A sash girt his waist with pendent ends in front. His lower limbs were clad in a most peculiar garment, apparently of some quilted material, possibly the cotton armor of the Toltecs, ornamented in front with a broad band extending from hip to ankle, and terminated by a large rosette just above the instep. This covering of the limbs was wrinkled in a marvelous manner—fluted apparently. The sandals were confined to the feet by two thongs each, instead of one, as is the present custom. The second object of interest is a sculptured reptile of some fabulous class, holding in its mouth a human head.

The other interesting objects are many, but I must leave them for a future time, and pass on to the fourth and last perfect building of this lost city. This is a large rectangular building having a wing attached, and with a rather sombre aspect, having but comparatively few ornaments or decorations upon its façade. It has, however, between fifteen and twenty chambers in good condition. In front of this building, facing east, is a small well-like opening; this at a depth of a few feet opens into a huge cavity or cenote of unknown depth.

This, with other objects, I shall explore upon my projected second trip. I then propose to supplement the plans and photographs of this trip by excavations for certain statues and other objects, as well as casts and moulds of statues, and certain inscriptions found by me.

The only archæologists who have reached this ruined city are the indefatigable Stephens and myself. I propose to give it a thorough and systematic investigation, to glean if possible from these comparatively undisturbed monuments some fragments of a lost history.

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#### LOCAL HISTORY AND GENEALOGY.

##### CITY AND COUNTY NECROLOGY, 1885.

Among the deaths in Worcester and Worcester County within the year 1885 are the following:

*Jan. 1.* Maj. WILLIAM D. HOLBROOK, well known in business and military circles.

*Jan. 14.* SAMUEL REEVES LELAND, in his 67th year, for a long period prominent in the music trade and in musical matters in central Massachusetts.

*Feb. 5.* EDWARD S. HOWES, for many years State Gas Inspector.

*Feb. 23.* At Sutton, Rev. HIRAM A. TRACY, 80 years of age, a clergyman resident, and pastor of Sutton, and one of the historians of the town.

*March 7.* EDWARD JONES, of the firm of Ashworth & Jones, woolen manufacturers at Cherry Valley, where he and his partner had established a large and prosperous business.

*March 10.* Sergeant THOMAS PLUNKETT, to be known always in the annals of our late war as the armless hero of Fredericksburg. He died at his post on the staff of Sergeant-at-arms of the Massachusetts Legislature. For the entire period since the close of the war he was in useful public service. In his honor at his funeral the Commonwealth was widely represented; the State sending a guard of honor in charge of the tattered flag carried by Sergeant Plunkett when his arms were torn away.

*March 17.* Prof. CHARLES O. THOMPSON, PH. D., of the Rose Polytechnic Institute at Terre Haute, Indiana, where his death occurred. His recent and long connection with the Worcester Free Institute of Industrial Science, caused his death to be deeply lamented by many friends in this section and State. His remains were brought to Worcester for interment.

*May 5.* Maj. MATTHEW J. McCAFFERTY, long a resident of Worcester, and at the time of his death a Judge of the Municipal Court in Boston. He was prominent in the Democratic party, of good standing in his profession, and thoroughly respected for his energy and zeal in conquering the adverse and narrow circumstances of his early life.

*June 27.* NATHAN T. BEMIS, one of the largest livery stable proprietors in this city. For many years of the best period of stage-coaching in New England Mr. Bemis was actively identified with the business, and remained to the close of his life a treasury of facts of travel and intercourse in the earlier part of the century.

*July 15.* R. R. SHEPARD, died at the age of 73. The senior member of the former firm of Shepard, Lathe & Co., prominent manufacturers in their period.

*Aug. 8.* Dr. GEORGE A. BATES, a widely known and prominent medical practitioner. A native of Barre.

*Sept. 15.* FRANCIS H. KINNICUTT, aged 73, for many years a leading hardware merchant, and subsequently prominently connected with the affairs of the Worcester & Nashua railroad.

*Sept. 20.* Miss TAMERSON WHITE, for many years the useful and greatly respected matron of the Orphans' Home in this city.

*Sept. 26.* DAVID O. WOODMAN, prominent in the card clothing business, and a member of this Society.

*Oct. 17.* Dr. WILLIAM WORKMAN, at the age of 87. He had achieved wealth and prominence in many years' practice of his profession.

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In the County Necrology at large there were many deaths at advanced age. The following are noted as occurring at 90 years and upward :

JANUARY.

Barre.	Mrs. Margaret Ormsby,	91.
Lunenburg.	Mrs. Nancy Greene,	90 yrs., 5 mos., 25 d.
Grafton.	Nancy Morse,	90.
Milford.	Mrs. Lois Sumner,	92 yrs., 7 m., 9 d.

FEBRUARY.

Mendon.	Mrs. Sarah J. Allen,	91.
Barre.	Samuel Kendall,	93.
Webster.	Mrs. Mary J. Perry,	90 yrs., 11 m.
Milford.	John Nichols,	91 yrs., 6 m., 11 d.
Barre.	Capt. James Woods,	91.
Leominster.	Mrs. Lois Wyman,	91.
Grafton.	Elethere Davis,	96 yrs., 2 m., 18 d.
Fitchburg.	Mrs. Elizabeth Shea,	90.
Gardner.	Joanna Wilder,	92 yrs., 10 m., 23 d.

MARCH.

Westminster.	Mrs. Lucy Puffer,	90.
Harvard.	Susan Beard,	95 yrs., 11 m., 5 d.
Barre.	Lambert Wheelock,	90 yrs., 8 m.
Shrewsbury.	Mrs. Sarah Davis,	93.

## APRIL.

Sturbridge.	Mrs. Betsey Lakin,	90.
Hardwick.	Mrs. Patty Stone,	95.
Leominster.	Mrs. Experience Johnson,	92.
Blackstone.	Miss Mary Bracken,	90.

## MAY.

Charlton.	Mrs. Martha W. Merrit,	99 yrs., 6 m., 8 d.
Upton.	Mrs. Sarah Wood,	96 yrs., 7 m., 1 d.

## JUNE.

Ashburnham.	Col. Charles Barrett,	97.
Hardwick.	Pliny Dow,	91.
Charlton.	Mrs. Rachel N. Blackman,	90.

## JULY.

Winchendon.	Margaret Emery,	95.
Oakham.	Mrs. Melinda Woodis,	90.

## SEPTEMBER.

Leicester.	Mrs. Sarah DeL. Henshaw,	91.
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## OCTOBER.

Westminster.	Mrs. Lucy Gaut,	92.
Millbury.	Mrs. S. P. Chase,	94.
Paxton.	John Metcalf,	94.
Leicester.	Mary Trumbull,	92.
Charlton.	Mrs. Mary Hathaway	98 yrs., 10 m.
Milford.	Mrs. Thomas Kearnes,	90.

## NOVEMBER.

Southbridge.	Mrs. Mary Ward,	92.
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HENRY M. SMITH, *Chairman.*



## ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS, PUBLICATIONS AND ENGRAVINGS.

Manuscripts have been traced back to a period more than 3,000 years B. C., and there is now in existence one written upon papyrus more than 1,600 years B. C. From these early times down to the present day this kind of material has been accumulating with great rapidity, till millions of rare specimens now exist, without a duplicate.

The demand for this kind of literature has been constantly increasing till nearly every librarian in the world takes pride in calling attention to his collection of autograph letters and other well authenticated documents. Many of these valuable relics are allowed to remain in unsafe buildings, and so arranged as not to be accessible even to those who take pleasure in studying these survivals of past and remote generations. In many instances only one copy was ever made, and its destruction would banish forever from human sight a relic and a curiosity.

The libraries of Europe were composed of manuscript books, wholly, before printing was discovered; and notwithstanding the labor and the care employed in their preservation, thousands upon thousands were from time to time destroyed by fire and by iconoclasts, agencies specially adapted to the work of destruction.

The library of Constantinople, containing 120,000 volumes, was burned in the eighth century, and the collection of Matthias Corvinus, containing 50,000 manuscripts, was destroyed in 1526. From that day to the present time these engines of destruction have been busy with this class of perishable material.

The wisdom of ages, so carefully preserved by the scribes, has perished in a moment. Scientific formula, religious dogma, and historic research, have vanished like a shadow, leaving no trace of their existence except that eliminated from the unreliable data of tradition.

Original manuscripts, worthy of preservation, ought to be duplicated with pen or type, and deposited in places of safety, so that in case the original is destroyed copies will still exist. I hereby

call the attention of our Society to its own collection, hoping that one or more of the rare manuscripts, now in our archives without a duplicate, may be printed each year, and a limited number of copies judiciously distributed.

CLARK JILLSON, *Chairman.*

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## RELICS, COINS AND CURIOSITIES.

### MEDALS.

The first occupations of man were the tending of flocks and the tilling of the soil. People accumulated property, and a person was said to be worth so many head of cattle or so many hundred sheep. All trade was conducted by barter, or the actual exchange of one kind of goods for another. This was very inconvenient. The shepherd who wished to procure cloth or leather for himself and family could purchase only by giving in exchange an ox, his smallest commodity. But this bought more cloth and leather than he needed. The ox could not be subdivided without loss to the owner, and perhaps the vender of leather did not care to make this sort of an exchange. Merchandise which could most readily be divided without losing value, or which once divided could from its parts again be made into a whole, would always find a ready market. The metals, like gold, silver and copper, combine these qualities to a degree not found in other materials; and all civilized people have adopted them as mediums of trade. When first used in trade the iron or copper was in rude form; in bars, or perhaps cubes. Every sale occasioned endless parleys and bickerings as to the value of the commodities.

After a time the metal was weighed, its value determined, and then it was stamped upon one side with the figure of a ram's head, or of a bull. This was money in its primitive form. By its use men found it easy to drive sharp bargains with their neighbors. The worth of an ox was known; the value of a copper cube could only be guessed. The modern sharper had his ancient prototype who

gave short weight and small measure. But the old Greeks were a strongly religious people. During their time their gods lived with them upon earth. Apollo and Zeus and Aphrodite had their sacred groves and valleys, each with its temple in care of a bevy of priests. These temples were the only places free from violence and pillage during the frequent wars. The making of money was delegated to the temple priests because it was thought their stamp would sufficiently attest the values of their coins. One coin had upon it the figure of Apollo, another of Minerva, and another of Hermes, according to the temple from whence it emanated. In time a simple inscription was added, and finally, when the sovereign had assumed the right to stamp money, his own effigy was added, making the complete obverse of the coin. Thus originated these most enduring memorials of antiquity.

How fortunate that these little counters, fashioned to supply a commercial need, should have been so well calculated for preservation through the centuries. The sculpture, the architecture, the literature, of the ancients is preserved for us only in fragments; but thousands of perfect coins, each with its morsel of history, are unearthed every year. Arts, literature, religions, all are explained and illustrated, and in many fields of research coins give us our only authentic information. As a record of old Greek art alone a series of medals is invaluable. In the age of Pericles his whole country teemed with masterpieces of sculpture, but most of these have been lost, and a not very large room would contain all that have come down to us. The old coin engravers had genius in kind precisely like that of the great sculptors, and we find upon their medals beautiful memory copies of the grand old marble masterpieces. This may be verified in any museum of Grecian antiquities. In spite of their diminutive size a good collection of Greek coins is perhaps the most valuable art contribution of the past.

Though coins seldom give us historic information at first hand, they are valuable in corroborating old records, in elucidating doubtful points, or in settling differences of authors who have given contradictory readings. Of course they are not always reliable; many of them are notoriously misleading. Old Roman coins struck by the senate in honor of the sovereign are ridiculous

in their flattery : Nero appearing as the father of his country, and Caracalla as the personification of saintliness. Nearer to our own time is the set of medals commemorating the exploits of Louis XIV. One cannot read from them the story of royalty given by Thackeray in his Paris Sketch Book. Designers have lost much of the sincerity which distinguished them of old, and the medals of the nineteenth century will be enigmas for our posterity to unravel.

The most obvious use of medals is to show forth the faces of famous people, their wives, children and friends. In no other way could so many likenesses be preserved. From Alexander the Great down to the present time we have medallic portraits of all the great captains and sovereigns, while painted pictures date only from the middle ages, and works of sculpture are few and lack in authenticity. Here we may read the very characters of individuals ; strong, brutal, obstinate, ferocious. Language cannot picture them in lines so clear and strong.

In every age coin engraving has been the reflection and illustrator of the art of that time. If sculptured work has been broadly and grandly executed, medals have been remarkable for boldness and simplicity ; on the other hand, when architecture has tended toward littleness and finish then the die cutters' designs have shown much confusion and painful elaboration of detail. Compare a coin of Lysimachus with a centennial medal and this distinction will be made strikingly manifest. The Greek coins are real works of art ; ours have a value only from their relation to history. The Greek had no machinery ; he was fettered in his work by the lack of good tools. He had not learned the use of steel, but made his dies of bell-metal or bronze, somewhat hard to be sure, but not sufficiently so to stand for any length of time the hard work to which they were subjected. In a series of coins struck from a single die we can frequently trace the development of imperfections in the succeeding impressions. The pieces were struck too with no collar to hold them in place or to give regularity to the outline. One man held the metal with a pair of pincers, another placed and held the die, while a third struck a powerful blow with a heavy hammer. The dies were soon worn out and it became necessary to replace them, so that many workmen were given constant

occupation. This produced a lively competition, and consequently a growing excellence in the quality of the designs. Masters of the art were in high request, and often had a fame which spread through several countries. The common artizan was gifted with high qualities of mind, not the least of which was good taste ; and it is not to be wondered at that his products were beautiful. The coins were small in value, therefore necessarily numerous. These were kept by their owners in jars or vases which were often buried in the ground for security. Everything seems to have been calculated for their preservation.

The art of Roman coins was far inferior to that of the Greek. The sculpture and architecture of Rome were copied from Greek originals. In like manner the best coins were made by Greeks from Greek patterns. Their art was imitative rather than creative, but it often carried them to the highest success in portraiture. The best work was of the time of Augustus, after which there was a long, rapid decline. In some of the Imperial coins the delineation of character is wonderful ; in this respect nothing could be more satisfactory than the series impressed with the figure of Nero.

Down to the sixteenth century there were no pieces which could strictly be called medals. When Addison and Gibbon speak of medals they really refer to those old coins which have gone out of use, and have been collected by antiquaries. Modern medals usually commemorate some event ; the Greeks had almost nothing corresponding to these. The Roman coins, to be sure, were sometimes commemorative in character, but they were not much akin to the later Italian medals. Nothing like these had been known before ; they almost inaugurated a new art. They were not issued by any authority, but were a sort of commodity to be bought and sold, as we to-day deal in pictures and statuary.

To a certain degree the mediæval medallion served the purpose of the modern miniature or photograph. Those who wished to remain in the recollection of their children left them memorials as enduring as copper or brass. The nobility and aristocracy, especially, became the patrons of the medal makers. It became the fashion of the time, and many of the great families had a sort of medallic history.

The first and perhaps the greatest of the Italian medalists was a painter, Pisano by name ; and to this circumstance much of the peculiar excellence of his work was due : others made their designs after the traditions of the gem cutters and the seal engravers ; he first *painted* in metal. In place of the process employed by the ancients, he substituted a method more nearly related to that of the modern moulder in clay. His medals were large, and to that end he employed a plastic substance to work upon. He had a large circular field for his design. He moulded his model in wax ; from that he prepared others in clay, into which he poured his molten metal. Having the power to delineate not form alone, but form along with character of the noblest kind, he has never been surpassed as a portrait medalist. During the century following Pisano most medallic work was by gold- and silversmiths. Though their workmanship was finer, there was great deterioration in the quality of the designs. At this time dies were introduced for striking the smaller pieces. To this period belongs Benvenuto Cellini, and different collections contain several specimens of his work.

The great Italian renaissance left its impress upon the art of all Europe. The medalists of England, France and Germany learned their craft from Italian masters, but tempered their work, more or less, with their own individuality. The German and the Italian medals of the time differed from each other, just as a drawing by Holbein differs from one by Correggio. Idealism was not a feature of German art, but their work of the time was imbued with the strength and quaintness of studies from nature. To this excellence was added the characteristic Teutonic care in execution, so that the German medals form an important series. Albert Dürer's influence is seen everywhere, and many pieces preserve the characteristics of his engravings.

The first great French medalist was Guillaume Dupré. Many of his works may justly be called masterpieces. He was employed by all the great Frenchmen of his time ; the result was a portrait gallery of his contemporaries. Scarcely inferior to him and following worthily in his footsteps, were the Warins, Jean and Claude. The beautiful Richelieu by Jean in the collection of The Worcester

Society of Antiquity sufficiently determines the quality of his genius. The long series of Louis XIV. is remarkable in some respects, but from lack of sincerity the authors have not risen to the highest plane of their art.

The earliest of the Napoleonic medals were poor, but under the direction of the Paris Mint Master, Denon, their quality rapidly improved. Some of them remind one of the old Greek coins. The portrait heads designed by Andrieu, Droz, and Jouffroy are admirable in their simplicity and strength. Bonaparte was pleased to foster an art which could one day present him to the public as "The Little Corporal," and the next as Apollo crowned with laurel, and patron of music and poetry. Under his encouragement the series swelled to several hundred. Many of the heads are faithful portraits, others are highly idealized; several, as those by Droz and Gallé, are from the bust by Chauder. One of the most beautiful Napoleons is by Gallé. The reverse shows Napoleon seated in a chair, his hand resting upon an eagle, while advancing towards him is a turreted female figure, the personification of the city of Paris. This medal was issued at a grand entertainment at the Hotel de Ville. Thousands of copies were distributed among the people. This was one of Napoleon's pretty plans for extending his popularity; and we can imagine with what care the old veterans of Austerlitz, Jena and Waterloo, preserved these mementoes of their great leader. Nearly every event in his career, private as well as public, was recorded in this manner. At his marriage, at his coronation, and at the birth of his son, great quantities of medals were struck, always in four sizes. Those present at the ceremonies received the largest, which were of gold or silver. The smaller ones in bronze were given to the people in countless numbers. It is no wonder that medals of this class are not rare.

From a historic point of view this series has great value, for the events which it commemorates have not been surpassed in importance since the days of the Roman Empire. The value, however, is greatly impaired by the exhibition of false praise and exaggeration. What are we to think of a medal in which Diogenes searching for his honest man, puts out his light having discovered Napoleon?

Another of these medals is characteristic. While Napoleon was contemplating a descent upon England he caused to be prepared a die having for its reverse a giant struggling with a huge sea monster. This had the legend: "Frappeé à Londres, 1804." It is needless to say that this medal was never circulated, but a wax impression of the die is extant, and the design deprived of its legend was afterwards employed in another medal.

Most of the best work on English coins has been the product of foreigners. Among a great many pieces of poor quality there are some of great beauty. Cromwell was so fortunate as to have in his employ the Simons, who perhaps were English, and who perpetuated his portrait on one of the finest sets of British coins. A curious product of those times was the "touch piece" worn upon the neck and touched by the king for the cure of king's evil. The piece given by Queen Anne to Dr. Johnson during his babyhood is now preserved in the British Museum.

The set of English sovereigns, thirty-four in all, struck by Dassiers in the reign of George II. gives what are supposed to be good likenesses of the kings. The small Wellington in our Society's collection, is one of a set of forty medals struck in England under Mr. Mudie's direction in 1808.

Many English medals were struck to mark events during the wars in America and upon the Continent. Some of these are of a satirical turn, and show that Englishmen had good opinions of themselves away back in the eighteenth century. Numerous military and naval medals were distributed among soldiers and sailors for remarkable valor, for leading in forlorn hopes, etc. Every soldier who participated in the battle of Waterloo received his medal. At the present day England well knows the propriety of perpetuating this custom, so well calculated to incite her sons to deeds of bravery.

As we in America have no orders of nobility, the highest distinction we can bestow upon our soldiers, statesmen, and public benefactors, is a medal given by the whole people, as directed by the National Congress. Much reserve and good judgment has been shown in awarding this honor, so that at the close of the



first century of our nation's existence only eighty-six medals had been struck by order of Government. Of these the greater number belong to the period between the beginning of the Revolution and the close of the second war with England. During the Mexican war only three national medals were stamped, two for Taylor and one for Scott, while in the Rebellion there were only two, one each to Grant and Cornelius Vanderbilt. Up to the year 1800 nearly all our medals were the work of French engravers, among whom were Dupré, Duvivier, Gatteaux, and Andrieu, the very best workmen of their time. Much of the excellence of these pieces is due to the careful supervision of the work by Franklin and Jefferson while representing this country in France. Franklin became the friend of Dupré, and was greatly admired by him; and he doubtless had an acquaintance with others of the engravers. Dupré made two Franklin medals which are remarkable for their delineation of age and character. The faces are finely modeled, and are excellent examples of the medallic representation of flesh. The obverses of these and the other Revolutionary medals were the designs of "The French Academy of Inscriptions and Belle Lettres." The inscription "Eripuit cœlo fulmen sceptrum que tyrannis" upon one of the Franklins is by Turgot.

Franklin, as usual upon any subject, had original and thrifty notions about medals and their uses. He thought when only one medal was to be given it should be engraved that the expense might be lessened; also that the medal dies should be used in stamping coin, thus imitating the Romans and Greeks; "For" said he, "if there be but one medal, a man must show it in order to enjoy it."

Sometime before the Declaration of Independence Congress ordered a medal for Washington in honor of his siege of Boston. This was made by Duvivier, and the inscription was suggested by Jefferson. The original medal is now in the Public Library at Boston. The portrait in the cabinet medal of Washington made by Paquet, is a copy of the above with suggestions from the bust by Houdon. This is perhaps the most correct medallic likeness of Washington. The Paul Jones, executed in France under the care of Franklin, is also after plaster casts by Houdon. While,

no doubt, these pieces were excellent, they were also costly ; and it gave Franklin many a pang to pay for them. He wrote from Paris concerning the DeFleury medal : "The price of such work is beyond my expectation, being à thousand livres for each die. I shall try if it is not possible to have the others done cheaper." These French made medals received great praise from the eminent art critic, Louis Blanc.

The curious piece awarded the captors of André is not, strictly speaking, a medal, but repoussé work, and the product of a silver-smith. The greatest of American medalists was C. C. Wright, who engraved a fine Washington, and the Scott, Taylor, Webster and Clay medals.

Since 1800 there has been a great falling off in the quality of our medals. American talent has in almost every case been employed, and the result is just what one would suppose, flat and lifeless, and in most cases positively ugly. The greater part of the series of military medals commemorating events in the War of 1812 is the work of Fürst, and a more inelegant, unartistic numismatical collection could not be imagined. They are but phantoms of medals. Why Providence should so afflict a young nation is hard to understand. Whether our fathers were fostering home talent and industry, or whether they knew no better and were imposed upon, or whether no one in authority cared anything about the matter, it will not be easy to determine ; but if the future numismatist shall study our period by the light of our medallic art, how shall he find a place for us among civilized peoples ?

One engraver, Reich, did much better work, but, unfortunately, his pieces are few. One in memory of Preble's expedition to Tripoli, one Hull, and the Jefferson and Madison of the Presidential series, complete the list. The pipe and tomahawk Indian peace series were designed for presentation to chiefs of tribes at the conclusion of treaties. Most of them are within the appreciation of savages, and are not worthy of their name.

As we approach the present the state of things is really pitiable ; witness the obverse of the Grant medal, the Cyrus W. Field, and especially the Centennial medal. What an occasion for inspira-

tion in the completion of the initial hundred years' life of the first real, grand republic! But what a feeble medal! It might have been given for an improved cider-mill at some country cattle-show. The reverse may fitly be described as "a beautiful girl arrayed in flowing robes," the obverse as "*three* other beautiful girls arrayed in flowing robes."

All this misdirected work has its cause. Our country is new, our life is luxurious, our thought is toward business and thrift. Such are not the conditions for development of artistic feeling. Coining machinery makes a coin perfect for business purposes, a coin that may be easily counted and packed, a coin that will not easily wear away, a coin that may not be clipped without detection, but at the same time a coin with a minimum of artistic excellence.

J. CHAUNCEY LYFORD,

*For the Department.*



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Chas. Adams Jr.



# PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

## Worcester Society of Antiquity,

FOR THE YEAR

1886.



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1887.

U. S. A. CXI.

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AUGUSTUS B. R. SPRAGUE, *Chairman.*

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HON. JAMES WILLARD STOCKWELL, . . . .	Sutton.

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## HONORARY MEMBER.

HON. ELI THAYER, . . . .	Worcester.
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PROCEEDINGS.







# PROCEEDINGS

FOR 1886.

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THE 154th meeting of The Worcester Society of Antiquity was held Tuesday evening, January 5th, 1886.

The following members and visitors were present: Messrs. Crane, Clark Jilson, Dickinson, Otis, Meriam, Jackson, Lyford, Barrows, C. E. and W. F. Simmons, Taft, Edwards, Stedman, Knight, Estey, Hubbard, Maynard, Sawyer, Seagrave, J. A. Howland, Sumner, Taylor, J. A. and H. M. Smith, Rice, (members); and Smith, Adin Tolman, Simmons, Earle and Hurlburt, visitors — 30.

Mr. Abbot being absent, Mr. Rice was chosen Secretary for the meeting.

Chauncey G. Harrington, Jonathan Luther and William A. Sheldon were admitted active members of the Society.

Letters from Rev. Samuel May of Leicester, and Rev. John Gregson of Wilkinsonville, were read by the Secretary.

The President, Mr. Crane, addressed the meeting as follows :

## ANNUAL ADDRESS.

BY E. B. CRANE.

*Gentlemen of the Worcester Society of Antiquity:—*

The season for our usual congratulatory remarks is upon us, and were it not for the fact that much is due those kind contributors who have been adding so materially to our stock of treasures, I should feel tempted to introduce an innovation by omitting, for once at least, those familiar words which so plainly and forcibly remind us of the Society's progress, and which must have become by this time stereotyped upon the memories of those who make it a habit of attending the first regular meetings in each recurring January. But we find our indebtedness extending far beyond the home circle of faithful members, for every now and then the glad notice comes to us of a generous contribution from some unfamiliar hand, attracted perhaps by the earnestness of our corps of tireless workers through whose efforts success is assured, and perhaps there is no danger of offering too much in the way of expressing our appreciation of the liberality and thoughtfulness of our contributors.

During the past year twenty-eight names have been added to the membership list, and the average attendance at each meeting has been twenty-three persons. The Proceedings for 1885 now in press will cover about one hundred and sixty 8vo. pages. This will swell the number of our printed pages to about two thousand six hundred and sixty. The miscellaneous collection presented to this Society in the month of April last by Mrs. Charlotte S. Downes of Washington, D. C., is worthy of special mention, although for a more full and complete description of its contents reference should be made to the report of our worthy Librarian. This contribution is to be known as the Downes collection in memory of Mr. John Downes, late husband of the donor. He was son of John Downes of New

Haven, Conn., a lineal descendant from one of the Regicides of that name. Mr. Downes removed from New Haven to the State of New York where he began the establishment of a new home among the rugged hills and unbroken forests of that then new country. Here the subject of our sketch was born, Sept. 4, 1799. Scarcely a beginning in the execution of plans laid by the family in their new home had been made, when by an accident in felling a tree the father was killed. The mother with her babe but a few months old, returned to Massachusetts, where she had formerly resided, for the purpose of making a home among relatives and friends. The boy grew to manhood, passing the major part of his youthful life in the town of Shrewsbury. There he found a wife, but soon removed to Boston, taking up music as a profession; as that did not fully satisfy his desire for employment, he perfected himself in the art of engraving on wood; but his chief satisfaction, however, was found in the study of mathematics, for which he entertained a special fondness and in which he acquired considerable proficiency and prominence. He was encouraged very much in his studies by Dr. Bowditch of Boston, who afterwards was instrumental in obtaining an appointment for Mr. Downes from the United States government on the Board of Commission for the North-east Boundary Survey. While on this expedition he wrote several letters which were published in the Worcester newspapers of that period.

At the termination of his duties on that survey he for a year or two resided in Worcester, and was engaged in making wood engravings for "Barber's Historical Collections." During his stay here he formed the acquaintance of several persons, whose friendship ever after remained constant to the end of life. Among them were the late Mr. Clarendon Harris and Samuel F. Haven, Esq., the late worthy and efficient Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society. It was with men of culture and refinement that Mr. Downes formed deep and lasting attachments, which all through the latter portion of his life proved the source of great pleasure and comfort.

In the year 1842, Mr. Downes removed to the city of Philadelphia, where he, in connection with other astronomical and

mathematical work, published the United States Almanac. In 1856, he removed to Washington, D. C., and for more than twenty years was employed as computer for the United States Coast Survey Department. When the United States Nautical Almanac was established by the government, Mr. Downes was the first to receive an appointment on the staff of computers, retaining that position up to the time of his death. He passed away, after a brief illness, Sept. 30, 1882, having exceeded by thirteen years the average life period allotted to the human kind. Mr. Downes was a man of strict integrity, upright in all his dealings, therefore respected by all who knew him or came in contact with him. During the last forty years of his life he had given much time to the accumulation of books and almanacs. His collection of the latter is exceptionally rare and complete, and we must say we know of no more complete collection of almanacs in New England. Among the books he collected are a large number of publications from the press of Isaiah Thomas as well as works on astronomy, mathematics, and other text-books, many of them being very rare and curious. Here may be seen Cocker's Arithmetic, published in the year 1697; History of Plants, by Gerard, a folio, in 1633; Well-spring of Science, by Humphrey Baker, 1655; copy of the Breeches Bible, printed in 1599; Translations of Don Quixote, in 1620, and nearly a complete set of New England Primers, bearing dates from 1779 to 1849. The entire collection consists of 479 bound volumes, 58 miscellaneous pamphlets, 565 almanacs from 150 authors, with several rare specimens of Confederate and United States money. The connoisseur may readily see what a valuable acquisition this gift will prove to the property of this Society, and I know that you will heartily join with me in returning to Mrs. Downes our sincere thanks for her valuable, timely and appropriate gift.

Including the Downes collection, we have received during the past year 664 bound volumes, 1256 pamphlets, 771 papers and manuscripts, with 38 articles for our museum, making a total of 2,751 articles contributed from 128 donors during the year. This gives us a library of 5,664 bound volumes, 16,256 pamphlets, a large number of manuscripts and papers, and with

1400 articles in our museum. Now we know very well what has impelled us to receive and care for this miscellaneous mass of treasure; but the question arises, how can this collection be made the most useful? I am quite sure you will unite with me in saying that such institutions having received the recognition and support of the people at large, whether directly or indirectly, should, so far as practicable, have their doors opened to the public, that they may serve as educators in the community, teaching by objects as well as from books.

We are glad to know that our mother association, the American Antiquarian Society, sets a noble example by the broad and generous manner in which that institution is conducted. It seems the true way; and the great popularity which that society has enjoyed, is the outgrowth of kindly treatment to visitors. Had she upon her shelves all the varieties of the ancient Alexandrian library, she would do comparatively little as an educator were she conducted upon the narrow, selfish plan of some historical societies in our land.

Let the Worcester Society of Antiquity adopt the broad and generous plan of management and thereby do what she can, and in her peculiar way, to educate the people of Worcester.

The Librarian reported 310 additions to the library and cabinet during the month.

Mr. Dickinson then read an interesting memorial of the late David O. Woodman. This was printed in the Proceedings for 1885.

The President read letters from Edward H. Thompson, United States Consul at Merida, Yucatan; and from Richard O'Flynn, conveying manuscripts and other gifts to the Society.

On motion of Mr. Rice, Hon. Eli Thayer was invited to read a paper before the Society on the "Origin and Work of the Kansas Emigrant Aid Company and its influence on National History."

Adjourned.

The February meeting was held on the evening of Tuesday the 2d.

Present: Messrs. Crane, C. Jillson, Meriam, Sumner, A. F. Simmons, Maynard, Hubbard, Estey, Stiles, Jackson, Lyford, Dodge, Pierce, Gould, Dickinson, Rice, C. M. Roe, Woodward, C. R. Johnson, Tucker, Wall, Abbot and Daniels, members; and J. A. Bancroft, C. M. Howe, Mr. and Mrs. Crawford and Master Gould, visitors.—28.

Edward M. Wood was admitted an active member of the Society.

The Librarian reported a total of 255 contributions during the month, including nearly a complete set of the New Jersey Historical Society's publications, and a collection of valuable relics presented by the American Antiquarian Society.

On motion of Hon. Clark Jillson a vote of thanks was extended to the American Antiquarian Society for the gifts.

Mr. George F. Daniels then read a valuable and interesting sketch of the life and public services of Gen. Ebenezer Learned, a distinguished officer of the Revolutionary War.\* Thanks were voted for the same.

The meeting was then adjourned,

---

A special meeting of the Society was called on the evening of Tuesday, February 16th.

\* To be published in the forthcoming History of Oxford, Mass., by George F. Daniels.

Present: Messrs. Crane, C. Jillson, Shumway, Paine, Staples, Gould, Dickinson, Barrows, Rice, Prentiss, Miller, Estey, Marble, Hubbard, J. A. Smith, Harlow, Edwards, Maynard, Meriam, Tucker, Wall and Goodwin, members; and C. M. Howe, H. R. Cummings, and Misses Gould and Dickinson, visitors. — 26.

The President read a very interesting account of a visit of exploration made to the ruined city of Labná, Yucatan, by Edward H. Thompson, United States Consul at Merida.\*

The subject of the paper was discussed by Messrs. Shumway, Paine, Marble, Harlow and Staples.

On motion, it was voted to invite Hon. Charles Devens to read a paper upon Attorney-General Levi Lincoln before the Society.

Mr. Wall presented to the Society specimens of cards he had had printed at the time of the execution of John Brown, many of which were distributed in Virginia by Mr. Wall's sister. Brown's dying declaration and wishes concerning his funeral comprised the matter printed upon them. Mr. Wall said, in answer to an inquiry, that he once heard Senator Henry Wilson apply an opprobrious epithet to John Brown. It was at an Anti-Slavery Bazaar in Boston, about the time of the Harper's Ferry invasion.

Adjourned.

\* Printed in Report of Department of Archæology and General History, Proceedings for 1885.

The next regular monthly meeting was held at the rooms of the Society, Tuesday evening, March 2d.

Present: Messrs. Crane, Dickinson, Rice, Maynard, Hubbard, C. Jillson, Abbot and Meriam, members; and Hon. Eli Thayer.— 9.

Rev. A. E. P. Perkins, D. D., was elected an active member of the Society.

The Librarian reported 127 contributions for the month.

The Society then adjourned to Natural History Hall to listen to a lecture by the Hon. Eli Thayer upon the "Origin and Work of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, and its influence through the Kansas Contest upon National History." The hall was well filled with an interested audience, which listened for nearly two hours to the instructive and entertaining account of Mr. Thayer. As the speaker had only reached the beginning of the actual work of the company at 9½ o'clock, the meeting was, on motion, adjourned to such time as would be agreeable to Mr. Thayer for the continuance of his subject.

---

In accordance with the above adjournment the Society again met at Natural History Hall on Tuesday evening, March 9, when a large audience gathered to hear the concluding portion of Mr. Thayer's lecture.

Following is an abstract of Mr. Thayer's remarks :



## THE NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT AID COMPANY,

AND ITS INFLUENCE, THROUGH THE KANSAS CONTEST,  
UPON NATIONAL HISTORY.

BY ELI THAYER.

History gives abundant proof, that a brief period of time has often determined the character and destiny of a nation. Such a period is properly called its controlling or dominating epoch.

In the history of our own country, the year 1854 holds this commanding position, and governs all our subsequent years. It was in this year that the Slave Power attained its highest eminence, and demolished the last barrier that stood in the way of its complete supremacy and its perpetual dominion. The executive, the legislative and the judicial departments of the Government, were entirely within its power. Not content, however, with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which opened all our vast territorial possessions to Slavery; not content with its well assured and absolute power, within our national boundaries, it aspired to annex other countries, and under its direful rule, to build up a vast empire "on the corner-stone of Slavery."

In the same year, 1854, a power, before unknown in the world's history, was created and brought into use, to save to Freedom all our territories, then open by law to the possession and dominion of Slavery. This new power was an ORGANIZED, SELF-SACRIFICING EMIGRATION. Its mission was to dispute with Slavery every square foot of land exposed to its control. A hand-to-hand conflict was to decide between the system of free labor and the system of slave labor.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, in May, 1854, proved that the legislative restriction of Slavery was simply

a delusion, and that the contest between Freedom and Slavery, if such a contest were yet possible, must be carried on outside of legislative halls. It must be a contest on the prairies, and the power victorious there, would, in due time, govern the country.

Was it possible to bring these two kinds of civilization to a decisive struggle? Was it possible to arouse the North to effective resistance, after more than thirty years of continuous defeat by the South?

During all this period of the successful aggression and increasing strength of Slavery, there was in the North corresponding apprehension and alarm. On the repeal of the Missouri Compromise this apprehension became despondency, and this alarm became despair.

There were in the Northern States two agencies professedly hostile to Slavery. One was political, and opposed Slavery extension in a legal way, by means of legislative restriction. The other was sentimental and contended for the overthrow of Slavery by revolutionary methods—advocating the dissolution of the Union as the best and only sure way to this result. The first of these two agencies was the Free Soil party, which was first formed in 1848, and put into shape for political action by the convention that nominated Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams. This new party drew its supporters, in about equal numbers, from the Whig and Democratic parties, while it completely absorbed a feeble political organization, which at the time had a kind of nebulous existence under the name of the Liberty party.

From the time of its creation, in 1848, to the day of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, in 1854, the Free Soil party had scarcely increased at all, either in influence or numbers. Its purpose was to insert in every act of Congress opening a territory to settlement, a provision to forever exclude Slavery therefrom.\* This seemed to its supporters to be a legal, practical way of stopping the extension of Slavery, by preventing the

\* The Wilmot Proviso.

making of more slave states. This new party had no sympathy whatever with disunionists, and proposed to act against Slavery in accordance with the Laws, the Constitution and the Union.

But the Slave Power had acquired such ascendancy in the Government, that the new party never once applied its slavery-excluding method. On the contrary, after six years of political life, which were six years of active effort and earnest appeals for free labor in our territories, it was obliged to witness the complete overthrow and utter ruin of its cardinal principle, in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. This action of Congress at once convinced the new party, not only of the futility of its methods, but also of its own febleness and utter inability to cope successfully with Slavery.

Its leaders were silent in their despair, or spoke only to lament their defeat and the rapidly approaching calamities of the nation. They had no plan to propose for future action.

“ There was silence deep as death,  
While we floated on our path ;  
And the boldest held his breath  
For a time. ”

Of the matter involved in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, Mr. Sumner had said in the United States Senate, 24th of February, 1854 :

“ The question presented for your consideration is not surpassed in grandeur by any that has occurred in our national history since the Declaration of Independence. In every aspect it assumes gigantic proportions, whether we simply consider the extent of territory it concerns, or the public faith and national policy which it assails, or that higher question — that *Question of Questions*, as far above others as Liberty is above the common things of life — which it opens anew for judgment. ”

The following views of their ablest champions prove how hopeless and humiliated they had become.

Said William H. Seward, in the United States Senate, May 25th, 1854, the day of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise :

“The sun has set for the last time upon the guaranteed and certain liberties of all the unsettled and unorganized portions of the American Continent that lie within the jurisdiction of the United States. To-morrow’s sun will rise in dim eclipse over them. How long that obscurity shall last, is known only to the Power that directs and controls all human events. For myself, I know only this, that no human power can prevent its coming on, and that its passing off will be hastened and secured by others than those now here, and perhaps by only those belonging to future generations.

“Sir, it would be almost factious to offer further resistance to this measure here. Indeed successful resistance was never expected to be made in this Hall. The Senate is an old battle ground, on which have been fought many contests, and always, at least since 1820, with fortune adverse to the cause of equal and universal freedom.”

Mr. Wade said :

“The humiliation of the North is complete and overwhelming. No Southern enemy of hers can wish her deeper degradation.”

Mr. Chase said :

“This bill, doubtless paves the way for the approach of new, alarming and perhaps fatal dangers to our country.”

From the New York *Tribune*, 14th March, 1854 :

“We as a nation are ruled by the Black Power. It is composed of tyrants. See then how the North is always beaten. The Black Power is a unit. It is a steady, never-failing force. It is a real power. Thus far it has been the only unvarying power of the country, for it never surrenders and never wavers. It has always governed and now governs more than ever.”

The New York *Tribune*, in an editorial, on the 24th of June, well expressed the feeling of despondency at the North :

“Not even by accident, is any advantage left for liberty in their bill. It is all blackness without a single gleam of light, a desert without one spot of verdure, a crime that can show no redeeming point.”

So much then for the political anti-slavery agency.

The other agency against Slavery was the sentimental one established and led by William Lloyd Garrison. It was much older than the one already considered, but inferior in numbers and far more inferior in influence. Its champions advocated Disunion as the "corner-stone of all true anti-slavery." They shall speak for themselves.

Wendell Phillips at the A. A. S. Convention in the Tabernacle, New York City, May 4th, 1848, offered the following resolution which was passed :

"That this Society deems it a duty to reiterate its convictions that the only exodus of the slave out of his present house of bondage is  
OVER THE RUINS OF THE PRESENT AMERICAN CHURCH, AND THE PRESENT AMERICAN UNION."

In May, 1856, Mr. Garrison offered the following resolution at a meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society :

"*Resolved*: That the one great issue before the country is, THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION, in comparison with which all other issues with the Slave Power are as dust in the balance; therefore we will give ourselves to the work of annulling this 'covenant with death' as essential to our own innocency, and the speedy and everlasting overthrow of the Slave System."

The following was also adopted by the Abolitionists in New York City in December, 1859 :

"*Resolved*: That we invite a free correspondence with the Disunionists of the South, in order to devise the most suitable way and means to secure the dissolution of the present imperfect and inglorious union between the free and slave States." \*

\* But when Secession had become, in the minds of the enemies of the nation, an accomplished deed, Mr. Garrison and his associates, in the face of the aroused people of the North, had sense enough not to insult the outraged sentiment of their section by further avowal of their sympathy with Disunion. They respected the halter too much. Soon we see them on the other tack; and when the war was over they were the loudest in the jubilee over the restoration of the "grand and glorious Union" which they, and they alone, had saved!

After the war Mr. Garrison said: "I am with the President [Johnson], and desire to make treason infamous."—See *Century Magazine* for February, 1887, Vol. xxxiii., page 638, note.

With such views and purposes the people of the Northern States had no sympathy. The Abolitionists, no doubt, had good motives, but their judgment was invariably bad. Their methods were everywhere condemned. They never attained to the dignity or influence of a party or even a faction. They were a cabal, active, noisy and pugnacious, but never effective. By their own showing a quarter of a century spent in denouncing the church, the clergy and the Union had accomplished nothing. Slavery had grown stronger every day, while opposition to it had not increased at all. Massachusetts was as sound an anti-slavery state before they were born as it has ever been since. But she was for legal and constitutional methods only, and always for the Union.

In 1787, Nathan Dane, one of our representatives in Congress, revived the ordinance, introduced three years earlier by Thomas Jefferson, and secured its passage. This was to make the great North-West free territory forever. All this was before Garrison was born! But such anti-slavery action was not repeated during the entire period of Mr. Garrison's efforts for disunion. In all that time, Slavery was unrestricted, and made steady progress. But some say he was "the father of anti-slavery" in the United States. Some say Lundy was. So there is a dispute. Mr. A says, Ponce de Leon discovered America. Mr. B says no; it was Pizarro. While A and B get red in the face, the rest of the alphabet can afford to remain unmoved.

Slavery never had a legal existence in Massachusetts. The people never wanted it and always hated it. They hated its adjuncts and attendants of manacles, blood-hounds and auction blocks, as much before Garrison was born, as they did after he had pictured them, in the *Liberator*, for twenty-five years. This incessant pecking at the leaves and twigs of the upas tree of Slavery, seemed to them to stimulate rather than retard its growth. The Northern people ardently desired to destroy the tree itself, and were ready to adopt any legal and constitutional plan which might do this work. Garrison's method of casting out a devil by splitting the patient in two lengthwise, they did not approve — for two reasons :

1st, Because the patient would die ;

2nd, Because the devil would live.

Still the Abolitionists boasted constantly of increasing numbers. Every new subscriber to the *Liberator*, every new face in their annual or quarterly conventions, was proof to them of the rapid increase of disunionists; as if every one who reads the flaming poster of the coming circus is an acrobat! as if every one who witnesses the exhibition is an actor within the ring!

Some friends of the Abolitionists still claim that Garrison and his associates founded the Liberty and Free Soil parties. This claim is the exact opposite of the truth. They opposed both of these parties, and hated their champions more than they hated the slaveholders themselves. They constantly abused every leading anti-slavery man who was not a disunionist. Ample proof of this can be seen in the editorials of the *Liberator* against Horace Mann, Salmon P. Chase and Dr. Bellows. Lincoln, Seward, Wade, Sumner and Wilson were not spared.\* About the time of Sumner's death, Mr. Garrison went before a committee of the Massachusetts Legislature to protest against expunging some foolish resolutions on record denouncing that famous senator, he claiming that Mr. Sumner had not amounted to much in the anti-slavery struggle! †

But why prolong the description? Let the Abolitionists draw their own portraits. They still exist in the columns of the *Liberator*, the birth-place and the sepulchre of all their plans and

\* At a meeting of the Worcester County South Division A. S. Society held at Worcester, Aug. 12, 1860, Parker Pillsbury offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

“Resolved: That in the two recently published speeches of Charles Sumner, we see the blinding, bewildering and depraving effect of American politics, and of contact with slave-holders—the former, made in the U. S. Senate, being a four hours' argument against the ‘five-headed barbarism of slavery,’ and repudiated by many of the leaders of Republicanism; and the latter a full admission of the constitutionality of slave-holding, and an eloquent argument in favor of the election of Lincoln and Hamlin, both of whom believe in slave-hunting as well as slave-holding, and who virtually declare in their platform that the noble John Brown was one of the gravest criminals who ever died by a halter.”

† See *Warrington Pen Portraits*, page 366.

purposes. That paper is also an arsenal, amply sufficient to furnish arms to a million of their assailants. It gives abundant proof of the following statements :

With all their keenness of vision, the Abolitionists never saw anything as it was. With all their eloquence they never advocated any cause to a successful issue. With all their prophetic power and practice they never predicted any event which came to pass. With all their love of freedom, they constantly increased the burdens of the slaves. Demanding immediate emancipation, they strove to retard the overthrow of slavery. Contending for the dissolution of the Union as the only means of destroying Slavery, they saw Slavery destroyed not only without their aid, but against their protest, while the Union was preserved and made permanent and harmonious.\* Incessantly denouncing

\*The following letter, written by Col. Asa H. Waters a short time before his death, is so conclusive in its statements, that it may appropriately be given a place here.

“MILLBURY, Nov. 20th, 1886.

“MR. THAYER,

“Dear Sir:—When the Free Soil Party was formed in '48 Garrison and his party had labored seventeen years and failed to carry a single town in New England. In one year we put ninety members into the Legislature, the second year we carried Worcester County, and the third year put a *Jupiter Tonans*—Charles Sumner—into the very citadel of the slave power. Then, at a convention in Worcester, Wilson had the party christened the Republican Party with the same Free Soil platform, and on that we elected Lincoln President, and he abolished Slavery.

“In all this, we had the bitter opposition of Garrison and his party, which finally clasped hands with the Disunionists of the South, in a determined effort to break up the Union. Had they succeeded, so far from abolishing slavery, they would have vastly extended it. The design of the South was to cope in New Mexico, Arizona, Indian Territory, Utah and Southern California, and thus build up a great Southern Empire founded on Slavery. I enclose the resolution, in which they proposed the unholy alliance. A committee was chosen, and I think M. D. Conway was chairman. The correspondence was never published. Secession movements soon after commenced, and in a little over a year the war broke out. It was suppressed and slavery abolished by the patriotic *Union Sentiment of the North*, which always was its predominant political sentiment. ‘Down with the Disunionists;’ ‘Death to traitors, slavery or no slavery,’ were the cries that rang through the ranks; and for a long time the army returned fugitive slaves. At length it was discovered that the rebels were using their slaves as a means of strength, which made them contraband of war and liable to confiscation. Then their obstinate resistance created a ‘military necessity,’ and on these two principles rather than by any authority in the United States Constitution, President Lincoln issued his proclamation.



the clergy and churches of the Northern States as the upholders of Slavery, they lived to see them among the foremost leaders in its destruction by the methods of the Emigrant Aid Company, which the Abolitionists hated, ridiculed and opposed.

No other fraternity of mountebanks ever lived so long, or worked so hard, or did so little.

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During the winter of 1854 I was, for the second time, a Representative from Worcester in the Legislature of Massachusetts. I had felt to some degree the general alarm in anticipation of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, but not the depression and despondency that so affected others who regarded the cause of liberty as hopelessly lost. As the winter wore away, I began to have a conviction which came to be ever present, that something *must* be done to end the domination of Slavery. I felt a personal responsibility, and though I long struggled to evade the question, I found it to be impossible. I pondered upon it by day, and dreamed of it by night. By what plan could this great problem be solved? What force could be effectively opposed to the power that seemed about to spread itself over the continent? Suddenly, it came upon me like a revelation. It was ORGANIZED AND ASSISTED EMIGRATION.\* Then came the question, was it possi-

The abolitionists opposed his election, and being non-resistants, were rarely found in the ranks, and they thus failed for the most part to become identified with the active forces that abolished slavery.

“And yet, for twenty years the press has been teeming with their effusions in poetry and prose, to convince the world that they abolished slavery! They have done much to falsify history, and produce wrong impressions on the rising generation. A duty devolves on those who know the facts, to counteract and set back this tide. But how shall it be done? Where is the press that can be enlisted?”

“I had a long controversy with Oliver Johnson; he finally jumped the fence and cleared from the field, declaring he never made the issue that Garrison abolished slavery. The editor (Slack) said he did. He boasted of being ‘a member of the Republican Party.’ In the Greeley campaign of ’72 against Grant, he labored with his Southern allies and they carried six Southern states, but no Northern. That shows his consistency.

“Yours Respectfully,

“A. H. WATERS.”

\* The Kansas emigration was emphatically a self-sacrificing emigration — a power hitherto unknown in history. All previous emigrations had been either forced or voluntary, and if voluntary were self-seeking.

ble to create such an agency to save Kansas? I believed the time for such a noble and heroic development had come; but could hope be inspired, and the pulsations of life be started beneath the ribs of death? The projected plan would call upon men to risk life and property in establishing freedom in Kansas. They would be called to pass over millions of acres of better land than any in the disputed territory was supposed to be, and where peace and plenty were assured, to meet the revolver and the bowie knife defending Slavery and assailing Freedom. Could such men be found, they would certainly prove themselves to be the very highest type of Christian manhood, as much above all other emigrants, as angels are above men. *Could* such men be found?

It happened, that on the evening of the 11th of March, 1854, there was a large meeting in the City Hall in Worcester, to protest against the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. I attended the meeting, and not having yet taken counsel of anyone, determined to see how the plan would be received by an intelligent New England audience without any preparation for the announcement. Accordingly, making the last speech of the evening I for the first time disclosed the plan. The Worcester *Spy* of March 13th, has the conclusion of my speech as follows :

“It is time now to think of what is to be done in the event of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Now is the time to organize an opposition, that will utterly defeat the schemes of the selfish men who misrepresent the nation at Washington. Let every effort be made and every appliance be brought to bear, to fill up that vast and fertile territory, with free men—with men who hate slavery, and who will drive the hideous thing from the broad and beautiful plains where they go to raise their free homes. [Loud cheers.]

“I for one am willing to be taxed one fourth of my time or of my earnings, until this be done—until a barrier of free hearts and strong hands shall be built around the land our fathers consecrated to freedom, to be her heritage forever. [Loud cheers.]”

If instead of this impetuous, spontaneous and enthusiastic response there had been only a moderate approbation of the plan,

you would never have heard of the Emigrant Aid Company. The citizens of Worcester were sponsors at its baptism, and upon their judgment I implicitly relied, and I was not deceived. I did not expect that all who applauded would go to Kansas, or even that any of them would go, but I knew that whatever a Worcester audience would applaud in that manner I could find men to perform. There was no more doubt in my mind from that time.

Without further delay I drew up the charter of the "Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company," and by personal solicitation secured the incorporators. I introduced the matter in the Legislature and had it referred to the committee on the judiciary, of which James D. Colt, afterwards a justice of the State Supreme Court, was chairman. At the hearing I appeared before the committee and said in behalf of the petition :

"This is a plan to prevent the forming of any more slave states. If you will give us the charter there shall never be another slave state admitted into the Union. In the halls of Congress we have been invariably beaten for more than thirty years, and it is now time to change the battle-ground from Congress to the prairies, where we shall invariably triumph."

Mr. Colt replied :

"We are willing to gratify you, by reporting favorably your charter; but we all believe it to be impracticable and utterly futile. Here you are fifteen hundred miles from the battle ground, while the most thickly settled portion of Missouri lies on the eastern border of Kansas, and can in one day blot out all you can do in a year. Neither can you get men who now have peaceful and happy homes in the East to risk the loss of everything by going to Kansas."

But Mr. Colt reported in favor of the charter, and it passed, though it cost its author much labor, for not one member either of the Senate or House had any faith in the measure.

The following is the first section of the charter :

"SEC. 1. Benjamin C. Clark, Isaac Livermore, Charles Allen, Isaac Davis, William G. Bates, Stephen C. Phillips, Charles C. Hazewell, Alexander H. Bullock, Henry Wilson, James S. Whitney,

Samuel E. Sewall, Samuel G. Howe, James Holland, Moses Kimball, James D. Green, Francis W. Bird, Otis Clapp, Anson Burlingame, Eli Thayer and Otis Rich, their associates, successors and assigns, are hereby made a corporation, by the name of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company, for the purpose of assisting emigrants to settle in the West ; and for this purpose, they have all the powers and privileges, and be subject to all the duties, restrictions and liabilities, set forth in the thirty-eighth and forty-fourth chapters of the Revised Statutes.

The charter was signed by the Governor on the 26th day of April. On the 4th of May a meeting was held at the State House, by the incorporators and others, and a committee chosen to report a plan of organization and work. This committee consisted of Eli Thayer, Alexander H. Bullock and Edward E. Hale of Worcester, Richard Hildreth and Otis Clapp of Boston. They made a report at an adjourned meeting showing the proposed operation of the enterprise, of which the following is an extract :

“ The Emigrant Aid Company has been incorporated to protect emigrants, as far as may be, from the inconveniences we have enumerated. Its duty is to organize emigration to the West and bring it into a system. This duty, which should have been attempted long ago, is particularly essential now in the critical position of the Western Territories.

“ The Legislature has granted a charter, with a capital sufficient for these purposes. This capital is not to exceed \$5,000,000. In no single year are assessments to a larger amount than ten per cent. to be called for. The incorporators believe that if the company be organized at once, as soon as the subscriptions to the stock amounts to \$1,000,000, the annual income to be derived from that amount, and the subsequent subscriptions, may be so appropriated as to render most essential service to the emigrants ; to plant a free state in Kansas, to the lasting advantage of the country ; and to return a handsome profit to the stockholders upon their investment.

“ To accomplish the object in view, it is recommended, 1st, that the Directors contract immediately with some one of the competing lines of travel for the conveyance of twenty thousand persons from the northern and middle states, to that place in the West which the Directors shall select for their first settlement.

“ It is believed that passage may be obtained, in so large a contract, at half the price paid by individuals. We recommend that emigrants receive the full advantage of this diminution in price, and that they be forwarded in companies of two hundred, as they apply, at these reduced rates of travel.

“ 2d. It is recommended that at such points as the Directors select for places of settlement, they shall at once construct a boarding-house or receiving-house, in which three hundred persons may receive temporary accommodation on their arrival—and that the number of such houses be enlarged as necessity may dictate. The new comers or their families may thus be provided for in the necessary interval which elapses while they are making their selection of a location.

“ 3d. It is recommended that the Directors procure and send forward steam saw-mills, and such other machines as shall be of constant service in a new settlement, which cannot, however, be purchased or carried out conveniently by individual settlers. These machines may be leased or run by the company’s agents. At the same time it is desirable that a printing press be sent out, and a weekly newspaper established. This would be the organ of the company’s agents; would extend information regarding its settlement; and be from the very first an index of that love of freedom and of good morals which it is to be hoped may characterize the State now to be formed.

“ 4th. It is recommended that the company’s agents locate and take up for the company’s benefit the sections of land in which the boarding-houses and mills are located, and no others. And further, that whenever the Territory shall be organized as a Free State, the Directors shall dispose of all its interests, then replace, by the sales, the money laid out, declare a dividend to the stockholders, and

“ 5th. That they then select a new field, and make similar arrangements for the settlement and organization of another Free State of this Union.

. . . . .

“ Under the plan proposed, it will be but two or three years before the Company can dispose of its property in the territory first occupied — and reimburse itself for its first expenses. At that time, in a State of 70,000 inhabitants, it will possess several reservations of 640 acres each, on which are boarding houses and mills, and the churches and schools which it has rendered necessary. From these centers will the settlements of the State have radiated. In other words, these points will then be the large commercial positions of the new State. If there were only one such, its value, after the region should be so far peopled, would make a very large dividend to the company which sold it,

besides restoring the original capital with which to enable it to attempt the same adventure elsewhere.

“ It is recommended that a meeting of the stockholders be called on the first Wednesday in June, to organize the company for one year, and that the corporators at this time, make a temporary organization, with power to obtain subscriptions to the stock and make any necessary preliminary arrangements.

“ ELI THAYER,  
For the Committee.’

It will be seen by the above that the enterprise was intended to be a money-making affair as well as a philanthropic undertaking. The fact that we intended to make it pay the investors pecuniarily brought upon us the reproaches and condemnation of some of the Abolitionists, at least one of whom declared in my hearing that he had rather give over the territory to Slavery than to make a cent out of the operation of saving it to Freedom. In all my emigration schemes I intended to make the results return a profitable dividend in cash.

In pursuance of the last recommendation of the above report, the corporators made a temporary organization by the choice of Eli Thayer as President *pro tem.*, and Dr. Thomas H. Webb, of Boston, as Secretary; and opened books of subscription in Boston, Worcester and New York.

The capital stock of the Massachusetts Company was originally fixed at \$5,000,000, from which it was proposed to collect an assessment of four per cent. for the operations of 1854, as soon as \$1,000,000 had been subscribed. Books for stock subscriptions were opened and the undertaking was fairly started. I felt confident that even a few colonies from the North would make the freedom of Kansas a necessity; for the whole power of the free states would be ready to protect their sons in that territory.

I at once hired Chapman Hall in Boston, and began to speak day and evening in favor of the enterprise. I also addressed meetings elsewhere, and labored in every possible way to make converts to my theory.

Not only was a new plan proposed but it was advocated by new arguments, some points of which were as follows :

The present crisis was to decide whether Freedom or Slavery should rule our country for centuries to come. That Slavery was a great national curse ; that it practically ruined one half of the nation and greatly impeded the progress of the other half. That it was a curse to the negro, but a much greater curse to white men. It made the slaveholders petty tyrants who had no correct idea of themselves or of anybody else. It made the poor whites of the South more abject and degraded than the slaves themselves. That it was an insurmountable obstacle in the way of the nation's progress and prosperity. That it must be overcome and extirpated. That the way to do this was to go to the prairies of Kansas and show the superiority of free labor civilization ; to go with all our free labor trophies : churches and schools, printing presses, steam engines and mills ; and in a peaceful contest convince every poor man from the South of the superiority of free labor. That it was much better to *go* and *do* something for free labor than to stay at home and talk of manacles and auction-blocks and blood-hounds, while deploring the never-ending aggressions of slavery. That in this contest the South had not one element of success. We had much greater numbers, much greater wealth, greater readiness of organization and better facilities of migration. That we should put a cordon of Free States from Minnesota to the Gulf of Mexico, and stop the forming of Slave States. After that we should colonize the northern border Slave States and exterminate Slavery. That our work was not to make women and children cry in anti-slavery conventions, by sentimental appeals, BUT TO GO AND PUT AN END TO SLAVERY.\*

\* The Garrisonians opposed everybody and everything outside of their little clique, and were led into many ridiculous inconsistencies. A specimen disunion resolution is here given :

"*Resolved* : That in our judgment, the dissolution of the present Union with the slaveholding states, presents the only peaceable remedy for the evils of slavery, and the surest pledge of its entire abolition ; inasmuch as, then, the slaveholders, unable alone to hold their slaves, must devise immediate measures for emancipation," etc.

At the close of one of the meetings in Boston, a man in the rear of the hall arose and announced his intention of subscribing \$10,000 towards the capital stock of the company. This was John M. S. Williams of Cambridgeport, who was afterwards prominently connected with the Emigrant Aid Company. Charles Francis Adams came forward with a subscription of \$25,000, and others followed. It was at one of the Chapman Hall meetings that I first saw Charles Robinson, (afterwards Governor of Kansas,) and engaged him to act as agent of the Emigrant Aid Company, in Kansas. A wiser and more sagacious man for this work could not have been found within the borders of the nation.

Towards the end of May, leaving the subscription books with the secretary of the company, I went to New York, to secure the aid and coöperation of prominent gentlemen of that city. I called upon Horace Greeley and set forth the plan in all its details. The matter was entirely new to him, and made a most favorable impression on his judgment. He unhesitatingly gave it his heartiest support, and entered into the scheme with great enthusiasm. The *New York Tribune* of May 29th, 1854, contained a lengthy account of the organization and purpose of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company, with the charter and report of the commit-

When, however, the Emigrant Aid Company announced its purpose to form a cordon of free States around the slave territory, and thus prevent by actual occupation, at least the spread of Slavery, the Garrisonians turned squarely around and faced the other way, as witness the following "Resolution:"

"*Resolved*: That the idea of starving slavery to death by confining it within its present limits, is, in view of the fact, that the larger part of the territory already secured to the Slave Power, is, as yet, virgin soil, on which it can grow and fatten for ages to come; a most dangerous delusion."

Prof. Spring, in his history of Kansas, ludicrously speaks of the Garrisonians as "solitary knights bestriding—

‘The winged Hippogriff, Reform.’”

He errs, however, in saying that the integration of the Northern Anti-Slavery sentiment was due to them. They never did anything but disintegrate it, by changing a few weak-minded Anti-Slavery men into rabid Disunionists. The integration of the Northern sentiment was brought about by the Kansas contest and the means that sustained it.



tee, printed in full. The following is an extract from his editorial :

“ Such, in brief, is the plan offered to the earnest and philanthropic men of the free states who desire to prevent the spread of slavery into Kansas and Nebraska, and to secure the early admission of those territories into the Union as Free States. To all those who are anxious to do something in the present crisis to repair the wrong just committed at Washington, it offers a wide and hopeful field of effort. Here is abundant opportunity for all who have money to invest or a heart to labor in the great cause of Freedom. The scheme strikes us as singularly well adapted to secure the objects in view. Properly managed and in the hands of discreet and responsible men, it cannot fail to accomplish the noble and generous purpose at which it aims, and at the same time it promises to eventually return to every contributor, all of his original outlay, with a handsome recompense for its use. From this plan, thus briefly shadowed forth, we entertain a confident hope of the most satisfactory results, and cordially commend it to public attention. ”

This was followed by a series of powerful editorials, which fully unfolded the new “ Plan of Freedom, ” as Mr. Greeley called it, and set forth its merits in a forcible and convincing manner, urging the formation of Emigrant Societies throughout the North.

In the *Tribune* of May 30th, he says :

“ THE PLAN OF FREEDOM set forth in yesterday’s *Tribune* has been eagerly seized upon by some of our best and most distinguished citizens, and a private preliminary meeting will be immediately held in furtherance of its suggestions. . . . .

“ The organization of a powerful association of large capital, in the aid of human freedom, is a step in a new direction of philanthropic effort which may well enlist the sympathies of the unselfish and benevolent, not only of this country, but of all mankind.

“ In view of the monstrous wrongs that slavery is at this hour meditating, in view of the enormity it has just perpetrated, the heart of every man who has one spark of humanity in his bosom, must be stirred, as with the sound of a trumpet, by the suggestion of a remedy so simple, so comprehensive and so practical. . . .

“ The great labors of the world have been performed by association. Our societies for the spread of the Bible, and the diffusion of Christianity — and our other varied combinations for benevolent objects — all demonstrate the immense power of well-directed associative effort. ”

In New York I had no difficulty in enlisting supporters of the scheme among the most prominent and influential citizens, as the following names will show. These gentlemen attended my meetings, and aided liberally in a pecuniary way to further the cause :

Cyrus Curtis, Moses H. Grinnell, George W. Blunt, John A. King (President of Columbia College), E. D. Morgan, David Dudley Field, Simeon Draper, Isaac Dayton, Benjamin W. Bonney, Le Grand Lockwood, John Bigelow, William C. Noyes, R. W. Blatchford, Lucius Robinson, H. A. Chittenden. These gentlemen were the heartiest endorsers of the enterprise. They were of all shades of political opinion.

At a meeting held in the parlors of George W. Blunt, after I had explained the methods and purposes of the Emigrant Aid Company ; how, if properly supported, it would secure freedom to Kansas and to all the territories, and that Slavery thus circumscribed would lose its political power and be doomed to speedy extinction, a tall and gaunt young man among my hearers arose and said : “ I have been called a ‘Hunker Whig,’ but I am no friend to the extension of slavery. I have waited for a chance to act against it in a legal and constitutional way. Now for the first time in my life I have listened to a practical elucidation of the slavery question involving no questionable methods. So, ‘Hunker Whig’ though I am called, and poor man though I am—for I am not worth more than four thousand dollars—I will now give Mr. Thayer my check for the Emigrant Aid Company for one thousand dollars.” I inquired the name of the gentleman, and some one replied : “ WILLIAM M. EVARTS.” In 1877 Mr. Evarts sent a message to me, saying : “Tell Mr. Thayer that that thousand dollar subscription was the best investment I ever made in my life.”

Editorial from the *New York Tribune* of May 31, 1854 :

“THE PLAN OF FREEDOM which we put forth in Monday’s paper already awakens an echo in the public mind. In addition to further active steps of the gentlemen in the city who have taken hold of the subject, we have received voluntary offers of subscription by letter,

together with the most fervent expressions of zeal and determination from all quarters to rally in defense of freedom and in opposition to the gigantic schemes of aggression started by the slave power. The contest already takes the form of the People against Tyranny and Slavery. The whole crowd of slave drivers and traitors, backed by a party organization, a corrupt majority in Congress, a soulless partizan press, an administration with its paid officers armed with revolvers, and sustained by the bayonets of a mercenary soldiery, will all together prove totally insufficient to cope with an aroused People.

“ We extract from our correspondence as follows :

“ ‘ To the Editor of *The New York Tribune* :

“ ‘ Having watched with much interest the incipient movements in Massachusetts to form the Emigrant Aid Society, and having great faith in such an enterprise, if confided to proper hands, I am much gratified to find by your paper of this day, that the organization is so far completed as to admit the opening of subscriptions. Wishing to aid the enterprise out of my feeble ability, I request you to insert my name in the subscription for five hundred dollars (\$500.) . . . .

“ ‘ The day of deliverance dawns. The spirit of freedom shall awake.

“ ‘ Yours for liberty.’ ”

“ Another correspondent, who sends a subscription for \$10,000, writes as follows :

“ ‘ Need I say how delighted I am at the prospect of the ‘ PLAN OF FREEDOM? ’ In a work so just, so hopeful, so grandly comprehensive, so prophetic of results potential, victorious and final, I enter with a full soul, heart, hand and purse — and sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I give myself to this great work, in the full confidence that souls are here enlisted who know no tie but that of universal brotherhood — no ends but that of unselfish devotion to common humanity. May I ask of you the favor to hand in my subscription for one hundred shares of stock of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company? The golden age — the blessed age of peace is not for us! Patience and faith and combat, labor and toil are ours. Let us accept the gifts meekly but manfully — rejoicing that our Master counts us worthy to follow him in the mighty travail of a world’s regeneration.’ ”

From the *New York Tribune* of June 1, 1854 :

“ THE PLAN OF FREEDOM.

“ The friends of this measure who have had the subject in hand, held a meeting at the Astor House last evening, at which President King of

Columbia College presided. There was quite a full attendance of gentlemen who felt a deep interest in the subject. A committee was appointed to superintend the business of obtaining subscriptions, and to represent the subscribers in the meeting of the Society to be held in Boston on Wednesday next.

We are in receipt of additional letters, making inquiries and tendering further subscriptions. The plan is received by all with preëminent favor, and enlists the warmest sympathies of the friends of Freedom.

The plan is no less than to found free cities, and to extemporize free states. Let it be made the great enterprise of the age."

Other meetings were held in New York which were well attended, and subscriptions to a large amount were received. Among the largest subscribers were Horace B. Clafin and Rollin Sanford,— each six thousand dollars. In my efforts to stimulate as much as possible the interest, both commercial and philanthropic, which the cities of New York and Brooklyn had in making free states of Kansas and all our territories, I made on my first visit ten addresses — five in halls and five in private meetings of capitalists, like the one in Mr. Blunt's house. On two successive Friday evenings I addressed very enthusiastic audiences in Henry Ward Beecher's vestry. One Sunday Rev. Mr. Frothingham allowed me the use of his pulpit and the time allotted for his sermon, to make a speech for Kansas and free labor.

Later I had several conferences with William Cullen Bryant, and urged him to write editorials in his paper, the *Evening Post* — a financial organ of high authority — against the state bonds of Missouri every time the border ruffians raided Kansas. This he did on several occasions, and so well, that the bonds of the state, amounting to twenty millions, depreciated to such an extent that the holders interfered in every way they could to stop the raids, principally through the merchants of St. Louis. In consequence, the Missouri river was opened to our emigrants

in the fall of 1856 after it had been closed all summer by the border ruffians.\*

The above operations in New York extended over several months, but I have spoken of them here, as I may not have occasion to refer to them again. I will also say here that in the many different localities in which I spoke during the Kansas troubles, I never failed to interest the foremost influential men: Benjamin Silliman, of New Haven; Horace Bushnell, of Hartford; John Carter Brown, of Providence; the venerable Eliphalet Nott, at Albany; Joel Parker, Henry W. Longfellow, C. C. Felton, J. E. Worcester, Emory Washburn, John G. Palfrey and F. D. Huntington, of Cambridge; Josiah Quincy and William H. Prescott, of Boston, are representative names, and many others of equal weight can be adduced. The clergy were almost unanimous in their support and the scheme was greatly indebted to them for its success.

During my first visit to New York, news came from Boston, that the charter of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company was thought to be defective; that some of the corporators feared that they might become personally responsible, and had withdrawn,† so that the undertaking was to be abandoned. This was a shock like a thunder-bolt, for I had anticipated nothing of the sort. Over one hundred thousand dollars had been subscribed in New York, and by the timidity of the Boston men all this was to be lost. I exerted myself in every possible way to prevent the surrender of the charter, but without avail, and I had to submit to the inevitable, with as good a grace as possible. I returned to Boston, where a voluntary organization was formed with a capital of two hundred thousand dollars under trustees, with Amos A. Lawrence, J. M. S. Williams and Eli Thayer as trustees. The new organization was known as the New England Emigrant Aid Company, and its operations were restricted in proportion as compared with those of the old company.

\* See editorials in *New York Evening Post* of Feb. 14, 1856, and others about that time.

† This was a sad mistake, and it made the Rebellion possible.

Prof. Spring in his History of Kansas, says: (page 30.)

“ No organization was ever effected under the first charter. It saddled objectionable monetary liabilities upon the individuals who might associate under it, and was abandoned. The whole business then passed into the hands of Thayer, Lawrence and J. M. S. Williams, who were constituted trustees, and managed affairs in a half personal fashion until February, 1855, when a second charter was obtained and an association formed with a slightly rephrased title — ‘ The New England Emigrant Aid Company ’ — and with John Carter Brown, of Providence, Rhode Island, as president. In the conduct of the company, the trustees who bridged the interval between the first and second charters, continued to be a chief directive and inspirational force. Mr. Thayer preached the gospel of organized emigration, with tireless and successful enthusiasm, while Mr. Lawrence discharged the burdensome but all important duties of treasurer. Among the twenty original directors were Dr. Samuel Cabot, Jr., John Lowell and William B. Spooner, of Boston; J. P. Williston, Northampton; Charles H. Bigelow, Lawrence; and Nathan Durfee, Fall River. The list of directors was subsequently enlarged to thirty-eight, and included the additional names of Dr. S. G. Howe, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, Boston; George L. Stearns, Medford; Horace Bushnell, Hartford, Connecticut; Prof. Benjamin Silliman, Sr., New Haven, Connecticut; and Moses H. Grinnell, New York. The company in its reorganized shape receded, at least, temporarily, from all wholesale projects, and devoted itself to the problem of planting free-labor towns in Kansas.”\*

Although, greatly disappointed at the turn affairs had taken, the managers were by no means discouraged, and they resolved to persevere in the work. Mr. Lawrence nobly pledged himself to sustain the company by supplying the sinews

\* The following is a full list of officers of the New England Emigrant Aid Company:

PRESIDENT: John Carter Brown, *Providence*; VICE-PRESIDENTS: Eli Thayer, *Worcester*, J. M. S. Williams, *Cambridge*; TREASURER: Amos A. Lawrence, *Boston*; SECRETARY: Thomas H. Webb, *Boston*; DIRECTORS: Wm. B. Spooner, Samuel Cabot, Jr., John Lowell, C. J. Higginson, Le Baron Russell, *Boston*, Wm. J. Rotch, *New Bedford*, J. P. Williston, *Northampton*, W. Dudley Pickman, *Salem*, R. P. Waters, *Beverly*, Reuben A. Chapman, *Springfield*, John Nesmith, *Lowell*, Charles H. Bigelow, *Lawrence*, Nathan Durfee, *Fall River*, Wm. Willis, *Portland, Me.*, Franklin Muzzy, *Bangor, Me.*, Ichabod Goodwin, *Portsmouth, N. H.*, Thomas M. Edwards, *Keene, N. H.*, Albert Day, *Hartford, Ct.*

of war to the extent of a very large sum, and others were not backward in this respect, though he was by far the largest contributor.\*

When it was announced that Boston had decided to make a voluntary organization under trustees, with a possible capital of \$200,000, the New York men said Boston could do that alone, and took no further part at that time. Mr. Greeley seemed also to lose heart, and said nothing more till the middle of June. In the New York *Tribune* of June 16, 1854, was printed the following :

#### “THE PLAN OF FREEDOM.

“All persons who desire particular information in relation to the plans, purposes and progress of the Emigrant Aid Company, are requested to send their communications to the ‘Secretary of the Emigrant Aid Company,’ Boston, Mass.

“We are informed that the Company intend to send the first train-load of emigrants to Kansas about the first of August next. The Company will forthwith forward mechanics and machinery for manufacturing lumber, and proceed to erect houses for emigrants.

“The Company is now organized, and books are opened for subscriptions to the capital stock. The original design of having so large a capital as five millions has been abandoned, and in lieu of annual contributions to the capital, as at first proposed, it is now designed to reduce the capital stock to the sum that will really be needed as an immediate working capital, and to change the character of the subscriptions, so that the whole amount of them shall be at the call of the trustees. It is now supposed that a paid-up capital of \$200,000 will answer all the purposes of the Company. Such an alteration in the charter as this change necessitates, it is the intention of the Company to obtain immediately on the meeting of the Massachusetts Legislature. At the same time a change will be made in the title of the association, which will more fully denote the national character, and comport with the wide scope of its efforts.”

I again entered upon the work with renewed courage, and spoke nightly, and sometimes oftener, to large and enthusiastic audiences. The effort now was to form a colony as soon as

\* The Company expended about \$140,000 in the Kansas work.

possible and start them on their way to carry freedom to Kansas. But few volunteered to join the first colony. After making a great number of speeches, after great efforts to influence by the strongest appeals the young men to join our colony, we had gathered a party numbering twenty-four; and on the 17th of July, 1854, I started with them towards Kansas. The colony was put on board a boat at Buffalo, having received an addition of two at Rochester.\* To one of the emigrants — Mr. Mallory of Worcester — I gave a letter directed to Charles H. Branscomb (who with Charles Robinson had been sent on in advance to receive the emigrants at St. Louis) saying: "Take this colony through the Shawnee reservation and locate them on the south bank of the Kansas, on the first good town site you find west of the reservation." Mr. Branscomb followed literally the instructions of the letter and founded the city of Lawrence.

Leaving the colony at Buffalo, I returned to the East, and two weeks later the Company sent another colony several times larger than the first; and then the entire North and West began to be aroused, and to prepare to go if needed or to help others to go, and from this time the emigration continued to move on with increased activity. I was sent to raise colonies and to organize Kansas leagues, and I travelled all over New England, some parts of it more than once, and also spoke in all the principal places in New York State.

The effect of the influx of free state settlers into Kansas soon began to be manifested. What had at first been viewed by the Missourians with contempt and derision, and by many at the East with indifference, now became to the friends of the South a matter of serious alarm, and aroused the most malignant passions of the Missouri border ruffians. It created a feeling that spread through the entire slave-holding community, and excited an intense opposition towards a scheme which it was plain to them, was to establish an effectual barrier to the extension of slavery, and in time exterminate the institution. The South saw that it was impotent in a struggle of

\* D. R. Anthony and Dr. Doy.



this kind with the North ; that the latter with its resources of wealth and population and its spirit of enterprise, would inevitably overwhelm them in this contest. All the powers of press and rostrum were brought to bear against the new scheme, and bluster and threats were resorted to in the endeavor to stem the current that was to engulf them. More extreme methods were applied on the scene of action, but it is not my purpose in this paper, to give any narration of what took place in Kansas ; that has already become a part of national history.

Soon the greatest enthusiasm was excited in the North. Immense crowds gathered along the route of our emigrant companies, and the journeys through New England, and as far west as Chicago, were continued ovations. This spirit was shown even in the domestic circle. "I know people," said R. W. Emerson, "who are making haste to reduce their expenses and pay their debts, not with a view to new accumulations, but in preparation to save and earn for the benefit of Kansas emigrants."

The *Christian Examiner* of July, 1855, characterized the movement as follows :

"It was reserved to the present age and to the present period, to afford the sublime spectacle of an extensive migration in vindication of a principle. . . . Neither pressure from without, nor the bickerings of ambition, nor the monitions of avarice control the great Kansas migration. . . . In the unselfishness of the object lies its claim . . . to the highest place in the history of migrations!"

Loud threats of disunion were indulged in ; and the Southern papers teemed with abuse of the Emigrant Aid Company and its supporters. Rewards were offered for the head of the author of the plan.\* But there were those among them,

\*The following notice was posted in Kansas and Missouri:

"\$200 Reward. We are authorized by responsible men in this neighborhood to offer the above reward for the apprehension and safe delivery into the hands of the squatters of Kansas Territory, of one Eli Thayer, a leading and ruling spirit among the abolitionists of New York and New England. Now, therefore, it behooves all good citizens of Kansas Territory and the State of Missouri, to watch the advent of this agent of Abolitionism — To arrest him, and deal with him in such a manner as

who, as the movement broadened, contemplated it in a more serious light, and gave evidence of their appreciation of the real character of the crisis. The following editorial from the Charleston *Mercury* well represents the views of this class :

“First. By consent of parties, the present contest in Kansas, is made the turning point in the destinies of slavery and abolitionism.\* If the South triumphs, abolitionism will be defeated and shorn of its power for all time. If she is defeated, abolitionism will grow more insolent and aggressive, until the utter ruin of the South is consummated.

“Second. If the South secures Kansas, she will extend slavery into all the territory south of the fortieth parallel of north latitude, to the Rio Grande, and this, of course, will secure for her pent-up institutions of slavery an ample outlet, and restore her power in Congress. If the North secures Kansas, the power of the South in Congress will gradually be diminished, the states of Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas and Texas, together with the adjacent territories, will gradually become abolitionized, and the slave population confined to the states east of the Mississippi will become valueless. All depends upon the action of the present moment.”

It may be well here to cite some further testimony as to the influence and work of the Emigrant Aid Company in establishing free colonies in Kansas.

In his evidence before the Howard Congressional Committee,† John H. Stringfellow, having been duly sworn, said :

“At the time of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and prior to that time, I never heard any man, in my section of Missouri, express a doubt about the character of the institutions which would be established here, provided the Missouri restriction was removed ; and I heard of no combination of persons, either in public or private, prior to the time of the organization of the Emigrant Aid Society, and indeed

the enormity of his crimes and iniquities shall seem to merit. Representing *all* the Abolitionists, he consequently bears all their sins; and the blood of Batchelder is upon his head crying aloud for expiation at the hands of the people.”

DeBow's Review called the movement “Thayer's Emigration ;” and the Southern press spoke of the Emigrant Aid Company as “Eli Thayer & Co.” — ED.

\* By “abolitionism” the editor intended the whole anti-slavery element. He had no reference to Garrisonism

† House Doc., 34th Congress, No. 200.

for months afterwards, for the purpose of making united action, to frustrate the designs of that Society in abolitionizing, or making a free state of Kansas. The conviction was general, that it would be a slave state. The settlers who came over from Missouri after the passage of the Bill, so far as I know, generally believed that Kansas would be a slave state. Free-state men who came into the territory after the passage of the bill were regarded with jealousy by the people of western Missouri, for the reason that a society had been formed for the avowed purpose of shaping the institutions of Kansas Territory, so as to make it a free state in opposition to the interests of the people of Missouri. If no Emigrant Aid Societies had been formed in the Northern States, the emigration of people from there, known to be in favor of making Kansas a free state, would have stimulated the emigration from Missouri. Had it not been for the Emigrant Aid Societies, the majority in favor of slave institutions would, by the natural course of emigration, have been so great as to have fixed the institutions of the Territory without any exciting contest, as it was in the Settlement of the Platte Purchase. This was the way we regarded the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and this was the reason why we supported it."

Isaac M. Edwards : (sworn.)

"It is my opinion that all the difficulties and troubles have been produced by the operations of the Emigrant Aid Society. I am satisfied that if the Emigrant Aid Society had not sent men out to the Territory of Kansas for the purpose of making it a free state, there would be no trouble or difficulties in the Territory."

Scores of other witnesses before the Howard Commission testified in nearly the same words, that there would have been *no contest whatever in Kansas*, had it not been caused by the efforts of the Emigrant Aid Company to make Kansas a free state, by sending thither organized colonies of free-state men.

This was not the testimony of Missourians alone, nor of pro-slavery settlers in Kansas. You will find it in all the pro-slavery papers of the time and in nearly all the anti-slavery journals.

Throughout the South, the Emigrant Aid Company, often under the name of "Eli Thayer & Co.," was charged with the

enormous crime of making Kansas a free state. In Missouri, various sums, in several localities, were publicly offered for the head of the founder of that Company.

Even in the Halls of Congress, pro-slavery senators and representatives denounced this Company as the power which had robbed the slave-state party of Kansas, and had put in peril the very existence of slavery.

In 1861, though the battle had been fought in Kansas and the victory won by the free-state men years before, Senator Green, of Missouri, said in the Senate: "But for the hot-bed plants that have been planted in Kansas, through the instrumentality of the Emigrant Aid Society, Kansas would have been with Missouri this day."

Stephen A. Douglas, in his report to the U. S. Senate, in 1856, said: "Popular Sovereignty was struck down by unholy combinations in New England."

Senator J. A. Bayard, of Delaware, said: "Whatever evil, or loss, or suffering, or injury, may result to Kansas, or to the United States at large, is attributable, as a primary cause, to the Emigrant Aid Society of Massachusetts."

If further testimony be needed to show the power of the Emigrant Aid Company in Kansas, it can be found in quantities almost without limit, in the Congressional Globe, in the reports of Congressional Committees, in thousands upon thousands of letters from the Kansas settlers to their friends in the states, in the editorials of all the Southern and of nearly all the Northern journals, in the reports of thousands of election speeches, and in all contemporaneous and general records of whatever kind.

While the Emigrant Aid Company, was, by its operations, creating such a well-founded alarm in the Southern States, and was receiving the commendation and gratitude of every true lover of freedom for the practical results it had accomplished, let us see how it was regarded by that peculiar clique, known as the Garrisonian Abolitionists. At the time of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, these men had been absolutely silent; and in the period of

gloom and despair at the North that followed that iniquity, they had no words, either of counsel, encouragement or commiseration, to offer. No sooner, however, was a feasible and practical plan of retrieving the disaster set forth, than Mr. Garrison and his associates opened their batteries of vituperation upon it and its authors, as they had always assailed every practical and feasible measure, and everybody who proposed to do something for the cause of freedom; and as they continued to assail everybody and every thing except DISUNION, until in spite of them and without their aid, the great object was achieved, when they and their admirers turned about and coolly said: We did all this ourselves! The present generation has, in consequence of the persistent clack and endless scribbling of that class, come to believe that Mr Garrison was the Alpha and Omega of the anti-slavery struggle, and that he and his small party of followers were the leaders and directors of the great movement that brought about the overthrow of Slavery. These men and women have never exhibited any diffidence or modesty in sounding their own praises. They formed a mutual admiration society of unusual malignity towards those who did not belong to it; yet, not content with fighting the outside world, they frequently snarled and quarrelled among themselves, and attempted to destroy each other. The persecution they endured was not wholly on account of the Anti-Slavery principles they maintained, but it was their abusive and insulting manner, and particularly, their offensive obtrusion of the unpopular and unpatriotic doctrines of secession and disunion upon every occasion, that principally excited the passions of the mob.

In fact, the little company of Abolitionists had come to be despised at the North, and they were neglected and shunned by the better element for the reasons above given. Almost invariably in presenting my plan of emigration, the question would come, Has Garrison anything to do with this? Is there any taint of abolitionism in it? and I had to assure my hearers that it was entirely free from that objectionable element. However, as Mr. Garrison and his friends have been elevated into such a prominent position, and as an exaggerated and distorted

idea of their services largely prevails, some even believing that they aided in the saving of Kansas, it is proper for me to show here, in what manner they viewed an undertaking which had for its object the extermination of Slavery by peaceful, lawful and practical methods, and how they treated those who honestly and earnestly gave to it their support. The following extracts and quotations, will show their kind of wisdom and power of prophecy.

Mr. Garrison (*Liberator*, 30th June, 1854, commenting on the address to the people by the anti-Nebraska members of Congress), says :

“If this is all that is proposed to be done, the address will prove utterly abortive. To talk of ‘restoring the Missouri Compromise’ and preventing ‘the further aggressions of Slavery’ while the Union holds together, is the acme of infatuation. *We must separate.* The North must form a new, independent, free republic, or continue to be the tool and vassal of the Slave Power, making it to accomplish all its direful designs of conquest, annexation and perpetuation, having the mighty resources of the whole country at its command, without which it would be as poor as a pauper and as feeble as an infant.” \*

In the *Liberator* of Feb. 16, 1855, is a letter from its correspondent, C. Stearns, dated, Lawrence, Kansas, Jan. 20, 1855, in which we find this :

“It is true we denounce the Emigrant Aid Company, because we believe it to be a great hindrance to the cause of freedom, and a mighty curse to the Territory; but we are the only ones who have taken a decided ground on the anti-slavery question. I have never heard of the Lawrence Association ever passing any anti-slavery resolutions.

“Another point of importance is, that this association, with Robinson at its head, advocates brute force in opposing the Missourians. Said Mr. R. to the Marshal, in reference to some Missourians arrested for threatening the Yankees, ‘If they fire, do you make them bite the dust and I will find coffins.’”

In a letter one month later, published in the *Liberator* of the 16th of March, 1855, the same correspondent says :

\* Compare this with the resolution in which they say that slavery can grow and fatten upon the territory already secured to it for ages to come.

“Do not advise people to emigrate here in companies. Let them come very few at a time. This sending large companies is a very foolish business for many reasons.”

In another paper Mr. Garrison says, in substance: Kansas cannot be made a free state, and even if it should be, such a result would be a great injury to the anti-slavery cause, for the reason that it would quiet the Northern conscience. The following is from the *Liberator* (editorial) of June 1, 1855:

“Will Kansas be a free state? We answer—No. Not while the existing Union stands. Its fate is settled. We shall briefly state some of the reasons which force us to this sad conclusion.

“1. The South is united in the determination to make Kansas a slave state—ultimately, by division, half a dozen slave states, if necessary. She has never yet been foiled in her purposes thus concentrated and expressed, and she has too much at stake to allow free speech, a free press, and free labor, to hold the mastery in that Territory.

“2. Eastern emigration will avail nothing to keep slavery out of Kansas. We have never had any faith in it as a breakwater against the inundation of the dark waters of oppression. Hardly an abolitionist can be found among all who have emigrated to that country.\* Undoubtedly the mass of emigrants are in favor of making Kansas a free state, as a matter of sound policy, and would do so if they were not under the dominion of Missouri ruffianism, or if they could rely upon the sympathy of the general government in this terrible crisis, but they have not gone to Kansas to be martyrs in the cause of the enslaved negro, nor to sacrifice their chances for a homestead upon the altar of principle, but to find a comfortable home for themselves and their children. Before they emigrated they gave little or no countenance to the anti-slavery cause at home †: they partook of the general hostility or indifference to the labors of radical abolitionism; at least they could only dream of making ‘freedom national and slavery sectional after the manner of the fathers;’ ‡ and they were poisoned more or less with the virus of colorphobia. If they had no pluck here, what could be rationally expected of them in the immediate presence of the demoniacal spirit of slavery? They represent the average sentiment of the North §

\* This was literally true; there was not a Garrisonian among them.

† That is, to Mr. Garrison’s peculiar dogmas.

‡ A fling at Charles Sumner.

§ A thoughtless and careless admission by Mr. Garrison that his labors had amounted to nothing.

on this subject — nothing more — and that is still subservient to the will of the South.

“3. The omnipotent power of the general government will coöperate with the vandals of Missouri to crush out what little anti-slavery sentiment may exist in Kansas, and to sustain their lawless proceedings in that Territory. This will prove decisive in the struggle.\*

“4. On the subject of slavery there is no principle in the Kansas papers ostensibly desirous of making it a free state. Here, for instance, is the *Herald of Freedom* of May 12th, published in Lawrence, which claims to be, and we believe is, the most outspoken journal in Kansas in regard to the rights of *bona-fide* settlers. What does its editor say? Listen! ‘While publishing a paper in Kansas, we feel that it is not our province to discuss the subject of freedom or slavery in the States.’ † Is not this the most heartless inhumanity, the most arrant, moral cowardice, the clearest demonstration of unsoundness of mind?

“These are some of the reasons why we believe Kansas will inevitably be a slave state.”

*Liberator*, Sept. 28, 1855. Editorial :

“Talk about stopping the progress of slavery and of saving Nebraska and Kansas! Why the fate of Nebraska and Kansas was sealed the first hour Stephen Arnold Douglas consented to play his perfidious part.”

In the *Liberator* of August 10, 1855, is a speech of Wendell Phillips, from which the following is extracted :

\* Did it prove so ?

† G. W. Brown established the *Herald of Freedom*, and maintained it as the organ of the Emigrant Aid Company through the Kansas troubles. It was ever true to the principle and purpose of making Kansas a Free State. Mr. Garrison and his friends complained because the editor refused to enter into controversy upon the general subject of Slavery in the States, and would not fill his columns with “Resolutions” and complaints about blood-hounds, manacles and auction blocks. The paper was ably conducted, and was of inestimable value to the cause in furnishing and disseminating information about the Territory, much of which was given by the actual settlers. The Emigrant Aid Company advanced \$3000 to aid Dr. Brown in establishing this journal, which sum he repaid. Dr. Brown knew “Old John Brown” intimately while he was in Kansas, and his reminiscences of that worthy, published a few years since, created something of a stampede among the admirers of the Hero of Harper’s Ferry.



“ Why is Kansas a failure as a free state? I will tell you. You sent out there some thousand or two thousand men — for what? To make a living; to cultivate a hundred and sixty acres; to build houses; to send for their wives and children; to raise wheat; to make money; to build saw mills; to plant towns. You meant to take possession of the country, as the Yankee race always takes possession of a country, by industry, by civilization, by roads, by houses, by mills, by churches; but it will take a long time — *it takes two centuries to do it.*”

“ The moment you throw the struggle with slavery into the half-barbarous West, where things are decided by the revolver and bowie knife, slavery triumphs.

“ What do I care for a squabble around the ballot-box in Kansas?” [!!!]

*Liberator*, 2d May, 1856. Meeting of A. A. Society at Providence, R. I. Mr. Garrison said :

“ While the Union continues, the slave power will have everything its own way, in the last resort.

“ ‘ But (they say) we are going to have a glorious victory in Kansas.’

“ It is all delusion to suppose that Kansas is safe for freedom. † We are just to late! † We have been betrayed by the general government itself, which is now on the side of ‘ border ruffianism!’ Slavery is certain to go into Kansas, nay, slaves are now carried there daily, and offered for sale with impunity. Even the free state men have voted to let slavery continue in the Territory till the 4th of July next, and that no colored man shall be allowed to set his foot upon the soil of Kansas; thus trampling under foot the Constitution of the United States.” †

Annual statement adopted at the May Convention of the A. A. S., Massachusetts, 1856 :

“ Yet we cannot conceal it from ourselves that the too probable result will be, if Kansas be secured to freedom, that the vile American spirit of *compromise* will take possession of its counsels, control its

\* This was a remarkable prophecy.

† Before this, in speaking of the movements in Kansas it had been “ You ” with Mr. Garrison. When, however, it became evident that Kansas was sure to be secured to freedom, he speedily changed his “ you ” to “ We. ”

‡ Patriotic Mr. Garrison! How he loved the Constitution of his country!

internal affairs, and govern its intercourse with the neighboring slave states; while, as a still more lamentable consequence, apathy will settle upon the whole Northern mind, satisfied with their seeming victory, but the end of which will be only to invite fresh insults and aggressions from the Southern despotism. No! there is no safety as there is no honor and no right in our union with men-stealers. No advantage gained while in that fatal fellowship can be of any value."

From a speech of Wendell Phillips, printed in the *Liberator* of July 11, 1856 :

"Now I have great hopes.\* I think Fremont will be defeated. I think there is great chance that Buchanan will be elected. I have no hope for Kansas. How can I have? Where are the hundred men who went from Chicago? Why, they went through Missouri, and laid down their arms at the feet of a mob! Fifty men from the city of Worcester met the same fate. A thousand dollars from the town of Concord alone, gone into the treasury of the Missouri mob! . . . . Fifty per cent. of the muskets bought in New England are to-day in the hands of Missourians."†

From a speech of Wendell Phillips, printed in the *Liberator* of August 14, 1857 :

"But Kansas — her battle will not be fought in the West, but on the chess-board at Washington, and in midnight session she will be betrayed. This administration will see Kansas, possibly Oregon and Nebraska, possibly the southern half of California — admitted as slave states; and then, with four or six more votes in the Senate, with the prestige of success, how will you meet another Presidential election?"‡

Rev. T. W. Higginson, minister of the Worcester Free Church, said: (See *Liberator* of June 16, 1854)

"Here, for instance, is the Nebraska Emigration Society; it is indeed a noble enterprise, and I am proud that it owes its origin to a Worcester man. But where is the good of emigrating to Nebraska, if Nebraska is to be only a transplanted Massachusetts, and the original Massachusetts has been tried and found wanting?"

\* Most rational men would not have had "great hopes" in the face of the crisis he portrayed.

† This well exhibits the ridiculous style of exaggeration which characterized the utterances of the Abolitionists.

‡ Here was another remarkable prophecy.

*Liberator*, 16th May, 1856, 23d anniversary of the A. A. Society, New York city. Mr. Garrison offered this among other resolutions which was unanimously passed :

“ *Resolved*: That (making all due allowance for exceptional cases) the American Church continues to be the bulwark of Slavery, and therefore impure in heart, hypocritical in profession, dishonest in practice, brutal in spirit, merciless in purpose,—‘ a cage of unclean birds ’ and ‘ the synagogue of Satan. ’ ”

At the same meeting Samuel May, Jr., said :

“ That he thought that both duty, and a sound and just expediency utterly forbade our identifying ourselves, for an instant, with the mere *non-extension-of-Slavery-movement*. Especially would he protest against our identifying ourselves, as a Society, with the Kansas free state movement, so long as it stands upon its present low and compromising level. . . . .

“ We cannot join in the present movement for Kansas because *it is false in principle*. That is a sufficient reason why we should take no part in it.”

Here is another of Mr. Garrison’s resolutions against the church :

“ *Resolved*: That such a church is, in the graphic language of Scripture ‘ a cage of unclean birds ’ and the ‘ synagogue of satan, ’ and that such religious teachers are ‘ wolves in sheep’s clothing, ’ ‘ Watchmen that are blind, ’ ‘ Shepherds that cannot understand, ’ ‘ that all look to their own way, every one to his gain from his quarter. ’ ”

This is a good specimen of Mr. Garrison’s utterances against those who would not endorse and countenance his own unreasonable and sensational doctrines. Among those whom he characterizes as “ unclean birds, ” may be mentioned Leonard Bacon, Eliphalet Nott, Horace Bushnell, Henry Ward Beecher, Edward Everett Hale, and the 3,050 clergymen of the North who protested against the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. It was this kind of abuse that more than anything else brought the Abolitionists into disrepute. After reading the above

extracts it is not necessary to say that they not only did nothing to save Kansas, but opposed all the efforts of others to make it a free state.

Unfortunately the Garrisonians were not the only ones who whined and carped at the condition of affairs. Many at the North were involved in the gloom of despondency and were disposed to look upon the contest between Freedom and Slavery with doubt as to the result. The managers of the Emigrant Aid enterprise did not participate in this feeling, but prosecuted their work with a firm conviction that Slavery would be overcome. In 1856, when doleful predictions were made, that if Buchanan was elected, Kansas would be lost, I said in a public speech in Worcester: "It will make no difference whether Fremont, Buchanan or the devil is President. Kansas is going to be a Free State anyhow." At a dinner at Mr. Seward's in Washington, some time before, I rather startled the guests, who were mostly Republicans, by proclaiming that under any circumstances there would never be another slave state in this Union—NEVER! In my speeches in Congress and elsewhere, between 1856 and 1861, I always treated Slavery as a "móribund institution." I do not speak of this with any idea of self-glorification, but I mention it because it was a fact. From the time that the first colony was successfully planted in Kansas, I felt sure of the cause, and when the first tidings of lawless aggression against the settlers came, I KNEW that the death knell of Slavery was sounded. The old Saxon spirit, so long dormant and forbearing under insult and persecution when committed within the law, could not brook this wilful outrage, and it needed but this spark to arouse its fury.

The Latin races claim that their founders were nursed by a wolf. The Saxons have a higher origin. Their founder was nursed by a polar bear. Deep in the nature of this race is found that untamable ferocity, which fears nothing, but can endure everything.

It was no Saxon sculptor who chiseled Prometheus writhing in torture, while the vulture fed upon his vitals. A Latin but not a Saxon could make a Laocoön showing pitiable contortions of

feature and of limb, in the embrace of the serpents. A Saxon in both cases, would have shown a calm and defiant endurance, affording neither comfort nor exultation to the tormentor.

This sublime endurance, this proud defiance, this unvarying courage, all based on a sort of savage ferocity, give assurance that the Saxons will make law and language for the world.

These qualities may be usually concealed under the various coverings of all the Christian amenities. We may appear to be perfect examples of amiable submission, and of Christian humility. We may be sympathetic or even philanthropic; but under all this gentle and genial exterior, there slumbers the grizzly ferocity. It is in every Saxon breast. The old blind poet of England knew all this, when he made the hero of *Paradise Lost*—

“With courage never to submit or yield,  
And what is more not to be overcome.”

A hundred baptisms cannot drown it; a thousand sacraments cannot eliminate it. It was with Cromwell and his Ironsides. Wellington felt it as he stood under the elm at Waterloo and received unmoved the repeated charges of Ney and the Imperial Guard. In peace and in war, this quality is found wherever there is Saxon blood. Hampden and Sydney and Gordon and millions of others have illustrated it. It fills histories. It makes libraries. It remodels nations. It will govern the world.

In 1856 this ferocious quality was fully aroused in the Northern States. We had long endured, with calmness and patience, the aggressions of the Slave Power when made according to law. But these later aggressions against all law, we would not endure. The North became a unit against slavery in Kansas. The North triumphed and Slavery was destroyed.

One other matter and I will close.

In 1879 the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the founding of Lawrence, Kansas, was celebrated by a reunion of the early settlers and others connected with the first Kansas movement. The occasion was one of great interest, and naturally many

recollections and reminiscences were exchanged, some of which found their way into newspapers. The press of the country reviewed the great struggle which saved Kansas for freedom, and awarded due credit to the Emigrant Aid Company as the prime force in that movement. This brought out the following from a "Radical Abolitionist," which appeared in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of September 9th, 1879 :

*"To the Editor of the Boston Daily Advertiser :*

"Will you allow one who was not unfamiliar with the early Kansas emigration to criticise your two valuable editorials on that subject as being written too exclusively from the point of view of the 'Emigrant Aid Society.'"

"No one can deny the important influence exerted by that association, though it always seemed to me that its 'organized emigration' in a strict sense, was a failure, as must be all attempts to control from a distance the settlement of a new community. Its associated emigrants were apt to separate on reaching Kansas.

"When its saw-mills broke down there had to be negotiations across half the continent before they could be repaired; and meanwhile private enterprise had perhaps set up a better saw-mill not far off.

"What the 'Society' really did was to advertise Kansas, and to direct thither a really superior class of settlers. This was a very important first step. But these early settlers were, like most Northern men at that period, men of peace. When civil war came, new leaders had to come to the front, and new instrumentalities proved necessary. The real crisis of Kansas was in 1856, after your brief record terminates. That year brought a state of things in which the 'Emigrant Aid Society' was practically paralyzed, and it was necessary to form new organizations which had no objection to buying Sharp's rifles. The formation of these 'Kansas Committees' in the free states, and the leadership of Brown, Lane and Montgomery within the territory, were what finally saved Kansas to freedom.

"But for these influences the Missourian invasion would have swept away every trace of the 'Emigrant Aid Society' and its work.

"My criticism of your series of articles is, therefore, that they stop where the real Kansas trouble began.

"CAMBRIDGE.

"T. W. H."

The author of the above is said to be a writer of "Pure English," but there is one thing about this production purer than its English, and that is, its nonsense. The qualities of a

“professional novelist” are not quite submerged in the amateur historian, and the above induces the belief that its author would make Charles Lee the hero of the battle of Monmouth. Should he ever enlarge the sphere of his labors so as to include the writing of sacred history, we shall probably learn that Barabbas and the two thieves were the founders of the Christian religion.

As for Brown, Lane and Montgomery, we will leave them where Professor Spring, in his History of Kansas, leaves them ; and posterity will find them there in all future time.

In regard to the “New Organizations,” and “Kansas Committees,” it probably did not occur to “T. W. H.” that there would have been no occasion for such bodies had it not been for the foundation laid by the Emigrant Aid Company. They sustained the same relation to that body as the branches of a tree do to its trunk and roots. If it was his purpose to rob those connected with the Emigrant Aid Company of their just credit by giving the impression that they were not concerned in the later organizations which he claims saved Kansas, the following from the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of July 17, 1856, will show how trustworthy are his premises :

[Leading Editorial.]

#### “THE SYSTEMATIC RELIEF OF KANSAS.

“The arrangements made last week at the national convention at Buffalo, of the friends of Kansas, for giving system to the general desire of the northern states to assist the free men of Kansas, are such as promise an immediate concentration of action and seem to us to evince great practical wisdom.

“For this purpose the convention named the national executive committee, having a quorum of its members in the city of Chicago, to act as a disbursing committee of the funds collected in the different parts of the country for the benefit of Kansas settlers and emigrants.

“For the object, equally important, of securing a universal contribution to these funds, the convention adopted a measure which also has our decided approval. On motion of Mr. Gerrit Smith, Mr. Eli Thayer of this state, was appointed a committee of one to take charge of the systematic organization of all the states friendly to Kansas, for her relief. We believe the convention was wise in making this com-

mittee consist of one person. We believe it particularly fortunate in appointing Mr. Thayer to a duty which he can discharge so efficiently. The service which he has rendered to Kansas, first by creating the Emigrant Aid Company, in the face of great depression, and next, by constant public and private appeals in behalf of Kansas, is well understood in New England and New York city. The work now entrusted to him is very clearly the work for one man and not for many.

“We are glad to be able to announce this morning, that Mr. Thayer has already entered upon his work, with the promptness which the occasion demands.

“He has perfected a plan which may carry the cause of Kansas to every hearth-stone in the free states.

“It proposes that there shall be formed two classes of Kansas Committees; a state committee for every state, and a county committee for every county. Some of these committees already exist. Each county committee should then appoint a town agent for every town in the county, with authority to appoint a solicitor (male or female) for every school district in the town. These district solicitors apply to every man, woman and child, if possible, in their respective districts; and make returns of their collections, with a duplicate of the subscription books, to the town agent. By applying to this agent, any subscriber can ascertain whether his subscription has been duly forwarded. The town agents make returns to the treasurer of the County Committee, who makes regular returns to the treasurer of the State Committee, who in turn remits to the National Committee.

“In this way every cent contributed can be traced from the hand of the donor to the treasury of the General Committee, without any charge or expenses. And by this plan the General Committee deals only with State Committees, these with County Committees, and these only with school districts, and they only with individuals.

“If this plan were faithfully carried out, we should have three or four millions of subscribers as the result, with scarcely any expense for agencies.

“We publish these details, *in extenso*, thus, in the hope that they may be at once copied through the country, and that the different arrangements may be put at once in motion. We hope to announce soon, that a regular series of remittances to the Chicago National Committee has begun.

“We observed in our report of the Buffalo Convention, that a member of that convention expressed the feeling that Mr. Thayer's connection with the Emigrant Aid Company would make his appointment unpopular with the country. We confess our surprise at this suggestion. We believe that the unanimous feeling of the free states of this Union



towards that company, of which he is the founder, is one of profound gratitude for its efforts at a time when every one beside was in despair as to the fate of Kansas.

“The Convention at Buffalo would never have existed, had not that company acted when it did. There would have been no free state party in Kansas without it. There may be many men there from the free states who did not go under its auspices, but there are very few who did not go influenced by the assurance that the company gave, that Kansas should be free.

“We can understand why President Pierce and Dr. Stringfellow denounced it; but we do not see why the unpopularity of its founder *with them* should act in the Buffalo Convention.

“Mr. Thayer defended the company with spirit before the Convention, and the Convention showed no fear of its unpopularity. He referred to the enthusiastic praise it has received abroad and at home. Styled by the *London Times* ‘The greatest American movement of this age,’ it has been welcomed here by our ablest statesmen, scholars and business men.

“After his speech no sort of opposition was made to his appointment; and the Convention commissioned him to the work we have described.”

This Buffalo Convention was composed of delegates from the Kansas Leagues throughout the North and East. These Leagues were formed entirely through the influence of the Emigrant Aid Company. About five hundred representatives attended the convention. The delegates from Worcester were Dwight Foster, George F. Hoar and Eli Thayer.

As for “Sharpe’s rifles,” I know many went along with the emigrants sent by the Company, and these men knew how to use them when the emergency demanded, as those familiar with Kansas history well know. No organization *openly* provided such implements at first, but they generally formed a part of the equipment of our colonies. The directors furnished them on their individual responsibility. Mr. Lawrence and others of the Company provided a large quantity of arms and ammunition and sent them to Kansas in 1855.\* I, myself, bought two cases of rifles of Waters & Co., in the spring of 1855, months

\* See Transactions Kansas Historical Society, Vols. I. and II., pp. 221-224.

before "T. W. H.'s" "Later organizations" were thought of. \* These went to Kansas.

The complaint of the Abolitionists themselves, early in 1855, that we were ready to repel force by force, is a sufficient refutation of the insinuation that the early emigrants would not fight. But they did not believe in shedding blood wantonly. Dr. Robinson's firm and decided policy, and the fact that the settlers were well armed with *Sharpe's rifles* and ready to use them, caused the retreat of the Missourians from Lawrence in December, 1855. Probably "T. W. H." did not know of these facts.

Again, I would ask "T. W. H." if it is reasonable for him to maintain, that private enterprise would be better provided with tools and materials to repair broken-down saw-mills, than a well-organized corporation with managers who took into consideration all the wants, needs and circumstances of the undertaking?

Professor Spring in his History of Kansas, says : (page 32)

"The work of the Boston organization cannot be adequately exhibited by arithmetical computations. A vital, capital part of it lay in spheres where mathematics are ineffectual—lay in its alighting upon a feasible method, which was copied far and wide, of dealing with a grave political emergency, and in the backing of social and monetary prestige that it secured for the unknown pioneers at the front."

The work of saving Kansas, was done before the eyes of the whole world. We said we would do it, and stop the making of Slave States. We also laid down our methods; we went on just as we had promised and used the methods proposed, and accomplished the results aimed at, without the help of politicians, and in spite of the active hostility of the abolitionists.

No man, unless he is ignorant of the facts in the Kansas struggle, or is completely blinded by malice or envy, will ever attempt to defraud the Emigrant Aid Company of the glory of having saved Kansas, by defeating the Slave Power, in a great and decisive contest.

\* During the Kansas troubles I expended of my own money \$4,500 for the purchase of rifles and cannon.

The results of the Kansas contest may be briefly summarized :

1. It stopped the making of Slave States.
2. It made the Republican Party.
3. It nearly elected Fremont and *did* elect Lincoln.
4. It united and solidified the Northern states against slavery, and was a necessary training, to enable them to subdue the Rebellion. \*
5. It drove the slave-holders, through desperation, into secession.
6. It has given us a harmonious and enduring Union.
7. It has emancipated the white race of the South, as well as the negroes, from the evils of Slavery.
8. It is even now regenerating the South.

In 1854, there floated, in careless security, the staunch old battle-ship SLAVERY. She was then undisputed mistress of all American waters. For more than thirty years, she had been victorious in every contest. She had seen the power of her enemies constantly diminishing, while her own had been constantly increasing. At this time, from the top of her tallest mast, was displayed the broad pennant of the Commodore—from the other masts floated other pennants and streamers bearing the legends of her many victories. On one was the inscription

\* The wonderful increase of the Anti-Slavery vote in '55 and '56 was brought about by the illegal assaults of the Slave power upon the citizens of Kansas. The figures in New England and New York from 1848 to 1856 are here given. It will be seen that the fall elections of 1854 were little influenced by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

	NEW ENGLAND.			NEW YORK.		
1848	.	.	72,368	.	.	120,479
1849	.	.	79,454	.	.	1,311
1850	.	.	42,270	.	.	3,410
1851	.	.	43,401	.	.	000
1852	.	.	57,143	.	.	25,359
1853	.	.	63,668	.	.	000
	(Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, a <i>Lawful</i> act.)					
1854	.	.	79,632	.	.	000
	(After <i>Unlawful</i> aggression in Kansas.)					
1855	.	.	<b>184,850</b>	.	.	<b>136,698</b>
1856	.	.	<b>307,417</b>	.	.	<b>276,004</b>

“THE ADMISSION OF TEXAS;” on another, “THE FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL:” there “THE DRED SCOTT DECISION;” while here was haughtily displayed, the record of her latest triumph “THE REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.” Her officers, in complacent mood, were proudly pacing her decks, recounting the unvarying success of the past, and laying plans for new triumphs in the future:—Cuba to be acquired; Central America and Mexico to be secured; and all to be devoted to the building up of a colossal slave empire.

While in this blissful security, in this paradise of memory and hope, a billow from Boston harbor struck her side. It was not a heavy wave, but it made the old ship tremble and aroused the attention of officers and crew. All hands on board soon had enough to do. Billow after billow came.

For three whole years these bounding billows came with increasing strength and most destructive force, while the brave old ship pitched and groaned and quivered more and more with each successive shock. Her joints were loosened and the waters rushed in. Her officers were utterly disheartened and ran her for safety upon the shoals of Secession. At length the dark waves of the Rebellion swept her fragments away, and not one vestige was left in 1865, of the famous craft, which was queen of all American waters in 1854.

That staunch old battle-ship was the hideous “BLACK POWER” which had ruled the United States with despotic sway, for more than thirty years. The billows which struck her, were the self-sacrificing organized colonies of sturdy Northern Yeomen, who had determined that Slavery should be no more. These were the billows that destroyed the old ship.

But some say it was not the billows at all, but the foam on their crests that made the wreck. Some say it was not the thousands upon thousands of brave patriotic Union-loving citizens, organized for this very work, and risking their all for Freedom, that brought this speedy end to Slavery, but that it was three or four adventurers and sensationalists—all haters of the Union and friends of anarchy—that achieved this great victory. Let the country judge upon the evidence of the facts.

Regular meeting, Tuesday evening, April 6th.

Present: Messrs. Crane, Dickinson, Hubbard, J. A. Smith, Harrington, Maynard, Barrows, Taft, J. A. Howland, Abbot, Estey, Wall and Brooks, members; and Joseph Lovell and Hon. C. M. Howe, visitors.—15.

Mr. M. A. Maynard, of Worcester, was admitted an active member, and Mr. George Tolman, of Concord, was elected a corresponding member.

The Librarian reported 109 contributions for the month. Mr. Joseph A. Howland was then introduced, and read an exceedingly interesting paper, on the Amistad Captives. The subject of the paper was suggested to the writer by the gun from this slave schooner which was presented to the Society by Hon. Charles Adams, Jr., of North Brookfield, last September.

## THE AMISTAD CAPTIVES.

BY JOSEPH A. HOWLAND.

The presentation to our Society, by Hon. Charles Adams, in September last, of a gun that came from the equipment of the Slave Ship Amistad, found in Long Island Sound in the summer of 1839, not quite fifty years ago, recalls to the memory of some of your members who are not yet very antiquated, the history of that famous case. That case that in its long, active contest for settlement on the principles of law and humanity, by the friends of freedom, against the strongly-entrenched slave power of the country, supported as it was by the full strength and active influence of the executive officers of the Federal Government, and urged on by the entire press of the Slave States and the pro-slavery press of the Free States,

comprising nearly the whole of the Northern press, at last achieved its triumphant result in the freedom of these captives, and thus broke one, and that, too, nearly the first broken link in the chain that held so many millions in bondage as chattel slaves in our land; a nation that long years before had announced the great and sublime truth, that all men are created equal and endowed with the inalienable right to liberty. And yet the Slave power held the entire governmental machinery of the nation, and the nation as well, in bondage to its great predominating force. Many of our members remember with distinctness the general features of the domination of the Slave interest over all the political and governmental relations of the nation, and of the great Anti-Slavery crusade, continued through a generation, and culminating at last, through the insane madness of the Slave-holders themselves, in the War of the Rebellion;—a war of more gigantic proportions and far-reaching effects than any the world ever saw; a war that utterly destroyed the very institution they sought by it to save and make permanent. Still, our younger members, hardly more than recollecting the war, are not personally cognizant of the great historic facts that led up to it, and can never have a full realization of the fierce moral struggle that characterized the Anti-Slavery warfare that preceded it, as those do who lived through those days and participated in the conflict.

In June, 1839, a cargo of native African captives, kidnapped two months before from the Mendi Country, east of Sierra Leone and Liberia, in Western Africa, were landed from a Portuguese slave ship near Havana, Cuba, in contravention of the laws of Spain, to which Cuba was subject; Spain having with other civilized nations by solemn enactment declared the slave-trade piracy. One Don Jose Ruiz, bought forty-nine of these captives, youths and men, and Don Pedro Montez bought four, three girls and one boy, and chartered a Baltimore clipper sailing under Spanish colors, named most inappropriately the *Amistad*, being Spanish for friendship, owned by Don Raymon Ferrer, who was also master, with a crew of two whites and one slave, who was cook, and another, Antonio, was cabin boy. The vessel

sailed from Havana June 28th, 1839, with Ruiz and Montez and their purchases for Guanaja, Porto Principe, about one hundred leagues distant, where they had their plantations, carrying also a general cargo of merchandise for the market, valued with the vessel at some \$40,000, and under a fraudulent license from the local government to ship these native Africans as lawful slaves.

Soon after sailing, according to some of the official statements, on the night of June 29 and 30, the second day out; by others when four days out, and by still others five days, the negroes under the lead of one of their number, Cinquez, afterwards christian-named Joseph, rose on the captain and crew, and in the fight for their liberty and the mastery, the captain and cook were killed and one of their own men, and by one account both the sailors; but another account states that they escaped in the boat; the cabin boy and both the slave-holders were held as captives. Becoming victors, in the wild excitement of freedom, they plundered the cargo, and poorly fed before, gorged themselves with rich food and liquor till many were made sick, and within a short time ten died in consequence of these excesses.

Cinquez, the leader, was a young man of about twenty-six years, tall, strong, courageous, and yet without malice or viciousness,—a fine specimen of humanity—a born leader and commander—and keeping his comrades as well in hand as possible, ordered the Spaniards, whose lives he had spared for this purpose, to steer the vessel for his native land, which under his careful watch and knowledge of direction from the sun's position, they were obliged to do by day; but in the night they changed the course to west and north as much as possible, till on August 15th, after a voyage of seven weeks, which ordinarily ought not to take as many days, they made land off Montauk point, the easterly end of Long Island, with their vessel covered with barnacles and the rigging in tatters, typical of the fabled "Flying Dutchman." Casting anchor, some of them went on shore for water and fresh provisions, paying liberally for everything in Spanish doubloons, being able to communicate only by signs.

The inhabitants were much alarmed by the appearance of this ship-load of wild barbarians, half-naked and in some part grotesquely clad with the varied plunder of the dry goods of the cargo. They cruised about this locality for more than a week, often going on shore for supplies. The people on shore sent word to the United States Brig, Washington, Lieut. Gedney, engaged near in some nautical surveys, who came and taking possession of the vessel and wanderers, took them into New London harbor, August 26th, 1839.

And here at the outset of legal procedure, let us review the simple facts as to the real status of the whole matter. These Africans were free men, captured and stolen from their native land by slave-traders, in the face of civilized law which declared the whole business piracy. Being sold immediately on landing in Cuba to other slave dealers, as slaves, did not make them so; they were still free men. Rising in insurrection against their piratical holders, capturing the vessel and cargo, and regaining their liberty, was an act in accordance with the law of nature, and should be recognized as in accord with the law of Nations, as perfectly legal as it was justifiable; and that they were now free, and that the vessel and cargo was their lawful property as a "Prize," captured from pirates; and their prisoners should have been dealt with by law as pirates. Instead of which, the whole relation was reversed, and on complaint of Ruiz and Montez a warrant was issued from the United States District Court of Connecticut, and the Africans were placed in jail on the charge of murder. These men also filed a claim for the vessel and cargo as their property, as well as for the Africans as their slaves. A claim was filed a few months later for the cargo by some merchants of Cuba, and for the vessel by the representatives of the estate of the late master and owner, Raymon Ferrer. Lieuts. Gedney and Meade of the Brig Washington, who took them, filed claims for salvage against the vessel, cargo and the Africans, whom they designated as slaves; and Capt. Green and his neighbors, who first noticed their arrival off their shore, also filed a claim for salvage, as having aided them and directed the Government officers to their arrest.



The Spanish Minister at New York, Don A. Calderon De La Barca, made early demand for the vessel and cargo, to be delivered to the Spanish Government for their owners, and that the negroes should be sent to Havana for trial and punishment by Spanish law, asserting that "if they were tried and executed in Connecticut, the moral effect on the slaves of Cuba would not be as salutary as if they were executed as pirates and assassins there." He also demanded that the owners of the vessel and the negroes should be indemnified for any injury that might accrue to them through the delay caused by the intervention of the authorities of Connecticut. Mr. W. S. Holabird, the United States District Attorney for this District, wrote in haste to the United States Secretary of State, Mr. John Forsyth, affirming that these negroes could not be tried properly in our courts for murder, and asked if our treaties with Spain would not require us to deliver them up to the representative of that Government, and if so, if it should not be done before our Court sits, adding that if no other disposition was made of them, he supposed he would be obliged to bring them to trial at the approaching term of the Court, thus showing an eager haste to suggest to the executive officers of the Government, that they should take these men from the jurisdiction of the Courts and deliver them up to certain death without trial or judicial investigation.

The Secretary of State, well knowing there was no law or authority for this, and that the Constitution gave the President no power to override the criminal processes of the Courts, still instructed this District Attorney "to take care that no proceedings of your Court or any other judicial tribunal, place the vessel, cargo or slaves beyond the control of the Federal Executive."

The friends of freedom were also on the alert for the protection of these victims of fraud and wrong, and selected a committee, consisting of Revs. S. S. Joscelyn and Joshua Leavitt, and Lewis Tappan, Esq., to raise funds and manage and conduct their legal defence, and secured able counsel in the persons of Seth P. Staples and Theodore Sedgwick, Jr., Esqs. These gentlemen addressed a long letter on the 13th of September, 1839,

to the President of the United States, Martin Van Buren, remonstrating against the position assumed by the Secretary of State in his instructions to the District Attorney, and asking "that the case should not be decided in the recesses of the cabinet, where these unfriended men can have no counsel and can produce no proofs; but in the halls of justice with the safeguards she throws around the unfriended and oppressed."

The Attorney General of the United States, Felix Grundy, in a long legal opinion following this appeal for the freedom of these men, asserted that "he could see no legal principle upon which the Government would be justified in going into an investigation for the purpose of ascertaining the facts set forth in the papers clearing the vessel from one Spanish port to another, as evidence whether or not these negroes were slaves." Thus the chief law officer of the United States Government, decided against freedom and in favor of slavery on the *prima facie* evidence of these illegal and fraudulent documents, that these men were slaves. He further said that "these negroes being charged with crime against Spanish law, they should be delivered to the Spanish Government for punishment, and that it would be proper for the President to order the United States Marshal to deliver them over to the order of the Spanish Minister."

The counsel of the prisoners brought them by writ of habeas corpus, before Judge Smith Thompson of the United States Circuit Court, at Hartford, September 18, 1839, on the claim, that they were free men, that the District Court had no proper jurisdiction over them, and that they should be discharged. The matter was argued at length through most of three days, by Counsel Sedgwick and Staples, and R. S. Baldwin, Esq., son of Judge Baldwin, for the prisoners; and District Attorney Holabird assisted by R. I. Ingersoll and William Hungerford, against them. On the second day the Court ruled that they could not be held for murder, and instructing the Grand Jury, who were investigating the facts, that they should find no bill, dismissed them. On the 23d of Sept., the Court ruled that the prisoners were properly in the jurisdiction of the District Court, but

although they could not be held on the charge of murder, still they must be held to answer the claims of Ruiz and Montez, and the salvage claims of Lieut. Gedney and others duly filed against them in the Court, and remanded them to the custody of the U. S. Marshal, ordering him to provide amply for their comfort at his discretion, at the expense of the government. The friends sought to have them released on bail, but as this was found to require an appraisement of the prisoners, as to their value as property, it could not be consented to, and they remained in custody.

Up to this time the only medium of communication had with them was by signs, and the slightly acquired acquaintance with their dialect of the boy Antonio, who in turn, had only learned the Spanish language, and an interpreter was constantly needed to render his talk into English. In October, about two weeks after this hearing, a negro, James Covey, a native of the Mendi Country and familiar with its dialects, who had been captured from a slave ship by a British cruiser some five or six years before, and remaining with the English in their service as a sailor, had acquired their language, was found on the British Brig of War, Buzzard, Capt. Fitzgérald, in New York harbor, and was immediately employed to go to New Haven and remain with these men as interpreter. Upon his appearance there and their hearing from him the sound of their native tongue, they were wild with delight, and leaving their breakfast,—just ready—untasted, they rushed around him, embracing him, shouting, weeping and singing.

From this time forth regular instruction was given them, Mr. George E. Day, a professor at the Deaf and Dumb Institute, at Hartford, being employed as teacher. Their language was studied and reduced to writing, and by systematic labor, they were taught to read and write. and instructed in morals and our religion; and an unsuccessful appeal was made to the authorities, to have them removed from jail, and placed in the comfortable care of friends, who could more conveniently provide for their proper clothing, diet and education.

The new Spanish Minister, Chevalier De Argaiz, wrote to the

Secretary of State, Nov. 26, 1839, that he held that the United States Courts had no right to consider the case and the negroes should be delivered up at once to the Cuban authorities as assassins. And complaining of the delay and consequent wrong to his clients, Ruiz and Montez said: "No indemnification can fully compensate for the evils, physical and moral, which the persecutions and vexations occasioned by the fanaticism of these meddlers may cause to honorable men." And in a later communication the Minister boldly asked the President to order a vessel to transport the negroes to Cuba immediately on the decision of the Court, assuming that the Court would order such delivery. And President Van Buren, on the same assumption, seemed eager to comply with his request, and ordered the United States Schooner "Grampus," Lieut. Paine, to lie at New Haven at the sitting of the Court, January, 1840, "to receive the negroes from the custody of the U. S. Marshal, as soon as their delivery shall be ordered by the Court, and convey them to Cuba," giving instructions to the officers "that these orders were not to be communicated to anyone." Lieuts. Gedney and Meade, who made the original arrest, were ordered to join the vessel and go with it to Cuba as witnesses, at the government expense. And the District Attorney was "directed to see that the orders were executed promptly, before the pretended friends could have time to interpose an appeal, and you are not to take it for granted that an appeal will be taken. But, if the Court decides in their favor, you *are at once* to take out an appeal." The Spanish Minister was notified of these measures and advised, "that as these negroes have asserted before our Court that they are not slaves, they should have the opportunity to prove this allegation before the tribunals of Cuba, by whose laws alone this case can be legally decided."

The District Court having adjourned from Nov. 19th on account of the inability of the libellant's counsel to attend, opened its session at New Haven, Jan. 7, 1840, with Judge Andrew T. Judson on the bench. The case was before the Court five days and was argued ably and at length during three days by the counsel for the prisoners; and District Attorney

Holabird with the assistance of R. I. Ingersoll, a Democratic politician, especially employed and paid by the Government, at Holabird's request, in behalf of the claim of the Spanish Minister; and W. F. Brainard and Gen. Isham, counsel for Lieut. Gedney and associates; Gov. Ellsworth for Capt. Green; and W. P. Cleveland, Jr. for the Cuban merchants. David Paul Brown, Esq., the distinguished advocate of Philadelphia, came on voluntarily to tender his services freely for the prisoners, if a jury trial was to be had. The Court decision, rendered Jan. 13th, 1840, rejected all claims of salvage on the negroes, but allowed it on the vessel and cargo for one-third of its appraised value, to Lieut. Gedney and the officers and crew of the Brig Washington; and rejected all other claims for salvage. The claim of the representatives of Capt. Ferrer to the vessel and the boy Antonio was allowed. The claims of Ruiz and Montez to the negroes as slaves, was rejected, their shipping papers were declared "fraudulent and spurious," and it was asserted that the negroes were "never slaves, but native Africans, illegally imported, who should be set free and sent back to their native land." The claim of the Spanish Minister, that they be sent to Cuba for trial, was rejected, and the captives were ordered to be delivered to the President to be transported to Africa and there delivered to an agent appointed to receive them and conduct them to their homes. The vessel and cargo and the slave boy Antonio to be delivered to the Spanish authorities for their respective owners, subject to the salvage decreed.

From this decree of freedom, the District Attorney, in compliance with his instructions, took an appeal in behalf of slavery to the Circuit Court, to be held in April, as to the liberty of the negroes. The owners of the cargo, three Cuban merchants, took an appeal against the salvage on their goods. The appeal was heard before the Circuit Court in April. Judges Thompson and Judson on the bench. Ingersoll and Holabird appearing for the claimants appealing, and Baldwin and Staples for the negroes. The court, on the 29th of April, fully confirmed the decree of the District Court; and again the Government, through its instructed officials, appealed from the decree of freedom, and

in behalf of the slave power, to the Supreme Court of the United States, at its January term of 1841, in Washington.

This interesting case, that excited so great attention throughout this country, was meanwhile brought to the notice of the British Government, which intervened in behalf of freedom by addressing a note to the Spanish Government through its Minister at Madrid, under date of Jan. 5, 1840, asking, that in case the captives were surrendered to Cuba by the United States Government, that strict orders be issued without delay to the Governor of Cuba "to put them at once in possession of the liberty of which they were deprived, and to the recovery of which they have an inalienable right," and that "the laws against the slave trade be enforced against Ruiz and Montez for their punishment." And on the 20th of January, 1840, the British Government through its resident minister at Washington, Mr. Fox, addressed a long letter to our Government, reviewing the facts and history of the case, and setting forth the treaty stipulations and obligations bearing upon it, and expressed "the hope that the President will find himself empowered to take such measures in behalf of the aforesaid Africans, as will secure to them the possession of that liberty, to which, without doubt, they are by law entitled." The Secretary of State, Mr. Forsyth, in reply said, that he "viewed the letter as an evidence of the benevolence of Her Majesty's Government, under which aspect alone could it be entertained by the Government of the United States," and went on to say that "the matter is in the hands of the courts, where the Executive has neither the power nor the disposition to control their proceedings when acting within their proper jurisdiction." And farther said that "the questions arising in the case are proper for the Spanish Government to adjudicate upon, when these negroes are remanded to Cuba, if the Court should decide to give them up on demand of the Spanish Minister."

Behold the contrast! The officials of the British Government "the seat of tyranny and wrong," as we have been wont to call it, boldly asserting the freedom of these men and laboring to secure it, against the official acts of the executive ministers of

the United States, "the home of the free and the refuge of the oppressed and down-trodden," who were with all their influence and power, trying to enforce the claim, that these men were slaves, and as such should be delivered to the Cuban authorities on the demand of the Spanish Minister, who affirmed that there they would be tried and executed as assassins. And to this end the executive officers sought to control the officers of the law, directing them to be on the alert to evade the protections of freedom which the friends of these captives might bring to bear, and quick to take advantage of every possible opportunity to place them out of their reach.

The case was reached in the Supreme Court at Washington, on Saturday, the 20th of February, 1841, and argued during six days by Henry D. Gilpin, Attorney General of the United States, and his assistants, in behalf of the slave claimants; and R. S. Baldwin, with the venerable John Quincy Adams, then in his 74th year, as senior counsel for the prisoners, acting without fee, in splendid contrast with Daniel Webster, who refused to act as counsel for the negroes.

Mr. Adams addressed the Court on the 24th day of February, in an argument of three and a half hours' duration, concluding it on an adjourned day, March 1. And this was one of the most masterly forensic efforts of his long public life and labors for the cause of freedom. After a clear, exhaustive legal review of all the aspects and history of the case, he held up to view, in terms of scathing denunciation, the degrading servility of the President and his cabinet, in their eager haste to set aside all the Constitutional, Statutory and Treaty provisions in behalf of personal liberty, to subserve the claims of these piratical slave traders. On the ninth of March, 1841, Mr. Justice Joseph Story delivered the judgment of the Court, reviewing at length the history of the case, holding that "the Africans were kidnapped and unlawfully transported to Cuba; that they were purchased by Ruiz and Montez with the knowledge that they were then free; that they did not become pirates and robbers in rising on their keepers and taking possession of the vessel and attempting to regain their native country; there was nothing to justify

their surrender to Spain, and that the U. S. Government was bound to respect their rights as much as those of Spaniards ; ” and affirming in full the decree of the lower Court, excepting as to the delivery to the President to be sent back, which was reversed, “ and the said negroes be declared free and dismissed from custody of the Court and go without day.” Associate Justice Henry Baldwin alone appearing to dissent.

And here after a year and a half of litigation in the Courts, contested by the ablest counsel on both sides, was the legal status of these captives concluded, and on the side of justice and right. In spite of all the influence and power of politicians and lawyers, the judicial power of the Government, true to the law and justice it was sworn to uphold, held the scales with even balance, blind to the seductions of high authorities in politics, and not allowing the heavy weight of executive magnates to swerve the balance against freedom and right. And this was all the more remarkable from the fact that the first decisions in the case by the Judge of the District Court of Connecticut, which decisions held, so far as the freedom of the men was involved, through all the proceedings to the end, were made by Andrew T. Judson of Canterbury, Connecticut, who but a few years before had been the most active agent in the persecution and breaking up by mob violence, and the imprisonment of its teacher, Prudence Crandall, of a private school for colored girls in his own town ; and owed his appointment to the office of Judge of the District Court, to his active zeal in this case, with his general “ offensive partisanship ” as a Democratic politician. Another prominent feature in the case, is the fact that Roger B. Taney was at this trial, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and did not dissent from the decision rendered, and yet he was some years later the author of the infamous Dred Scott decision, in which it was asserted that “ negroes had no rights which white men were bound to respect.”

And finally, all the officials and active agents against the freedom of these negroes were active members of the so-called Democratic party, a party that had always allied itself with the slave power, and owes its ability to exist and enjoy its supremacy to-



day, to the fact of its deliberate and systematic suppression of the dearest rights of American citizenship to the toiling freedmen of the Southern States.

The captives were now free! Thirty-six alone survived of the fifty-three originally shipped on board the *Amistad*. The jailer in charge at New Haven, at once, on March 12th, turned them out of doors in inclement weather, without waiting for their friends to make provision for receiving them, excepting the girls that he had taken into his own household, and refused to let go, on the ground that they elected to continue to live with him, and it was necessary to take them from him by writ of habeas corpus, in order to ascertain if they desired to cast their lot with the others, which they did. The boy Antonio escaped, and could not be delivered to his former masters' representatives.

Arrangements were soon made to settle them all for a few months at Farmington, Conn., for further education and improvement. A movement was also made to raise the necessary means to return them to their native land and establish a Missionary Station there. The U. S. Government was asked in vain to aid the enterprise. Meetings were held in different cities, at which some of the negroes attended and spoke, much interest was excited and sufficient funds were raised for the work,

The American Board of Missions declined to take them in its charge, stating that "the taking them about for a show had disqualified them for Christian Missionaries;" although it is well known that this Board usually takes its proposed missionaries about to attend meetings to excite interest in their work.

An organization was formed to take them in charge, which was soon after merged into the American Missionary Association; and after farewell meetings at Farmington, New York, Boston and Providence, they finally sailed on the 29th of November, 1841, on board the *Barque "Gentleman,"* Captain Morris, for Sierra Leone, a British settlement of Freedmen on the west coast of Africa, on the route to their native province of Mendi; the British Government guaranteeing them protection

and admitting all their goods and utensils free of duty. There sailed with them as teachers and missionaries: Rev. William Raymond and wife, Rev. Mr. Steele and Mr. Wilson and wife. They arrived safely on Jan. 15th, 1842, and a permanent mission was established that is to this day one of the most flourishing and hopeful Christian Missions of interior Africa. Of late years this mission is in charge of the United Brethren Mission Society, the American Missionary Association having given up its foreign missions, and devoted itself to the care and missionary instruction of the Freedmen at home, and also of our native Indians.

In 1844, C. J. Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, as Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the U. S. House of Representatives, reported a Bill to pay to these slave traders the sum of \$70,000, as indemnity for their loss, and supported the Bill with a long and elaborate report. This was at once attacked by the noble champion of freedom, Joshua R. Giddings, and its lawless assumptions thoroughly ventilated and exposed, and it failed of its passage. It does not appear that any attempt was made to punish Ruiz and Montez for piracy, though they were both arrested in New York on complaint of assault and battery on Cinquez; one was discharged and the other held for trial, and declining to give bail, lay in jail four months, while all the pro-slavery press cried out against this persecution of these "Spanish gentlemen;" but it does not appear that anything came of the complaint.

And here ends the romantic and really wonderful history of the Amistad Captives, a history full of interest and instruction, and yet of facts that are now obsolete, and that could in these days be hardly possible.

NOTE.—No available information has been found as to the sale of the condemned vessel, its equipment or cargo, except that a decree of sale was made in September, 1840. The whole cargo was claimed by three Cuban merchants, Antonio Tellinacus and Aspe and Laco. Their claim was filed, Jan. 7th, 1840. The vessel was appraised by order of the Court, at \$1,000, and

the cargo at \$4,000. In the inventory appears five muskets at \$1.25 each, of which the gun in our cabinet is probably one.

On motion of the Secretary, a vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Hon. Eli Thayer for his valuable papers on the Kansas Emigrant Aid Company, and copies were requested for publication.

Adjourned.

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Regular meeting, Tuesday Evening, May 4th.

Present: Messrs. E. B. Crane, Rice, Sumner, Meriam, Perkins, Forehand, J. A. Smith, J. C. Crane, C. Jillson, Sawyer, Otis, Harrington, Wood, Estey, Gould, Barrows, G. Maynard, M. A. Maynard, Dodge, J. A. Howland, Dickinson, Abbot, Tucker and Staples, members; and H. R. Cummings, visitor.—25.

Hon. Eli Thayer was elected an honorary member of the Society.

The Librarian reported 173 contributions.

Mr. John C. Crane, of West Millbury, then read an interesting paper upon Asa Waters, 2d, and the Sutton and Millbury Armory.

ASA WATERS, 2D,  
AND THE SUTTON AND MILLBURY ARMORY.

BY JOHN C. CRANE.

Among the family names prominently identified with the prosperity of Sutton and Millbury, will be found that of Waters. The history of these two towns, bears witness to the part that citizens of that name, have taken in the agricultural, manufacturing and social interests therein.

The city of Salem, Mass., is to be credited with sending to this County the first persons bearing that name, and they were descendants of Richard Waters, a gun-maker, who came to Salem from England with Gov. Winthrop, in 1630, ten years after the landing of the Mayflower. Nathaniel, a grandson, was one of the first to colonize in Sutton, he being one of the original proprietors of the township, estimated to contain 30,000 acres. He came to Sutton in 1716, his stay lasting about two years, when he returned to Salem. His two sons, Nathaniel and Jonathan, came to Sutton in 1739, and settled in the part of the town now known as West Millbury.

The business of gun-making seems to have been hereditary in the family and to have been handed down from generation to generation. The war of the Revolution, having broken out, the services of Asa and Andrus, sons of Jonathan, and great-great-grandsons of Richard, were called for by the government. They erected the first gun factory in the County, upon Mill Brook or as it is now known, Singletary Stream, the outlet of Singletary Lake, and this is believed to have been the first one in this country or England using water-power for that purpose. This Asa, who was the father of the subject of this sketch, continued the business of gun-making throughout the Revolutionary War, supplying the patriots of those days with the flint-lock arguments, that helped to achieve American Independence. He also run a large powder mill with water-power, from which he supplied the state colony. This mill with its numerous pes-

tles and mortars, remained a telling memento of the war till within the recollection of some now living. This armory of revolutionary fame, together with the powder mill, stood near where the woolen mills of Crane & Waters now stand in Bramanville. Samples of powder made at this mill, were carried to Boston by Mr. Singletary, in 1779, one year previous to the date on record.

Asa Waters, 2d, the subject of this sketch, was born in Sutton, Mass., November 2d, 1769, and inherited in a remarkable degree the gun-making talents characteristic of the family. In 1808 Congress contracted with him to furnish arms for a period of five years, which contract was renewed for the same term from time to time, during his whole life, the United States government thus compensating him for the great improvements he introduced. In the same year, Mr. Waters, in company with his brother Elijah, built the armory buildings on the Blackstone River, in what is now the center of Millbury. Soon after, Elijah went the way of all the living, and Asa became the sole proprietor. In the last war with England his armory was in full operation, supplying arms to the government. Mr. Waters was destined to be the man to bring about great improvements in the making of guns, one of which was welding the barrels by water power under trip-hammers. Wishing to give as correct a statement as possible of Mr. Waters's inventions, I applied to his son, Col. Asa H. Waters, and he returned to me the following :

“Formerly guns were wrought out in this country and in Europe, almost entirely by hand labor. Even the barrels were welded by three strikers, down to 1817, when Mr. Waters made an invention, by which he brought to the aid of human muscle, a motor of unlimited and inexhaustible strength, namely, WATER POWER. This was its first known application to this purpose, and led the way to an entire revolution in the business of gun making. It was adopted by all the armories in the United States, by many in Europe, and has been in use to this day. The patent is dated Oct. 25, 1817, and his claim to originality *was never disputed*. The trip hammers of Mr. Waters were regulated to strike 400 blows a minute, and were controlled by foot treads. They had concave dies, into which the barrel moulds were placed, and as the hammers rose and fell, were quickly brought into

shape. At that time the only known mode to reduce the barrel from a forged to a finished state, was by grinding before a revolving stone and hand filing. This often made them of unequal thickness around the calibre and liable to explode. To remedy this he invented a lathe to turn them to uniform thickness. It bears date Dec. 19, 1818, and preceded Blanchard's Eccentric Lathe. If not the first, it certainly was one of the first ever made for this purpose. He succeeded in turning it as far as it was round, but to turn their regular shape of the butt baffled all his efforts, as it did those of all the mechanics at Springfield and other armories. It cost a dollar each to reduce them by filing, and Mr. Waters strove long and hard to overcome the difficulty. At last hearing of a budding genius in West Millbury, he sent for him to come to his armory, and see if he could suggest anything. Young Blanchard came, and glancing over the machine quietly suggested a simple but wholly original cam motion, which he thought would relieve the difficulty. Upon being tried, it proved a perfect success, and reduced the expense one-half."

The foregoing statement by Col. Waters may be relied upon as authentic history, and in after years the great inventor declared that it was at this visit to the armory that the idea first flashed into his mind of the Eccentric Lathe. The cam motion was the germ from which the lathe sprung, it involving the same principle. From this has grown by successive improvements, what is now known as the "Uniformity or inter-change system," which has revolutionized the workshops of the world, and proved so useful to mankind, by reducing the price of watches, fire-arms, and in fact everything made by machinery. There is no doubt that the world is largely indebted to Mr. Waters, as an instrument in God's hand, of hastening on the day of the Eccentric Lathe, in thus calling to his aid the services of Thomas Blanchard, for it is quite possible, that had he not been called at this time, his inventive genius might have been turned in another direction. To Mr. Blanchard must be given the credit for the discovery of the idea, and the armory of Mr. Waters as the place where the idea was born. The coming of great events often hinges upon circumstances, which, at the time seem of little account.

During the long years Mr. Waters carried on the business of gun-making, the armory furnished steady employment to large

numbers of people, and many of the oldest citizens of the town now living, laid the foundation of their present fortune in his service. In fact the old armory furnished the business above all others, that gave to the town its early progress and influence among the towns about, and for a long period of time. Mr. Waters having taken into partnership his son, Asa H., the business was carried on by them until 1841, when the death of Asa the elder occurred. After his death, the business was carried on by Asa H. Waters & Co., until the expiration of the contract with the government in 1845, when all the private armories in the United States, including Eli Whitney's and others, were abruptly and unjustly left by the government, to pine away and die. It appears from the records that Mr. Waters was at one time the owner of the extensive water-power at Wilkinsonville. In 1815 he purchased the Dudley farm, which included the water power there, which he afterwards deeded to David Wilkinson of North Providence, R. I., from whom the village of Wilkinsonville received its name. During the time that this property was in the possession of Mr. Waters, the first dam was built, and also three small mills. Mr. Waters was, at the time he built the armory, one of the largest owners of real estate in the Blackstone Valley. He is to be credited with putting to a practical use five different water privileges in the Blackstone Valley. The credit is due to him as being the originator of the Millbury Bank; he was its first president, and much the largest stockholder in town. About the year 1830 he invented a new wheel for propelling steamboats. This was no doubt largely due to his association with Thomas Blanchard, who had invented a stern wheel for the same purpose, which extended steam navigation far up all our large rivers, and up the Missouri 1,400 miles. I have lately had the pleasure of looking over the parchment documents, granting patents to Mr. Waters. They have been carefully preserved, and are imposing in appearance. They bear the great seal of the United States decked with colored ribbons. One is signed by James Munroe, President, John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, and Richard Rush, Attorney General, and another bears the

same signatures, except the name of William Wirt is substituted for that of Richard Rush. Another bears the autographs of Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren.

The old homestead built by him, and now occupied by his son Asa H., is of the Corinthian order in architecture, which was then a novelty in this region, and afforded builders many new designs in house building, mouldings, stucco, winding stairs and other work. The architect was Bryant of Boston. Every part of the work was done by hand in most thorough manner and from best materials. Its broad entry ways, arched halls and winding stair ways, remind the visitor of some old castle of ancient times. This magnificent old structure, is not without its historical associations, its lofty halls having echoed to the voices of Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Levi Lincoln and other distinguished men. On the occasion of a visit of Henry Clay to Massachusetts, the citizens of Millbury formed a cavalcade and received him at the Worcester line, whence he was escorted to the residence of Mr. Waters, who gave a reception to the citizens for an interview with the distinguished visitor. He was given a ride about town to visit its various manufactories, in which as the champion defender of protective duties he manifested deep interest. Returning to the house of Mr. Waters, Col. Shepard, superintendent of the woolen mills, now known as the Cordis cotton mills, in a graceful speech presented to Mr. Clay, an elegant roll of blue broadcloth, to which the orator replied in a happy manner, saying his next suit would show Congress what American manufacturers could do. The mansion was commenced in 1826 and completed in the fall of 1829, being some over three years in building, with an average of ten men employed. On Christmas the completion was celebrated by a thorough house-warming; a general invitation was given, great numbers collected, many being from neighboring towns, the house was illuminated throughout, prayers were offered, hallelujah anthems sung by a large choir, with instruments, and also an original ode composed by the host himself. The house sets back from the street, grand and stately, its broad lawns shaded by noble trees, an ornament to the town. The trees were set



by the hand of the present owner after his return from college. A few years before his death, Mr. Waters conceived the idea of removing to his residence, from the borders of Singletary Lake a magnificent maple that stood upon its southern banks. In the fall, it was dug about, leaving a large amount of earth to freeze to the roots, its main roots were cut, and it was then left until the ice formed upon the lake in winter, when an attempt was made to draw it across the lake, to its destination. Some twenty yoke of oxen were employed for that purpose. When nearly across the ice gave away, and the great tree went through, to remain a monument of what could not be done. No lives were lost, either of men or cattle.

A notable event once occurred in connection with this house, which deserves mention, and I will give it in Col. Waters's own words :

“The people of Millbury in 1854, were treated to a rare literary banquet, never to be forgotten. President Sears, then Secretary of Massachusetts Board of Education, came here with the whole corps of professors, then employed by the state, including Agassiz, Guyot, Colburn, Whittaker, Lowell Mason, and some others. And a whole week was devoted to lectures on various literary and scientific subjects. There being at that time no hotel in town deemed suitable for such distinguished guests, I was requested by the citizens to open my house for their accommodation; I readily consented and they made it their headquarters during their stay. My only regret was that they did not stay longer, for I never before enjoyed such a feast of reason and flow of soul, as during the sojourn of these Savans. President Sears on leaving, expressed much gratification for attentions received from hostess, host, and citizens generally.”

Mr. Waters's physique, as described to me, was medium height, thick-set, and athletic, blonde complexion, with blue eyes, average weight, 180 lbs. He died in 1841, on Christmas eve, a day he always cherished, and he seemed perfectly willing to go; his last words were, “I am only going from this room to one above.” I am aware of the tendency of biographical writers to present the best side of the subjects of their sketches. Mr. Waters was human and no doubt had his faults like other men,

who now live, with those who have passed away ; but as far as I have been able to learn, I find his record to be unusually clean, the petty jealousies and prejudices, if any existed, have all passed away. The man is remembered for what he was, and what he did. Asa Waters was a man towering high among the men of his time. Of good lineage, aristocratic by nature, having no sympathy with the shoddy counterfeit of these later times, he respected a man for what he was, whether rich or poor. He was eminently qualified to be a leader among men of his day alike, in business or social circles around, but he eschewed politics. The part he bore in those circles is found in the written and unwritten history of those days. His was the record of a busy life, filled and rounded out by good deeds, and a life well lived, useful in his day and generation, leaving behind him a record that the young should strive to equal, and which stands to-day, a monument, prouder, loftier, and more enduring, than the marble pile that crumbling stands to view.

Mr. Joseph A. Howland presented the Record Book of the Worcester County South Division Anti-Slavery Society, to be placed in the archives, and made the following remarks:

This book contains the Records of the "Worcester County (South Division) Anti-Slavery Society." This Society was auxiliary to the "Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society," which, in turn, was auxiliary to the "American Anti-Slavery Society."

Auxiliary State Societies were organized in nearly all the Northern States, and then auxiliary County Societies, and Town Societies auxiliary to these. Worcester being a large county had two County Societies, representing very nearly the Congressional districts, the North Division, and the South Division which included Worcester, Warren, the Brookfields, Spencer, Leicester, Shrewsbury, Westboro', Northboro', Southboro', and all the towns south of these in the county. The first meeting

recorded here, was held in Worcester, February 15th, 1838, and the last meeting January 15th, 1865.

Annual meetings were held in Worcester in the month of December, and the quarterly meetings in the proper months, in the different towns in the division and were pretty regularly kept up for twenty-seven years. The officers chosen at the first meeting were Thomas W. Ward, of Shrewsbury, *President*; John M. Fisk, West Brookfield, Lewis Chapin, Worcester, Moses Buffum, Millville, Rev. David A. Grosvenor, Uxbridge, Elias Forbes, Millbury, Isaac R. Barber, Charlton, and Henry Snow, Shrewsbury, *Vice-Presidents*; Rev. George Allen, Shrewsbury, *Corresponding Secretary*; Edward Earle, Worcester, *Secretary*; Samuel H. Colton, Worcester, *Treasurer*; Samuel D. Torrey, Millbury, *Auditor*; Effingham L. Capron, Uxbridge, Warren Hunt, Douglas, Ichabod Washburn, Worcester, William C. Capron, Uxbridge, Jonathan P. Grosvenor, Paxton, Samuel Waters, Millbury, Otis Adams, Grafton, Rev. Adin Ballou, Mendon, Ebenezer Caldwell, Northbridge, Isaac Stone, Auburn, Thomas H. Rice, Worcester and Rev. Thomas M. Tucker, Oxford, *Counsellors*. The officers chosen at the last annual meeting, January 15th, 1865, were Josiah Henshaw, West Brookfield, *President*; Samuel May, Leicester, Adin Ballou, Milford, Moses Sawin, Southboro', Adaline H. Howland, Worcester, Clark Aldrich, Upton, Moses Buffum, Oxford, Adams Foster, Holden, and Esek Pitts, Millbury, *Vice-Presidents*; Sarah E. Wall, Worcester, *Treasurer*; Alfred Wyman, Worcester, *Auditor*; Joseph A. Howland, Worcester, *Secretary*; Abby Kelley Foster, Sarah F. Earle, Sarah M. Whipple and Isaac Mason, of Worcester, Abijah Allan, Millbury, E. D. Draper, Milford, Maria T. Fairbanks, Millville, Nancy B. Hill, Blackstone, Sylvester C. Fay, Southboro' and William Doane, Charlton, *Executive Committee*. Many others were from time to time elected to the various offices, of whom it is well to mention particularly the following, some of whom are still living: George M. Rice, Worcester, William B. Earle, Leicester, Joseph S. Wall, Worcester, Charles White, Worcester, John O. Burleigh, Oxford, Sarah H. Earle, Worcester, Daniel Chamber-

lain, Westboro', Orra Goodell, Millbury, John H. Crane, Millville, Rev. William S. Haywood, Milford, Lyman Allen, Northboro', Rev. George Trask, Warren, N. G. King, Sutton, Emeline H. Loveland, Worcester, Amos White, Northboro', Henry A. Denny, Leicester, Benjamin P. Rice, Worcester, Francis Wood, Worcester, Rev. Daniel S. Whitney, Southboro', Abram Firth, Leicester, Theron E. Hall, Holden, Martin Stowell, Warren, Rev. George W. Stacy, Milford. Among the many speakers at the various meetings the following were prominent: William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Charles Lenox Remond, Frederick Douglass, Oliver Johnson, Stephen S. Foster, Parker Pillsbury, Andrew T. Foss, Abel Tanner, T. W. Higginson, William Wells Brown, James N. Buffum, John A. Collins, Abby Kelley, Rev. S. J. May, Charles C. Burleigh, Loring Moody, Lucy Stone, Sallie Holley, A. Walker, Cyrus M. Burleigh; and many of those whose names have been mentioned among the officers were active participators in the discussions as speakers.

Very prominent in the active work of this Society from its first organization till his death, was Effingham L. Capron, a Quaker, of Uxbridge, afterwards of Worcester, a woolen manufacturer, many years the President of the Society, a man of venerable, dignified aspect, fully committed to the principles and methods of work of this movement, giving character and tone to all the meetings over which he presided. Another, John M. Fisk, of West Brookfield, a prominent merchant there, one of the first Vice-Presidents and for many years its Secretary and Treasurer, continuing his active labors for the cause, till failing health and finally death removed him from his work. A son of Rev. Dr. Fisk of New Braintree, a liberally conservative pastor of the old school and one of the prominent members of the Brookfield Association of Ministers. John M. Fisk was an active member and supporter of the Congregational Church of West Brookfield, giving liberally to all its charities, its missionary and Sunday School work, and for many years Superintendent of the Sunday School. When he became interested in the cause of the Slaves' redemption, and sought to secure the aid of

the Church in this Christian work, they as a body refused to consider slave-holding a vital sin, and commencing a course of discipline against him, at last publicly excommunicated him, "delivering him over to the buffetings of Satan." Josiah Henshaw of West Brookfield, was early among the active workers and officers of this Society, and was also an active member and officer of the same West Brookfield Congregational Church for many years, till excommunicated, a leading Deacon and also Superintendent of its Sunday School. Because of his active participation in the meetings of this Society he was called to account by the Church, and charges formulated against him to the effect that he attended and presided over meetings where Frederick Douglass and Abby Kelley spoke in criticism of the Church and Ministry on this question, that he brought them to this place and carried them to adjoining towns to hold meetings, some of them on the Sabbath, "all which tended to bring into disrepute the Church, the Ministry and the Sabbath." And on these charges he was tried, in a continuation of weekly church meetings that lasted all summer, and finally excommunicated, ostensibly for contumacy in declining to accept the church's method of convicting him, by putting him certain forms of questions and requiring a categorical answer. An Ecclesiastical council was called which sat three days and nights and delivered a verdict that the church ought to restore Dea. Henshaw, and that then he ought to answer all proper questions, but the church took no notice of this advice, and Dea. Henshaw was left out in the cold world. Rev. Samuel May of Leicester, whom we all know, was one of the early officers and active workers, and was on the last board of officers chosen, always attending the meetings and working earnestly to promote the purposes of the society. A man of pure life, mild disposition, whom it is a blessing to know and enjoy his acquaintance, now full of years and ripe with honorable truthfulness and zeal, well deserving canonization.

Frederick Douglass attended a quarterly meeting of the Society at Millbury, Aug. 18, 1841, and made one of his first Anti-Slavery addresses to a crowded and highly interested

audience, who were enraptured by the native eloquence and pathos of this recently escaped slave. He afterwards attended many of the meetings of this Society.

At a meeting in Worcester March 16, 1841, William B. Earle moved a resolution of thanks to the Hon. John Quincy Adams for his able defence of the Amistad Captives, which was voted, and the secretary instructed to forward it to Mr. Adams.

William B. Earle as Corresponding Secretary for many years carried on an extended and valuable correspondence with Mr. Adams and other prominent officials and politicians on the Anti-Slavery question.

The object of the American Anti-Slavery Society was tersely stated in its constitution as "the entire abolition of slavery in the United States" and its watchword was "immediate and unconditional emancipation, the right of the slave, and the duty of the master."

The stated object of this auxiliary society by its constitution was, "firstly and principally, to use all proper and lawful means to convince all the inhabitants within the limits of this Society of the propriety, duty, safety and necessity of *immediate emancipation*," and to this end it discussed at its official and public meetings, by its itinerant agents and colporteurs, its papers, tracts and books, the principles involved, and their application to the various organizations of the community, political, religious, mercantile or social, and no doubt did its full share in the preliminary work of preparing and educating the public mind up to the grand climax of the actual destruction of this monster of barbarism, without inquiring who first invented abolitionism, as the principle was as old as the Golden Rule. There can be no question that the active discussion and agitation of the matter by William Lloyd Garrison and his adherents, compeers and associates, laid the foundation, and carried forward the crusade to its successful and triumphant result.

Many who were educated and stirred by his eloquent and self-sacrificing appeals, still could not fully accord with his methods and worked in different channels, but all to the same end. While his was the head that devised and kept alive the agitation,

many were the hands that wrought in the work, and it would ill become the hands to say to the head "I have no need of thee," but all by their varied methods worked together in their differing harness for the common result.

I do not find in these records any mention of Mr. Eli Thayer's scheme for the freedom of Kansas, and so for the solution of the whole question.

Not many could see the scheme through the magnified vision of Mr. Thayer's egotistic imagination; that there was merit and practical usefulness in his plan, it is not necessary to deny; it was one of the necessary results of Mr. Garrison's agitation and labor that brought the combinations of the issue to the crisis that called for such a plan, and made it possible for Mr. Thayer to devise and apply it twenty-five years after Mr. Garrison had commenced to prepare the way for him. And it would seem to be unwise and discourteous for Mr. Thayer at this day to denounce and caricature all those who did not see the way clear to take hold of his crank, and help him attempt to grind out the grand result with his newly patented and immaculate machine, which after all did not, as it appears, fully do the work that he had planned for it.

But the work is done, and let all the divers and diverse laborers rejoice together in the result, glad that all helped; let none claim all the glory, but all and each recognize and give credit to the others for their assistance in the glorious consummation of all their labors within the lifetimes of most of the workers and promoters of the great principle of Human Freedom.

The following gentlemen were appointed a committee to arrange for the Annual Field Day: James A. Smith, Samuel E. Staples, Daniel Seagrave, Henry F. Stedman, William F. Abbot.

On motion of Hon. Clark Jillson, Rutland was fixed upon as the town to be visited.

The meeting was then adjourned.

Regular meeting, Tuesday evening, June 1.

Present : Messrs Crane, Rice, Meriam, C. Jillson, J. A. Smith, H. J. and J. A. Howland, Otis, C. E. Simmons, Seagrave, Lyford, Jackson, G. Maynard, Hubbard, Gould, Barrows, Woods, Dickinson, Abbot, H. M. Smith, Peck, Staples, Tucker, E. M. Wood, members ; and Hon. C. M. Howe, J. S. Clarke, N. F. Heard, and — Hooke, visitors.— 29.

Mr. Osgood H. Waters, of Millbury, was admitted an active member of the Society.

The librarian reported 329 additions to the library and museum.

The committee on the Annual Field Day made a brief report by the chairman, Mr. J. A. Smith.

The president spoke in fitting terms of the death of Hon. Charles Adams, Jr., of North Brookfield, a corresponding member of the Society; and appointed Messrs. H. M. Smith, Clark Jillson, and F. P. Rice a committee to prepare a suitable memorial.

Mr. Caleb A. Wall then read an interesting paper on John Brown and his relations to the Anti-Slavery movement.

#### ABSTRACT OF MR. WALL'S PAPER.

There were three forces at work to liberate the Slave—the moral, the political, and the physical. Each had its bearing and influence on the general result. The work of John Brown came under the last division. Like Cromwell, with whose life as with that of the old Bible hearers he was so familiar, he trusted in God and kept his powder dry.

Mr. Wall traced the descent of the Brown family. There was an almost unbroken line of John Browns, from the earliest



days of Puritan history down to the John Brown of Anti-Slavery fame. The father of John Brown moved to Hudson, Ohio, and in his family, Jesse Grant, father of Gen. Grant, was apprenticed, so that Jesse Grant and John Brown must have been well acquainted. John Brown learned the tanning business of his father after Jesse Grant had left the family. John Brown began to hope for a fortune in wool speculation, but ruined himself, and was compelled to take a tract of wild land in New York state.

John Brown took the Bible in one hand and the Constitution in the other, and construed them just as he wanted to.

Brief allusion was made to Brown's career in Kansas, and also to his subsequent trip to the East, when arms and aid were solicited. He came to Worcester at the invitation of Hon. Eli Thayer, and stayed at the castle on the hill [the Oread]. He spoke at a meeting on Monday, March 23, 1857. In the *Spy* of March 25, it was announced that John Brown would speak in the City Hall that evening. There was no report of this meeting in that paper.

John Brown was at this time revolving in his mind the great scheme for liberating all slaves at Harper's Ferry. He confided his project only to a few friends. He purposed to capture the arms at that place, believing that the negroes would flock about him and fight their former masters.

The scene at the trial of John Brown was described, and Mr. Wall read the address which Brown delivered from a copy of which many were circulated in Worcester, shortly after the execution. Brown's body was taken to the farm in New York, where it was interred. Relic hunters have defaced and broken the monument erected above it.

Most of Brown's children who now survive are in California, and their whereabouts were described by the speaker, who had evidently made a most careful study of the subject. "Eli Thayer and John Brown were very unlike," said Mr. Wall, "but they were both working for the same cause. I say, God bless Eli Thayer and John Brown."

The reading of the paper was followed by remarks from Messrs. H. M. Smith, Staples, J. A. Howland, Hon. Clark Jillson, and Rev. Mr. Simmons ; and the reading of an original poem written soon after John Brown's execution, by R. N. Meriam.

Adjourned.

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## FIELD DAY IN RUTLAND.

SATURDAY, JUNE 19, 1886.

The eighth annual field day of The Worcester Society of Antiquity, at Rutland, was the most successful and enjoyable of the series. The day was one of the finest ever known, and added to the attractions of the occasion. A party of about 65 members, and their friends, left Foster Street at 8 A. M., filling three of Charles Cutler's capacious omnibuses, each drawn by six horses. The party was formed of the following gentlemen, (so far as their names can be recalled) : President E. B. Crane. Hon. Clark Jillson, W. H. Bartlett, Dr. F. W. Brigham of Shrewsbury, C. S. Chapin, T. A. Dickinson, Geo. Edwards and son, J. L. Estey, S. Forehand, A. K. Gould, J. A. Howland, H. W. Hubbard, J. C. Lyford, Geo. Maynard, R. O'Flynn, A. E. Peck, J. H. Perry, L. L. Pollard, A. Prentiss, F. P. Rice, A. S. Roe, D. Seagrave, Rev. C. E. Simmons, H. L. Shumway (*Gazette*), J. A. Smith, Gen. A. B. R. Sprague, S. E. Staples, Maj. F. G. Stiles, Aug. Stone, Geo. Sumner, H. G. Taft, E. Tucker, C. A. Wall, (*Spy*), H. Wesby, J. C. Otis, J. C. Crane, of Millbury, A. Palmer, M. E. Barrows, Dr. G. S. Adams, G. H. Mellen, C. G. Harrington, J. Brooks of Princeton, Dr. C. W. Estabrook, E. B. Glasgow, Dr. W. H. Raymenton, Joseph Lovell, A. B. Lovell, Hon. Velorous Taft of West Upton, John A. Farley (*Telegram*), Dr. G. C. Webber and C. A. Moore of Millbury.

The route was through Holden and by the northerly road from there to Rutland, passing north of Muschopauge Pond and over Rice Hill. The weather was delightful, and the air was clear, so that at each turn in the road new visions of charming landscape were brought into view with satisfactory distinctness. The first halt was made at the pleasant country residence of Burton W. Potter, Esq., on the shore of Muschopauge. Here was a hearty welcome and an abundance of cool lemonade which was much appreciated. The next halt was on the summit of Rice Hill, where to the east and north stretched one of the most beautiful landscapes in the country. Wachusett and Monadnock were the most striking features, but within their limits were gracefully rounded drumlins and winding valleys, with fertile fields, woods of varying shades of green, and streams and ponds at every point. One could happily spend hours in gazing on such a scene.

The arrival at Rutland was at 11½ o'clock, and Messrs. Spaulding and Bartlett of the Muschopauge House were ready to receive and welcome the party. Here also were met several gentlemen of Leicester, Paxton, Princeton and Rutland, members of the Society or in sympathy with its pursuits.

The old burying-ground in Rutland was first visited, and the attractions of the spot held most of the party there for an hour. Mr. James A. Smith of the Society, formerly a resident of Rutland, and the Hon. J. Warren Bigelow of Rutland, both of them perfect encyclopædias of the town's history, guided the visitors to the various points of interest in the cemetery. Mr. George Edwards of Worcester made a careful examination of the time-worn inscriptions on the stones with the view to ascertaining if any of the early Scotch-Irish settlers were buried in the enclosure. He found in several of the inscriptions the old Scotch names of Graham and Crawford. Others of the party perched upon stone walls or stretched at ease among the daisies and weather-beaten stones of the breezy old hillside graveyard, listened to the field sparrows' trill, and admired the prospect stretched out before them, bounded on the north by the distant Green mountains and the blue mound of Monadnock. Here,

since 1686, when the town of 12 miles square was bought from the Indians for £23, until quite a recent period, the dead of this rural community have been laid to rest, and many of the party were surprised to find on the moss-covered head-stones their own family names, which raised numerous interesting questions of ancestry and family relationships.

The most interesting grave was that of Rev. Joseph Willard, who was slain by the Indians in the Minister's Meadow north east of the cemetery, Aug. 14th, 1723. Another point of interest was the grave of Daniel Campbell, who was murdered by Edward Fitzpatrick, March 8th, 1744, a circumstance which remained a mystery to the present generation until the researches of Hon. Clark Jillson (an ex-President of the Society) in the criminal history of the county, were published. It is a curious fact that although the record of his trial, sentence to death and a reprieve are preserved, there is no record of his execution, but it is not so remarkable in view of the fact that the sheriffs' warrants certifying the execution of Dr. Webster, and of Frost, in Worcester, in 1876 are also missing from the State House archives.

Other objects of interests in the old cemetery were the graves of the two first wives of Col. Murray, side by side, over which now remain only horizontal flat stones in broken condition, and the graves of the colonel's two sons, Robert and John, Jr., who died in 1756, within a few weeks of each other, aged respectively 20 and 14 years, buried just north of their mother.

The site of the home of Col. John Murray was next visited. He came to Rutland as a poor young man, named John Mc-Murra or McMorrah, and changed his name after his arrival. He became rich and influential, more so perhaps than any other citizen. He was an active tory before the Revolution, and after certain men of that stripe in Worcester had received the pressing attentions of the excited patriots, a committee was sent to make him a hostile visit. He was warned of their approach and fled, taking refuge in St. John, New Brunswick, where he died. He possessed a great estate, which was confiscated, except one farm, which was left for his eldest son,

Alexander, who had espoused the patriot cause, and did good service during the war.

The residence of George A. Putnam, nearly opposite the hotel, was also visited. It was built about 1770 by that former distinguished citizen of Rutland, Joseph Blake, Esq., father of Hon. Francis Blake, the distinguished Worcester lawyer, and grandfather of the present H. G. O. Blake of Worcester. The old house, still in fine condition, was one of the finest residences in ancient time, with its fluted pilasters in front, ancient style blinds, made with an extravagance in the use of lumber which now seems amusing. The slats are three quarters of an inch thick and five inches broad, and the structures are strong enough for a cattle pen. Mr. Putnam has in his dining room an ancient clock, formerly owned by the Rev. Hezekiah Goodrich, minister of Rutland from 1793 to 1812; a sideboard once the property of Rev. Thomas Frink, minister of Rutland from 1727 to 1740; and a writing desk of rare elegance, and these excited the covetousness of some of the party who take especial interest in ante-revolutionary furniture, to a remarkable degree.

While waiting for dinner many ascended to the top of the hotel, from which, north, west and south is an extended view of charming scenery; Barre, Oakham, Spencer, Paxton, Holden, Princeton, Hubbardston and Gardner encircle the spot, and farther away the hills of New Hampshire, and Old Graylock in the northwest bound the prospect. On such a day the outlook is a wonderful one. Here legends of the town, of Parson Willard, Col. Murray, Gen. Putnam, and last but not least, the redoubtable Stephen Burroughs, were related.

The day brought out several interesting relics. One was the door knocker of the ancient Putnam house. An English gold coin of the date of 1750, which was found in a field in the village last week, was also an object of interest. Mr. Joseph A. Denny of Leicester brought for inspection a deed, on parchment, conveying Spectacle Island, in Boston Harbor, from Joseph Belknap and Hannah his wife to Samuel Bill, an ancestor of Mr. Ledyard Bill of Paxton. Its date is June 19, 1688. He also had a beautifully written and sealed Latin docu-

ment, which no one present could decipher, which was acknowledged in Boston by Wait Winthrop, and recorded by Ezk'l. Goldthwaite, Reg'r. Another treasure was a beautifully written manuscript volume of church music bearing the name of Rev. Ebenezer Parkman, Westborough, July 17, 1721.

Dinner was announced at 1.30 o'clock, and the party, numbering 70 or more were served to their entire satisfaction, and there was general expression of compliment to the hosts. After dinner Mr. James A. Smith, called the party to order, and introduced the speaking exercises.

Mr. Ellery B. Crane, President of the Society, briefly expressed the pleasure of all at the perfect day and the character of the assembly. He alluded to the origin of the name of the town, which was from the Rutland of Old England, and originally "Red Land" from the color of the earth which stained the wool of the sheep. He also spoke of the patriotism of the town during the Revolution, in recognition of which it was chosen as a proper place for the custody of a large section of the army of Burgoyne after the surrender, and closed with allusions to some of the historical names of the vicinity.

Rev. Geo. S. Dodge of Rutland welcomed the Society to the town, and spoke earnestly of the treasures of local history that might be saved. He also spoke of his pleasure in learning from members of the Society of the value of a Bible which has been in common and somewhat careless use in his own church vestry. It is a somewhat rare copy of the royal folio edition of Isaiah Thomas, Worcester, 1791, with plates and Apochrypha. He said hereafter it would be more carefully cherished.

Hon. Clark Jillson, an ex-President of the Society, spoke briefly. He alluded to the origin of the name of the town, and said the Society's visit should "paint the town red" with zeal for the preservation of its local history, and alluded to a stone mentioned in Morse's Geography of 1788, as having been found in Rutland, but which is now lost. It is said to have been a tablet, with a channel border about its edge, filled with cement of a lighter hue than the stone, and bearing an Ethiopian inscription. He alluded to Col. Murray, the Irish tory refugee, and

suggested that although his position was in opposition to public sentiment, he acted from a spirit of loyalty to his sovereign to whom he was officially responsible, and should be credited with faithfulness to what he considered official duty. He also spoke of Capt. Rufus Putnam, afterwards General, who was born in Sutton in 1738. He moved from Sutton to Brookfield and from Brookfield to Rutland. He served in the French and Indian war with the company of Gen. Learned of Oxford. He was very prominent in the Revolution, and intimate with its leaders. He was the originator of the Ohio Land Company and removed to Marietta, where he founded a prosperous community, established a church, Sunday schools and free schools, and is still remembered there as the central figure of the city's early history.

Dr. Webber, President of the Millbury Natural History Society, was introduced, and spoke briefly of his pleasure in the occasion.

Hon. J. Warren Bigelow, of Rutland, who has taken great interest in its local history, said his great-great-grandfather lived and died in Worcester, and his grandfather was a brother of Col. Timothy Bigelow. He alluded to Gen. Putnam's career at Marietta, O., and said a recent visitor from there spoke of his influence as having moulded one of the most energetic and intelligent communities in the state. When he went there he drove a herd of parti-colored cattle, and they are still recognized in that vicinity. He alluded to the British troops confined here after Burgoyne's surrender in 1777, and called on Mr. George A. Putnam, the town clerk, to read a sketch of their residence here, supplied by Gen. Horatio Rogers, of Providence, who, he said, was a descendant of the Deacon Stevens, whose two sons were captured by Indians when Rev. Mr. Willard was killed.

Mr. George A. Putnam, the town clerk, then read the communication as requested by Mr. Bigelow, it having already been inscribed by him on the town records.

Referring to the disposition of the prisoners taken after the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne, Gen. Rogers states: They all

went to Cambridge, and subsequently a detachment was marched to and quartered at Rutland. The terms of the convention, granted by Gen. Gates to Burgoyne, contemplated the speedy passage of Burgoyne's troops to Europe, they stipulating not to serve again in America during the present war. Boston was agreed upon as the point of embarkation, and hence all of Burgoyne's troops were marched to Cambridge to be near the shipping point. Disputes and misunderstandings between Burgoyne and the Continental Congress arising, however, the embarkation was deferred, and finally the troops were left as prisoners of war, a part being removed from Cambridge to Rutland, and finally, in November, 1778, all were sent to Virginia, where they all remained till near the end of the war, when they were exchanged in 1781-82 and removed to New York, where they embarked for Europe. Lieut. Anbury, a British officer under Burgoyne, who wrote a description of Burgoyne's campaign and the subsequent captivity of his army, in a work of two volumes, entitled, "Travels Through the Interior Part of America, in a Series of Letters by an Officer," published in London in 1789, gives the best accounts of the movements of Burgoyne's troops after the capitulation or convention, as they called it, and from him these facts are obtained.

He says: "It was understood at the convention that the troops were to be stationed on Prospect and Winter Hills, and the officers were to be quartered in Boston and the neighboring towns. On this supposition some of the officers had pushed forward and got into Boston, but were immediately ordered out. The English troops were upon Prospect Hill and the German on Winter Hill (both in Cambridge). The officers have Cambridge, Mystic and Watertown to quarter themselves, and a parole of about ten miles in circumference, but to preserve order and regularity among the troops three officers of each regiment reside in the barracks. It is no little mortification that I cannot visit Boston, for it is the second city in America and the grand emporium of rebellion, but our parole excludes us from it; what makes the mortification still greater is that we can go as far as the ferry at Charlestown, and are debarred crossing it." The



above is from a letter written from "Cambridge, in New England, Nov. 30, 1777."

In a letter written from "Mystic, in New England, May 20, 1778," beginning on p. 213 of vol. 2, Lieut. Anbury says: "The intentions of congress are very apparent as to our detention as prisoners, no doubt as hostages, in case of failure to the southward of the ensuing campaign, and the apprehensions that some diversion may be made near Boston so that our soldiers might be released, or escape to any army that may make a landing. The council of Boston, under pretense that the troops would fare better, removed the first brigade of the British, consisting of the artillery, advanced corps and ninth regiment, on the 15th of last month, from Prospect Hill to a place called Rutland, fifty-five miles further up the country, at which place they are to stay till further orders from congress. The rest of the British troops are shortly to follow. As to the Germans, the Americans look upon them as being so tame and submissive that they are to remain at their old quarters on Winter Hill. By an officer that came from Rutland, we learn that the first brigade arrived there the 17th, about 2 o'clock. The men were sent to the barracks that were picketed in with pickets near 20 feet high, and had been treated with great severity, were very badly supplied with provisions, and denied to go out for anything among the inhabitants. The officers with great difficulty obtained quarters in the neighboring houses, and those at a considerable distance from each other. It happened rather fortunately for the troops that a vessel under a flag of truce arrived with some necessaries just before they marched, otherwise the men would have been in a wretched state." Notwithstanding the intention of sending another detachment to Rutland, no other was sent, only the one sent in April, 1778.

In a letter dated "Mystic, in New England, Sept. 11, 1778," Lieut. Anbury gives this interesting incident, and although it is rather long, Gen. Rogers copied it for Mr. Bigelow's benefit. The quotation begins on p. 235, vol. 2: "Insults are not only shown to the officers and soldiers remaining at Cambridge, but, if possible, they are treated worse at Rutland. As Mr. Bowen,

surgeon to the 9th regiment, Lieut. Toriano of the 20th regiment, and Lieut. Houghton of the 53d regiment, were taking an evening walk, they were met by an inhabitant, who, from his office of selectman (these are a kind of overseers to their meeting-houses, who regulate the affairs of the parish and report persons for non-attendance of worship, compelling those walking in the streets or traveling on a Sunday to go to some place; they are very consequential persons and very officious.) This selectman, deriving no small authority from his office, and who had on every occasion distinguished himself for his insolence and persecution of the prisoners of war, as well as his conduct toward the unfortunate friends of the government who had remained in that part of the country; this man of consequence charged those gentlemen with having trespassed on his property, and before they could explain that they had not been off what they considered as the high road, he, in a most menacing manner, accompanied with many opprobrious epithets shook a whip over their heads. Mr. Bowen, who happened to be next to the man on this occasion, resented the insult with a blow, and a conflict ensued, in which the countryman was worsted, although Mr. Bowen was severely bruised, the countryman presuming as well from his personal strength as well as from his authority. Though this insult had been given to these gentlemen in the sight of many people on the road, who also bore testimony to Mr. Bowen's alone having struck him, these three gentlemen (through the influence of this selectman) were shortly after their return to their lodgings, taken by a party of the guards, and conveyed to the guard house, where they passed the night in the common guard room. The soldiers of the guard occupying the platform. these gentlemen were obliged to put up with the dirty floor, where they suffered every kind of indignity from the guard, who, not satisfied with making use of the most indecent language, would spit on them as they lay on the floor. In the morning they were removed to an adjoining barrack room, where they were very little better accommodated, and after seven or eight days' confinement they were given to understand they were to be delivered up to the civil power.

The humanity of Major Carter of the artillery, who was the senior officer of the convention troops at Rutland (as well as considering it his duty to interfere), induced him from the first of the confinement of these gentlemen to interest himself very warmly in their behalf; he had frequently remonstrated with the commanding officer of the guard against the cruelty of their conduct toward them, but, not being able to obtain redress, demanded a pass to send an officer to Cambridge in order to represent the affair through Gen. Phillips to the commanding officer at Boston. Maj. Carter then informed these gentlemen that he thought it necessary for the good of the troops in general to make their treatment a public concern, it was his order that they should wait the result of Gen. Phillips' interference with the American general, and not to act for themselves in the business on any account. Before the return of the officer from Gen. Phillips these gentlemen were taken to a justice who resided some distance from Rutland, before whom they were conducted with all the ceremony of criminals going to trial. The magistrate, who was an apothecary, possessed a few hard words and a most starched puritanical air, and perhaps on this account had been judged under the new government the only man of the neighborhood capable of supporting the dignity of a country justice; he was surrounded with a numerous train of officers of the police, such as committee and selectmen, who, with a number of spectators whom curiosity had brought together to be present at the trial (as they expressed themselves), made a formidable group. The gentlemen were no sooner brought before this very awful court of justice than Dr. Frink (for so the justice was called), who was placed in the most conspicuous part of the room, in an arm chair, with infinite solemnity and all the importance of office, without even permitting the least accusation as to any offense committed by them, asked them 'whether they pleaded guilty or not guilty of the crimes laid to their charge.' On this occasion I think it would have been difficult for any indifferent person to have retained his risible faculties; nay, the gentlemen themselves have declared it was not without the utmost circumspection they could

compose their muscles to this curious demand of the justice. One of the gentlemen informed this worshipful magistrate that they having suffered so many days' confinement under the military guard so unjustly, as they conceived, and their commanding officer having thought it necessary to make the treatment they had met with a public concern, they look up to their general for redress, consequently they were not allowed to plead one way or the other. The justice, enraged at what he conceived a slight to his authority, without hesitation committed them to prison with the additional charge of contempt of court, and the next morning they were conducted by a body of armed constables to Worcester, about 10 miles distant, and were lodged in the county jail, where, with two gentlemen who were imprisoned as enemies to the state, occupying a very confined dungeon, out of which a woman [Bathsheba Spooner] had a very short time before been taken for execution for the murder of her husband. On their first entrance into this most gloomy state of security, it may easily be imagined their feelings received no small shock, and their fellow prisoners perceiving their distress, one of them, who had been bred to the sea, by the way of offering some consolation in his own way, observed that he could only compare their situation to that of so many young bears, whose misfortunes were all to come. The excessive heat of the weather [July 1778,] with the confinement in this detestable hole, which, when their mattresses were laid on the floor, completely filled it, and from whence on no occasion, or the pressing calls of nature, they were allowed to retire, must, in a very short time, have rendered their existence burdensome if not deprived them of it, had they not found means of softening the heart of a mulatto woman who served them with provisions through a hole, and who, by the force of bribes and fair promises, was prevailed upon to open the door upon those occasions for fresh air. During their confinement, no occasion was wanting on the part of their brother officers to alleviate the horrors of their wretched situation, who gave them hopes of soon being relieved through the interposition of their general. But at the expiration of three days they received a message by an

officer from Major Carter at Rutland, expressing his extreme concern that he should in any manner be accessory to their being sent to prison, at the same time lamenting that his representation of their very unjust and cruel usage had produced no other effect than a letter from Gen. Phillips, part of which the major had transcribed for their perusal, which reprobated in the strongest terms the imprudence of those gentlemen in paying attention to the insolence or abuse of the people of the country, the general observing that they should listen to the abuse of the Americans as to the mere cackling of geese, and concluding with saying "he should not concern himself with a boxing match."

Here I cannot but censure the conduct of General Phillips, for if he had his reasons for not making an application to Gen. Heath, he should not have retorted so severely on the gentlemen, especially when it is considered two of them were innocent of the crime alleged. At the same time the general might have recollected his own warmth of temper was at that very moment the occasion of his confinement to his house and garden. In consequence of Major Carter's message, these unfortunate gentlemen (two of whom, as I have just observed, had not been guilty of the crime imputed to them), who had always found some consolation in reflecting that they were then suffering in conformity to the will of their commanding officer, and, as they were given to understand, for the public good, and that through the interposition and zeal of their general they should obtain justice and be set at liberty, found themselves reduced to the necessity of shifting for themselves. On consulting a lawyer (the assistance of whom is seldom wanting in *any* country for certain *considerations*) the learned limb of the law, after examining their commitment and satisfying himself with respect to the state of their finances, gave them to understand that he should be able to prove a flaw in it, for it specified a crime against the states, when it was evident the breach of peace that they were charged with could only affect the state of Massachusetts, the state they were in, but added that to bring their cause forward for the consideration of the court during the assizes

then sitting, the fees would be considerable. His terms though exorbitant, were readily acceded to by these gentlemen, and by that means they were enabled to relieve themselves from the horrors of a dungeon, on quitting which, it was their observation, that they had little more reason to extol the humanity of their own general than they had the justice of the Americans."

Hon. Velorous Taft of Upton, was next called on and declared that he knew the whole history of Rutland; of every man, woman and child; that he had walked over all the roads and visited all the places of interest. He spoke of the meagerness of the histories of the 59 towns in the county, and of how little is really known of the men who settled them. If the work of the Society is to keep and preserve their records and memories, then the Society could count on his hearty support.

Gen. A. B. R. Sprague spoke of his inability to often meet with the Society, although a member, but said he always made it a point to be present at the annual field day. He spoke of the monument to the soldiers of the town bearing their names, some of them descendants of the early settlers, and said that we could not honor such men enough.

Dr. J. G. Shannon of Rutland, welcomed the Society and presented it with a valuable document containing the dying declaration of James Buchanan, Ezra Ross and William Brooks who were executed at Worcester, Thursday, July 2, 1778, for the murder of Mr. Joshua Spooner.

Dr. W. H. Raymenton, President of the Worcester Natural History Society, spoke of his pleasure in associating with the liveliest antiquarian society in the world,—one that could paint a whole town red with nothing stronger than "3 per cent." At least it would be justified in marking the history of to-day's excursion with a red line and setting it in a white stone. He said he had declined to speak, but was assured that he should fulfill his whole duty if he repeated a familiar announcement, that the rooms of his society were open to the public daily from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. [Much laughter.] He spoke of the discovery last year in Shrewsbury of a pre-historic human skull, and asked

the *savants* of the Society to hold their peace if they should find on it the ear-mark of a Rutland Indian. He also repeated the suggestion of Dr. Brigham of Shrewsbury, that it might be the skull of Moses, it being recorded that his burial place was not known, and it might have been in Shrewsbury, and the Doctor thinks a little more digging will bring to light the bulrushes! Dr. R. says he had every reason to believe that his society's possessions at Wigwam Hill will prove to be of great antiquarian interest, and that they should never feel that it had been properly dedicated till this Society had visited it in a body and set its great seal upon the venture. He gave all a cordial invitation to visit the new Natural History Park at Lake Quinsigamond this summer, as they believe it the choicest place among ten thousand, and the one altogether lovely.

Dr. F. W. Brigham was introduced and said he felt complimented in observing that the party had spent so much time in contemplating the work of his predecessors, in the cemetery. [Laughter.] He also gave a reproof to Dr. Shannon because he did not keep his graveyard in better order. He defended his theory of the identity of the Shrewsbury skull by quoting amid much laughter some doggerel, substantially as follows:—

“ As Pharaoh's daughter was walking to dry her skin,  
 She stumbled over the basket that Moses was in,  
 And cried out to her maids, in accents most wild,  
 ‘ Whichever of ye is father to the child? ’ ”

Dr. Brigham said the best thing in a day like this is the good fellowship that it brings about.

Mr. Ledyard Bill of Paxton expressed his interest in the work of the Society, and extended an invitation to visit Paxton at some future day.

Principal A. S. Roe of the Worcester High School, spoke earnestly in opposition to the idea that the Tories of '76 or the the Rebels of '61 deserve tender memory, and made a strong appeal for the keeping alive of the distinction between loyalty and its opposite. He saw no excuse, no palliation for Col. Murray, and opposed any attempt to cover his career with a mantle of charity.

Mr. C. R. Bartlett of the Muschopauge hotel was the last speaker. He was pleased that the Society had enjoyed the day and hoped that its recollections of Rutland might be pleasant.

The following letter from Rev. Samuel May of Leicester, was received :

LEICESTER, Thursday, A. M., June 17.

"Dear Mr. Abbot :

"I received notice this morning of the death of my old classmate, Col. Geo. W. Richardson, and that his funeral services will be held on Saturday morning, with a request from his son that I should conduct those services.

"I cannot refuse such a request, if *able* to comply; and I must therefore give up the plan, already nearly decided on, of going to Rutland that day.

"I was looking forward with much satisfaction to be with the Society at this Rutland meeting. My daughter was to have accompanied me, and it would have been an opportunity to be valued and cherished. But I cannot hesitate, in all the circumstances, as to what my duty is.

"I hope you will have the kind of weather most desirable for such excursions and investigations as yours of Saturday; and that it will prove a prosperous and pleasant day for the Society, and for every one present. Leicester hails and congratulates Rutland on the auspicious occasion, which revives the memory of its founders and builders, and recounts its honorable position and services as a town, for more than a century and a half. Leicester has good cause to cherish the memory of the Rev. Mr. Buckminster, of Rutland, who more than a century ago, gave the influence of his pulpit and advocacy, in behalf of the establishment of an Academy in Leicester — as laborious a work then as to found a college now. Mr. Buckminster was professionally wise in so preaching, as well as free and large in his generous approbation of the undertaking. I am, yours very truly,

"SAMUEL MAY."

While awaiting the arrival of the 'busses, the Society was photographed on the lawn in front of the hotel, by Mr. J. Chauncy Lyford of Worcester. Mr. Lyford also took photographs during the day of the burial ground, the Gen. Rufus Putnam house and the old guard-house.

At 5.20 P. M. the party started on the homeward trip, which was to include several interesting halts.



The first was at the house once occupied by Col. Rufus Putnam, the Ohio pioneer, and in which the Land Company was organized, Jan. 10, 1786. It was built by Col. Murray, but is in a good state of preservation, with some of its original finish intact. It is now owned and occupied by Elias Mead. A transom window on the east side of four panes of genuine bull's eye glass was an object of interest, and one member fruitlessly offered to replace it by one of Cathedral glass, but the offer was refused. Mr. Daniel Seagrave, whose idiosyncrasy is door handles, was more fortunate, for he succeeded in securing a quaint old hand-wrought handle from the woodshed door.

The old guard-house, built in 1777-8, at the southeast corner of the barrack grounds, still remains in a semi-dilapidated condition, a one story structure, about 60 by 22 feet, of only two rooms originally, but a small addition was afterwards put to the north side.

The old well dug by the prisoners was measured by Messrs. T. A. Dickinson, A. S. Roe and M. E. Barrows, and found to be  $28\frac{1}{2}$  feet in depth, 17 feet of which was water, and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  feet in diameter.

The foundation of one of the chimneys of the barracks was discovered and dug over, and the slight work was rewarded by the discovery of numerous small, irregular, hard-burned bricks, said to have been imported from England.

The party then drove through West Rutland to Paxton, and stopped by invitation at the residence of Mr. Ledyard Bill, where they were refreshed with lemonade on the lawn. They were also entertained with a brief inspection of some of Mr. Bill's antiquarian treasures, chief among which are half a dozen remarkably fine old corner clocks. One of these with a case most exquisitely carved, was made by Benj. Willard of Grafton, and another is the locally famous one formerly owned by the late Dr. Geo. A. Bates. Among the antique pictures in the house is a grand old portrait of an ancestor, Richard Bill of Boston, painted by Copley in 1776. Indian relics, and a variety of curiosities held the attention of the party until they were compelled to bid Mr. and Mrs. Bill a reluctant adieu. Mr. Bill

presented the Society with his family genealogy compiled by himself. On the way from Paxton to Worcester several stops were made to enable the members to gather a supply of laurel (*Kalmia*) which was this year of uncommon beauty and luxuriance.

The proposed visit to the top of Asnebumskit Hill was abandoned on account of the lateness of the hour, and the tired but happy party reached the city at about 7:30 o'clock, more eager and enthusiastic than ever in the Society's interests, and full of plans and anticipations for the next annual excursion. The excursion was a success through the untiring efforts of Mr. James A. Smith, who had the Society in charge during the day.

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Regular monthly meeting, Tuesday evening, July 6.

Present: Messrs. Crane, C. Jillson, Staples, Gould, F. C. Jillson, G. Maynard, Estey, Meriam, Rice, J. A. Smith, J. A. Howland. Dickinson, C. E. Simmons, Wall, Abbot, and one visitor.—16.

The Librarian reported 155 additions for the month. Mr. James A. Smith, chairman of the committee on the Annual Field Day, made a report in which he stated that there was a deficit of \$13.45, and gave the reason therefor; and it was voted that said deficit be paid from the funds of the Society.

Mr. R. N. Meriam then read the following genealogical sketch of the Putnam family by Gen. Rufus Putnam, the pioneer in the settlement of Ohio, who went from Rutland, Mass.

## MEMOIR OF THE PUTNAM FAMILY.

BY GEN. RUFUS PUTNAM.

John Putnam came from Buckinghamshire, England, A.D. 1634 and settled in Salem, Mass. His three sons, viz. : Thomas, Nathaniel and John, migrated with him. He died very suddenly at the age of about 80 years. He ate supper, went to prayer with his family and died before he went to sleep. Edward Putnam, grandson of John, gives the above account in a manuscript dated 1733, himself being at that time 79 years of age. He further adds: "From these three proceeded twelve males, from these twelve forty males, and from these forty eighty-two males. There were none of the name of Putnam in New England but those of this family." With respect to their situation in life he remarks; "I can say with the Psalmist, I have been young and now I am old, yet I have not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread, except of God who provides for all. For God hath given to the generation of my fathers Agnis' portion, neither poverty, nor riches, but hath fed them with food convenient for them. And their children have been enabled to help others in their need. The third generation have all gone to their fathers but three, and he who gives this account is one of them aged 79 years."

In 1741, at the age of 87 years he gives the names of the following heads of families, fourth generation, viz. : Edward, Elisha, Joseph, Ezra, Isaac, Nathaniel, Daniel, Benjamin, Tarrant, Cornelius, Stephen, Israel, Thomas, Edward, Archelaus, Joseph, Samuel, John, Amos, Josiah, James, Jethro, John, Jonathan, Henry, Holyoke, Jacob, William, David, Eli, Joshua and Henry. But how many more there were at that time of that generation he says he could not tell. This good man died in the year 1747, in the 94th year of his age.

The Putnam family, as before mentioned, settled in Salem, Mass., 1634, and are very numerous at this day, in that and the neighboring towns. They are a family, however, by no means so much influential by local habits as some others. They now spread through all New England, and many other

parts of the United States, nor have I found one of the name but what has descended from the Salem family. It would be in vain at this day to attempt to give an account of all the male descendants of this family. I shall, however, attempt a genealogy of them as far as they have come to my knowledge.

Thomas Putnam, the eldest son of our ancestor, John Putnam, had four sons, viz.: Thomas, Edward, Archelaus and Joseph.\* Edward was born July 9th, 1654. He died in his 94th year, as before related. The following of the 4th generation were his sons, viz.: Edward, born April 29, 1682, who lived to an old age; Holyoke, born Sept. 18, 1683, who was killed by the Indians; Elisha, born Nov. 3d, 1685, died June 10, 1745; Joseph, born Nov. 1, 1687; Nehemiah, born Dec. 29, 1694, who died when young; Ezra, born April 29, 1696, who died at about 51; Isaac, born March 16, 1698, died in the 59th year of his age. Elisha removed from Salem to Sutton, May 1725.

The following of the 5th generation are sons of Edward 2d: Edward 3d, who settled at Salem, Mass., and died at a very advanced age leaving a numerous issue; Holyoke, who settled in Sutton; and Milo, who first settled in Middleton.

The following of the 5th generation are sons of Elisha, 3rd, son of Edward 1st, viz.: Elisha, born Dec. 2d, 1715, who died in the army 1758; Nehemiah, born March 22d, 1719, died at Sutton, Nov. 27, 1791; Jonathan, born July 19, 1721, died at Sutton; Stephen, born April 4th 1728, died in New Hampshire, March 5th, 1813; Amos, born July 22d 1730, died Sept. 17th, 1811, aged 81 years; and Rufus, born April 9, 1738.

The following of the 5th generation are the sons of Joseph, 4th son of Edward, 1st, viz.: Oliver and Joseph of the 5th generation. The sons of Ezra, 6th son of Edward, 1st, were Nehemiah, who died young and Ezra. He had three sons who died without male issue.

Rufus commenced the settlement of Marietta, on the Ohio,

\* This Joseph was father of General Israel, and the one referred to by Upham as having been much opposed to the witchcraft delusion, thereby endangering his own safety. He kept one of his horses saddled night and day for six months, and said that whoever arrested him would do it at the peril of his life.

April 7th, 1788, and arrived there with his family November, 1790. Ezra settled at Marietta in the year 1790, with two sons.

Of the fifth generation the sons of Isaac, 7th son of Edward 1st, were Phineas, Asaph, Nathan, Isaac, Edward and Daniel. Edward died while young; the rest have all numerous families.

Sixth generation descending from Elisha, son of Edward 1st, sons of Elisha 2d, were Andrew, Elisha, Antipas. Jockton, Luke, William. The sons of Nehemiah were Aaron, Reuben, Joseph, Benjamin. The sons of Jonathan were Adonijah, Folsansbee, Jonathan, Francis, John. Antipas died at the Havanna, 1764. The sons of Stephen were Solomon, John, Elisha, Gideon, Lewis, David and Rufus. The son of Amos was Paul, who died in childhood. The sons of Rufus were Ayers, William Rufus, Franklin and Edwin.

Of the seventh generation were the grandsons of Nehemiah, son of Elisha 1st, viz.: The sons of Aaron: Calvin, Franklin and Luther. The two last died in childhood. Sons of Reuben: Aaron, Jonas, Mason, Manning, Austin and John. The sons of Benjamin: \* Simeon, Rufus, John, Joseph 2d, and Joseph 3d. All except Simeon and John died in childhood and youth. The sons of Joseph (which ought to have been mentioned before those of Benjamin): John Town, Daniel and Benjamin.

Of the seventh generation are grandsons of Rufus, son of Elisha 1st, viz.: The sons of William Rufus: William, who died a few days after birth, and William 2d. Sons of Edwin: Franklin, Rufus and William Rice. Seventh generation, Andrew and Adonijah, mentioned above, have several sons, but the number has not yet been ascertained.

Eighth generation: It is highly probable there are many of this generation; Andrew and Adonijah have doubtless a number of grandchildren.

Seventh generation: grandsons of Elisha, son of Elisha 1st, viz.: Sons of Andrew: Malachi, Peter, Stephen and David.

\*I found at Rutland the graves of Benjamin and wife Martha, and children, Rufus, Clarrissa and Joseph. — R. N. M.

In receiving this memoir, in justice to the character of my father, Elisha Putnam, I ought to mention that he was much respected as a citizen and Christian. He was town clerk many years, deacon of the church, and for some time represented the town of Sutton in the General Court.

The above account of the Putnam family was transcribed from the manuscript of Gen. Rufus Putnam by Simeon Putnam, eldest son of Benjamin, at Marietta, Ohio, March 13, 1818, and procured from his son, William Rufus, by Rev. Silas Livermore, a native of Worcester, grandson of Dea. Amos Putnam, brother of Gen. Rufus, who lived and died at Jamesville, Worcester, and was buried with his wife (who was Sarah Swift of Boston) a few rods south of the depot on the Boston and Albany Railroad, from which place their remains were removed to Auburn a few years since, by Mr. Austin Newton, of Auburn, another grandson of Dea. Amos. Rev. Silas Livermore graduated at Brown University, and became connected with the Polytechnic Institute at Shelbyville, Ill., where he was located at the time he received the account, accompanied by the following letter from William Rufus Putnam, and by him transmitted to friends in Sutton.

“MARIETTA, OHIO, Feb. 17th, 1851.

“*Rev. Silas Livermore*: Dear Sir,—Your favor of Jan’y 25th has been received, in answer to which I will endeavor to give you some account of my father’s family, which came to Ohio in 1790. The family consisted of Rufus Putnam and wife. Their children were Elizabeth, Persis, Susanna, Abigail, William Rufus, Edwin, Marthy and Katharine. Elizabeth remained single. Persis married Dea. Ham, of Belpere, was the mother of three sons and two daughters. She and they are all dead except Rufus William, her youngest son. Susanna was married to Christopher Burlingame before leaving New England, was the mother of four sons and six daughters, that lived to have families, that are now all living. Abigail married William Browning, Esq., of Belpere. They are both dead. They left three sons, viz.: William Rufus, George and Samuel. Samuel is dead, left one son; the others are living, have sons and daughters. William Rufus (myself) have one son, William Rufus, Jr. We are comfortably to live, as all our connections are. Edwin resides at Putnam in Muskingum County, has a family of three sons and two daughters. Franklin, the

eldest, is a Presbyterian clergyman; Rufus, the second, is a grocer near the center of the state; William Rice practiced law, but has been dead some years, left no son but two daughters. Marthy married Col. Tupper, of Putnam, has four daughters and one son. Col. Tupper died in 1814. Since then three of his daughters and sister Marthy have died. Catherine married Mr. Ebenezer Buckingham, died early, left one son.

One other branch of the Putnam family came into this state, viz.: Col. Israel Putnam, a son of Gen. Israel Putnam, of Brooklin, Conn. His sons were Israel, Waldo, David, William Pitt and George W. They all settled in this county. Israel is dead, left one son, Lewis John Pope, who is still living. Waldo settled at Belpere, has quite a family, died in 1822, left three sons, viz.: William Pitt, who resides where his father did, has a fine young family; Waldo resides in Tennessee, is in the practice of law, I believe; his other son died young without a family. David resides in Marietta. His eldest son living is a clergyman, settled in Licking Co. The next, Douglas, is a land dealer and agent, resides in Marietta. David, Jr., sells goods in Hanover, and George plows the fields in Chauncy. William Putnam, son of Col. I. Putnam, died without issue. George I know nothing of. In the year 1799 I visited Uncle Amos, I recollect that one daughter was married to a Mr. Nichols, who resided with Uncle and worked the farm, I believe. I must refer you to Mr. Whittlesee, relative to myself and family. I am the last of my father's family, am now in my 80th year, still I rejoice in the prosperity of my country, and the upbuilding of the Redeemer's Kingdom.

“Dear Sir,

“I remain your obedient servant,

“WM. R. PUTNAM.”

The Mr. Nichols referred to was John Nichols 3d, who married Lucretia Putnam, daughter of Amos, and settled in Charlton, where he died, Oct. 13, 1849, aged 83 years. She died Jan. 28, 1852, aged 87 years. The following are extracts from a letter written to her by Elizabeth Putnam, eldest daughter of Gen. Rufus, giving some interesting facts in regard to his declining years.

“MARIETTA, O., June 9, 1823.

“*My Dear Cousin* :—After so long a time I have set down to answer your affectionate letter to my father, and part of one that was to myself, for which I thank you. We received it soon after it was written, and I then intended to answer it as soon as the roads were

settled in the spring, for the mail is often stopped by high water the latter part of winter and the fore part of spring, but my father was taken sick of a fever in April, and very sick indeed. We did not expect he would recover for some weeks, but a kind providence restored him gradually to a comfortable state of health, though he was very feeble all summer ( 1822 ) and needed a great deal of attention. Your uncle is still alive and enjoys a comfortable state of health; in general enjoys food and sleep, though he is much broke both in body and mind within a few years — not more than people of his age generally are; he was 85 the 20th of April. He is able to go out but a very little, though he is able to walk about the house, and sometimes in the dooryard, yet he is so helpless and weak that he can't get on to a horse nor into a carriage without two or three to help him, and as he is very heavy, it is difficult, too, for him to go out anyway. He has been to meeting once this spring, which he seemed to enjoy very much. He says I must give his best love to you and your sisters, and tell you that he is well but has got no strength. It is quite pleasing to him to have you remember him in his old age, and I hope you will continue to write to him, and I will try to answer your letters, though writing is a great task to me, for I am indeed fast going down hill. I am in my 58th year, and I find I fall in every respect.

You mention my mother in your letter; she is gone; I have no mother now. She will have been dead three years come September. She died in the eighty-third year of her age. She had enjoyed her health for a number of years very well, and retained her mental and bodily powers remarkably well, and had always been able to nurse my father when he had been sick, and as he was subject to frequent ill turns he had the impression that he should go first; but an allwise God ordered it otherwise, and she fell like a shock of corn fully ripe in its season, after a sickness of ten days. It was a great loss to us, but I trust it was her gain. My father felt the loss very forcibly, and said that he should soon follow her; but he has had a number of lonesome days added to his life. I do all I can to make his situation pleasant, and to soothe him under the infirmity of age, but I trust he has better support under his burden of years than I can give him, even the comfort of religion. I don't know but he will outlive all his children. My eldest sister died, last fall, with the fever, left five children, the youngest twelve years old. There were six daughters of us, and but three left and two sons; though his descendants are pretty numerous. He has thirty grandchildren and twenty-one great-grandchildren living, though but a few by the name of Putnam, as William has but one son, and Edwin three, and none old enough to marry.

In your first letter you say you should like to know how much land my father owned. I do not know now how much he did own when he



first bought here, but it was not so much as you mention, for no one man could have more than five shares; but I believe he has not a great deal now, for he has been giving farms to his children and grandchildren as fast as they wanted to settle, and likewise sold considerable, and it is on that we depend for support. We have a farm which we rent out, that lies near where we live, but it does not support us, and my father is not able to do any business nor take care of his affairs. He is very far from being very sick, but he has enough to make him comfortable in his old age and sees his children comfortably provided for, and what can we wish for more? Those that have a great deal of this world's goods are apt to have their hearts too much set upon them. He has the satisfaction to think that his children have laid up treasure in heaven, that will ever endure, as they must soon bid adieu to every thing of an earthly nature.

“From your affectionate cousin,

“BETTY PUTNAM.”

“P. S.—You wish to know whether we live in a pleasant place. I think it is very pleasant. We are about a mile from the Ohio River, and a few rods from the Muskingum; we can see both. We have a fine orchard; in a good year make two or three hundred barrels of cider. I think it is a pleasant country. B. P.”

Mr. Crane then introduced the subject of the erection by the Society of a monument to mark the spot where Jonas Rice, the first successful settler of Worcester built his house in 1713. This led to some discussions participated in by Messrs. Staples, Howland, Rice and Crane, after which the Executive Committee were instructed to investigate the subject and report at some future meeting.

Adjourned.

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Regular monthly meeting, Tuesday evening, September 7.

Present: Messrs. Crane, J. A. Smith, Stedman, Jackson, Lyford, Estey, Wesby, G. Maynard, Otis,

Simmons, Hubbard, Gould, Sawyer, Paine, Seagrave, Lee, Tucker, Meriam, Rice, Blake, C. Jillson, Dickinson, Abbot, J. A. Howland, Wall, Barrows and Staples, members ; and W. O. Hale, visitor.—28.

Dr. J. K. Warren of Worcester and Hon. Velorous Taft of West Upton, were admitted as active members of the Society.

The Librarian reported 138 additions to the library and museum.

The President then read the following historical sketch of the Early Paper Mills of Massachusetts, especially of Worcester County.

EARLY PAPER MILLS IN MASSACHUSETTS,  
ESPECIALLY WORCESTER COUNTY.

BY E. B. CRANE.

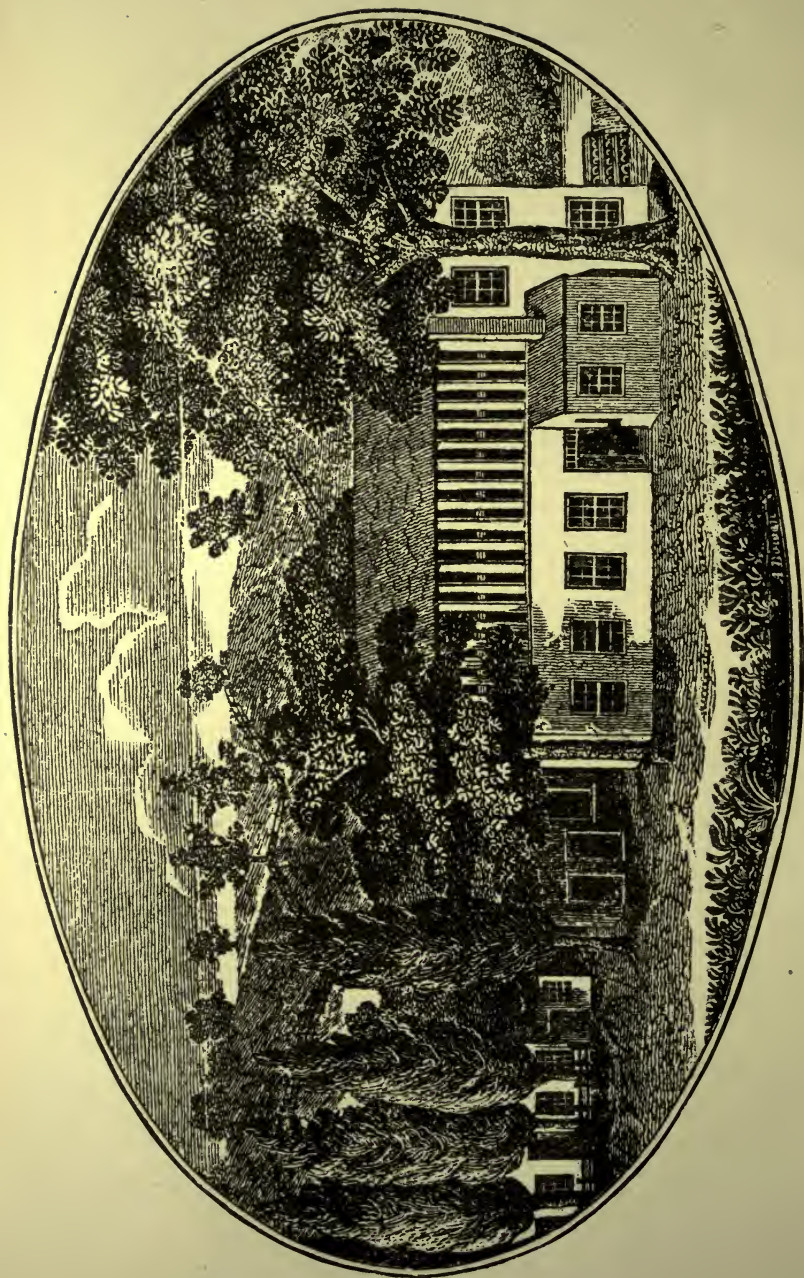
The first mill put in operation for the manufacture of paper in Massachusetts was located in the town of Milton on the bank of the Neponset River, about seven miles distant from Boston. The building here utilized was erected about the year 1717 for a fulling mill, by Mr. Joseph Belcher, afterwards the minister at Dedham. A company composed of prominent gentlemen of Boston procured a lease of this mill, furnished it with the necessary equipments and began operations under a "grant for the encouragement of a Paper Mill," passed by the General Court of Massachusetts on the 13th day of Sept., 1728. The names of the persons who constituted this company were Daniel Henchman, Gillam Phillips, Benjamin Faneuil, Thomas Hancock and Henry Deering. Mr. Henchman, the leading man in the enterprise, was a prominent bookseller and publisher with a store on Cornhill, and a grandson of Captain Daniel Henchman one of the early proprietors of Worcester. Thomas Hancock was also a bookseller and publisher, having a store on Anne Street near the Draw Bridge. He had served his time with Mr. Henchman, learning the art of bookbinding, and married his daughter Lydia. It was he who built the famous Hancock Mansion on Beacon Street that was taken down in 1863 to make room for other more modern buildings. He died in 1764 leaving the greater portion of his large estate to his nephew, John Hancock, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts. Quite likely it was through Lydia Henchman that a part of this estate came to be located in Worcester. She inherited it from her father.

Benjamin Faneuil was the father of Peter, of Faneuil Hall memory, and Gillam Phillips was a brother-in-law of Peter, so

that the company was made up largely of family relatives. Henry Deering was made superintendent and agent, and an Englishman, Henry Woodman by name, was employed as foreman of paper making. This company was granted exclusive right to manufacture paper in the state of Massachusetts for the term of ten years, on condition that during the first fifteen months they made 140 reams of brown paper and 60 reams of printing paper.\* *The second year*, that same amount with an increase of 50 reams of printing paper was to be made, and *the third year*, 25 reams of superior quality of writing paper was to be produced in addition to the amount required for the second year, and that thereafter *the annual product of the mill* should not be less than 500 reams. In 1731 a sample of their paper was presented to the Legislature, and the work went on apparently without interruption until the year 1737, when the foreman, Mr. Woodman, took occasion to sever his connection with the company, and as Mr. Deering wished to give his time to other cares, an active, enterprising person was found by the name of John or Jeremiah Smith, an Irishman of Boston, not a practical paper maker, who assumed superintendence of the works, while John Hazleton, an Englishman, was employed as foreman of paper making. Within a few years, by prudent management, Smith became sole proprietor, having from time to time purchased the interests held by his associates in the business; and also in 1741 bought the mill property of the heirs of Mr. Belcher. Ten years had now elapsed since the company made their beginning. So difficult had been the task of obtaining skilled workmen that the venture had not proved a great financial success. For the most part coarse or common paper had been produced. The better grades required for use in New England were either brought from Philadelphia or from across the Atlantic. About the year 1760, Mr. James Boies, a son-in-law of Mr. Smith, who was then acting as supercargo on a vessel employed in bringing emigrants from England to the Provinces, induced one Richard Clark, a paper-maker, whom he met on a voyage to New York, to

\*The stamp or watermark used on this paper was the arms of London.





THE ISALAH THOMAS PAPER MILL.

BUILT 1793.

*Reproduced from an old wood engraving.*

go to Milton and work for his father-in-law Smith. Clark proved the right man, for under his management a far better quality of paper was produced at Smith's mill than ever before, and a season of prosperity at once began. In 1769 one half interest in the mill was sold to Daniel Vose, also a son-in-law of Smith, and in 1775 Vose purchased the other half, and Mr. Smith retired from business having acquired, for that period, an ample fortune.

In May, 1764, James Boies, who it appears had now relinquished his occupation as a seaman, purchased the land once occupied by an old Slitting Mill, that was built in 1710, by Mr. Jonathan Jackson. The building had been burned down some years previous to this purchase, and the property was sold to Boies by the executors of Edward Jackson, perhaps a son of the builder. Here just above the old one, James Boies erected the *second* or upper Paper Mill, as it was sometimes called.

Mr. Richard Clark left the employ of Mr. Smith and joined in a co-partnership with Boies for the purpose of manufacturing paper. About four years later (in 1768) the mill burned down but was soon rebuilt, and in 1773 Boies and Clark were discharged from a debt for money advanced them by the Province in 1764 for the purpose of "putting the Paper Mills in repair."

James Boies also erected another paper mill near the one he first built and conveyed one half of it Aug. 17th, 1771, to an old shipmate, Hugh McLean. Boies and Clark now owned the second mill while Boies and McLean owned the third one. It was this James Boies who, with Mr. Goddard of Brookline, had charge of the three hundred teams on the night of March 4th hauling fascines (bundles of white birch fagots), to assist in constructing the fortifications at Dorchester Heights, a masterly strategic movement ordered by Washington which a few days later caused the British troops to evacuate Boston. Hugh McLean, the brother sailor of Boies, was father of John McLean, the patron of Harvard College, and the Massachusetts General Hospital. Richard Clark died in 1777 and his son George sold his father's half interest in the *second* mill to Hugh McLean in 1779. In the year 1773, George Clark, just mentioned, purchased several

acres of land situated on the north side of the same stream and erected the fourth paper mill, one half of which he in 1786 sold to Mr. William Sumner. April 9th, 1782, the mill belonging to Boies & McLean situated on the south side of the trench, was burned, but was soon rebuilt. In 1790 the firm was dissolved and the property divided. James Boies died in 1796 at the advanced age of 96 years.

Judging from the records examined, the next or fifth paper mill built within the present limits of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, was erected by Mr. Abijah Burbank at Sutton.

As there has been some uncertainty as to the location of the mill of Richard Fry, the Boston, stationer and paper maker, let me refer to his petition for relief under date of June 22, 1739, to Gov. Jonathan Belcher. From this petition we learn, that Mr. Samuel Waldo, a merchant of Boston, owned land in Maine, and while in London, England, contracted with Richard Fry in the year 1731, to come to New England and erect a paper mill. Within four years the mill was completed and Fry engaged to pay for it a rental of £64 per annum for 20 years. This paper mill was built on the Presumpscot River in the town of Falmouth, about six miles South-west of Portland, Maine, Col. Thomas Westbrook of Falmouth, seems also to have had an interest with Waldo in the land and mill, for after a few years, Westbrook put up another paper mill at Strandwater, in Falmouth; but complications to such an extent arose, that Waldo & Westbrook offered Fry £500 to give up his lease, which proposition Fry refused. But the struggle finally resulted in Waldo & Westbrook getting possession of the mills at Falmouth, and Fry being lodged in jail at Boston, where he was resting at the date of his petition. As the record shows that his communication was dismissed, we may infer that Waldo & Westbrook had valid rights, and we learn no more of Mr. Fry.

For many years the demands of the young colony for paper had been well supplied by local manufacturers with the help of a certain amount of importations; but the monotony which had existed for a considerable period in the commerce of the coun-



try, seemed about to be interrupted. A war-cloud had been sighted in the east; at first it appeared not larger than a man's hand, but gradually it had spread until now it cast its dark, lowering shadow completely across the territory occupied by the American Colonies. The flash and the report soon came, followed by that eventful struggle known as the Revolution. The tide of public feeling and sentiment against the mother country for the oppression imposed upon her American Colonies, had reached its very height. Lines were drawn locating the Tories on one side and Whigs on the other. A cessation of commerce with Great Britain had been declared. The port of Boston closed. The Battle of Lexington had just taken place, and British troops were now guarding every avenue leading in and out of Boston. The Committee of Safety had been holding sessions at Cambridge and Concord, and conventions composed of delegates from the several committees of correspondence for the various towns in the Commonwealth, had been held for the purpose of discussing and adopting such means as necessity might demand for carrying forward the inevitable struggle, into which the colonies were just entering.

The leaders in this great contest were sufficiently wise to perceive the necessity of securing a Printing Press, through the means of which they might be able to present to the people their views on the momentous questions of the day. They also realized that the "pen is mightier than the sword," at least they proposed to use the pen and the sword, for efforts had already been put forth to induce the Patriot Isaiah Thomas to establish a weekly newspaper at Worcester, but not until the night of April 16, 1775, was the work of removing types and press begun in earnest. During the darkness of that night Colonel Timothy Bigelow and General Joseph Warren, with, no doubt, the assistance of faithful friends, succeeded in ferrying them across the Charles River from Boston, and conveying them by team safely to Worcester. Three days later, on the morning of the 19th, Mr. Thomas passed privily out of Boston and reached Lexington in time to assist the Provincial Militia in repelling the attack at that point made by the British soldiers on that

day. One day later he arrived in Worcester, and immediately set about putting his types and press in order for the important service he was to render his country. On the 26th day of April John Hancock addressed a letter to Joseph Warren and the Committee of Safety, asking that 50 reams of crown, 40 of Demy, 20 of Foolscap and 5 of writing paper be furnished Mr. Thomas. April 29th that committee voted that 4 reams be ordered to Worcester for "Mr. Thomas, printer, he to be accountable." On the 12th of May they voted to supply him with 60 reams of Crown and 8 reams of Demy. This paper was sent from the paper-mills at Milton, and Mr. Thomas published the first copy of his *Spy* at Worcester, on the 3d day of May, 1775.

At a convention of delegates from towns in Worcester County, held on May 31st, the following vote was passed :

"*Resolved*: That the erection of a paper-mill in this county, would be of great public advantage, and if any person or persons will undertake the erection of such a mill and the manufacture of paper, that it be recommended to the people of the county to encourage the undertaking by generous contributions and subscriptions."

In response to this resolution, Mr. Abijah Burbank of Sutton undertook the venture. It does not appear that Mr. Burbank had enjoyed any previous training for such a work, neither do we know what assistance, in answer to the above resolution, he found at his command, nevertheless, a commencement was made, and after many months of persistent toil, he in June, 1776 produced a sample of coarse or ordinary paper. It is quite apparent that Mr. Burbank met with no little difficulty at first in being able to manufacture the desired quality, and perhaps quantity of paper. Laborers skilled in the art were not easily to be found, neither were suitable rags at hand, and it was not until May, 1778 that Mr. Burbank informed the public, through the columns of the *Spy*, "that the manufacture of paper at Sutton, is now carried on to great perfection." The month following he again gave notice in the *Spy* that he had "lately procured a workman who is a complete master of the art of paper making," but the growing scarcity of rags was a serious

check to the product of the mill. The price paid for linen or cotton and linen rags in Nov., 1777, was three pence per pound, one year later eight pence per pound, March, 1779, 12 pence, in July 18 pence, and in Nov. 2 shillings, Feb., 1780, 3 shillings, in April 6 shillings and July, 1781, 10 shillings per pound. During this period it was with exceeding difficulty that a sufficient amount of rags could be found from which to make the paper on which to print the *Spy*. Many times that newspaper was forced to appear greatly reduced in size and occasionally even on a half sheet.\*

This mill was located on the outlet of Crooked Pond, now known as Singletary Lake. John Singletary built a grist-mill near the head of this outlet about the year 1720, and Abijah Burbank built on the same stream, about one-half mile below, on the site now occupied by the mill of Mr. Mowry A. Lapham. In the year 1813 this portion of Sutton was set off to the town of Millbury.

This was the first paper-mill put in operation in Worcester County and the seventh one built within the borders of the State of Massachusetts, four having been constructed at Milton, and two at Falmouth, now in Maine, then within the bounds of this Commonwealth. It was a two-vat mill, arranged after the style of the *largest* and most approved plan then in use in this country. A breast-wheel twelve feet in diameter furnished the power to drive the greater portion of the machinery in the mill, which previous to the year 1828, was composed of two engines with rolls two feet in length and 26 inches in diameter, one duster and a grindstone with which to sharpen the bed-plates to the engine. The rags were cut by hand on a scythe fixed in a post or a long knife, and five men with ten or twelve girls made up the required quota of help. By running the two engines to their full capacity, the accustomed fifteen hours per day, they were able to turn out from two hundred and thirty to two hundred and fifty pounds of paper daily or about fifteen hundred pounds

\*The Massachusetts House of Representatives passed a resolve that our Committee of Safety appoint some suitable person to receive rags for the paper mills.

per week. The market for a large share of this stock was found in the towns located in Central Massachusetts and portions of Rhode Island and Connecticut, it being distributed by means of teams making regular trips over the territory, and at the same time collecting rags to supply the mill, rags being the chief article taken in exchange, although small amounts of money sometimes reached the pockets of the imaginary princely manufacturer.

The making of writing paper one hundred years ago was quite a different process from what we find it to-day. Then nearly the entire operation was performed by hand-labor, such as cutting the rags, moulding the sheets, pressing, hanging in the drying loft, sizing or glazing, and pressing between smooth press paper, again drying in the loft, trimming and making up into quires, each sheet having to be handled separately five or six times before being ready for market. It is said that three months' time was required from the reception of the rags to the time of placing writing paper manufactured from them on the market.

Caleb Burbank born in Sutton, July 18, 1761, was associated with his father, Abijah, in the manufacture of paper, and as early as 1783 succeeded to the business,\* which was continued with marked success. February 20, 1788, Caleb, with his brother Elijah, purchased of their father for £600, all the lands he owned in Sutton, comprising "4 parts and parcels," including the buildings thereon, he reserving one half of an oil mill to Col. Jonathan Holman and Capt. Andrew Elliot, his copartners in that business, also a powder-mill, a deed of which he gave to the late Colony of Massachusetts Bay. In 1828, they enlarged the capacity of the mill by introducing a machine with a cylinder 30 inches in length, 26 in diameter for making paper. In 1830 a rag cutter driven by a tub-wheel was added. One year later he replaced the old engines of 130 or 140 lbs. capacity, with two new ones capable of handling 160 to 180 lbs. each, about six horse power. The third engine of sufficient size to operate 130

\* The writer has seen writing paper bearing his name as a water-mark that was written upon at that date.

to 140 lbs. was added in October, 1833; and two years afterward he put in the second dryer. Mr. Isaac Goddard of Worcester went to work for Caleb Burbank in this mill, February, 1828, and continued in his employ until March, 1835, and was engaged as finisher and general superintendent. Mr. Gardner Burbank was employed in the same mill from April, 1829, until June, 1835. For seventeen years this was the only paper-mill in the county, and during that time was the main source of supply for the printing presses of Mr. Isaiah Thomas, as well as for the people of the surrounding country.

For many years Caleb Burbank conducted the manufacture of paper on a large scale for his time, accumulating a large property and was considered, it is said, "the richest man in Millbury," and perhaps as well known and popular as any man in this vicinity. He was one of the first board of directors of the Millbury Bank, representative to the General Court and through deserved popularity was elevated from a private in the State Militia to the rank of major-general. For some time General Burbank lived to enjoy with his numerous friends the fruits of his success and prosperity as a business man; and for more than half a century he continued the manufacture of paper in this mill built by his father. He also published various books used at that time in the schools, together with different hymn and tune books. When the dark clouds of that financial storm, which culminated in the year 1836, carrying disaster and destruction to so many seemingly prosperous business firms throughout the country, were gathering in their strength, General Burbank, who from the generosity of his heart had lent his name for the help of others, found himself so thoroughly involved when the crisis came, that he was obliged to sacrifice his entire property, not even saving from the wreck enough to provide a comfortable home for the last few years of his life. General Burbank continued in possession of this mill until about the 15th of July, 1836, when it passed into other hands and the paper business was continued there for a time under the style of Shepard & Goddard. They were succeeded by Howe & Goddard, who were in turn followed by Messrs. Brierly & Co. Paper

making having been carried on in this mill upwards of 80 years, or until about the year 1857.

It was doubtless in this mill that James Phelps conceived the idea which led him, in 1843, to make his improvements in the washing or beating engine by attaching an adjustable rotating water elevator and strainer; also a device for separating the water from the paper stock and discharging it from the vat of the washing engine.

As had been anticipated by the committees of safety and correspondence, the *Spy*, through the determined energy of its supporters, disseminated its lessons of patriotism, and at the same time laid before its patrons denunciations of the acts of cruel and unjust oppression by mother country; and after several years of severe struggle for an existence, putting to the test the best efforts of its founder, as well as of William Stearns, Daniel Bigelow and Anthony Haswell, who in turn had tried its publication and management, it was found to have reached a firm and substantial foundation. Mr. Thomas, in whose hands alone the paper had been made to thrive, found himself in possession of a profitable and increasing printing and publishing business. Presumably with the intention of erecting a paper mill, he on January 7th, 1785, purchased of Ephraim McFarland for £90 the southerly half of a dam and water privilege located at what is now known as Quinsigamond Village, and on the northerly side of the street in front of the site now occupied by the Washburn & Moen Wire Company's mills. A building stood at the southerly end of this dam which had been used by Mr. McFarland as a blacksmith's shop. Owing perhaps partly to the unsettled condition of the affairs of state and to the impoverished plight of the country, the building of the mill was deferred, and November 9, 1787, he sold the property, for £85 to Dr. Elijah Dix, from whom he again purchased it January 31, 1793, for £100, and soon began the construction of a two-vat mill. Rev. Peter Whitney, the historian, referring to this mill says it is to be as large as any in the state. October 10th, Mr. Thomas advertised for a quantity of pine plank, and November 6th, for 1000 feet of good seasoned pine slit-work for the

paper mill in Worcester. The latter, quite likely, was to be used in constructing the drying loft. This was the second mill built in Worcester county for the manufacture of paper. Power was obtained by means of a large breast-wheel.

This water privilege was perhaps the same that was granted by the town to Captain Nathaniel Jones, September 12, 1717, in consideration of which gift, including 30 acres of land, he was to build and maintain a grist-mill for the space of twelve years. As Capt. Jones had failed to carry out his part of the agreement, the town voted April 19, 1732, that a committee composed of William Jennison, Esq., Henry Lee, Esq., and Moses Rice, proceed to take action for the recovery of that mill lot. It appears that as early as 1726 Mr. Jones built here a dam and a saw-mill. But in the early spring of 1728-29, the place was visited by a violent flood which swept away the bridge below the dam and possibly the saw-mill, for at the town meeting held May 15, 1729, it was voted not to rebuild as it was such a hazardous place to maintain a bridge, we find nothing further on record regarding the mill property of Captain Jones, until April 1732, when the town took steps to recover the land, on account of the failure of the captain to fulfil his part of the contract with the town. Some years later we find this property in the possession of the Chandler family and included in a tract of 260 acres of land known as the Mill Farm at Quinsigamond. It was owned by the third Judge John Chandler, whose estate among others was declared confiscated by an act of the General Court, April 13, 1779, and sold at public vendue in Worcester, March 27, 1781, at the house of Ezra Jones, innholder. A saw and grist-mill, mill dam and house, with four acres of land, which were sold independent of the farm, brought £257 silver, and were purchased by Eleazer Rider. The deed was signed by John Fessenden and Caleb Ammidown committee of the state of Massachusetts for the sale of absentee's estates, December 8, 1781. Jonathan Warner was also a member of this committee which was empowered, October, 1781, to sell confiscated property in Worcester County.

Eleazer Rider, the miller, sold the southerly half of the dam

with a privilege of the water for £22, 10s, to James McFarland, Yeoman of Worcester, October 23, 1782, who erected a blacksmith's shop at the southerly end of the dam, and left it by will, to his son Ephraim, who carried on the blacksmithing business there until January 7, 1785, when he sold the privilege with his shop to Isaiah Thomas as before stated.

No doubt the object of Mr. Thomas in building this large mill was to increase his supply of paper, his printing business having grown to such proportions that the Burbank mill at Sutton was unable to furnish the needed supply. Mr. Thomas was now running in Worcester seven printing presses from which he was turning out as fine work in that line as could be produced in this country. He had already (previous to July, 1793) issued three editions of the Bible, one a large folio with fifty copper-plate illustrations, the second, a large royal quarto, with concordance, etc., and the third an octavo; and at that time was preparing to issue a small quarto size and a duodecimo. He kept a large bookstore constantly well stocked with a general assortment of books of his own publication and importation. Mr. Thomas also carried on one of the most extensive bookbinding establishments in the state. In fact he was one of the largest dealers in books and stationery to be found in this country at that period. He at one time, it is said, published four newspapers, and had under his control eight bookstores, one in Baltimore, one at Albany, N. Y., one in New Hampshire and five in Massachusetts. Besides several editions of the Bible, he published some historical works, a number of law-books and a large variety of school and blank books. It is claimed, and there seems little reason to doubt the assertion, that he was one of the largest and most extensive book publishers of his time on either side the Atlantic. At one time there were sixteen printing presses running under his direction, seven of which were located in Worcester. Of course they were not of the celebrated Hoe pattern, but were, we presume, of the most approved design, and the reputation of his publishing house ranked high, both for accuracy and elegance of workmanship. In the year 1802, Mr. Thomas retired from active business and was suc-



ceeded by his son. This mill, built by Mr. Thomas, was supplied with two vats of about 110 lbs. capacity, and they were run usually fifteen hours each day, employing ten men and eleven girls; the main product of this mill was hand-made paper and 1200 to 1400 lbs. was turned out weekly. As to price of labor, a skilled engineer received about \$3 per week, vatman and coucher \$3½ each, without board. Ordinary workmen and girls 75c. per week each, boys 60c., and they were given board. It was here in this mill that Mr. Zenas Crane, a native of Dorchester, toiled at the trade of paper making for several years previous to the summer of 1799, when he set out from Worcester to establish, in company with Henry Wiswell and Daniel Gilbert, a paper mill in the western portion of Massachusetts, and succeeded so admirably in laying the foundations for a business that through the careful and skillful management of Mr. Crane and his descendants has assumed the most flattering proportions; and whose trade marks known as the "Old Berkshire," "Old Red Mill," "The Pioneer Mill" and "The Government Mill," stand to-day for as good an article of paper as can be found in this country or perhaps in any other. Many of the paper mills in this country were run with but one vat, and none with more than two. As a general thing manufacturers were troubled to dispose of even the small quantity of paper they produced, and as a class they were poor. A large share of their business was done through barter; blank books, school books and all grades of paper were carted about the country and exchanged for rags and a little money; consequently very little money was paid for labor. The demand for writing paper was exceedingly limited, the bulk of the fine qualities were worked into various kinds of books.

February 24, 1798, Mr. Thomas sold his paper-mill, etc., together with land, house, saw and grist-mill, the latter he having in the meantime purchased, to Caleb and Elijah Burbank of Sutton, and for some years they carried on business at this mill in addition to the one in Sutton, now Millbury. Here at that early day in this interior rural spot, nestling among the hills, was an industry only equalled in importance by one local-

ity in the Commonwealth, that in the town of Milton, a half dozen miles out of Boston. On paper made at this mill as early as the year 1804 we find the water mark to be "Elijah Burbank," conveying the idea that, although Caleb assisted his brother in purchasing the Thomas mill, Elijah may have conducted the business in his own name. The cut of this mill in possession of the Society, gives us a very good likeness, as no changes were made to its exterior while it was in possession of Mr. Burbank; and it was known as the "upper mill."

February 8th, 1811, Caleb sold his interest in this mill-property to his brother Elijah, who caused to be erected, about 25 rods below the Thomas mill, a two-and-a-half story building 40 by 50 feet square, to be used by his son, Gardner Burbank, and a Mr. Belknap as a Sickle Manufactory. After running a short time they failed, and Mr. Elijah Burbank put in a pulp engine, also one vat for making wrapping paper, building on an addition 25 by 40 feet for their accommodation. Wrapping paper was also made on a mould which was 18 by 28 inches square, and was sold in that size as well as half size 14 by 18 inches by the *Swad* or Bunch, one of the large size weighing 16 lbs. and was sold for \$2; small size \$1. A scythe fixed in a post constituted a cutter by which the size of the paper was reduced. To man a one-vat wrapping paper mill required four men and a boy; twenty posts was a day's work, requiring about nine hours' labor for two men and a boy at the vat; 126 felts or 125 sheets constituted a post, so that 2500 sheets were turned out daily. The attic was used to store and prepare stock. It was here that the fire originated, February 28th, 1827, which did considerable damage to the building and stock, but repairs were at once made by Mr. Elijah Burbank who continued the manufacture of paper at these mills until 1834, when he was succeeded in the business by the Quinsigamond Paper Company, a firm composed of William Lincoln, Charles Allen and Abram G. Randall, who increased their product by the introduction of machinery to 300 reams of print paper per week.

The *third* paper-mill built in Worcester County was perhaps that of Messrs. Nichols and Kendall at Leominster, and was

put in operation in 1796. Paper manufactured at this mill had for a water-mark the letters "N. & K." This industry is still carried on by the popular and prosperous firm known as the George W. Wheelwright Paper Company. February 15th, 1808, Elijah Burbank of Worcester sold to his son Leonard, for the sum of \$2500, a piece of land in Fitchburg, on which stood a paper-mill. It appears that this was the *fourth* paper-mill in the county. Mr. Burbank purchased this property September 11th, 1807, of Edward Simmons and Solomon Dwin- nel, Jr., who shared equally in its ownership, they having pur- chased it of Jonas Marshall, Jr., June 6th, 1807. Edward Simmons was from Dorchester and Solomon Dwin- nel, Jr., was from Sutton, both paper makers by trade. Dwin- nel must have learned his trade at the Burbank mill.\* Mr. William Lincoln, the historian, tells us, that in 1812 paper was made in a build- ing that stood near Lincoln Square, and on the site of the old Court Mills. At Northville, in 1836, Messrs. Nathaniel Eaton & Company were making print paper in a building 40 by 70 feet square, two stories high, owned by Mr. F. W. Paine.

About the year 1834 a four-story building, 30 by 60 feet square, was erected in Auburn, on the stream a mile or so above Stoneville, by Nathaniel S. Clark and Daniel Haywood. Here, under the direction of Mr. Parker, two engines were em- ployed making wrapping-paper. The two upper stories of the mill were used for drying lofts. At the breaking away of Mr. Smith's reservoir in 1856, this building, together with a saw-mill and a lath-mill, were carried away in the flood and never re- placed. Some thirty or forty years ago, wrapping-paper was manufactured at Cherry Valley, in a building that stood on the site of the mill now known as the Ashworth & Jones estate. A steadily growing demand continued, so that in the year 1837 there were nineteen paper-mills in operation within the bounds of Worcester County, annually consuming over 1300 tons of rags and producing about \$130,000 worth of paper. In November,

\*Mr. Rufus C. Torrey, writer of the History of Fitchburg, says this mill was "built by Thomas French in 1804, and set in operation the year following." Mr. French was a blacksmith by trade and may have been engaged in its construction.

1829, there were sixty mills in Massachusetts, only six of them using machinery in the manufacture of paper. These sixty mills consumed about 1700 tons of rags, producing paper to the value of \$700,000 per annum, which was little more than one-tenth the value of the product of all the paper-mills in the United States, but the rapid developments and improvements made in paper-making machinery during the subsequent fifteen years, caused a complete revolution in this industry, so that in 1842 its mill property was valued in the United States at \$16,000,000, and the paper manufactured, at \$15,000,000 per annum, more than doubling the product in thirteen years.

Remarks upon the subject of the paper were made by Messrs. Paine, Simmons, Otis, Meriam and Blake, the latter speaking in an interesting way from the standpoint of a paper manufacturer.

Adjourned.

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Regular meeting, Tuesday evening, October 5.

Present: Messrs. Crane, Dickinson, G. Maynard, Simmons, Thayer, Gould, Meriam, Abbot, Estey, Staples, Seagrave, Otis, Tucker, Barrows.—14.

Messrs. Cyrus G. Wood, and William A. Gile, of Worcester, and Dr. George C. Webber, of Millbury, were admitted as active members of the Society.

The Librarian reported 268 additions.

The President spoke of certain criticisms of the lectures given before the Society last spring by Hon. Eli Thayer.

Mr. Thayer spoke at some length, referring to the continual abuse and opposition of the Garrisonians to the movement of the Emigrant Aid Company

which gave freedom to Kansas and ultimately to the whole country; this, he said, was a matter of record and could not be disputed. The work of the Emigrant Aid Company was also a matter of record. Individual assertions amount to nothing without the proof of contemporary documents. He could produce his documents. No controversy should be carried on in the Society, but he would maintain his position elsewhere, at any time or place, against any *competent* assailant.

The President spoke of the invitation of Mr. John C. Crane to the members to visit him at West Millbury, and said arrangements would be made for a trip to that locality sometime during the month.

Adjourned.

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## VISIT TO WEST MILLBURY.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 16.

A party of fifteen members of the Worcester Society of Antiquity had a very enjoyable excursion and field day on Saturday, October 16th, at West Millbury, and the north part of Sutton, going there by invitation of Mr. John C. Crane of West Millbury, by whom they were hospitably entertained. Shortly after 9 o'clock the party left the rooms on Foster Street in Cutler's six-horse barge "Empress." The day was bright and clear, but a cutting northwest wind prevailed all day, and on the hill-tops of West Millbury it whistled through the almost leafless branches of the chestnuts and maples with a cadence suggestive of great coats and mittens. Most of the party, however, had foreseen the possibilities of the weather, and comfortable clothing was generally worn, while a generous supply of wolf robes aided in keeping warm the enthusiastic antiquaries.

The prevailing wintriness of the scene did not have its effect upon the party of excursionists. A speedy run was made to Millbury, the time in the meanwhile passing quickly in conversation, the odorous Blackstone River that ran alongside the road furnishing a fruitful theme for discussion. One gentleman related a good story of the wise legislative committee that made a visit of inspection last summer. The strong odor of phosphate that had recently been applied as top-dressing to a field in the neighborhood of the Blackstone was mistaken by some of the legislative wiseacres for the poisonous smell of the sewer.

The first halt for observation was made at Mowry A. Lapham's mill, the site of the first paper mill in Worcester County, started in 1775 by Abijah Burbank, and afterwards continued by his son, Gen. Caleb Burbank, it being the first paper mill started in Worcester County, and the fifth in the state. Just below it was an old oil mill started in 1769 by Jonathan Holman, afterwards colonel in the revolutionary army, Abijah Burbank and Andrew Elliot, afterwards captain in the revolution, all early settlers in the town, then a part of old Sutton. Gen. Burbank's residence, still standing, was noted, in the rear, and near by the site of the old powder house built in 1801, where the Crane & Waters mill now stands.

In West Millbury, the barge was met at the junction of the West Millbury and Sutton roads, by Mr. John C. Crane, Dr. Webber and Mr. Charles A. Moore of Millbury. The party was taken in charge by Mr. Crane, who proved himself, during the rest of the day, an able and enthusiastic guide to the various places of interest in this historic region.

At 10.30 a. m. the party drew up at Singletary pond, whose steely-blue, cold-looking waters were flecked with mimic white caps under the windy gusts that came down from the surrounding hills. Here the excursionists, somewhat chilled by the cold ride from the city, disembarked, and under the guidance of Mr. Crane, proceeded down across the pasture to the pond.

After traveling along its rocky shores for an eighth of a mile, searching for Indian arrow-heads and examining the curi-

ous formation of the rocks, seamed and scarred by the waves, the party turned up into the bushes to the right and soon came upon the soapstone quarry, where the bogus Indian relic manufactory was in full blast a year ago. It is a narrow, shallow excavation, on casual examination apparently of recent origin. The Indians may have secured the material for various simple domestic utensils here, but they left few traces of their presence. It is thought that here were made the "relics," a large collection of which was sold to a Worcester enthusiast a year or two ago for a round sum, and then pronounced bogus by an expert who examined them.

Leaving the quarry, a bee line was taken for the 'bus, to evade retracing the difficult and rocky course along the shore. After getting entangled in a laurel thicket, and having innumerable individual adventures, the party finally arrived in the road. Proceeding thence north to West Millbury village, among the objects viewed was the old Jonathan Waters place, the birth place of the first Asa Waters, who was father of Asa Waters, the distinguished gun-maker, the latter being father of the present Col. Asa H. Waters of Millbury, the late owner and occupant of this old homestead. Jonathan E. Waters, who died in 1881, aged 70, was great-grandson of the first Jonathan Waters who came from Salem soon after his marriage in 1740 and settled in the then north parish of Sutton, now West Millbury, from whose seven children have sprung numerous descendants in the vicinity and elsewhere, the names of many of them being on the grave stones and monuments in the old village cemetery. The homestead is now owned by Mr. Charles A. Whitney, who married the daughter of the late Jonathan E. Waters.

The visitors next halted at the residence of the late Capt. Amasa Wood, who was one of the first boot and shoe manufacturers in that section of the county, beginning as far back as 1808. They then viewed the old shop of Thomas Blanchard, the distinguished mechanic and inventor, now owned and occupied by Mr. James A. Dike, who uses the shop for all kinds of wood-turning.

Blanchard was born in 1788, about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles further up the road, in the edge of Oxford, and it was in this shop that he invented his eccentric lathe that created a revolution in mechanics. The shop stands on Ramshorn Brook, and with the exception of a modern addition, is in the same condition as when Blanchard studied and strove to perfect his lathe model, all the while watched by the jealous eyes of his neighbor Kenney, whose brass foundry on the opposite side of the highway was the first one started in Central Massachusetts.

Here, while engaged working for his older brother, Stephen Blanchard, making tacks by hand, about 1806, Thomas Blanchard, then a youth of 18, conceived the idea of inventing a machine for the purpose, and perfected it in six years. Finally, so effective was the machine that by placing in the hopper the iron to be worked and applying the motive power, 500 tacks were made per minute, with better finish than had ever before been attained. Soon afterwards he invented a machine for turning gun barrels throughout their entire length by one self-directing operation, with wonderful success. This was followed by the invention of a lathe for turning gun stocks and other irregular forms, which came into general use at once.

Mr. John C. Crane, who is deeply interested in local antiquities, gave valuable explanations at this and other points on the route. He told of Blanchard's youth, and dormant mechanical genius, awakened at last by his entrée into his brother's shop, where he secured his first ideas of mechanical improvement, and of his future studies and efforts. His model of the famous lathe for turning irregular forms, gun stocks, etc., perfected, the inventor was obliged to submit to a hearing of the contesting claims of his neighbor and himself. The best counsel in the state, including Hon. Samuel Hoar of Concord, and Hon. John Davis of Worcester, were interested, and after an examination of the conflicting claims, lasting several days, the right of priority was finally awarded to Blanchard, and he was adjudged the original inventor.

To follow up the history of this remarkable man's inventions and their results would require a volume. He invented a steam



wagon before any railroad had ever been laid. He took out upwards of 25 patents during his lifetime from some of which he derived considerable profits, but nothing like what he ought to have had, his fate being that of many of the other great inventors of the world, who contribute vastly more to it than they ever get from it in their lifetime. Thomas Blanchard's last years were spent in Boston in the business of bending heavy timbers to any desired form, by a process of his own invention, and he died there, April 16, 1864, aged 75 years and 9½ months. His brother Stephen died in West Millbury, May 16, 1855, aged 79 years and 7 months, and his father, Samuel Blanchard, died July 24, 1825, aged 76, both of whom lie buried in the old cemetery at West Millbury; also, Stephen Blanchard's wife, Betsy, who died September 30, 1880, aged 86 years and 9 months.

Before making further investigations the party were piloted by Mr. J. C. Crane to his hospitable mansion near by, where dinner was partaken of about 2 o'clock, and a fine social time was enjoyed for an hour. The party at dinner consisted of the host, Mr. John C. Crane; E. B. Crane, President of the Society; Rev. Charles E. Simmons, Dr. J. W. Brigham of Wilkinsonville, Dr. George C. Webber of Millbury, John Brooks of Princeton, Hammond W. Hubbard, Joseph A. Howland, Franklin P. Rice, Thomas A. Dickinson, Myron E. Barrows, James L. Estey, Rufus N. Meriam, Pardon A. Lee, Abram K. Gould and Augustus Stone of Worcester, Charles A. Moore and James A. Dike of Millbury, Caleb A. Wall of the *Spy*, Everett W. Shumway of the *Gazette*, and John A. Farley of the *Telegram*. The divine blessing was asked at the tables by Rev. Mr. Simmons.

At the close of the dinner President Crane voiced the party's appreciation of the generous hospitality of Mr. Crane and family in a few appropriate words of thanks, Mr. Crane responding by an invitation to come again. Mr. Crane's farm was formerly owned by Thaddeus Hall, whose son, Orson Hall, kept the St. Charles Hotel in New Orleans in 1862. Gen. Butler occupied the hotel and Mr. Hall afterward received compensation for damages from the government.

Mr. Crane exhibited some interesting relics of the early paper-makers of Worcester County, the Burbank family, concerning whom mention is made in President E. B. Crane's paper on the "Early Paper Mills of Massachusetts," read at a late meeting of the Society.

After the dinner, which was highly enjoyed, the first place visited was the old burial ground in the village, where the oldest inscription is one of 1728, Polley Kenney, before the north parish was set off, which was done in 1743, in response to the petition of the settlers in the northern section of the old town of Sutton. Here, besides the Waters family, are the burials of several generations of the Burbanks, Holmans, Pierces, and others of the oldest settlers in the vicinity and their descendants.

The visitors next proceeded southward by the east shore of Ramshorn Pond, to the hill where was the fort for the protection of the first settlers from Indians. A little further south, over the Millbury line into Sutton, and opposite the pond, they ascended the celebrated eminence called Potter Hill, from the first settler on or owner of the locality. From this hill, capped with rocks, are plainly seen seven or eight of the surrounding towns and villages. This high hill is said to have been the scene of a fight with the Indians in the early time, of which the following incidents were narrated by Daniel Dike from Ipswich, who settled about 1734 on the farm south of and adjoining Ramshorn Pond, where he was succeeded by his son, Anthony Dike. Daniel Dike's account is: "When the first settlement was made in this vicinity, the Indians used to shoot around the pond, and showed considerable hostility to the early settlers, who came to the conclusion that they must take some measures to rid themselves of them. They accordingly collected on a high hill east of the pond, called Potter Hill; the Indians collected on a small island at the south end of said pond, situated a little north of the Dike house. The parties commenced firing upon each other; after exchanging a few shots, the Indians withdrew, leaving one of their number dead, and started as though they were going to Grafton. The inhabitants started after them,

going between Ramshorn and Crooked (Singletary Lake) ponds, expecting to cut them off at the lower end of the latter, and capture them. But instead of going to Grafton, as the first appearance seemed to indicate, they turned their course to Dudley, where there was an encampment of the tribe. Ever after they kept away, or if any of them came around they behaved peacefully. But the settlers not feeling quite safe, fearing the Indians might engage in further hostility, built a block house of logs to which they could flee in case of sudden attack. This fort was situated about half a mile from the place where the skirmish above mentioned occurred, on the farm then belonging to Theophilus Kenney, who was the first settler thereon." This fort was the place on the hill half a mile north in West Millbury, which the party had just visited.

From this point the visitors began their ride homeward, through West Millbury and Auburn. On passing the barn of Samuel A. Small, in West Millbury Village, he gave each an opportunity to test the quality of his newly-made cider, which was pronounced excellent. Mr. J. C. Crane left the party as they passed his residence on their return home, and as he left he was given three cheers with a will for his generous hospitality and courtesy to the visitors. He met them at their entrance into Millbury and piloted through all the places they visited, explaining the different localities and interesting incidents connected therewith. The excursionists reached Worcester on their return about 6:30 P. M.

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Regular meeting, Tuesday evening, November 2.  
Present: Messrs. Crane, Barrows, Otis, Dickinson, G. Maynard, Sawyer, Gould, C. E. Simmons, Meriam, Seagrave, Estey, Rice, Abbot, J. A. Howland, Staples, Warren and Wall, members, and three visitors.—20.

Hon. William W. Rice, of Worcester, and Hon. James W. Stockwell, of Sutton, were admitted as active members of the Society.

The Librarian reported 1129 additions, principally contributed by Phineas Bates, Esq., of Boston, who gave nearly 800 pamphlets.

The President exhibited a copy of the Domesday Book, and gave some account of it.

Mr. F. P. Rice read a paper entitled, "Stephen Burroughs and his visit to Worcester."\* This was followed by general conversation upon the subject of the paper.

Mr. Staples criticised the conduct of the Committee on Nominations, stating that they held no meetings, and made no report to the Society of names unfavorably acted upon.

Mr. Rice gave some account of the doings of this committee while he was a member of it, and said that only three names were rejected during his five years of service, and that these persons had since been admitted as members.

Mr. Staples then made the following motion, which was unanimously carried:

*Resolved:* That the Standing Committee on Nominations be required to report upon every proposition submitted to them at the next regular meeting; and further, that any propositions now in their possession they shall be required to report upon at the next regular meeting in December.

The meeting was then adjourned.

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Annual meeting, Tuesday evening, December 7.  
Present: Messrs. Crane, Dickinson, Rice, Mer-  
iam, G. Maynard, Abbot, Barrows.—7.

\* Printed in the Worcester Home Journal of February 12, 1887.

On account of the heavy storm, the meeting was adjourned for two weeks.

Adjourned annual meeting, Tuesday evening, December 21.

Present: Messrs. Crane, Lee, Otis, G. Maynard, Seagrave, Gould, Meriam, Rice, Dickinson, C. Jillson, Stedman, Abbot, C. R. Johnson, Staples, Estey, Wall and H. M. Smith, members; and three visitors.  
—20.

The Librarian reported 179 additions for the month. He also read a short paper on Early Card-Making Machinery.\*

The Treasurer then presented his annual report as follows:

\* Printed in the Worcester Home Journal of January 15, 1887.

## TREASURER'S REPORT.

To the Officers and Members of

The Worcester Society of Antiquity:

GENTLEMEN:—In accordance with the requirements of the By-Laws of this Society, I herewith present this Annual Report, showing the receipts and expenditures of the Society, from Dec. 1, 1885, to Dec. 7, 1886, as follows:

<i>CASH RECEIVED.</i>		<i>CASH PAID.</i>	
	DR.		CR.
1886:		1886.	
Assessments,	\$346 00	Rent,	\$175 00
Admissions,	26 00	Fuel,	3 50
Life memberships,	50 00	Gas,	10 50
Donations,	16 30	Water,	2 00
Sale of Publications,	34 80	Printing Proceedings,	156 55
	<hr/>	Postage,	38
	\$473 10	Insurance,	9 00
Balance from 1885,	36 96	Printing Notices,	32 75
		Collecting,	17 10
		Supplies for Librarian,	18 07
		Librarian,	14 00
		Use of Natural History Hall,	8 00
		Interest,	15 46
		Warren Desk,	25 00
			<hr/>
			\$487 31
		Balance on hand,	22 75
			<hr/>
	\$510 06		\$510 06

There are accounts due the Treasurer to the amount of \$218.00.

Respectfully submitted,

H. F. STEDMAN, *Treasurer.*

The Librarian then made his report for the year as follows:

## LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

The Library and Museum have been largely increased during the past year by numerous valuable and interesting contributions, showing a continued and growing interest in this community to extend the work and usefulness of the Society.

The whole number of gifts received in the past twelve months is 2866. Number of contributors, 130. The donations comprise 339 bound volumes, 1930 pamphlets, 530 papers, and 67 miscellaneous articles. A list of donors and gifts is appended to this report. I should, however, particularly mention a collection of nearly 800 valuable pamphlets received from Phineas Bates, Esq., of Boston; and the interesting relics transferred to us by the American Antiquarian Society.

The Proceedings of the Society for 1885 have been issued since my last report; and copies have been forwarded to members and societies on our exchange list.

Several magazines and newspapers have been regularly received from the publishers and others, for which due credit is given.

The Library and Museum have been open to the public Tuesday and Saturday afternoons with good results. Many persons have visited the rooms at other times.

The chief concern of your Librarian has been to arrange and classify the mass of material in our limited quarters, in order to make it available to the members and the public. He has succeeded only in a small degree. The Library has outgrown the small catalogue case provided some years since; and through the generosity of several members of the Society an improved card case has been purchased of the Library Bureau in Boston, of sufficient capacity to meet the needs of the Library for some years to come. Authorities in several of the principal libraries of the country have been consulted in personal visits of your Librarian; and it is expected that the cataloguing of the books will soon be commenced upon the most improved system. This is important in order that the work may not have to be done over again.

Another useful addition to our Library furniture, is an ancient case of drawers, which belonged to the late Hon. Peter C. Bacon. This was purchased from the card catalogue subscription fund, and has been restored in an admirable manner by Mr. Pardon A. Lee. The old clock, which bears the date of 1723 presented by the Hon. Clark Jillson, is running, and makes an appropriate and useful ornament.

I wish to speak here of the valuable service rendered in the Library by Mr. Franklin P. Rice, in assisting the Librarian, and in aiding visitors who came for information ; also for his large and valuable donations during the year.

I desire again to call your attention to the value and importance of our Museum in connection with the Library. A museum is an educational institution in itself, where may be brought together in systematized arrangement the productions of different ages, countries and peoples, to illustrate history and progress, customs and manners. There is a broader purpose than to gratify idle curiosity, or even to serve scientific inquiry. We have in a good collection, properly arranged and labeled, a medium of education that makes a deeper impression on the mind than the reading of any book or the studying of any treatise. The value of object lessons is beginning to be understood. Why should we not have in Worcester a museum similar to those in most of the large cities in Europe? As Worcester is a manufacturing center, why should we not make a specialty of illustrating the progress of manufactures in the formation of a great industrial museum, which would be of practical utility to her mechanics?

A museum, to my mind, is a place where may be found rarities and objects not commonly met with, gathered from distant and inaccessible parts,—objects which, having read about and heard of, we may see and examine in reality, without the trouble and difficulty incident to travel and adventure. Yet we have a class of scientific men who advocate making provincial museums strictly local in the objects gathered, reserving for their own particular centers, comprehensive or universal collections. The advice of an eminent naturalist to the Worcester Natural



History Society, some years since, to make their collection a local one, was hardly sound. The late Prof. C. O. Thompson said to me on that occasion: "I would not sacrifice your beautiful collection of shells and minerals simply for a Worcester County collection, which would be very meager. You have in Worcester County some fine birds, a few shells and botanical specimens; but very few minerals, which make an important and interesting department in the museum." A collection of objects which you see about you every day, or which you may meet in your vicinity would be comparatively uninteresting. I would have a local collection, made as complete as possible; but it would necessarily form but a small part of the museum. The proposition to form *only* a local collection of books would be considered an absurd one, but I do not see why the idea may not as reasonably be applied to libraries as to museums.

THOMAS A. DICKINSON, *Librarian.*

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#### GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

- ABBOT, W. F. 113 pamphlets; 33 papers; picture of Ice Palace, St. Paul, Minn.
- AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings as issued; 33 antique relics.
- AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, New York. 5 pamphlets.
- AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, New York. 1 pamphlet.
- ARNOLD, JAMES N., Providence. Narragansett Register for the year.
- ASTOR LIBRARY, New York. Report for the year.
- BATES, PHINEAS, Boston. 1 volume; 879 pamphlets.
- BATES, J. N., MRS. 1 volume; 17 pamphlets.
- BARTOW, MOREY H., New York. 1 paper.
- BARTLETT, W. H. 1 pamphlet.
- BAKER, F. M., MRS. 5 volumes; 2 papers.
- BARROWS, MYRON E. 22 pamphlets.
- BANGS & Co., New York. Catalogues.
- BILL, LEDYARD, Paxton. The Bill Family History.
- BLAKE, FRANCIS E., Boston, 2 Plans of Paper Mills at Fitchburg.
- BLANCHARD, F. S. 2 pamphlets.
- BOSTON LIBRARY BUREAU. 2 pamphlets.

- BOSTON RECORD COMMISSION. Report.
- BROWN, EDWIN. English Card Tooth Machine, called "The Bednigo."
- BROOKS, LYMAN. 1 rebel musket (ancient); 1 United States musket of 1863; 10 volumes; 4 pamphlets.
- BRITISH AMERICAN PUBLISHING CO. 1 paper.
- BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 1 pamphlet.
- BURBANK, C. W. Relic of Old Masonic Hall, Worcester.
- CALIFORNIA, UNIVERSITY OF. 4 pamphlets.
- CANADIAN INSTITUTE. Proceedings for the year.
- CLEMENCE, H. M. Relics; spinning wheels; 42 pamphlets.
- CRANE, E. B. 1 Black Walnut book case; 3 volumes; 29 pamphlets; 1 paper.
- CURRIER, ANNIE D. Miscellaneous papers and pamphlets.
- CURRIER, AUG. N. 67 pamphlets; 1 paper.
- DAVENPORT ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES, Davenport, Iowa. Proceedings.
- DANIELS, J. H., Boston. Portrait of George E. Boyden.
- DAVIS, DWIGHT A. First badge issued by Worcester Fire Association.
- DARLING, C. W. 1 pamphlet.
- DENNY, C. C., Leicester. Genealogy of the Denny Family.
- DICKINSON, T. A. 1 book tray.
- DICKEY, J. H. Rope with which Horace Carter was hanged Dec. 7, 1825; 1 card rack.
- DODGE, BENJAMIN J. 7 pamphlets; 2 papers.
- DREW, ALLIS & CO. 100 directories.
- ESSEX INSTITUTE, Salem. Bulletin as issued.
- ESTEY, JAMES L. 1 paper.
- FORUM PUBLISHING Co., New York. Magazine—specimen copy.
- GARFIELD, J. F. D., Fitchburg. 1 pamphlet.
- GODDARD, L. P. 10 pamphlets.
- GRAY, SAMUEL M., Providence. Report—Plan of Sewerage System.
- GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A., Boston. 1 volume; 26 pamphlets; 5 papers.
- GREEN, S. S. 4 pamphlets.
- HAMMOND, LEWIS W. 3 pamphlets; Hymns used by First Unitarian Society.
- HARVARD UNIVERSITY. 1 pamphlet; Bulletin as issued.
- HARRINGTON, EBEN. The Autographical Counterfeit Detector 1849.
- HOWARD, JOSEPH JACKSON, LL. D., London. "Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica" for the year.
- HOWLAND, HENRY J. Printing plates.
- HOWLAND, JOSEPH A. Two ancient singing books; Records of Worcester County South District Anti-Slavery Society.
- HULING, RAY G., New Bedford. 2 papers.

- IOWA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 2 pamphlets; Proceedings for the year.
- JILLSON, CLARK, HON. 2 volumes; 5 pamphlets; 3 papers; 1 ancient clock, London, 1723.
- JOHNSON, H. H. 10 papers.
- JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, Baltimore. Publications as issued.
- KNOX, JOSEPH B. John Davis Medal, 1860; Relic from Meeting House in Kingston, Mass.; 3 papers.
- LAWRENCE, ADELINE, MISS. Ancient Bottle, 1722.
- LEAVITT & Co., New York. Catalogue.
- LEE, PARDON A. 2 volumes.
- LEICESTER PUBLIC LIBRARY. 1 pamphlet.
- LEONARD, BERNARD A., Southbridge. 1 volume.
- LIBBIE, C. F. & Co., Boston. 10 catalogues.
- LINCOLN, EDWARD W. 3 pamphlets.
- LOWDERMILK, W. H., Washington. 1 pamphlet.
- MACMILLAN & Co., London. Sale Catalogues.
- MANITOBA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 4 pamphlets.
- MASON, JOSEPH. 1 volume.
- MAYNARD, W. G. 1 pamphlet.
- MERIAM, O. L., Taunton. 1 pamphlet.
- MERIAM, R. N. 24 volumes; 110 pamphlets; 51 papers; 24 ancient singing books; ancient button-hole cutter, bodkin and knife; 1 map; 9 directories.
- MESSINGER, D. S. 2 ancient framed pictures; cane made from the Old Central School House, Main Street.
- MILLER, HENRY W. 20 pamphlets; Daniel Waldo's Sign; Washington's Funeral Address, with portrait, 1812; 19 Legislative Documents; ancient English monkey-wrench and lock.
- MORGAN, CHARLES A., Fitchburg. 7 volumes; old papers.
- MORTON, JOHN P. & Co., Louisville, Ky. 1 paper.
- MORSE, MASON H. 1 volume; wooden water-bottle, 1833.
- NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY, Boston. Register as issued; Proceedings and Memorial Biographies.
- NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 23 volumes Society Publications; 3 pamphlets.
- NEWPORT HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings.
- O'FLYNN, RICHARD. 3 volumes; 15 pamphlets; 5 papers; 2 specimens spurious Indian soapstone dishes.
- OTIS, JOHN C. 1 volume "Academy of Compliments," 1795; Massachusetts *Spy*, 1804.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL. 10 pamphlets.
- PEABODY MUSEUM, Cambridge. Publications for the year.
- PECK, A. E. 1 paper.

- PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF. Pennsylvania Magazine for the year.
- FERRY, HON. AMOS, Providence. 2 pamphlets.
- PHILLIPS, CALVIN T. 1 pamphlet.
- PHILADELPHIA LIBRARY Co. 1 pamphlet.
- PEIRCE, HON. HENRY B., Secretary of the Commonwealth, Boston. 4 volumes; 1 pamphlet.
- PIERCE, CHARLES F. 4 papers.
- POTTER, B. W. 1 volume; 1 pamphlet.
- PROVIDENCE ATHENÆUM. 1 pamphlet.
- PRINCE, LUCIEN, Chicago. 1 pamphlet; 2 papers.
- PUTNAM, PROF. F. W., Cambridge. 1 pamphlet; 1 paper.
- PUTNAM, DAVIS & Co. 16 volumes; 27 pamphlets; 89 papers;; copper plate of Worcester Theater, 1882.
- PUTNAM, SAMUEL H. 2 portraits of John A. Andrew; package of War Papers; His "Story of Company A, 25th Regiment."
- RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 3 pamphlets; fragment of the rock on which Roger Williams landed.
- RICE, FRANKLIN P. 55 volumes; 104 pamphlets; 48 papers; photograph of Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1885; 5 pictures; collection of valuable papers and manuscripts; 3 maps of Worcester; 1 patent egg beater; 4 picture frames; Massachusetts Discipline, 3 vols.; cabinet photographs of Worcester men; 3 large Heliotype Portraits; Durrie's Index to American Genealogies, 1886; photographs of Greenback and National Bank Notes — 17 cards.
- RICE, HON. W. W., Member of Congress. 5 volumes.
- RICHARDSON, CHARLES L., Boston. 11 volumes; 43 pamphlets, 143 papers; door bell from Wendell Phillips's old house on Essex Street, Boston.
- ROE, ALFRED S. 6 pamphlets; 73 papers.
- SALISBURY, STEPHEN. 1 volume; 7 pamphlets.
- SCRIBNER & WELFORD, New York. 3 pamphlets.
- SEAGRAVE, DANIEL. 1 volume; 2 pamphlets; 1 paper; 1 relic.
- SHUMWAY, HENRY L. 59 pamphlets; Magazine of American History for the year.
- SHELDON, HON. GEORGE, Deerfield. 1 pamphlet.
- SHAFTER, REV. EDMUND F., Boston. 1 pamphlet.
- SMITH, EDWIN E. 1 pamphlet.
- SMITH, HENRY M. 1 volume; 6 pamphlets; State House Documents and Sec. Documents.
- SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTE, Washington. 2 volumes.
- SOUTHBRIDGE JOURNAL. 1 paper.
- STAPLES, SAMUEL E. 1 volume; 15 pamphlets; 5 papers; package of papers, etc.

- STONE, AUGUSTUS. 18 pamphlets.
- STRYKER, GEN. WILLIAM S., Trenton, N. J. 2 volumes.
- SUMNER, GEORGE. 41 volumes; 38 pamphlets; 24 papers; package papers and pamphlets; package ancient notes and receipts and ticket—dates, 1799, 1800, 1794, 1792; note of 1790.
- TEMPLE, D. G. Ancient lock.
- TEMPLE, THOMAS F., Boston. 2 volumes Suffolk Deeds.
- TILLINGHAST, C. B., Boston. 1 volume.
- TWISTMEYER, H., Leipzig. Antiquarian Catalogue.
- UPHAM, HENRY P., St. Paul, Minn. Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, by Wyman, 2 volumes.
- WHEATLAND, MISS ELIZABETH, Salem. Photograph of George Washington, from portrait of 1790.
- WINSLOW, HON. SAMUEL. His Inaugural Address as Mayor.
- WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 1 pamphlet.
- WORCESTER CITY HOSPITAL. 1 pamphlet.
- WRIGHT, J. O. & Co. 1 pamphlet.
- YALE COLLEGE LIBRARY. 1 pamphlet.
- YESHILIAN, MESROB. A Turkish coin.

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Mr. H. M. Smith presented the report of the Department of Local History and Genealogy. The other departments were authorized to report in print.

The annual election of officers was then held, and the following were chosen:

President, ELLERY B. CRANE; 1st Vice-President, ALBERT TOLMAN; 2d Vice-President, GEORGE SUMNER; Secretary, WILLIAM F. ABBOT; Treasurer, HENRY F. STEDMAN; Librarian, THOMAS A. DICKINSON; Member of Standing Committee on Nominations to serve three years, EDWARD R. LAWRENCE.

The Annual Assessment for 1887 was fixed at four dollars.

After some informal talk on historical matters, the meeting was adjourned.

This closes the record of 1886.

## THE LATE HON. CHARLES ADAMS, JR.

BY HENRY M. SMITH.

Some seasons ago the writer was one of a committee that visited the town of North Brookfield on an errand connected with our Worcester Society of Antiquity. In pursuit of our purpose, an early call was made at the delightful home of the subject of this sketch. The day was inclement, and he was not in firm health, but the geniality of his welcome and the hospitality of his house gave a glow that exists in our remembrance. More than one of us planned to see again the courteous and intelligent entertainer, whose generous enthusiasm in the purpose of our errand we shall never forget.

Charles Adams, Jr., had been since March 2, 1880, a corresponding member of our Society, a connection mutually valued. It gave to our organization the active sympathy of one of the best and most zealous of students of local history. Wise and far-seeing in pursuit of information, wonderfully expert in the methods for such collection, with what a charm he invested, in that morning conversation, the history of his own town. He was, as is well known, one of the original movers for a history of North Brookfield, rich in the annals of the early day. He was a member of the first committee of publication chosen by the town, and had performed a most important part of the work before his lamented death, his principal literary task being a compilation of family biographies comprising the leading Brookfield settlers, filling ten large manuscript quarto volumes. It made the lesser labors of some of us in the antiquarian field look very small, as Mr. Adams turned these pages of his loving work.

The great history of the Brookfields is soon to be issued, and will carry many proofs of Mr. Adams's skill and fidelity. His own memorial, by Rev. J. H. Temple, leads the list of biographical sketches and from this we make such compilation as our space allows.

Mr. Adams, according to his own family record, was seventh in descent from Henry, who came from England and settled in Braintree, and son of Charles, of Antrim, N. H., a physician of that place, who subsequently came to Oakham, Mass. The family was of Scotch-Irish stock, and when Antrim, on June 27, 1877, celebrated her centennial anniversary, Mr. Adams, the subject of this sketch, responded in noble terms to the sentiment,

“Scotch character — still  
Marked by grit and grace.”

He paid a most glowing tribute to the stalwart men and women, the Scotch Presbyterians, whose first coming to this country was not kindly received by their neighbors. Coming from Ireland and having a religion different from that prevailing in New England, they were supposed to be Papists, whereupon some of our Worcester residents, about 1740, it will never be allowed to become forgotten, misgoverned themselves in the matter of the poor little embryo sanctuary on our Paine Hill.

Mr. Adams was born in Woodbury Village, now South Antrim, Jan. 11, 1810. His centennial address, above referred to, gives a graphic picture of his early school days, his first teacher, the late Hon. Daniel M. Christie, afterwards one of New Hampshire's most eminent jurists. He says he learned the alphabet from the New England Primer, from the “American Spelling Book, by *Noah Webster, Jr. Esquire,*” with the fable, the moral and the wood cut on each page heading the columns of words for spelling. In addition to the advantages of the common schools, he attended a select school in Brookfield under Rev. John Bisbee, and studied eight months with Rev. Josiah Clark of Rutland. This completed his school education. He served an apprenticeship of five years in a country store at Petersham, and was employed as clerk for a single year by J. B. Fairbanks of Ware. He came to North Brookfield in 1832, and entered the employment of the Messrs. Batcheller, shoe manufacturers, as bookkeeper and accountant, which position he held for twenty years. In 1852, he became a member of the firm, and so continued till 1860, when he retired, with a competence.

Mr. Adams was much in public life — having held by election, most of the more responsible town offices : was representative to the General Court for the years 1850, '51 '52 and '62 ; state senator 1865, '66, '77 and '78 ; member of the executive council 1867, '68, '69 and '70 ; treasurer and receiver-general of the Commonwealth 1871, '72, '73, '74 and '75. He was also honored with special trusts ; was commissioner of the Norwich and Worcester Railroad Sinking Fund ; and for many years president of the North Brookfield savings bank. In all these offices and trusts, he met the expectation of his constituents, for industry, ability, foresight, good judgment and integrity.

While a member of the Legislature, and the executive council, Mr. Adams gave his attention largely to matters of banking and finance, and questions growing out of the state's connection with the Troy and Greenfield, and the Boston, Hartford and Erie railroads, and other corporations. He was chairman, or a member of the appropriate committees. To these committees is intrusted the shaping of the financial policy of the Commonwealth, and as several of his terms of service followed close upon the ending of the late civil war, his sound views and practical good sense made his influence at that juncture of special consequence. The reports from his pen are distinguished by a broad grasp, and able reasoning and safe conclusions.

Mr. Adams loved antiquarian research, and adorned it with excellent results. His contributions to general literature were in good taste and admirable. For many years he was closely occupied by business, connected, first as subordinate and later as partner in the great boot and shoe industry of his town. In business he was methodic, careful, and the very soul of integrity, a habit of mind that served him and the Commonwealth well in the state treasurership. He was for fifteen years a member of Rev. Dr. Snell's Bible class, and steadfastly adhered to old standards of faith and practice. He was generous, just and kindly. Says his town biographer : " His heart and purse were open to the calls of the needy and suffering. He bestowed his charities freely, but unostentatiously, on those who had a claim



on his generosity and kindness. Many a widow and orphan will miss his timely help, and cherish and bless his memory."

He received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from Dartmouth College in 1878, and was held in wide esteem by many scholarly and bookish men, who found in him kindred traits. He died at North Brookfield, April 19, 1886. The fine portrait in this present volume will excellently well recall him to all who saw him in life.

## DEPARTMENT REPORTS.

## ARCHÆOLOGY AND GENERAL HISTORY.

At the close of another year it again becomes my duty to present the report of this department which, as on most former occasions, is but a resumé of work done elsewhere.

Our valued correspondent and fellow member, Edward H. Thompson, whose letter from Yucatan formed the basis of our last annual report, has not been officially heard from since the receipt of that communication, but it is not to be supposed that one of his energy and enthusiasm has been idle during the intervening period; we may, therefore, look for important developments in that quarter in the near future.

Several noteworthy publications have been issued during the year which tend largely to increase our knowledge of ancient oriental history. One of the most important of these is a pamphlet in relation to the famous Moabite Stone, by two German scholars, Professors Smend and Socin, who have made a new translation of the inscription on the stone after a long and careful examination of the squeeze preserved in the Louvre. The squeeze itself is not perfect, it having been taken in great haste, and having been wrenched from the surface of the stone before the paper was dry; it was also considerably torn during a conflict with Arabs who were trying to gain possession of it. As, however, the stone has since been broken into fragments only a part of which have been recovered the squeeze has become invaluable. It appears from the new translation that the Moabite revolt from Israel occurred in the middle of the reign of Ahab, and that the independence of Moab was regained under the leadership of Mesha before Ahab's death instead of after, according to the opinion which has heretofore prevailed. The Bible

reference to this Mesha as a great "sheep-master" is confirmed by the language of the inscription. Another important work is Professor Maspero's report of "the excavations carried on in Egypt from 1881 to 1885." In this report Professor Maspero shows that the art and religion of Thebes were but a continuation and development of the art and religion of Memphis. To quote his own language: "Far from altering the ideas and images of the Memphite epoch, the first Theban epoch has copied them servilely, the sole innovation it has permitted itself has consisted in adding the scenes of the private sepulchral chambers to the texts of the royal chambers of the sixth dynasty. The artistic style is the same in both cases, and the figures of the objects appear to have been copied from the same model. The only real difference lies in the writing; sculptured or painted the mastabas contain texts in carefully executed hieroglyphics only, while the painted tombs of the Theban period contain only cursive hieroglyphics."

Professor Maspero opened many pyramids of the fifth and sixth dynasties, and obtained from them a great number of funerary texts. The phrases repeated over and over again in these texts have led him to discover not a few features of the ancient faith. Perhaps the most surprising conclusion is that which he draws from the expressions that describe "the absorption and digestion of the gods by the dead." The spirit of Unas is described as eating men and nourishing himself upon them. "Shoshma has dismembered the gods for Unas, and has cooked their limbs in his burning chaldrons. It is Unas who devours their magic virtues and who eats their souls, and the great among them are the force of Unas in the morning, the inferior among them are his dinner, the small among them are the supper of Unas in the evening, the old men and women are for his ovens." From this it appears that human sacrifice was once practiced in Egypt, and that that rite was probably accompanied by cannibalism.

A volume has been issued from the Egyptian Exploration Fund narrating the results of the excavations carried on by Mr. Flinders Petrie on the site of the ancient city of Naukratis.

This city seems to have been founded by Psammetichus, I. or at least during his reign. It contained a temple of Apollo of which some traces have been discovered. From a trench within the precincts of this temple, into which the broken pottery of the sanctuary was thrown, inscriptions have been taken which throw much light on the history of the Greek alphabet. Most of the inscriptions are written in the Ionic form of the alphabet. Underneath the corners of a gateway of the temenos, or sacred enclosure, Mr. Petrie found four ceremonial deposits of models including miniature workmen's tools. The volume is illustrated by a series of valuable plates.

An advance report of the achievements of the expedition sent by the Archæological Institute of America, to explore the ruins of the ancient Greek city of Assos, on the southern shore of the Troad, has been prepared and published by Mr. F. H. Bacon, a member of the expedition. It is a very interesting story, and the reading of it necessarily makes one wish to see the full report, and hope that its preparation and publication may not be long delayed. It appears by the preliminary report that the dwellings and public buildings of Assos were placed along narrow paved streets that ran around the Acropolis, which like that of Athens was crowned by a temple of Minerva. This temple was so far obliterated that not one column or stone of the superstructure was found in position. Excavation, however, brought to light the mosaic pavement and traces of columns and walls. A mediæval wall outside the temple limits, when torn down disclosed many temple blocks and some pieces of the famous sculptured architecture. On one of these a horseman is represented pursuing centaurs. The centaurs have human forelegs, a singular feature of anatomy portrayed hardly anywhere else. Remains of the Stoa, or public portico, the Bouleuterion, or council-hall, the gymnasium, the theatre, and the public baths were also discovered. The last mentioned edifice is claimed to be the only example of a Greek bath in existence. The "street of tombs," a line of sarcophagi and monuments outside the city walls, is impressively described, and here some fragments of fine statuary are said to have been discovered. It

seems that materials were gathered for a restoration of most of the public buildings, and in referring to this subject, Mr. Bacon says with manifest pride: "In our methods of work, both in excavating the buildings in different parts of the city and in drawing out their plans, we have\* \* \* measured and drawn every block of each of the buildings investigated. If any one quarrels with our restorations, we can now point to our portfolios and say, "Restore it yourself." It is to be hoped that the confidence displayed in this challenge is well founded.

A remarkable discovery has recently been made by Drs. Halbherr and Fabricius on the site of the old Cretan city of Gortyna. These scholars while exploring the ruins of that city came upon an inscription on the inner wall of a building of archaic construction, which on examination proved to be twelve tables of laws of a period as early as Solon, if not earlier. The inscription is written directly on the stones of the wall which are fitted closely together without cement. The tables are of 53, 54 or 58 lines each, and the writing is from right to left and left to right alternately. The form of the alphabet used is of the ancient style before the introduction of *ph*, *ch*, *eta* and *omega*. This code relates to matters of private law, transactions in regard to slaves, fines for offenses against chastity, rights of the wife who is divorced, the exposure of children if born after divorce, rights of parents over their property and that of their children, division of property at the death of parents, regulations for the marriage and property of heiresses, the guardianship of minors, provisions for cases where a person dies leaving his affairs entangled with lawsuits, the amount a son may give to his mother, or a husband to his wife, rules for the adoption of children and their inheriting property, and various other provisions which give us a very clear view of the state of society in ancient Crete. The dialect used is the harshest Cretan, and the style is so concise as to make translation a most difficult matter.

Thus far I have referred entirely to researches and discoveries in the old world, but it should not be supposed from this that there is any lack of interest or cessation of work on this side

the Atlantic. In fact to one reading the reports of progress in different parts of America it would almost seem that the activity was even greater here than abroad. From Peru and Ecuador in South America, from Mexico and Central America, from the Mississippi valley and the far West in North America come constant and repeated accounts of the zeal and the success of the archæological scholar. Under his hand the ruins of Cuzco and Quito are yielding new and convincing evidence of the grandeur of their ancient dynasties ; by him the inscriptions on the monuments at Palenque, Chichen-Itza and Copan deciphered at last, are made to recite the history of long vanished races ; to him the works of the mound-builder render tribute, and through him reveal to mankind the existence ages ago of a great, prosperous and civilized people in the heart of our present national domain.

In view of such successes, the American archæologist may well take pride in his profession, and throwing himself into his work with renewed vigor look for even richer returns in the future than in the past.

CHARLES R. JOHNSON, *Chairman.*

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## LOCAL HISTORY AND GENEALOGY.

### A REVIEW OF CITY FACTS AND EVENTS.

A brief record of the leading events of the year, of special local interest is here given :

#### THE BLACKSTONE SEWAGE QUESTION.

A matter of great importance to the City was reached in the legislation early in the year touching the vexed question of sewage. Two contiguous communities, Worcester and Millbury, find themselves confronted with this leading problem of the age ; what shall be done with our sewage? The lesser community receives through the channel of the small river Blackstone the sewage of a city of 70,000 people, and the situation is the worse

from the fact that within Millbury limits the numerous dams for water power create so many settling basins. The evil is one that will grow steadily. But a serious complication of the difficulty is, that by express enactment of the Legislature, the City has been allowed to make a principal sewer of one of the affluents of the Blackstone, and has adapted its costly system of sewerage thereto. Nevertheless it remains a fixed principle of the Commonwealth that its water courses shall not be made the receptacles of sewage, and, through whatever difficulties, to this solution all such questions must come at last. There has been scarcely a dissenting voice in the Worcester press or public assemblies, or in the General Court from the opinion that something must be done. By the action of the last session of the Legislature, Worcester is given four years to seek out a method of relieving the evil complained of, and the inquiry is now in progress.

#### THE NO-LICENSE YEAR.

In the December election of 1885, the City voted to issue no licenses for the sale of liquors the coming year. The story has been often told, of the disagreement in the local democracy which on that occasion helped the views of the friends of no-license. All these yearly licenses expire in the month of May. Since that time the sale of intoxicants has been illegal in Worcester, with the pretty large exception of the drug stores. The Worcester Temperance Union, an organization originating primarily among the churches, has maintained with the services of an active agent a constant warfare against illicit trade. The vote of this present month reverses that of the previous year, and the City, with the largest vote ever cast, and against a far larger temperance vote than that of last year, restores the principle of license, to take effect in May next.

A temperance view assuredly is that much has been gained by this test, notwithstanding the recent result. It has been abundantly shown that the no-license law can be executed, and the drink evil in all its aspects steadily lessened. One thing is certainly true. There must be a large preponderance of rigid tem-

perance sentiment to hold in steady check violations of the law under no-license ; otherwise the very processes of securing detection and punishment of such law breakers, bring irritation and a reaction. Temperance men need to be solid in their position, not to find themselves grumbling and carping at the sharp executors of a no-license law.

#### CITY PROSPERITY.

Worcester has been prospered and protected in her industrial interests throughout the year. There have been but few strikes, that of the builders' crafts being the most serious. As a whole, mechanics have shown themselves good citizens, and sensible men, with a stake in the city they live in. Wages have been only lightly interrupted. Our manufacturers have been generally busy.

It has been a year of good health, general prosperity, few failures in any of the callings, and throughout an era of good citizenship.

#### IN MEMORIAM.

The most marked death of the year was that of John B. Gough, whose active life ended on February 2d, while in the middle of a lecture before a Philadelphia audience. Death in life held him for a few days and then the great champion of forty years' conflicts with intemperance passed from earth. He was buried from Hillside, but his funeral obsequies were world-wide. A suitable memorial occasion in his honor took place at Mechanics Hall, a few weeks later.

In the same month of February occurred the death of Hon. Peter C. Bacon, an eminent member of the Worcester bar, venerable and venerated by the entire community.

#### OUR STREET RAILWAYS.

A marked feature of city improvement within the year is the extension of our street railway facilities. It has always been a subject of serious regret that our first street railway was not a success, and blessed nobody. It became an easy conquest by



outside parties with no pride in the city. The natural development of the enterprise was impeded, and it seemed answer enough for the foreign proprietors to say to any citizen protest "What are you going to do about it?" Then came the short and croupy career of the Herdics, but it was long enough to force the Horse Railway into an epoch of improvement. Within the present year, carrying out practically the suggestions of a previous season, the formation of the new Citizens' Company for the operating of lines long feasible but hitherto neglected, has made operative a new franchise. And though a subsequent consolidation leaves us still in the hands of a single company, that company now has fifteen miles of track with new connections, with South Worcester to Quinsigamond, and New Worcester to the Carpet Mills, and to West side and new North side terminals, and we have now a street car service worthy of our city.

#### RAILWAY CONNECTIONS.

Two features of railroad transition with which Worcester has concern, have been the sale of the Boston, Barre and Gardner Railroad to the Fitchburg Company, giving that company a valuable Worcester division. And a little later the lease of the Worcester, Nashua and Rochester Railroad Company to the Boston and Maine. Both these changes recognize the importance of Worcester as a railway center and her place in the general railway system. It is to be regretted that the cars rolling northward out of Union Station marked "Fitchburg," do not go to Fitchburg, but it quite carries out the misnomer style of the little railroad that never did answer to its name or went anywhere whither its cars purported to carry passengers. It never went to Barre, never went to Boston, and Gardner was only an intermediate station. Manifestly, the present difficulty is not one likely to invite a remedy. So little serious is it, that a great company are unlikely to change the names of a portion of its rolling stock, but it is nevertheless to be regretted, at least by all who are dumped suddenly at Barber's Crossing as having been found on the wrong train, that the handsome dark green

cars do not bear conspicuously the words " Worcester, Gardner and Winchendon."

#### SHEEP WITHOUT SHEPHERDS.

This year has been a remarkable one in the Worcester Churches. There are eleven Orthodox Congregational churches in Worcester and throughout the greater part of the year three of these, Salem Street, Union and Plymouth have been left without pastors, by the termination in at least two instances of what had been in our age conspicuously long pastorates. When called to the church in St. Johnsbury, Vt., Rev. Dr. Lamson, of Salem Street was the senior pastor of this city, and Rev. Mr. Phillips of Plymouth Church, had been its pastor for fifteen years, or since its first origin. The remarkable feature of course is the coincidence of these vacancies. It has proven very solidly the place the pastor fills, not only to his own flock but in the community at large. One of these vacancies, that of Salem Street, had been most acceptably filled. The other two will go into the new year.

#### A LANDMARK GOING.

An interesting fact of the year is the movement likely to result in the destruction of the time-honored association of the Old South Church, the oldest meeting house now standing in Worcester. The city entering into possession of the lot, as must soon take place, nothing but the dry flavor of antiquity, told in years alone, can remain to the church in a new location.

You may break, you may shatter the vase if you will  
But the scent of the roses will hang round it still.

But how about it if you are made to trade off vases. Aladdin's women-folks got a brand new lamp, but it had not the magic of the old one.

## THE NECROLOGY OF 1886.

In the list of illustrious dead in this country in 1886, are ex-President Arthur, Gen. John A. Logan, Gen. W. S. Hancock, Gen. David Hunter, Rear Admiral Worden, David R. Atchison (as president of the Senate, President of the United States for one day), Hon. Horatio Seymour, Samuel J. Tilden and David Davis.

Among those who have won a name in various business callings are: J. B. Lippincott, eminent publisher; Gen. J. H. Devereaux, railway officer; Thaddeus Fairbanks, manufacturer; Richard M. Hoe, press manufacturer; H. M. Hoxie, railway officer, and George Crompton, loom manufacturer of this city.

In the professions and general literature and politics are these: Prof. C. E. Stowe, Dr. Dio Lewis, Ned Buntline (E. Z. C. Judson), Paul Hayne the Georgia poet, George Vandenhoff, Ann S. Stephens, John Kelly and Hubert L. Thompson of New York.

In our own state the following are among the deaths of clergymen: Rev. Dr. Sumner Ellis, Rev. Dr. Samuel Wolcott, Rev. Dr. S. K. Lathrop, Rev. Samuel R. Slack, Rev. Dr. T. B. Thayer.

Among Massachusetts professors and instructors, Profs. E. W. Gurney and C. E. Hamlin, Harvard; Prof. John Tatlock, Pittsfield; Prof. Edward Tuckerman, Amherst; Prof. Wm. Ripley Nichols and Prof. Walter Smith.

Names of other widely known Massachusetts citizens on this roll are Hon. Charles Francis Adams, Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, Nahum Capen, Henry P. Kidder, Francis M. Weld, Stephen N. Gifford, Amos A. Lawrence, Col. Charles G. Greene, and in this county Hon. Charles Adams, Jr., of North Brookfield.

Two names in the roll stand for leading lights of the lecture field, John B. Gough and Edwin P. Whipple.

From the foreign field we have the names of illustrious dead as follows:

King Ludwig of Bavaria, Prince Leopold, the composer Liszt, Baron Von Beust, Cardinal Jacobini, Leopold Von Ranke, and the eminent Englishmen, Rt. Hon. W. E. Foster, Samson Low and Samuel Morley.

Within the past year the following five persons in this city have died at the age of 90 years or over :

- Jan. 26. Mrs. Polly Richards, 91 yrs. 7 mos.
- Feb. 19. Erastus Tucker, 93 yrs. 3 mos.
- May 28. David Carpenter, 92 yrs., 4 mos. 19 d.
- Oct. 15. Mrs. Samuel D. Barker, 91 yrs. 8 mos.
- Nov. 18. Mrs. Elizabeth Stockwell, 91 yrs. 9 mos. 16 d.

In Worcester County during the same period the following 27 persons have died at the age of 90 years or over :

- Jan. 3. At Fitchburg, Daniel Desmond, 90 yrs.
- Jan. 10. At Petersham, Royal Bosworth, 91 yrs.
- Jan. 16. At Boylston, Mrs. Samuel Kendall, 91 yrs. 6 mos.
- Jan. 17. At Milford, Mrs. Hannah Sweeny, 90 yrs.
- Feb. 24. At Dudley, Mrs. Mary Bemis, 92 yrs., 9 mos. 24 d.
- Mar. 27. At Westboro', Mrs. Mary Stone, 94 yrs., 1 mo. 17 d.
- Mar. 31. At Leicester, Charlotte Fuller, 93 yrs. 8 mos.
- Apr. 3. At Clinton, Mrs. Ellen Cannon, 92 yrs.
- Apr. 4. At Leicester, Capt. Asa B. Watson, 92 yrs., 4 mos. 10 d.
- Apr. 7. At Fitchburg, Mrs. Sophia S. Ingalls, 93 yrs., 11 mos. 4 d.
- Apr. 18. At Barre, Mrs. Ruth Adams, 97 yrs., 11 mos. 10 d.
- May 3. At Fitchburg, Mrs. Julia Stacy, 106 yrs.
- May 12. At Bolton, Joel Felton, 94 yrs., 25 d.
- May 20. At Dudley, Miss Susan Bemis, 90 yrs., 4 mos. 14 d.
- May 21. At Webster, Johannah Ryan, 96 yrs.
- May 30. At Dudley, William Dalley, 90 yrs.
- Aug. 9. At Spencer, Ellizabeth Lord, 91 yrs., 2 mos. 15 d.
- Sept. 7. At Grafton, Mrs. John S. Whittemore, 90 yrs. 1 d.
- Sept. 18. At Blackstone, Willard Wilson, 95 yrs. 8 mos.
- Sept. 21. At Templeton, Dea. Nathan Farnsworth, 94 yrs., 6 mos. 11 d.
- Sept. 30. At Chicago, Miss Louise Weeks of Clinton, 100 yrs.
- Oct. 3. At Holden, Mrs. Geo. Flag, 98 yrs.
- Oct. 22. At Fitchburg, Susan Sanborn, 92 yrs., 10 mos. 22 d.

- Oct. 25. At Oakham, Stephen Lincoln, 94 yrs.  
 Nov. 7. At Oakham, Mrs. Sarah Miles Howe, 99 yrs.  
 Nov. 24. At Lancaster, Mrs. Elizabeth Greenleaf, 95 yrs.  
 Dec. 22. At Ashburnham, Kate Esty, 90 yrs.

HENRY M. SMITH, *Chairman.*

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### RELICS, COINS AND CURIOSITIES.

The additions to the Relic Department during 1886, number 106. Some of these are of more than ordinary interest and value.

Early in the year the American Antiquarian Society transferred to us a collection of relics comprising several worthy of consideration for their association with noted persons and events. Among these may be mentioned the hat worn by Major Ezra Beaman, at Bunker Hill ; the powder horn used by him during the siege of Boston, has been in the Museum of the Society of Antiquity for some years. A pair of gloves presented to the Antiquarian Society in 1815, by William Ellery, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, bears the following in his handwriting :

“July 30th, 1696. In these gloves Benjamin Ellery, *Æt.* 26, was married to Abigail Wilkins, *Æt.* 20.”

“January 3rd, 1722. In these gloves William Ellery, *Æt.* 22, was married to Elizabeth Almy, *Æt.* 20.”

And in the writing of Isaiah Thomas :

“Presented to the American Antiquarian Society, by Hon. William Ellery, of Newport, R. I., May, 1815. Grandson of the first owner, now, in 1815, 87 years of age.”

Articles illustrating the fashions and customs of the olden time are a pair of gloves such as were worn at funerals before the Revolution ; saddle-bags used in the early part of the century ; slip-

pers of the fashion of 1750 to 1777; and an ancient shoe. Also the slippers worn by Madam Usher in 1690, presented by Dr. Usher Parsons, in 1842. Dr. Parsons was surgeon on Perry's flagship, at the battle of Lake Erie.

A pocket book stamped in gilt, "The gift of Mr. John Caswell, of London, to Gov. Belcher, 1730, Constantinople, 1713," must suggest interesting reminiscences.

With the above were several articles of Indian wearing apparel, and a number of South Sea Island and other implements; one a lance with silver mountings.

Mr. Richard O'Flynn, has supplied us with specimens of the spurious soapstone dishes, many of which were made at the quarry in Sutton, last year, and disposed of to unsuspecting archaeologists as genuine. This was a profitable industry before the aid of the law was invoked to break it up.

Ancient carpenters' tools and spinning wheels with war relics, have been received from H. M. Clemence.

A door-bell from Wendell Phillips's house in Boston, where he lived for many years, has been given us by C. L. Richardson. This bell, without doubt, announced the arrival of many an ante-bellum abolitionist, seeking in conference the ways and means to carry on the wordy contest of that era.

Another relic, quite as suggestive, is the rope used at the execution of Horace Carter at Worcester, in 1825. To youthful minds, the use of this rope discloses one of the possibilities of the future, while their elders in serious reflection may contemplate what might have been. This was presented by J. H. Dickie, who received it from the widow of the late Sheriff Willard.

Joseph Brewster Knox presented to the Society a copy of the John Davis medal struck by him in 1860; also a "rose" carved in wood, from the old meeting house in Kingston, Mass. Mr. Henry W. Miller, on his recent retirement from a long business career, gave to the Society several articles of interest, among them Daniel Waldo's counting room sign, and several pieces of ancient hardware.

Hon. Clark Jillson, presented a clock made by Thomas Ripley & Son, near the Hermitage, London, 1723. This now adorns our main Library Room.

Two fine specimens of fire-arms — one a rebel musket from Fort Jackson, 1863; the other a gun made by the Amoskeag Company in Manchester, N. H., were given by Mr. Lyman Brooks.

Mr. Edwin Brown, on his recent visit to England secured for and presented to this Society one of the English card-tooth machines called the "Bednigo." This was used about fifty years ago.

Many other relics have been received, but the above are those deemed most worthy of mention.

THOMAS A. DICKINSON, *Chairman.*

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THE  
ABOLITIONISTS VINDICATED  
IN A  
REVIEW

OF  
Eli Thayer's Paper on the New England  
Emigrant Aid Company.

By OLIVER JOHNSON.



WORCESTER, MASS. :  
THE WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.

1887.

U. S. A. CXI.

**I**N a small chamber, friendless and unseen,  
Toiled o'er his types one poor, unlearned young man;  
The place was dark, unfurnished and mean,  
*Yet there the freedom of a race began.*

Help came but slowly; surely, no man yet  
Put lever to the heavy world with less;  
What need of help? He knew how types were set,  
He had a dauntless spirit and a press.

Such earnest natures are the fiery pith,  
The compact nucleus round which systems grow;  
Mass after mass becomes inspired therewith,  
And whirls impregnate with the central glow.

O Truth! O Freedom! how are ye still born  
In the rude stable, in the manger nursed!  
What humble hands unbar those gates of morn  
Through which the splendors of the new day burst!

\* \* \* \* \*

O small beginnings, ye are great and strong,  
Based on a faithful heart and weariless brain;  
Ye build the future fair, ye conquer wrong,  
Ye earn the crown, and wear it not in vain!

—*James Russell Lowell's Tribute to Garrison.*

# Correspondence.

## INVITATION TO MR. MAY.

*Rev. Samuel May, Leicester, Mass.:—*

Dear Sir—We have learned with pleasure that the veteran Garrisonian Abolitionist, Oliver Johnson of New York, has prepared and placed in your hands a review of Hon. Eli Thayer's criticisms on the Garrisonians in his recent address before our Society of Antiquity, upon the Kansas Emigrant Aid Society. And as you are almost the only one of the Old Guard left in this vicinity, and were so long and so closely identified with the Garrisonians, we esteem it eminently fitting that you should read this paper before our Society, and would request you to do so on Tuesday evening, May 10th, in the Natural History Society's hall, in Worcester.

E. B. CRANE, <i>President,</i>	CHARLES E. SIMMONS,
ALBERT TOLMAN, } <i>Vice</i>	M. E. BARROWS,
GEO. SUMNER, } <i>Presidents.</i>	JAMES L. ESTEY,
WILLIAM F. ABBOT, <i>Secretary,</i>	CALEB A. WALL,
HENRY F. STEDMAN, <i>Treasurer,</i>	EPHRAIM TUCKER,
T. A. DICKINSON, <i>Librarian,</i>	H. W. HUBBARD,
FRANKLIN P. RICE, <i>Editor,</i>	C. G. HARRINGTON,
W. W. RICE,	JOHN C. CRANE,
CLARK JILLSON,	GEORGE F. CLARK,
HENRY M. SMITH,	BERNARD A. LEONARD,
CHARLES R. JOHNSON,	GEORGE MAYNARD,
JOHN C. OTIS,	R. N. MERIAM,
C. G. WOOD,	HENRY G. TAFT,
A. E. P. PERKINS,	JOSEPH A. HOWLAND.

The undersigned are glad to join in the above invitation:—

GEORGE F. HOAR,	O. F. HARRIS,
ADIN THAYER,	ALFRED WYMAN,
SAMUEL WINSLOW,	J. W. FORBUSH,

CHARLES G. REED,  
 JOSIAH H. CLARKE,  
 G. A. KIMBALL,  
 E. D. THAYER, JR.,

JOHN S. BALDWIN,  
 E. H. RUSSELL,  
 CHARLES C. BALDWIN,  
 W. H. RAYMENTON,  
 and many others.

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## MR. MAY'S REPLY.

*To Ellery B. Crane, Esq., President of The Worcester Society of Antiquity:—*

Dear Sir:—I duly received the letter of yourself and others, officers and members of The Worcester Society of Antiquity, and signed also by other gentlemen of Worcester, all held by me in high respect, asking that I would read to the Society on the evening of Tuesday, May 10, a paper by Oliver Johnson, Esq., of New York, reviewing the recent address of Hon. Eli Thayer before our Society on the Kansas emigrant movement of 1854, etc., Mr. Johnson being himself unable to read his paper to you from great physical infirmity. I have of late been pleading my years, etc., as reasons for declining calls of a public nature, but such a request as this from my fellow-members of the Society of Antiquity, and those other gentlemen of your city who have lent their names, comes to me not only as a high honor, but also with the force of a command. I feel it to be almost a duty to accept your invitation, and I will do my best to comply with it.

And here I should stop, but for the idea which seems to be entertained in some quarters, that there is a disposition on the part of those I may be thought to represent, to undervalue the work of the Emigrant Society in the contest with slavery. I should respectfully decline your invitation to read my friend Johnson's paper, if I thought it expressed any jealousy of that movement, had a thought of rivalry with it, or any desire to detract from its just and proper credit. I might, indeed, admit that more was accomplished by that emigration, followed up and supplemented as it was by the bold and resolute stand taken by

John Brown and his associates, than the old Anti-slavery society originally expected. But the idea that the Abolitionists proper ever had, or possibly could have had any hostility to any just and probable method of overthrowing or of checking slavery, is not only a mistake, but a very ludicrous and gross one.

The sole reason of Mr. Johnson's paper is the fact that Mr. Thayer, when bringing before the Antiquity Society a history of the Kansas emigration, took the opportunity to introduce a bitter and an extended attack upon Mr. Garrison and his associates. To me, such a use of the opportunity the Society granted him, seems without excuse. I cannot recall any similar case of abuse of opportunity in the meetings of any of our public societies. In this our Society, it stands as the first instance of such discourtesy, and I trust it will ever remain the only one. I am sure that the just claims—the many claims—of Mr. Garrison to honorable and grateful remembrance will not be affected by Mr. Thayer's strange and unwarranted attack. In a free country, the right of dissent and criticism can never be questioned; but detraction and misrepresentation will never be justified. The worst wish I have for Mr. Thayer—and it is also my best—is that he may be soon and heartily sorry for the mistake he has made and the wrong he has done. Let us together rejoice in the downfall of slavery; be profoundly thankful if any word or deed of ours has helped to that end; and set our faces and hands, so long as it is day with us, to the work yet to be done for the redemption of our country.

Respectfully,

Leicester, May 7, 1887.

SAMUEL MAY.

The Society met at Natural History Hall on Tuesday evening, May 10th, to listen to the reading of Mr. Johnson's Review. Mr. May, in opening, said :

"I wish to repeat my thanks to the officers and other members of this Society for the invitation to be with them this evening, and to read—what want of health prevents his reading himself—the paper which Mr. Oliver Johnson of New York has written in review of Hon. Eli Thayer's address, also, and not long since, read to this Society. It is my purpose to comply exactly with your request, reading Mr. Johnson's paper, and refraining from comment of my own. I may, however, briefly say,—since you are all, or nearly all, of a later generation than that in which the great contest against slavery was waged—that Mr. Johnson, the author of the paper I am to read to you, was the editor of a religious journal in Boston called *The Christian Soldier*, at the time that Mr. Garrison issued the first number of *The Liberator*, January 1, 1831. Their offices were in the same building, the old Merchants Hall, at corner of Water and Congress streets. The two editors were soon acquainted, and became friends—a friendship never impaired. Mr. Johnson came not long after to devote himself wholly to the anti-slavery work. He was the youngest of the twelve men who organized the New England Anti-slavery Society, Jan. 6, 1832. He edited *The Liberator*, during the time of Mr. Garrison's two visits to England, in 1833 and 1840; and at other times. He edited the (Ohio) Anti-slavery Bugle two years (1849-1851); the Pennsylvania Freeman two years (1851-1853); and the National Anti-Slavery Standard, the organ of the American Anti-slavery Society, twelve years (1853-1865). On leaving the Standard he became managing editor of *The Independent* from 1865 to 1870; subsequently, for two years, of the *Weekly Tribune*; and then, for three years, of *The Christian Union*. Soon after this he wrote the work entitled "*Garrison and His Times*," which was published in 1880;—a second and enlarged edition appearing in 1881. He has been a constant and industrious writer for the press all his life, and still continues so, though now past his 77th year."



# THE ABOLITIONISTS VINDICATED.

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The abolition of slavery in the United States was the exclusive work of no individual, society, party, or clique, but an achievement in which vast multitudes of men and women bore a creditable part, though working often on different lines and by divergent methods. The very magnitude of the evil to be removed, its wide ramifications in every department of the national life, and the manifold interests and prejudices aroused by the agitation, made such differences inevitable, and if these sometimes led to unpleasant controversy, we surely need not wonder. In what great reform did human nature ever fail to exhibit itself in this manner?

But, looking back at this day over the history of the struggle, who can fail to see how a guiding Providence utilized every form of earnest and sincere effort for the furtherance of the good cause? Those whose efforts were mainly directed to the regeneration of public sentiment, through an exposure of the immorality and sinfulness of slavery, and an insistence upon the duty of repentance of the sin, and of instant emancipation, could never doubt that they were doing right; while those who magnified political and party action, in one shape or another, were no less certain that their course was dictated by true wisdom.

Remembering all this, any survivor of the conflict, of whatever party, if he aspires to be its historian, should be careful to do no injustice to those who labored for the great end by means different from his own, or in ways that he did not wholly approve. If the

history of the anti-slavery movement is ever worthily written, it will not be a partizan history, setting up exclusive claims for one class of laborers, and seeking to throw others into the shade. Above all it will not seek to perpetuate the memory of unwholesome controversies and personal animosities, arising from the weakness of human nature, and that were hardly of more importance than the driftwood which a broad, clear stream bears upon its surface as it sweeps onward in its course.

Since the death of Mr. Garrison, it has seemed to be my duty to write on several occasions in defence of him and of the movement he founded and led. In doing so I have not been unmindful of the obligation resting upon me to deal justly with those whose methods of opposing slavery did not tally with his, but who, nevertheless, gave proof of sincere devotion to the cause. In this spirit I dedicated my book, "Garrison and his Times," not to his special followers alone, but "to the surviving heroes of the struggle, in whatever field or by whatever instrumentalities they conscientiously labored." This left no one out in the cold; even the founder of the Emigrant Aid Society was included.

Mr. Thayer's sketch of his Emigration Scheme\* is marked by another spirit. It is boastful in its tone, exaggerated in its claims, and positively vituperative toward the Abolitionists, who created the agitation which gave him his only hope of success. According to him, that agitation, which began in 1830, and in twenty-four years pervaded the whole land, having forced itself into politics and ecclesiastical assemblies, and created a literature that had found its way into tens of thousands of families in the free States—a literature illustrated by such names as those of Whittier, Garrison, Quincy, Mrs. Child, Jay, Hildreth, Phelps, Mrs. Chapman, Mrs. Stowe, and scores of others hardly less celebrated—had accomplished little or nothing! The Garrisonians had, indeed, done nothing but mischief; the Liberty party, he says, was "a feeble organization," which for a time "had a kind of nebu-

\* "The New England Emigrant Aid Company, and its Influence, through the Kansas Contest, upon National History. By Eli Thayer. [*State seal of Kansas*]. Worcester, Mass.: Franklin P. Rice, Publisher. 1887."

lous existence ;” and the Free Soil party, in six years, “had scarcely increased at all either in influence or numbers,” and had “become convinced not only of the futility of its methods, but also of its own feebleness and utter inability to cope successfully with slavery.” At this lamentable crisis, when “apprehension became despondency, and alarm became despair”—to wit: in 1854—“a power, before unknown in the world’s history, was created and brought into use,” that made that year “a controlling or dominating epoch.” “The year 1854,” says Mr. Thayer, “holds this commanding position and governs all our subsequent years.” “This new power,” he tells us, “was an ORGANIZED, SELF-SACRIFICING EMIGRATION. Its mission was to dispute with slavery every square foot of land exposed to its control.”

This claim of Mr. Thayer to be the original discoverer of the plan of “organized and assisted emigration,” as a means of promoting the abolition of slavery, is in flat contradiction of well-established facts. Instead of being “a power unknown to the world’s history” before 1854, and known then only by “revelation” through Mr. Thayer, it was an old idea, which he simply applied to new circumstances and a special emergency. The American Colonization Society was advocated at the North on the ground that, by “organized and assisted emigration,” it proposed to establish colonies on the coast of Africa for the extermination of the slave trade, thereby crippling, if not abolishing slavery by cutting off the supply of slaves. This scheme was commended to the people of New England in hundreds of sermons by eminent preachers, and popularly accepted as sound and wise until Garrison tore off the mask and revealed the true character of the Society. Moreover, Benjamin Lundy, the predecessor of Garrison, lectured and wrote, and traveled thousands of miles, making visits to Hayti and Mexico, and entering into correspondence with their respective governments, hoping thereby to establish a scheme of “organized and assisted emigration” that would eventually ensure the abolition of slavery. Mr. Thayer’s originality, therefore, is limited to the application of an old idea to new circumstances, and for this there would seem to have been small need of a special revelation. The merits of his proposal,

however, let it be freely conceded, do not depend upon its originality. If it accomplished all, or even a part of what he claims, it is none the worse for being old. But, waiving this point, let us see how, according to Mr. Thayer, "the Hour and the Man," in a moment of national discouragement and despair, broke upon the scene. He shall tell the story himself:

"During the winter of 1854, I was," he says, "for the second time, a representative from Worcester in the Legislature of Massachusetts. I had felt to some degree the general alarm in anticipation of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, but not the depression and despondency that so affected others, who regarded the cause of liberty as hopelessly lost. As the winter wore on, I began to have a conviction which came to be ever present, that something *must* be done to end the domination of slavery. I felt a personal responsibility, and though I long struggled to evade the question, I found it to be impossible. I pondered upon it by day, and dreamed of it by night. What force could be effectively opposed to the power that seemed about to spread itself over the continent? Suddenly it came upon me like a revelation. It was ORGANIZED AND ASSISTED EMIGRATION."

Having disclosed his sudden "revelation" to a meeting of his fellow-citizens in Worcester, by which it was favorably regarded, Mr. Thayer hastened to draw up the charter of the "Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company," which the Legislature promptly enacted. The charter limited the capital of the Company by no less a figure than \$5,000,000, and the corporators voted to begin operations as soon as the sum of \$1,000,000 should be subscribed. Mr. Thayer at once set himself to the task of raising this sum. There was now to be no waste of time in "mere talk," no imitation of the Abolitionists in "making women and children cry, in anti-slavery conventions, by sentimental appeals;" the "incessant pecking" of the Garrisonians "at the leaves and twigs of the upas tree of slavery" (!) was not to be tolerated; and there was to be "no staying at home and talking of auction-blocks and blood-hounds." The new power revealed to Mr. Thayer in his "ponderings by day and his dreams by night," was not to fritter itself

away in this fashion, but was simply to "GO AND PUT AN END TO SLAVERY"—just that and nothing else! But Mr. Thayer, after all, found there was still need of talk, and at home too! A million dollars was not to be raised without "sentimental" appeals, enforced by allusions to auction-blocks and blood-hounds and other adjuncts of slavery. But Mr. Thayer was not discouraged. In spite of all objections and doubts he ran hither and thither soliciting subscriptions and doing a vast amount of "talking." But just at the moment when success seemed certain, lo! a huge stumbling-block fell across his path. His Boston subscribers, who at first received his "revelation" with enthusiasm, discovered, in a moment of cool reflection, that they were in danger not only of losing their capital, but of making themselves personally responsible for no end of debt! Whether or not their fears originated in any lack of confidence in Mr. Thayer's financial management does not appear; but he tells us the news was to him "a shock like a thunderbolt." Large subscriptions were thereby made unavailable, and he was compelled to take in sail. The Corporation was superseded by a voluntary association of far more moderate pretensions. The prestige of the scheme was greatly diminished. But I will do Mr. Thayer the justice to say that he adhered to it with commendable firmness and enthusiasm, and that the story of its achievements was well worth the telling, if only it could have been told simply, modestly, and impartially, "with malice toward none and charity for all." Its gratuitous and flippant abuse of the Abolitionists, however, makes it nearly worthless as history, and is unaccountable save upon the assumption that Mr. Thayer holds them responsible for his failure to occupy the high niche in anti-slavery history, to which he aspires. But if he has failed of the measure of public appreciation to which he thinks himself entitled, he may be sure it is not their fault, for they have no claims that conflict with his, and no desire to pluck a single laurel from his brow.

They could not, indeed, accept his project in place of their own, or as fairly supplemental thereto. Their movement was characteristically moral and spiritual, making its appeal to the consciences of men; their weapons were peaceful, such as "scat-

tering the living coals of truth on the nation's naked heart," and calling men to repentance for a gigantic sin. Mr. Thayer invited not a moral but a physical conflict, and his weapons were those of war, as symbolized by "Sharpe's rifles," with which many of his emigrants were furnished. He says that the "founder of the Saxon race was nursed by a Polar bear," and that the "untamable ferocity" of that beast is deeply imbedded in their nature. It was to this "grizzly ferocity" that he made his appeal; this it was that he sought to excite. Naturally the Abolitionists distrusted a scheme of which this was the all-pervading spirit. They had hoped for the peaceful abolition of slavery, and to that hope they still clung. They could not themselves begin a war; if it must come, the South should strike the first blow. Moreover the Emigration scheme contemplated no more than the restriction of slavery by preventing the admission to the Union of more slave States; while the Abolitionists could not be satisfied with so narrow a platform, but must still work as best they could for the utter extinction of slavery wherever it existed. Mr. Thayer proposed no more than that the States to be thereafter admitted to the Union should be what was called free; but these, like all the rest, were to be part and parcel of the slave-holder's domain, whereon he might pursue his fugitive chattels by the national authority; while the people of such States were to be bound by the same authority to prevent the slaves from asserting their own freedom. What a mockery to talk of States thus tethered to slavery, as free! There was not, in truth, a free State in all the land. The Constitution and the Union, as then existing, with all their pro-slavery implications, were embraced in Mr. Thayer's scheme. He invoked the "grizzly ferocity" of the Saxons to prevent Kansas from establishing slavery on her own soil, and then proposed to so tame that spirit that it would work humbly and meekly, in the harness of the Constitution, to help the master catch his runaway slave, to suppress slave insurrections by armed force, and to allow the slaveholders to count three-fifths of their chattels as a basis of political power! It was as hopeless to expect that States thus bound by the Compromises of the Constitution could abolish slavery, as that a man with one

foot held fast in a huge steel trap, and both hands manacled, could successfully cope with a wild beast. The Abolitionists had observed the working of this scheme in their own time, and traced it to its beginnings in the Constitution of 1787, and they did not like it. For Kansas they sought a higher freedom than that which Mr. Thayer proposed—a release, in short, from an immoral and degrading Constitutional compact with the Slave Power. The multiplication of States under that compact, every one of them to be bound by oath to keep its territory an open preserve for the slave-hunters, and to send its soldiers, at the call of their Southern masters, to put down slave insurrections, seemed to them a hideous mockery.

Moreover, there was in the Emigration scheme a flavor of craftiness that repelled the Abolitionists. Professing on the one hand to be a “self-sacrificing” project, on the other it flattered its patrons with hopes of great pecuniary profits. “It was intended,” says Mr. Thayer, “to be a money-making affair, as well as a philanthropic undertaking.” “In all my emigration schemes I intended to make the results return a profitable dividend in cash.” In this respect even he must confess that his plan was a failure. Not one of the anticipated “dividends in cash” ever materialized. How many subscribers, won by his alluring, but, alas! too “sentimental” appeals, brought themselves into pecuniary embarrassment, who can tell? It is unquestionable that some of them learned too late that as a financier he was not a success.

One aspect of Mr. Thayer’s movement, however, was fitted to reconcile the Abolitionists to it as a sign of progress. Before his advent, the great objection to them was that they were filling the land with strife; that their intemperate talk and violent measures were calculated to provoke a civil war. The “grizzly ferocity” of the country, which Mr. Thayer esteems so highly as the basal principle of superior natures, had hitherto exerted itself, happily in vain, to put down the anti-slavery movement by means of mob violence. Behold a change! Mr. Thayer had found the Abolitionists quite too slow and peaceful for his fiery nature, and under his lead the men of “grizzly ferocity,” or some of them at least,

were actually proposing to have a hand-to-hand tussle with slavery out in Kansas. So far from being afraid of provoking a war, they were actually inviting it and daring the slaveholders and their minions to come on! That this was a vast improvement on their former violent opposition to the Abolitionists, who could deny? The effort to trample out slavery in Kansas was far more honorable than that to trample out the freedom of speech in New England. In this change, indeed, it behooved the Abolitionists to rejoice, as they certainly did, while adhering firmly to their own plans and methods.

According to Mr. Thayer, it was the fault of the Abolitionists that, instead of conciliating the slaveholders, they angered them by "their abusive and insulting manner." But, curiously enough, in reporting his own exploits, he claims with evident pride that *he* made the slaveholders and their tools terribly angry. He even puts in his cap as a fine feather, attesting a true apostleship, the fact that they set a price upon his head! How it comes to pass that this violent abuse on the part of the slaveholders and their champions proves the wisdom and success of Mr. Thayer's scheme, while the same thing demonstrates only the fanatical folly of Garrison and his friends, I find it difficult to understand. It is, I suppose, one of the things which can only be explained by one who gains "revelations" through "ponderings by day and dreams by night."

It is only fair to say, however, that the Kansas emigration scheme was an interesting episode in the antislavery struggle. It won the support of many men who had before done excellent service in the antislavery cause. I would not be understood to cast a shade of suspicion on Mr. Thayer's own motives in organizing it. He, no doubt, hated slavery, and took what seemed to him the best course to promote its abolition. His scheme, moreover, in spite of all objections, did no doubt render important aid in preventing the establishment of slavery in Kansas, and in augmenting the public sentiment by which the system was at last overthrown. For this let him be awarded due credit and honor. No man who did anything with an honest purpose to promote that great cause should fail of his reward.



It is not for this that I complain of Mr. Thayer, but for his gratuitous and shameful vituperation of men and women whose long and faithful service in the cause of freedom entitles them, at the very least, to his respect, if not his admiration. But for this I should have let his extravagant claims for his own scheme pass without observation, though in themselves they invite and even provoke criticism.

Some of Mr. Thayer's flagrant misrepresentations demand attention; not, however, on personal but on purely historical grounds. When he says the Abolitionists, or "some of their friends, still claim that Garrison and his associates founded the Liberty and Free Soil parties," he makes an accusation which has no warrant in any claim advanced by them, or by any of their number. It is notorious that the Abolitionists, though earnestly desiring to promote political action against slavery, opposed the "founding" of the Liberty party as likely to retard, rather than hasten, such action. The Abolitionists of England had won their victory without organizing a political party; why could not the Abolitionists of this country win theirs in the same way? Whether they were right or wrong in this, I do not now say. I am dealing with history, and therefore confine myself to the exact facts. What the Abolitionists have said, and still say, is, that the Liberty party was the offspring of the antislavery agitation begun by Garrison in 1830; and I affirm that of all the men who participated in its original organization, there was not one who had not been identified with that agitation, and was not indebted to it for his interest in the subject. Who were James G. Birney, Elizur Wright, Henry B. Stanton, John G. Whittier, Amos A. Phelps, Samuel E. Sewall, Alvan Stewart, John Pierpont, Charles T. Torrey, Orange Scott, and scores of other Liberty party men, but Garrisonian Abolitionists before 1840? The same is true, but in a lesser degree, of those who organized the Free Soil party. The assertion that the Abolitionists "hated the champions of these parties more than they hated the slaveholders," is a calumny. They looked upon them as men working in a good cause, but not by the wisest and best means. Sharp things were said by both parties, but there was never a time when fraternal relations were

not maintained by leaders on both sides of the fence. The Liberty party men, or some of them, in seceding from the Abolitionists, were thought to have treated them unjustly; and this, rather than hostility to their political course, led to some unpleasantness, of which it is needless to speak here.

Mr. Thayer characterizes the movement led by Garrison as "sentimental," and says it "never attained the dignity or influence of a party, or even a faction." "The actors in it," he says, "were a cabal, active, noisy, and pugnacious, but never effective." Now, as we have seen, most of the leaders of the Liberty party were prominent either as officers or members of that same Garrisonian "cabal," for longer or shorter terms, before 1840. Had it "no dignity or influence" while they belonged to it? Were Birney and Wright and Stanton and Pierpont of no account while rejoicing to be numbered with the Abolitionists who followed the lead of Garrison? Did the Liberty party men become respectable only when they began to form a political party, and accept nominations to political office? Mr. Thayer, it will be seen, handles his blunderbuss very unintelligently, not seeming to know whom he is likely to hit, or whether it is made to explode at the muzzle or the breech.

On page 32, I encounter this very remarkable statement: "At the time of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the Kansas-Nebraska bill, that peculiar clique, known as the Garrisonian Abolitionists, had been absolutely silent." I do not wish to be discourteous, but it is impossible properly to characterize this statement without branding it as wholly and stupidly false. The files of their newspapers and the records of their conventions may be appealed to for evidence that the measures in question excited their hottest indignation, as fresh illustrations of the absurdity and folly of attempting to unite freedom and slavery in one and the same system of government.

On page 12, I find this statement: "Demanding immediate emancipation, they [the Abolitionists] strove to retard the overthrow of slavery. Contending for the dissolution of the Union as the only means of destroying slavery, they saw slavery destroyed not only without their aid, but against their protest, while the

Union was preserved and made harmonious." What a travesty of the truth is here! As if the Union established by means of the war, and in which the whole land rejoices to-day, were the same that the Abolitionists denounced! My friend Frederick Douglass shall expose this absurdity for me. Speaking in Philadelphia, at a meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in December, 1863, he said:

"Men talk about saving the Union, and restoring the Union as it was. They delude themselves with the miserable idea that the old Union can be brought into life again. That old Union, whose canonized bones we so quietly inurned under the shattered walls of Sumter, can never come to life again. The first ball shot at Sumter caused it to fall as dead as the body of Julius Cæsar when stabbed by Brutus. . . . What business, then, have we to fight for the old Union! We are not fighting for it. We are fighting for something incomparably better. We are fighting for unity of institutions, in which there shall be a solidarity of the nation, making every slave free, and every man a voter."

As Mr. Douglass was a leading Free Soiler and Republican as well as an Abolitionist, perhaps Mr. Thayer may acknowledge that his opinion is entitled to some weight.

Mr. Thayer assumes not only that the Union existing before the war is the same that exists to-day, but also that the disunion advocated by the Abolitionists was identical with Southern secession; and he says, "they respected the halter too much" to continue their advocacy of it after the war began. But, the old Union being dead by the act of the South herself, the Abolitionists simply recognized the fact, and turned their attention to the work of shaping the new Union that was to follow the war. Why should they beat a dog already dead? Glad indeed were they to be relieved from any further necessity of advocating disunion, and to take their place thenceforth with the masses of the Northern people in resisting the restoration of the old Union, and in the construction of the new one. How much better it would have been for the Northern cause, if the Republican party had sooner discovered that the old Union was dead beyond the power of resurrection! What precious time was wasted, what precious blood spilled, in abortive

attempts to patch up that Union, and coax the South back by assurances, on the part of Republican leaders, that they would carefully observe, in time to come, all the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution! Let us be grateful for the heaven-sent madness that inspired the South at that time, and but for which this might now be a slaveholding and slave-hunting nation.

And why did the South spurn these offers of fresh compromises? Simply because she knew that she could not trust the Republican party to fulfil them. Behind that party she saw the Abolitionists, who would not give up their agitation for one moment, and who were sure in time to evoke another anti-slavery party too stern to be subdued either by their blandishments or their threats. I make no boasts, but whatever may have been the faults or the mistakes of Garrison and his associates, their attitude at this time was of immense service to the country; and this, doubtless, was what President Lincoln meant when, addressing Gov. Chamberlain of South Carolina, he attributed emancipation not alone to the fidelity of the soldiers, but to the "logic of Garrison." The men who fought the old Union witnessed a good confession. They spurned a Constitution which, grand as it was in most particulars, yet contained the seeds of the civil war. They saved the North from the folly and the shame of replanting those very seeds at the moment when their first fruits were ripening before us in a harvest of carnage and blood.

In charging the Abolitionists with "doing nothing" for the final overthrow of slavery, Mr. Thayer, I suppose, means to taunt them with standing aloof from the war. The taunt, if so meant, is base, for thousands of them did go to the war, and many of them endured the horrors of the Southern prison-pens, while others were buried in Southern soil. Wide as is my acquaintance with the families of the Abolitionists, I can hardly remember one that was not thus bereaved. One of Mr. Garrison's sons was a faithful soldier, periling his life to redeem his country from slavery. The notion that the Garrisonian Abolitionists were all non-resistants is a very mistaken one, for only a few of them were such. When the Government at Washington ceased

its efforts to restore "the Union as it was," and had put the war openly and avowedly on an anti-slavery footing, many of them rushed into "the imminent deadly breach," happy in imperiling their lives for the salvation of their country.

On page 13, Mr. Thayer brands the Abolitionists as "a fraternity of mountebanks," than which "no other ever lived so long, or worked so hard, or did so little." Among these "mountebanks" were such men as Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Ellis Gray Loring, Theodore D. Weld, Edmund Quincy, James Mott, Samuel J. May, Charles Follen, Samuel Fessenden, Francis Jackson, Robert Purvis, David Lee Child, James Miller McKim, Effingham L. Capron, Adin Ballou, James N. Buffum, Sidney Howard Gay, Theodore Parker, Edward M. Davis, John T. Sargent, Samuel May, William P. Atkinson, and many others equally worthy of mention; and such women as Lydia Maria Child, Maria Weston Chapman, Eliza Lee Follen, Susan Cabot, Lucretia Mott, Abby Kelley Foster, Mary Grew, Sarah and Angelina Grimké, Anne Warren Weston, Catharine Sargent, Sarah Shaw Russell, and hundreds of others equally devoted and self-sacrificing. Who is Mr. Thayer, that, like Shimei, he should come forth to stigmatize with insulting epithets such men and women as these?

On page 33, Mr. Thayer asserts that the Abolitionists "assailed every practical and feasible measure, and everybody who proposed to do something for the cause of freedom." He seems incapable of understanding the difference between earnest discussion of principles and criticism of methods, and the personal detraction which soils his own pages. That the debates between the Garrisonians and those who differed from them never transcended the bounds of Christian courtesy, I will not say; but I do affirm that those debates rarely interrupted the pleasantest social intercourse and mutual consultation for the good of the cause. In many ways the parties coöperated heartily, and when they differed, did so with mutual respect and confidence. The leaders of the Republican party, Sumner, Giddings, Wilson, John P. Hale, Chase, and others, were careful readers of the Garrisonian papers, and frequently expressed their high appreciation of the influence they exerted in keeping the Republican party from flagging in its

work. They recognized the great usefulness of an anti-slavery organization entirely free from political party entanglements and not tempted to swerve from the line of duty from the love of office or political power. Often did Mr. Sumner, as I can personally testify, seek the intervention of the Abolitionists to prevent the Republican party from making shipwreck of its own cause, either through tardy and reluctant action, or by some unworthy compromise. As John G. Whittier has truly said, the "moral leadership" of Garrison was recognized among political workers as well as others of the anti-slavery household.

Has Mr. Thayer forgotten that when Charles Sumner was passing in triumph through the streets of Boston, bearing upon his person the wounds inflicted by the bludgeon of Preston Brooks, and under injunction from his physicians to protect his head carefully from the wind, he would yet take off his hat to Garrison the instant he recognized his form and features in the crowd? Did Mr. Sumner select a "mountebank" out of all the citizens of Boston on that day as the only one to whom he would pay special honor? In 1863, moreover, Mr. Sumner, writing to Mr. Garrison, said: "You and your associates have stood firm for many years. Such pious fidelity must have its reward in an approving conscience; but it cannot be forgotten hereafter on earth or in heaven." In still stronger terms, at the same date, Henry Wilson and Henry Ward Beecher expressed their appreciation of the Garrisonian movement, with which they had often coöperated on lines common to all earnest opponents of slavery; and not these alone, but many more of the same faith, have borne generous testimony to the value of the movement which Mr. Thayer so flippantly maligns.

Again, on page 33, after repeating his charge that the Abolitionists actually did nothing to overthrow slavery, he declares that when the work had been done "in spite of them," "they and their admirers turned about and coolly said: 'WE DID ALL THIS OURSELVES.' The present generation has, in consequence of the persistent clack and endless scribbling of that class, come to believe that Mr. Garrison was the Alpha and Omega of the anti-slavery struggle, and that he and his small party of followers

were the leaders and directors of the great movement that brought about the overthrow of slavery." In support of this allegation he quotes (page 12,) from a letter of the late Mr. A. H. Waters, these sentences: "For twenty years the press has been teeming with their [the Abolitionists] effusions, in poetry and prose, to convince the world that they abolished slavery! They have done much to falsify history, and produce wrong impressions on the rising generation."

I am constrained to say that these accusations have in them no element of truth. The accuser, if required to substantiate them by specific proofs, would stand speechless and confounded. Neither Mr. Garrison himself nor any of his friends has ever advocated any such boastful pretensions as are here ascribed to them. No such "effusions in poetry and prose" as Mr. Waters describes can anywhere be found. It is Mr. Thayer himself who is the boaster; witness his claim that he and his scheme "created and brought into use a power, before unknown in the world's history," which made the year of its discovery a "dominating epoch" in anti-slavery history; which "stopped the making of slave States, made the Republican party, solidified the Northern States against slavery, drove the slaveholders into secession, gave us a harmonious and enduring Union, emancipated the white race of the South, as well as the negroes, and is even now regenerating the South." I submit that the man who thus boasts of his own achievements, and whose pages fairly bristle with the perpendicular pronoun "I" in every form of ostentation, is hardly the man to rebuke the Abolitionists for setting up unfounded claims in their own behalf.

How different the spirit of Garrison, who could never listen to praises of himself without a protest, who never by word or look betrayed a consciousness of leadership over his fellows, and who, when his English admirers singled him out for special honors, replied in such words as these: "I must here disclaim, with all sincerity of soul, any special praise for anything that I have done. I have simply tried to maintain the integrity of my soul before God, and to do my duty. I have endeavored to save my country from ruin. I have sought to liberate such as were held captive in

the house of bondage. But all this I ought to have done." Of his fellow-laborers, he said: "Nothing can be said to their credit which they do not deserve. But whatever has been achieved through them is all of God, to whom alone is the glory due."

Of course, those who have made contributions to anti-slavery history could do no less than state the notorious fact that Garrison was the first to repudiate the delusion of gradualism, and found a movement in this country for the abolition of slavery upon the principle of immediate emancipation as the right of the slave and the duty of the master. They have also stated that the agitation thus founded aroused the attention of the country, as nothing had ever done before, to the subject of slavery; that it found the country fast asleep over its sin and its shame; that it speedily filled the land with wholesome excitement, and finally created a public sentiment that made itself felt in the churches and the political parties, and that led, through a division of forces, to the organization of the Liberty and other political anti-slavery parties; and, finally, that it was continued with unremitting zeal and devotion to the very end of the conflict, criticising those parties for their inconsistencies and shortcomings, stimulating their moral purpose, and kindling a fire behind them which made retreat on their part impossible. As the end drew near, the political party workers came to a clearer and truer appreciation of the labors of Garrison and his friends; President Lincoln recognized their service in creating the public sentiment that prepared the way for his proclamation of freedom; Garrison was welcomed at the White House, and honored with an official invitation to witness the raising of the flag on Sumter; and finally, when the rebellion had been completely suppressed, the Republican leaders joined in a spontaneous movement to raise a National Testimonial to Mr. Garrison, in the form of a fund for his maintenance during the remainder of his life. If the man who boasts of having made the year 1854 the "dominating epoch" in the conflict with slavery took no part in this testimonial, it yet had the hearty coöperation of such men as Chief Justice Chase, Senators Seward, Sumner and Wilson, Gov. Andrew, Samuel E. Sewall, Alexander H. Bullock, Francis W. Bird, Henry W. Longfellow, Ralph Waldo Emerson,



James Russell Lowell, William M. Evarts, John Jay, Henry W. Bel-  
lows, Horace Greeley, and William Cullen Bryant. Mr. Thayer will  
therefore perceive that, according to his logic, it is the most  
eminent leaders of the Republican party, if anybody, whose  
"clack" has done so much to "falsify history and produce wrong  
impressions on the rising generation," as to the place of Garrison  
in the anti-slavery movement. Are they, too, "mountebanks?"

It is not too much to say that the principal founders and  
leaders of the Republican party were men who had been abolition-  
ized more or less thoroughly and consciously by the moral  
agitation led by Garrison. Especially was this true of Sumner,  
Wilson, Andrew and Giddings, and of very many others. Many  
more had been instructed and influenced in the same way,  
though to a less degree than they. But, as a matter of course,  
the party drew to its ranks some who took with them not a  
little of their old hatred of the Abolitionists, who had pricked  
their consciences and made their position in the old parties  
uncomfortable, while they were as yet comparatively indifferent to  
the ethical issues involved in the question. Some of these,  
being in the main politicians rather than reformers, retained their  
hostility to the Abolitionists to the very last, and to this day those  
who still survive can never speak of them but in terms of  
vituperation, such as seem to be natural to Mr. Thayer. But the  
Republican party was not led by this class. The real leaders, in  
spite of their differences with the Abolitionists, respected them  
for their consistency, fidelity and boldness, and recognized their  
agency in fostering and developing the public sentiment on which  
the party depended for success. Not only they, but hundreds  
and thousands of the rank and file, read the Garrisonian papers  
with eager interest, attended the Garrisonian meetings, and made  
liberal contributions to keep up the moral agitation. They saw  
that the most thoroughly abolitionized communities were those in  
which Republicanism was invariably of the staunchest and most  
reliable quality, and they would have felt that only half their duty  
to their party was done if they had not made liberal contributions  
to the Garrisonian treasury. Massachusetts was always over-  
whelmingly Republican, because there the Abolitionists had done

their most powerful work, the people generally understood the nature and bearings of slavery, and were prepared to oppose it by every constitutional means. In Connecticut, on the other hand, the party was always fighting a doubtful battle, because the abolitionism of that State, except in one County, was of a diluted, half-and-half sort. I have not made a close examination of the facts, but I risk little in saying that for years the Republican majority in the whole of Connecticut was almost never larger than it was in the single County of Windham, where the people had been abolitionized by the Bensons and Burleighs, by Samuel J. May and Garrison himself. Joshua R. Giddings understood this matter well, and therefore took the Garrisonian lecturers in his own carriage to the different parts of his Congressional district, and introduced them to the people. In his good-humored way he said to these lecturers, "You beat the bush, and I will catch the birds," thus intimating his shrewd belief that the converts they made would not accept the whole Garrisonian doctrine at first, but begin their opposition to slavery by voting with the Republican party! Once a corps of Garrisonian lecturers went to work to "whiten out," as they said, the "black belt" of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, leading Republicans furnishing a large portion of the funds necessary for the purpose. The plan was carried out in the most fraternal spirit, and to the satisfaction of both parties. The philosophy of all this is not far to seek. The Garrisonian protest against the Constitution itself, as a "covenant" for the protection of slavery (first distinctly formulated in 1844), made demands upon voters which few were ready to meet. They could be persuaded of the sinfulness of slavery and of the duty of doing *something* for its removal; but when they were asked to renounce the ballot as implying an oath to support slavery, they shrank from the proposition as altogether too hard for them. The Abolitionists themselves had been slow in coming to this ground, and therefore were patient with the slowness of others. They were content to inspire in the breasts of men a genuine hatred of slavery, and to leave that sentiment to express itself in such action as individual consciences might dictate. It rarely happens that masses of men move together on the highest moral plane, or

follow out any truth to its ultimate results. They see in part and they prophesy in part. So it was in this case. Converts did not embrace at once the full ethical gospel of anti-slavery, but hoped that less radical measures than those demanded by the Abolitionists might prove effective, and so tarried in the Republican party. The Abolitionists, while seeing that this was done conscientiously, rejoiced over every voter whom they could win from the pro-slavery to the anti-slavery side, and were glad to coöperate, to this extent, with the Republican party; while the sagacious leaders of that party were glad to be helped in this way.

One other point in Mr. Thayer's indictment claims a moment's attention. Over and over again he refers to the attitude of the Garrisonians in respect to the churches, as if it had been phenomenally unreasonable and wicked. But he carefully remembers to forget that it was not Garrison, but James G. Birney, Presbyterian Elder, and Liberty party candidate for President, who said, "The American Churches are the Bulwarks of American Slavery"—an accusation that more than covers and justifies all that any Garrisonian ever said of them. Could any assault upon the "bulwarks" of slavery have been either unjust or undeserved? Was it nothing that bodies claiming to speak in the name of God and Christ prostituted even the Bible to the support of a system which John Wesley branded as "the sum of all villainies?"

It may be observed that Mr. Thayer's "dominating epoch" witnessed a phenomenon quite as significant and far more important in its effects than the Emigrant Aid Company—to wit, a complete change of front on the part of a large body of the clergy. Up to that time they had apologized for slavery, and sought by every form of ecclesiastical artifice and influence to suppress the anti-slavery agitation. But the excitement produced by the new fugitive slave law, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, convinced them that further continuance in such a course was sure to bring them to disgrace and ruin, and they made an excuse of these new encroachments of the Slave Power to change their attitude. They had got themselves into a morass, in which they were sinking deeper every day, and they resolved to get out while

yet there was time. They rushed into Congress and the newspapers with their protests, talking for all the world as if they had always been the most conspicuous opponents of slavery. The Abolitionists, while rejoicing in this change, and not disposed to question its sincerity, could not help being amused by it. But the pretence in later times that the anti-slavery movement had its beginning then and there, in "the grand uprising of the clergy," and that the previous twenty-four years of agitation, discussion and conflict were of no account—of no value in settling principles and preparing for action—is enough to put even Impudence itself to the blush!

In concluding this paper, I venture to express the hope, in view of my lifelong relations to the anti-slavery movement and its champions, that this work of their defence has been not unfitly assumed by me. In the performance of my task I trust I have violated no obligation either of courtesy or fairness, as I am sure I have in no way sought to evade or set aside the truth of history.

135 W. 41 ST., NEW YORK,  
April 25, 1887.

At the close of the reading of Mr. Johnson's Review, HON. W. W. RICE was called upon, and said :

To those of us who know him, the gentle, upright and steadfast character of the gentleman who has read the paper, is a guaranty that the old Anti-Slavery agitators, with whom he associated himself in the prime of his life, could not have been very bad men.

Thirty-three years ago I had my office on the middle floor of the building in which we are now assembled, and was Secretary of the Worcester County Emigrant Aid Society. Mr. Thayer was unquestionably its originator. He loved notoriety and noise, and was a born speculator. He thought the scheme could be made money-making, and probably had his eye on corner lots in the proposed city of Lawrence.

Mr. Branscomb was sent out as a surveyor, to select a site for the city—which he did, and named it Lawrence, from Amos A. Lawrence of Boston, who furnished most of the money for the undertaking. Mr. Branscomb was afterwards U. S. Consul for many years in one of the cities of England, I think Manchester.

Dr. Charles Robinson, of Fitchburg, led the first company of emigrants to Kansas. He was a bold and fearless man. When the border ruffians approached his little settlement, thinking to wipe it out, they found Robinson and his men in line, armed with rifles. They demanded that he should surrender his rifles. He responded that he would compromise—keep the rifles, and give the border ruffians the contents. He was first Governor of the State, and still lives in the State he founded, with a handsome competency, and the respect of all.

Later, one snowy afternoon, another party started from my office, armed with Sharpe's rifles. It was led by a short, thick-set man, wearing a sealskin cap. He was S. C. Pomeroy, afterwards U. S. Senator from Kansas, and he still lives in Washington. In one of these parties went a restless man, last from North Brookfield, whose family soon followed him. Dudley Haskell was his son,

who afterwards came to Congress from Kansas, worked his way well to the front, was one of the ablest defenders of Protection on the floor, and died three or four years ago, fairly worn out by hard work. I think Kansas lost her best man when Haskell died.

Mr. Thayer got tired pretty soon, became an advocate of Squatter Sovereignty, and tried to carry the Worcester District for it. We all remember how he failed in this attempt.

The Worcester County Emigrant Aid Society had but small funds and its officers received no salary. Mr. William A. Wheeler collected and handed to me some \$13.00, which went for incidental expenses. That was all the funds it had.

I remember well the old abolitionists. I came very near being one myself. The first speech I ever made was at an abolitionist tea party, and I was introduced by Mr. May. He praised my speech, which set me up not a little.

We have not yet forgotten Parker Pillsbury, the brothers Burleigh, Stephen Foster and Mrs. Foster.

Those abolitionists were the flails of God by which the wheat of freedom was pounded from the chaff. They were the John the Baptists, crying in the wilderness to prepare the way. They were the picket line, breaking the paths and clearing away the brush for the great army which pressed on behind them. No men of that generation are held to-day in higher honor than Garrison, and Phillips and May.

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MR. JOSEPH A. HOWLAND was called on to give reminiscences of the "Butman Riot," of 1854, which he did, giving some details of the driving out of town of Deputy U. S. Marshal Asa O. Butman, of Boston, who had three years before arrested Thomas Sims in Boston as a fugitive slave, and he was returned to slavery, in the face of thousands of excited and remonstrating citizens, under the escort of U. S. marines and soldiers, with artillery guarding the procession, which was headed by the U. S. Marshal, assisted by the City Marshal and a large force of police.

It was supposed that Butman had come to Worcester to arrest as a fugitive slave, W. H. Jenkins, a barber of some years residence who had been recognized by a customer from his former southern home. And thousands of indignant citizens gathered to prevent his making any arrest and to require him to leave town with the pledge never to return. He was followed to the station by the large and excited crowd, protected from bodily harm by a special guard of Garrisonian Abolitionists.

And this, Mr. Howland said, was a mob ! defying the law, and setting aside the compromises of the Constitution.

Mr. Butman was an officer of the law, armed with its warrants, a law made to execute the provisions of the U. S. Constitution, and these citizens of Worcester set this Constitution aside, and unmindful of its obligations, dissolved their union with the slaveholding South, that required them to give up their free soil as open hunting ground for escaped slaves, and, indeed, to aid in their capture ; or when captured, to stand idly by and see Thomas Sims marched from the Court House in Boston, down State street, by the old State House, and over the spot where the first blood of the Revolution was shed, to the slave ship that lay at Long Wharf, to receive him and carry him back to the hell of slavery from whence he had escaped. And afterwards, in 1854, Anthony Burns, another escaped slave, was marched over the same route with similar formality.

Revolted at these legal and constitutional obligations, the Garrisonians sought to dissolve the Union that required them. But while they were able to arouse an active anti-slavery sentiment through the North, they could not bring the free states to an open dissolution of the Union. At last the South, in fear of the aroused indignation of the North, in insane madness, took the initiative and themselves broke the bonds of the Union, and the Abolitionists, freed from the objectionable obligations, at once labored loyally and patriotically to reconstruct and build up the new Union of Freemen and Freedmen in which there could never again be a slave or a slaveholder.





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OF THE

## Worcester Society of Antiquity,

FOR THE YEAR

1887.



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## ACTIVE MEMBERS.

1886.

EDWARD MARVIN WOOD,\* . . . Worcester.

1887.

JOHN EDWARD LYNCH, . . . Worcester.

JOSEPH AUGUSTUS TITUS, . . . Worcester.

Rev. GEORGE FABER CLARK, . . . Hubbardston.

JAMES JENKINS, . . . Worcester.

Rev. SAMUEL DANA HOSMER, . . . Auburn.

HENRY AYLING PHILLIPS, . . . Worcester.

ELIAS JEFFERSON ROCKWOOD, . . . Worcester.

WILLIAM ALBA HOUGHTON, . . . Worcester.

HENRY ARTHUR WHITE, . . . Leicester.

HON. PHINEHAS BALL, . . . Worcester.

FRANKLIN FAYETTE PHELPS, . . . Worcester.

## CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Rev. WILLIAM ADDISON BENEDICT, . . . Orange Grove, Fla.

ALBERT ALFONZO LOVELL, . . . Medfield.

Rev. ALBERT TYLER, . . . Oxford.

HENRY LORISTON SHUMWAY, . . . Boylston.

\* Omitted from the list of 1886.

# PROCEEDINGS







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FOR 1887.

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THE one hundred and sixty-eighth meeting of The Worcester Society of Antiquity was held on the evening of Tuesday, January 4th, 1887.

Present: Messrs. Abbot, Crane, Cutler, Dickinson, Estey, Gould, C. Jillson, Lawrence, G. Maynard, Meriam, Otis, Sawyer, A. F. Simmons, Stedman, Sumner, Rice, Tucker, Warren, C. G. Wood, members; and Charles Estes, visitor.—20.

The President delivered the following Address:

*Gentlemen of The Worcester Society of Antiquity:*

As we take up our work for the new year, you may, perhaps, expect that in returning thanks for the honor of having again been chosen as your presiding officer, I would add a few words concerning the uninterrupted good fortune of this, our favorite organization, and the numerous and valuable contributions that

have come to enrich and enlarge its Library and Cabinet of Curiosities during the past twelve months. That you may have a more complete and accurate description of them than could be furnished in a brief review, I will refer you to the detailed reports of the several officers of the Society. But while we so briefly and in a general way allude to the many valuable gifts the Society has received, let us also offer anew our grateful acknowledgement to each individual contributor who has so kindly and thoughtfully added to our stock of Treasures. Especially would we remember the kindly benefactions from our mother institution, the American Antiquarian Society.

It is not my purpose to occupy your time in commenting upon the receipts during the year that has just closed; I prefer rather to allow you to perform that task for yourselves, and in your own way, for the crowded condition of our Rooms tells in words more forcible than I can command, of the marvelous success that has thus far attended our efforts.

The Proceedings of the Tenth Anniversary of the Society, which has been numbered XXII., completes the Sixth volume of our Publications, and including No. XXIII. (the Proceedings proper for the year 1885), we now have in print 2847 octavo pages, bearing the Seal of this Society.

A few days since, a flash came over the wire between this city and Boston, bringing the sad tidings of the death of Hon. Marshall Pinckney Wilder, President of the N. E. Historical and Genealogical Society. For seventeen years he had been the honored head of that useful and popular institution. At the time of his death he was in the 89th year of his age. His long life has been one of exceeding usefulness and activity. He early made himself conspicuous as a member of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and for many years was its President. Like honors were conferred upon him by the American Pomological Society, and the U. S. Agricultural Society.

Rarely has it fallen to the lot of any man to enjoy so many years in which to dispense his usefulness, and rarely can there be

found a man who has so thoroughly utilized the time that was given him. He is gone, but the noble record of faithful service still remains as an incentive for others to emulate his worthy example.

It has ever been a source of pride among our forefathers to be able to trace their lineage to a noble ancestry. Although in this, the nineteenth century, we find not so much stress attached to noble birth as formerly, yet there appears no good reason why it should not be cited and used as an incentive to more worthy living and superior attainments. At the time of the publication of the Revised Rawson Family Memorial, in the year 1875, comparatively little was known concerning the ancestry of Edward Rawson, who was for so many years Secretary of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Soon after the volume referred to had found its way into the hands of the public, the writer chanced to be strolling among the monuments of the departed dead in the old church yard, at Mendon, Mass.; and while examining a slab of slate-stone that once formed the end of a cromlech over the grave where had been deposited the remains of a son and daughter of Capt. William Rawson, grandson of the Secretary, a figure was discovered, which, on removing the lichen, proved to be that of a family armorial. Of this a drawing was carefully made, and steps immediately taken toward finding the name of its original owner.

A brief research revealed the fact that the armorial was one borne by Sir John Rawson, Knight of Rhodes, and of St. John of Jerusalem.\* He was elected Prior of Kilmainham in 1511,† and in 1517, by order of King Henry VIII., was sworn Privy Councilor of Ireland, and Lord Treasurer of that Kingdom. In 1526, at the request of King Henry VIII., he was appointed by the grand master, Turcopolier of the order of Knights of St. John. This office he exchanged with Sir. John Babington for the dignity of Prior of Ireland.

\*The Order of St. John began in the year 1120. They wore long gowns, or robes of black, with white crosses upon the breast.

†The Priory of Kilmainham was situated near Dublin.

In the 33d year of Henry VIII. (1542), Sir John surrendered the Priory of Kilmainham to the King, obtaining therefor a pension of 500 marks out of the estate of the Hospital, and as he had sat in the Irish House of Lords, as Prior of Kilmainham, he exchanged his Spiritual dignity for a temporal peerage, being created Viscount Clontarff. This title became extinct at his death in the year 1560. He left a daughter, Catherine, who married Rowland Whyte, son of Patrick Whyte, second Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland. This armorial of Sir John Rawson was placed in one of the windows of Swingfield church, a chapel dedicated to St. Peter. The Parish of Swingfield was included in the property of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and is located five miles north from Folkestone, in the County of Kent.

Sir John Rawson had four brothers and three sisters. Avery and Christopher were citizens and merchants of London, dealers in the staple of Calais. Christopher owned Old Wool Quay, in Petty Wales (Lower Thomas Street), having received it by his mother's will. He died in 1518, and was buried at Allhallow's Barking, Great Tower Street.

Richard bore the title of Doctor of Divinity as well as Doctor of Laws; was Prebendary of Durnsford, in Salisbury; Arch-deacon of Essex, 1502; Rector of St. Olaves, Hart Street, 1510; Canon of Windsor, 1521; was Vicar of the church at Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire, having been presented there July 25, 1525. He rebuilt the Parsonage House, where his arms were remaining in 1728. Died in 1543.

The other brother, Nicholas, became master of the Free Chapel at Gressenhall, County of Norfolk. Died leaving two sons, John and Walter.

The elder brother, Avery, aside from being a merchant in London, was styled of Aveley, a Parish fourteen or fifteen miles east of London, in the County of Essex. His son, Nicholas Rawson, was not only an owner of an estate in Aveley, but also held lands there in fee simple by copy of Court Roll. He married the widow of William Copley, Esq., whose maiden name

was Beatrix Cooke, daughter of Sir Philip Cooke, Knight of Gidea Hall, County of Essex. She died at the home of her daughter, Lady Anne Rawson Stanhope, at Shelford, January 14, 1554. Nicholas Rawson died in 1529, leaving four children; a daughter Anne became the wife of Sir Michael Stanhope, Knight of Shelford, County of Nottingham. Sir Michael seems to have been held in high favor by King Henry VIII., for on the 24th of Nov. 1538, he, by letters patent, granted to him and his wife Anne, the house and site of the Priory, and Almshouses, etc., within the Parish of Shelford, including 164 acres of land with all the appurtenances. February 5, 1540, he bestowed upon him the Manor of Shelford, and the Rectories of the parish churches of Shelford, Sarendale, Gedling, Burton Jorz, Forth-Ruskham, and all manors, messuages, lands, tenants, etc., in Shelford, Sarendale, Newton, Brigford, Gunthorpe, Lowdham, Cathorpe, Horingham, Bulcote, Gedling, Carlton, Stoke, Lamcote, Flintham, Long-Collingham, Cawnton, the town of Nott, Newark, Burton Jorz, and Forth-Ruskham, all in the county of Nottingham, and late belonging to the monastery of Shelford, Michael Stanhope, Esq., paying therefor 119<sup>l</sup> per annum.

In the year 1544 the King appointed him Steward over the Lordships of Holderness and Cottingham. In 1546 he was dubbed a Knight at Hampton Court, and in the following year received the appointment of Governor of Hull. In 1548 he was chosen Chief Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to King Edward VI. The high and responsible position to which he had now attained, brought with it grave results. The rivalry and jealousy that existed among those who held high places among the King's Councillors, made it extremely hazardous in those days to occupy exalted positions, especially as taking the life of a person who stood in the way of the promotion of another, seems to have been comparatively easily arranged for, on the ground that the success or well-being of the Government demanded it. Thus the flattering career of our noble Knight was soon to reach a close.

Sir Edward Stanhope, the father of Sir Michael, was twice married. The name of his first wife was Adelina, daughter of Sir

Gervas Clefton, by whom he had Richard and Michael. After the death of Michael's mother, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Fulc Bouchier, Lord Fitz Warin, by whom he had a daughter Anne, who became the wife of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, who was uncle as well as Protector to King Edward VI. Through the belief that his brother Thomas (Lord Seymour,) had been intriguing against him, the Protector had him arrested, tried for treason, condemned, and beheaded on the 20th of March, 1549. But soon the tables were turned. A powerful rival to the Duke of Somerset appeared in the person of John Dudley, Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland, who had been compelled to resign the office of Lord High Admiral by the Protector, in order that his brother, Thomas Seymour, might receive that appointment, and was only waiting for an opportunity to get his revenge. Dudley had again been made Lord High Admiral, and soon succeeded in gaining extensive influence among the Lords of the Council, and was in especial favor with the King. So skillful was he in conducting his efforts that he finally succeeded in influencing the King to sign the deposition of his Uncle the Protector, and on the 14th of October, 1551, he, with the Duchess and several other persons, quite likely Sir Michael Stanhope among the number, were sent as prisoners to the Tower. On it appearing that the life of the Duke of Northumberland was in danger, the King allowed the law to take its course. The Protector and his brother-in-law, Sir Michael Stanhope were tried and condemned to death, the Duke of Somerset being beheaded on Friday, the 22d day of January, 1552, Sir Michael sharing the same fate on the 26th day of the month following. That the latter may have been made a confidant of, and was under obligations to follow the instructions and dictates of his superior, the Duke of Somerset, is all we would offer in extenuation of the crime for which he was made to suffer the penalty of death.

Anne Rawson, the widow of Sir Michael Stanhope, was born about the year 1512, and as a fitting testimonial to her as a mother, we can say that notwithstanding the early and tragic

death of her husband, she, with true womanly courage, devoted her life to the welfare of her children, and their success in after years shows with what faithfulness and good judgment that care was bestowed. Out of eleven children, three, Margaret, William and Edward died in infancy. Thomas, the eldest, was Knighted at Kenilworth in the year 1575. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Port, by whom he had Sir John, who was the father of Philip Stanhope, first Earl of Chesterfield.

Edward, the second son, became one of the Queen's Council in the north of England, and died in 1608. The third son was Sir John Stanhope of Harrington, gentleman to the Privy Chamber to Queen Elizabeth, and created Lord Stanhope of Harrington in the year 1605. Edward, the fourth son, became a Doctor of Civil Law, and Master in Chancery. The fifth son, Sir Michael Stanhope of Sudbourn, County of Suffolk, Knighted by King James, May 7th, 1603, was gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Queen Elizabeth. The sixth, a daughter, Eleanor, married Thomas Cooper, Esq. Seventh, Julian, married John Hotham, Esq. Eighth, Jane, married Sir Roger Townsend.

The eminent and responsible positions in State and Council to which the children of Lady Anne Rawson Stanhope were called and retained, furnishes a lasting tribute to the memory of a faithful and devoted mother.

Lady Stanhope survived the death of her husband nearly thirty-five years, six days only wanting to complete that time. She died on the 20th of February, 1587, at the old home in Shelford, where she was buried.

The old house at Shelford, was garrisoned for King Charles I., during the Civil wars, and one Philip Stanhope was in command and lost his life during an assault made by the enemy Oct. 27, 1645, when the place was captured and the house burned to the ground.

As the fruit of the marriage of Sir Michael Stanhope and Anne Rawson, we have had, during the years that have intervened, many prominent and illustrious personages whose lives have

adorned the pages of English history. Notably among them are the Earls of Chesterfield, of Harrington and of Stanhope.

The merchant, Christopher Rawson, brother of Sir John, and the owner of the Old Wool Quay in London, was twice married. First to Margaret —, afterward to Agnes, daughter of William Burke. By the first wife he had three sons and two daughters; John, Thomas, Richard, Margaret, who became first the wife of Henry Goodrick, brother of Thomas, Bishop of Ely and Lord Chancellor of England, afterwards of Mr. Crompton, of Stone; and Catherine, who married Oliver Richardson.

The names of the three sisters of Sir John Rawson were Anne, who became the wife of Richard Cely of London; Elizabeth, wife of John Foxe, a merchant of London; and Alice, of whom we have no marriage record.

Having thus far given some account of Sir John and his descendants, together with those of his brothers and sisters, let us look at a brief record of his father, Richard Rawson, who was also a merchant of London, and, in the year 1475, Alderman of Farringdon Extra, and Sheriff of London in 1476. He married Isabella Craford, a descendant of the Crafordes of Northumberland. He died in 1483, and was buried at the church of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk street, London. By his will he gave many charitable and devotional legacies, including the church at Fryston and for repairing the highways in and about Pomfret, Sherburn, Fryston and Castleford, in Yorkshire.

Isabella, his wife, died in 1497, and was buried on Milk street by the side of her husband. By her will she gave several legacies, one to the Free Chapel of Gressenhall, County of Norfolk, of which her son Nicholas was master.

Richard, the Sheriff of London, was son of Richard Rawson of Fryston, Yorkshire, England, and grandson of Robert of the same place, who married Agnes the daughter of Thomas Mares, and lived during the time of Richard II., and was probably born previous to the 14th century.

The Rawsons may properly be styled a Yorkshire family. In the Harleian collection of Heralds visitations, at the British



Museum, London, England, may be found several pedigrees of different branches of the one great family. All but one appear to be records of the family in Yorkshire, only one being found in the collection of the family in any other County; and that one in Essex, volume 1137, folio 49.

Edward Rawson, the grandfather of the Secretary, was a merchant, dealing in silks and woolen goods, and resided in the town of Colnbrook, in the Parish of Langley Marsh, Buckinghamshire, about seventeen miles west of London. Here his children were born. He was a man of considerable property, and died rather early in life. His will was dated February 16, 1603, and proved May 4th the following year. He left two sons, Henry and David, both minors at the time of his death. His wife was Bridget Warde; she married for a second husband, Thomas Woodward, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, County of Middlesex.

By the father's will Henry, the eldest son, was to have the house, called the Draggon, and two shops thereunto adjoining all in Colnbrook. This was very likely the store or place of business, where the son might continue in trade as his father's successor. David was to receive 200*l* on his reaching the age of one and twenty, and also at the death of the mother to have the old homestead in Colnbrook. Wife Bridget and son Henry were named as executors. It was also decided that he should learn a trade, and in accordance with the custom of that period, he was bound out for a term of seven years to acquire the art of a tailor. Having served his apprenticeship with Mr. Nathaniel Weston, and reached the appointed age, he received the munificent gift from his father's estate, and established himself in the city of London as a merchant tailor. As the home of his youth was but a very few miles from Windsor, where the Rev. Dr. William Wilson preached, and also situated on the main road between that noted place and the great metropolis, we may imagine that David had met and early made the acquaintance of the Rev. Doctor's daughter Margaret. They may have been brought together at the village school, or at the home of David's father, he being a man of wealth and social standing in the neighborhood.

The Wilson family may have been in the habit of calling at the merchant's house, as they must have frequently made trips between Windsor and London. But it matters little at this writing how the first interview was brought about. The facts are that David took the minister Wilson's daughter Margaret to wife and established a home in the great city of London. But that happy home was soon to be despoiled of its charm. Within a few short years the husband and father died, leaving his sorrowing widow, as David's mother had been left, with two small children.

By reading the will of David Rawson, father of the Secretary, we learn that he was born in Colnbrook, Buckinghamshire, and at the date of the execution of that instrument, was a citizen, and merchant tailor of London; also that he left three children, two sons and a daughter, namely, William, Edward, and Dorothy. This Edward became the Secretary. David had apparently been successful in business, leaving what might be considered a large estate for his time, and much wisdom and thoughtfulness was displayed in its distribution.

He named as overseers, Thomas Woodward, Esq., his step-father; his brother, Henry Rawson; brothers-in-law, Dr. Edmond Wilson, and Rev. John Wilson, the latter afterwards known as minister of the first church in Boston, Mass. The body of the will was drawn June 15, 1616. On the 27th of November, in the year following, a codicil was added, in which the daughter Dorothy was mentioned. Within the next three months the father died, and the will was proved by the widow Margaret, 25 February, 1617.\* A few years later the widow married William Taylor of London, a haberdasher or dealer in small wares such as ribbons, tapes, etc. Col. Chester tells us in the Genealogy of the Taylor Family, prepared by him for Mr. P. A. Taylor, that they were married previous to March 23, 1624, for on that day a post-nuptial settlement was dated.

By this marriage she had three children: Edmond Taylor, the eldest, who became a gentleman given to intellectual pursuits, was

\*At that date the year began in the month of March.

a prominent non-conformist, received in the year 1655 from Oliver Cromwell the appointment of Rector of Littleton, and was for a time imprisoned for the part he took in the Monmouth Rebellion; he resided in Witham, Essex. A daughter, Margaret Taylor, married 28 January 1640-41, William Webb, a grocer in London. The other child, Hannah, married Robert Clarkson, or Claxton, citizen and merchant draper of London; marriage articles dated Dec. 22, 1646.

The mother died previous to January 1, 1628, and Mr. William Taylor, her last husband, died 29 June, 1651, at Hackney, where he was buried on the 8th day of July following. He left a very large estate, valued then at 4000*l* (equal to \$40,000 now), and gave among other gifts 800*l* to each of his daughters, Mrs. Webb and Mrs. Clarkson. There are no persons by the name of Rawson mentioned in his will.

Margaret, the mother of Secretary Rawson, was daughter of Rev. William Wilson, D. D., of Merton College, Oxford, Prebendary of St. Paul's and Rochester Cathedrals. He held the rectory of Cliffe in the County of Kent, and in the year 1584 became Canon of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle; sister to Edmond Wilson, M. D., of London, who, about the year 1633, gave one thousand pounds sterling to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay; and the Rev. John Wilson, minister of the first church in Boston; also grand-niece of Edmond Grindall, D. D., Archbishop of Canterbury.\* It would be exceedingly interesting to the descendants of the Secretary, could they have a complete history of his early life while in London with his mother, or at Windsor with his grandparents. The early death of his father, Edward being less than two years of age at the time, may have materially changed the course marked out for the young child. But surrounded as he was by relatives and friends, enjoying the benefits of education, and occupying high positions in life, it is fair to presume that abundant opportunity was given the youth to acquire a reasonable education and lay the foundation for a comparatively useful life.

\* Rev. William Wilson, D. D., married Isabel Woodhall, daughter of Elizabeth, a sister of Edmund Grindall, Archbishop of Canterbury.

It does not appear whether or not he had the advantages of a collegiate course, but it is plainly apparent that he was well qualified to occupy with credit, the many prominent positions of trust that in after years fell to his lot. At the time of the publication of the Memorial of the Rawson Family, it was supposed that Gillingham, Dorsetshire, England, was the birthplace of our Secretary, but June 15, 1616, David Rawson, his father, records himself as a citizen and merchant tailor of London.

He evidently had been located there a sufficient length of time to establish his citizenship, and as Edward at that date was but fourteen months old, we may reasonably infer that he was born in London.

The mother was left with ample means for the maintenance of herself and family, and being a woman of culture and refined tastes, she, no doubt, devoted all her energy to the careful training of her little ones.

At the death of the mother the subject of our sketch was about thirteen years of age. Whether the youth remained in the family of Mr. Taylor, or was cared for by the Wilsons, does not appear. Two years later, however, the uncle, Rev. John Wilson, decided to accept the invitation to remove to New England, arriving at Salem, Massachusetts, in the year 1630. Within four years from his departure for New England, the other uncle, Edmond Wilson, M. D., died. One uncle, Henry Rawson, a brother of his father, still remained, residing at the old homestead in Colnbrook, and here young Edward may have passed a few years while attending school.

When John Endicott, the founder of the Colony of Massachusetts, made his adventurous trip with his little company of associates to the shores of New England, Edward Rawson was but a lad of tender years. No doubt he had listened with thorough boyish curiosity to the thrilling stories as they fell from the lips of relatives and friends much older than himself, who felt a special interest in the venture, while they repeated in his presence the numerous reports that came to the people of London and Windsor, of the trials and privations of the little colony in their

new home, or expressions of inestimable joy and satisfaction at feeling themselves fairly beyond the restraint of a tyrannical and uncompromising government.

It was natural that such stories should make lasting impressions on the youth's mind, and two years later, when his uncle, Rev. John Wilson, took his departure for the new country, the child must have felt a singularly deep sense of interest in that then, to him, far-away spot, and he may have then wished in his boyish fancy that at some future day his eyes might rest upon that promised land, and his feet press its virgin soil. The deep affection he felt for this uncle, who seemed to him quite like a father, must have also served as a loadstone to attract his attention westward across the Atlantic.

He next appears to us in the town of Gillingham, Dorsetshire, at the home of Mr. Richard Perne, whose daughter Rachel he married. For a brief time the young couple made their home in Gillingham. Their first child was born here. Whether Mr. Perne lived to witness the marriage of his daughter, or not, we cannot say. He died April 11 or 12, 1636, leaving a will executed April 10, in which he named Edward Rawson as one of the overseers, and his wife, Rachel, to be executrix.

Within two years after the death of Mr. Perne, Edward Rawson, with his young wife, left Old England for America, arriving at Newbury, we believe, in the year 1637. April 19, 1638, when but twenty-three years of age, he was chosen Public Notary and Register for that Town, and was annually reëlected until 1647. Many other public trusts and responsible duties were laid upon him by the people of Newbury. As early as the year 1638, he was one of the Deputies to represent the Town at the General Court, and was reëlected for nearly all the successive years to 22 May, 1650, at which time he was chosen Secretary of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which office he continued to hold for thirty-six years.

Mr. Rawson took his seat as representative from Newbury at the May session, 1638, being the youngest member of that honorable body. In those days the conveniences for traveling to and from

Newbury and Boston were quite different from what they are at the present day. Then the journey was made generally either on foot or horseback, and the traveler was subject to more or less delays by the way, as we may see. On the 8th of June following, he, with several other Deputies were fined five shillings each, for being absent when Court was called. Edward Converse, the ferryman, appeared at the bar and answered for Mr. Rawson's tardiness, and was ordered to pay his fine, and be more careful in the future to have boats manned and in readiness to carry people over the ferry more promptly. Sept. 6, he was appointed by the General Court, Commissioner for the Town of Newbury, and also one of a committee, with Bradstreet and Winthrop, to settle the plantation of Winnicomet, afterwards called Hampton, N. H. ; also appointed one of a committee to levy rates or taxes for the Colony.

During subsequent years Mr. Rawson served frequently upon the committee to levy rates, at one time receiving 25 per cent. for collecting customs due the country on wines. June 18, 1645, chosen Clerk of the House of Deputies. Oct. 15, he was one of a committee to investigate and collect a debt due the country from Mr. Downing and Nehemiah Bourne. 6th of May, 1646, to look after matters at Hampton and at Salisbury, a petition having been presented from some of the inhabitants of the latter place to be a distinct church ; and with Samuel Dudley and Edward Carleton, to lay out the bounds of Exeter ; to end small causes at Newbury. Nov. 4th of the same year, to examine with the Secretary and see whether or no the Acts of the Court were fairly transcribed to the mind of the Court, and commissioned to see people joined in marriage in Newbury, and given twenty marks expenses for Clerk of the House of Deputies. March, 1647-8, in company with Mr. Hill, to make a review of the Books of Laws, compare amendments, etc. Oct. 27, 1647, he was appointed with Captain Wiggin,\* to settle the estate of William Walderne, a bankrupt

\* Capt. Thomas Wiggin came to New England invested with authority from Lords Say and Brook, to act as Agent for the settlement at Pascataqua. He made the voyage in the ship James, arriving at Salem Oct. 10, 1633.

debtor, apparently of Dover. May 15, 1649, appointed with Mr. Bellingham, Nowell and Hill, to examine the writings left by Gov. John Winthrop, and put them in proper order; very likely the Journal of Gov. Winthrop that was afterwards published, may have been among the papers referred to. Oct. 14, 1651, appointed Recorder, in place of Mr. Aspenwall, who had been suspended. On petition of Elizabeth, Relict of the late Adam Winthrop, deceased, Mr. Rawson, Thomas Clark and Richard Davenport, were appointed, Oct. 19, 1652, guardians over Adam Winthrop, Jr., to care for his education and estate. Nine days later chosen overseer of the estate of Captain Bozoone Allen, deceased. June 7, 1653, appointed with Richard Bellingham, Thomas Wiggin and Daniel Dennison, to investigate matters to the eastward. The inhabitants at Wells were a little loth to conduct themselves wholly under the rules and regulations laid down by the Colony, and the object of sending this commission of which Mr. Rawson was chosen Secretary, was to soothe the discordant spirits and generate harmony of feeling, and action between the people of Wells and the authorities of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The mission was fruitful of good results. May 6, 1657, Mr. Rawson was appointed attorney to prosecute in behalf of the Colony, a suit against Richard Woodey. Oct. 19, 1658, chosen one of the Commissioners of Boston. Oct. 21, 1663, an officer to enforce the English Navigation Laws, to look after receiving and delivering proper papers to the ship masters.

The stated salary for Mr. Rawson, as Secretary of the Colony during the first nine years of his service was twenty pounds per annum, a sum that seems rather insignificant from our present standpoint, yet there seems little doubt but that his labors were thoroughly appreciated, and considered at the time reasonably rewarded. The inhabitants of the country were, as a class, poor and unable to pay heavy taxes to support the official representatives of the Colony. In fact, the greater proportion of persons in the colony who held public trusts were those who could, by means of their own estates, give their time and services to the welfare of the Colony, without depending on full remuneration for that service. Many of them not only devoted much time, but

also gave considerable sums of money to help forward the well-being of the Colony.

The following, copied from the records of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, will furnish a hint as to what Mr. Rawson did, and how his efforts were appreciated: "Oct. 18, 1659. The court, considering that the Secretary hath served the Country for many years in that place, whose time hath altogether been taken up with the weighty occasions of the country, which have been and are incumbent on him (the neglect whereof would be an inevitable and great prejudice to the public), and himself oft times forced to hire a clerk to help him, which hath cost him some years 20*l* per annum, and every year spending of his own estate a considerable sum beyond what his estate will bear, nor is it for the honor of the country that such an officer, so necessary, who hath also been found faithful and able in the discharge of the trust committed to him, shall want due encouragement, do, therefore, order that the present Secretary shall have from the eleventh day of May last, the sum of 60*l* per annum for his salary, to continue yearly until this Court shall order and provide some other mete recompense."

Nor was this the only measure of requital the Court bestowed upon the honorable Secretary. Many grants of land, amounting in the aggregate to nearly four thousand acres, were from time to time assigned to him for certain special services rendered the Country. Notwithstanding the fact that the duties of the office of Secretary demanded almost his entire time, yet he occasionally was required to give attention to matters that were laid upon him by his associates or towns-people who evidently believed in his ability and trustworthiness to attend to their private business, settling estates, etc. He was one of the overseers of the will of Mr. Henry Webb, a rich Boston merchant, also of the will of Captain Robert Keayne, a wealthy merchant, one of the founders of Massachusetts, and the first commander of that veteran organization in Boston known as the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. Captain Keayne's wife was daughter of Sir John Mansfield, and sister to Elizabeth, the wife of Rev. John Wilson, uncle to the Secretary and first minister of Boston, and as



the Captain came from London, he evidently had known Edward Rawson from childhood, and it is evidence of his opinion as to the character of his lifelong friend that he was willing to place in his hands the distribution of his valuable estate.

To every person who has had occasion to examine the early records of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the name of Edward Rawson must be thoroughly familiar. His constancy and faithfulness as clerk is distinctly apparent, while his plain, legible style of penmanship brings at once a sense of relief and satisfaction to all its readers. So thoroughly were his efforts and chirography appreciated that he was early styled an "eloquent inditer."

Mr. Rawson may have possessed peculiarities and individualities, but even by the light of the present day, after making due allowance for his time, the record he has left behind of services rendered will bear comparison with many other of the workers during those early and trying experiences in the life of the Colony.

Dr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, of Boston, the antiquary who compiled for publication the early records of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, says in his introduction or preface to that work, "Of all the secretaries of this Colony, none surpassed Mr. Rawson in peculiarities of chirography, and in the use of similar forms for different letters. He had various ways of writing the letters *e* and *r*, very often writing them in such a careless manner that nothing but the context could possibly lead to the discovery of his intentions. In the use of the letters *n*, *u*, *c*, and *t* and *c*, and *l*, he was equally faulty. In a few instances the peculiar style of writing used by Secretary Rawson, such as the condensation of two letters into one, and by an extra stroke of the pen the making of one letter assume the appearance of two has not been followed. Several of the most common instances are the use of an *m* for *nn*, as Pemiman for Penniman, and an *m*, for an *n*, as Haimes for Hines. He seems to have adopted a style of contractions or contracted expressions, or half spelled words."

The Doctor, perhaps, did not intend this so much in the sense of a criticism upon the handwriting of Mr. Rawson, as he did to

express or describe his individuality, and the distinctive features of his chirography. For there is scarcely to be found a manuscript two hundred years or more of age that will not exhibit some special characteristic or peculiar trait of the person who wrote it, especially if he were a person capable of originality, or possessed any force of character. Many of these peculiarities or variations in chirography may be accounted for by the fact that the various writers were schooled or educated amid different surroundings and in various parts of Great Britain. Each county in England possesses its own peculiar style of expressions by words, and as the sound of words differ in the several localities, so the arrangement of letters are varied to express those sounds.

Persons who have been engaged in looking up antique genealogical data will, if they have had much experience, recall the various spellings of the same patronymic. It is, perhaps, no wonder that with the vast amount of inditing that Secretary Rawson found to do, he should adopt certain abbreviations or contractions for the purpose of saving time and labor. But his plain, bold style of penmanship has called forth repeated expressions highly complimentary to him.

Having been continued in office by annual elections so many successive terms shows that aside from his fitness for the position he must have been a person of pleasing address, void of guile, reliable both in character and deportment.

Col. Joseph L. Chester, in his *Genealogy of the Taylor family*, referring to Secretary Rawson, says, "He became one of the most important men in New England. The only blot on his memory was his being among the most forward and relentless of the persecutors of the Quakers, a fact owing perhaps partly to his official position, but which also shows that in spite of his great abilities and his otherwise irreproachable career, he could not escape the popular fanaticism of the time."

By the fact that Mr. Rawson, so soon after arriving at Newbury and taking the Freeman's oath, was among other public trusts, Commissioner for the Trial of Causes, Reviser of the Laws, etc., we may reasonably conclude that he possessed considerable

knowledge of the law. This he may have acquired in the office of Thomas Woodward, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, second husband of his grandmother.

On the news reaching Boston of the death of Charles II., and orders having been received to proclaim James II. King, preparations were made to perform the ceremony with the usual pomp and display customary on such occasions, and on Monday, April 20, 1685, surrounded by the Governor and assistants, all on horseback, with thousands of people and eight foot companies, amid the beating of drums, sounding of trumpets, and the discharge of musketry and cannon, the Proclamation was announced by Mr. Edward Rawson.

The Secretary was certainly a prominent character in the early history of New England, and the value of his services can hardly be over-estimated. Almost from the moment he set foot on American soil, he devoted his time and energy to the furtherance of the best interests of the Town and Colony in which he sought to found a home, and that service was only concluded through the radical change in the government caused by the usurpation of Sir Edmund Andros.

Few if any of the early colonists came of better parent stock than the subject of this sketch. Few of them were better fitted by mental, moral and social training than he to take hold of and carry forward the difficult task of shaping and conducting the course of an infant colony. Of a goodly family, affable, genial, courteous in manner and speech, upright and honorable in all his private dealings, watchful of and faithful in the discharge of every public trust, never swerving from what he considered his direct line of duty, oftentimes through his generosity contributing from his personal estate for the advancement of public service, and reared amid the advantages of wealth, culture and refinement, Edward Rawson was well qualified by nature and education to become a valuable colleague if not a leader in the young colony. That he possessed considerable knowledge of the law in addition to a strongly defined character, is assured to us by the fact that so many matters of great significance were entrusted to him, the

successful discharge of which duty required just such qualifications. He bore the honorable title of "gentleman," and no spot on the record seems to indicate that the honor was misplaced.

He is believed to have been connected with the authorship of two books, one a folio, published in the year 1660, entitled "The General Laws and Liberties Concerning the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts," etc., the other, "The Revolution in New England Justified," published in 1691. A portion of the old farm in Newbury where the Secretary first resided has for more than two hundred years borne the appellation of "Rawson's Meadow." The old house, with but few changes, including the ravages of time, was a few years since still standing a silent witness to the joys and sorrows, struggles, discomforts and privations attending the first dozen years of the family in America.

Mr. Rawson sold this house with forty acres of upland and ten acres of meadow, to William Pilsbury, of Dorchester, Dec. 13, 1651, for 100*l*. Soon after removing to Boston, Mr. Rawson purchased of Mr. Theodore Atkinson, January 30, 1653, two and one-half acres of land, on which stood a cottage or tenement, with numerous out-buildings and a garden, including a generous supply of fruit trees. The place had formerly been the property of Mr. William Aspenwall, and evidently bore the air of a pretentious family residence.

This lot was situated between the "street going to Roxbury" on the east, and the Common on the west. A few years after making this purchase, Mr. Rawson opened a street through this land which was regularly named and known as "Rawson's Lane" from 1670 until about 1748, when the name was changed to Bromfield's Lane, afterwards Bromfield Street.

Fifty-five years had intervened since the death of the Secretary and with the change of population and lapse of time, the old associations had somewhat lost their charm. The old was to be put aside for the new, this time the object being to record an expression of esteem for Justice Edward Bromfield, whose residence was situated on "Rawson's Lane." The "street going to Roxbury" was afterwards named "Malborough street," and still

later changed to Washington street, and Tremont street now divides the tract of land, once the home of Secretary Rawson, from the Common. There were several out-buildings upon this estate, but the mansion, or dwelling house was situated on the north side of "Rawson's Lane," standing back some distance from, and fronting on the "Broad street going to Roxbury." Surrounding the family mansion was a choice garden, well supplied with fruit-bearing trees, the whole enclosed by a fence. This mansion, with certain out-buildings, including about one acre of land, Mr. Rawson sold, Oct. 25, 1670, to Capt. John Pinchon, of Springfield,\* for 1050 $\frac{1}{2}$  New England money. A number of small lots were also disposed of to various purchasers, aggregating in value 1158 $\frac{1}{2}$  New England money.

May 6, 1674, Edward and Rachel Rawson deeded a lot 56 x 60, feet, square to their "now eldest son, William." May 23, 1676, they presented him with another lot, 32 x 83 feet, square. It was very likely upon one of these lots that the dry goods store of William Rawson was located, and where for several years he conducted that business.

The Secretary must have built another residence upon some of the land remaining in his possession; for, from a note found in Mr. Samuel Sewall's diary, it appears that Mr. Rawson had carefully preserved the "Massachusetts books and papers at his house," and on Saturday, March 5, 1686-7, his house was visited by Justices Lynde and Bullivant, and the books and papers above referred to taken by them to the Town House.

Mr. Rawson was fully in sympathy with the inhabitants of Massachusetts, in their decided opposition to the management of that unwelcome and contemptible trio, Andros, Dudley and Randolph. His thorough knowledge of public affairs gave him an opportunity to anticipate the serious harm that might come to the people of New England were they to be curtailed in or deprived of their Charter privileges. He took a firm stand in the interest of the people, and for their convenience, held in his

\* Only son of William Pinchon (or Pynchon), Esq., of Springfield. Was Representative, afterwards Major, Assistant and Councillor.

personal custody the books and papers, it may be with the avowed purpose of preventing, so far as he reasonably could, their going into the hands of either Dudley, Andros or Randolph. This yielding up of the State Documents to the justices, was, we believe, the closing act in his long and valuable career as a public servant.

Edward Rawson's wife, Rachel, died before October 11, 1677. He died August 27, 1693. The names of their children and births are as follows:—

NAME.	BORN.	BAPTISED.	DIED.
RACHEL,	1636.		
EDWARD,	1638.		
MARY PERNE,	May 14, 1640.		
DAVID,	May 6, 1644.		
GRINDAL,	Jan'y 23, 1649.		young.
WILLIAM,	May 21, 1651.	May 25, 1651.	
HANNAH,	Oct., 1653.	Oct. 16, 1653.	May 27, 1656.
REBECCA,	Oct. 19, 1654.	Oct. 29, 1654.	
REBECCA,	May 21, 1656.	May 26, 1656.	
ELIZABETH,	Nov. 12, 1657.	Nov. 25, 1657.	
GRINDAL,	Jan'y 23, 1659.	Jan'y 30, 1659.	
JOHN,	1661.	July 14, 1661.	

About twenty years after the marriage in England of Secretary Rawson, Widow Rachel Perne died, leaving a will bearing date March 31, 1656, and proved the 13th of November following. By this instrument we learn that at the time of her death she was in possession of a living in the Parish of Gillingham, Dorsetshire, called Easthames, by lease granted under the hand and seal of William Lord Stowerton, or Stourton, during the reign of King Charles I.\* This lease, which included several other valuable pieces of land located in the same vicinity, was to hold for ninety-nine years from date. She made her son, John Perne, executor, and gave her daughter, Rachel Rawson, in New England, forty pounds. Mrs. Rawson's grandfather, John Hooker, was uncle to Rev. Thomas Hooker, that celebrated Divine who

\* Will dated Oct. 12, 12th year of the reign of Charles I.

was pastor of the church in Newtown, Mass., and Hartford, Conn. Widow Perne's maiden name appears to have been Green.

To show the manliness of the Secretary and his disposition to carry out so far as possible, certain promises made by him, we would refer to a deed given in trust to Thomas Danforth et al. The document is recorded in Lib. III., pages 413, 414 and 415 of Suffolk Deeds. By this instrument we learn that Edward Rawson was to receive with the hand of Rachel Perne, three hundred pounds, as a marriage portion, from Richard Perne, her father, and that Mr. Rawson was to add six hundred pounds from his own funds to that sum, and with the nine hundred pounds purchase lands, which estate was by jointure to have been settled on his wife, so that in the event of his early demise (as had been the case with Edward's father and grandfather, a precaution well taken) the widow, Rachel, might be properly cared for. Mr. Perne, however, died before completing his part of the agreement, and Mr. Rawson very soon resolved to remove with his wife and children to New England, at which time he gave his word to his mother Perne, that, upon payment by her of the remaining portion of the three hundred pounds, he would make over, in houses and lands in New England for the benefit of his wife and her heirs by him, the value of the said three hundred pounds.

Now on the 21st day of December, 1660, having some eighteen years previous received the money from Mrs. Perne, he executes a mortgage deed of his homestead to Thomas Danforth, Edmond Batter and Samuel Torrey, as friends, in trust for the use of his wife, Rachel, in case of his decease, the same being valued at three hundred pounds. This was the same property he purchased of Theodore Atkinson about seven years previous, paying therefor one hundred and eighty pounds, showing the increase in the value of real estate during that number of years to have been quite marked, although he had made considerable improvement in the way of buildings, etc., the amount of which we cannot judge.

It was provided, however, in this agreement that during Mr. Rawson's life he might sell or dispose of this property, provided always that he placed other sufficient security in its stead in the

hands of said trustees. It was also provided that at any time during the life of Mr. Rawson, he might, or at his death his executors or administrators might release this property by paying two hundred and fifty pounds in good current pay equivalent to money, into the hands of said trustees, together with a certain list of articles, valued at fifty pounds. As the articles named give some idea of the style in which the family lived at that time, we will insert the list here.

The two best feather beds ; two best bouldsters ; two best pillows and pillow beers of the finest Holland ; four pair best sheets ; two of the best rugs, and two blankets ; the best red serge curtains and valiants ; ye needle work cushon and table cloth ; six leather chairs ; ye best lookingglass and my great bible ; my silver tankard ; silver bowl and wine bowl and seven silver spoons ; my watch ; my cupboard and case of drawers ; my great kettle of brass ; brass pot and iron pot ; one pair tongs and fire pan ; one spitt ; one skillett ; the best trunk ; my best beaver hat.

On the 10th day of May, 1664, by mutual consent, another deed was executed to the trustees to take the place of the one previously given.

Notwithstanding the fact that Secretary Rawson at one time was the owner of a large property, consisting of some six thousand acres of land, on a portion of which were valuable improvements, situated in and out of Boston, yet, when the time came to settle his estate, so much of the property had previously been distributed among the heirs, or dispensed in some form or other, that the portion remaining in his name was not sufficient to pay his debts in full. At the time of his death he was doubtless making his home with his son William, at Dorchester.

\* Letters of Administration granted unto William Rawson, on the estate of his father, Edward Rawson, late of Boston. Gent. Deceased.

William Stoughton, Esq., commissioned by his Excy, Sir William Phips, K<sup>nt</sup> Captain General and Governour in Chief in and

\* Suffolk Probate Records, Vol. XIII, 323.



over their Maj<sup>ties</sup> Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, with the advise and consent of the council for the granting of Probate of Wills and Letters of Administration within the County of Suffolk, etc. To William Rawson, son of Edward Rawson, late of Boston, within the said County, Gent Deceased. Intestate, Greeting. Trusting in your care and fidelity, I do, by these presents, commit unto you full power to administer all and singular, the goods, chattels, rights and credits of the said deceased, and well and faithfully to dispose of the same according to law, and also to ask, gather, levy, recover and receive all and whatsoever credits of the said Deceased, which to him while he lived, and at the time of his death did appertain. And to pay all debts in which the deceased stood bound, so far as his goods chattels, rights and credits of the said Deceased. And to exhibit the same unto the Registers office of the aforesaid County of Suffolk, at or before the forth day of April next ensuing, and to render a plain and true account of your said administration upon oath, at or before the forth day of January 1694-5. And I do, by these presents, ordain, constitute and appoint you administrator of all and singular the goods, chatels, rights and credits aforesaid.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of the said office. Dated at Boston, the forth day of January, 1693-4.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

ISA. ADDINGTON, Reg., Esq.

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Dorchester, 2d Feby, 1693-4.

An inventory taken of the goods and estate of Mr. Ed Rawson, late deceased, which are now in the hands of William Rawson, administrator, is as followeth, viz :—

Imps. 740 acres of wast land lying betwixt Medfield and Mendon,	37 0 0*
It one bed and bedding, with appertences,	4 6 0
“ wearing apparel both woolen and linen,	5 6 6

\* Valued at about twenty-five cents an acre.

“ an old skreen with other small lumber,	0 3 6
“ Plate, buttons and buckles,	10 6
“ three old books, two sachells, a p <sup>r</sup> spectacles,	8 8
pr. John Wilson, James Bracket,	47 15 2
what is in my bro, Grindall's hands as by a/c of the particulars, by him valued	3 8 0
	<hr/>
Total,	51 3 2

## WILLIAM RAWSON.

Appeared and made oath to its accuracy before William Stoughton, Boston, February 21, 1694-5.\*

William Rawson represented that he finds the estate insolvent, and Sampson Sheafe, merchant, Benjamin Walker and Thomas Banister, shop keepers, all of Boston, were appointed by William Stoughton, on April 6, 1695, commissioners to receive and examine all claims against the estate and report list of the same to Mr. Stoughton, at Register office, that due proportion may be distributed on the claims as the estate will pay.†

John Edward Lynch was admitted an active member of the Society.

The Librarian reported 13 volumes, 30 pamphlets, 41 papers, 5 pictures, and 6 other articles, as the additions for the month.

Mr. F. P. Rice, in behalf of Hon. Eli Thayer, presented a book written in 1854 by Rev. Edward Everett Hale, entitled “Kanzas and Nebraska,”

\* Suffolk Probate Records, Vol. XIII., 556.

† Suffolk Probate Records, Vol. XIII., 578.

and bearing the following autograph inscription by Mr. Hale: *To Eli Thayer, the Founder of Kansas, with the regards of E. E. Hale.*

The meeting was then adjourned.

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Regular meeting, Tuesday evening, February 1.

Present: Messrs. Abbot, Barrows, Blake, Crane, Cutler, Dickinson, Gould, C. Jillson, Lynch, G. and M. A. Maynard, Meriam, Lee, Otis, F. P. Rice, W. A. Smith and E. M. Wood, members; E. J. Rockwood and ——— Morse, visitors.—19.

The Librarian reported 5 books, 19 pamphlets, 75 papers, 6 pictures, and 4 articles for the Museum as the gifts for the month.

Mr. U. W. Cutler then read the following paper:

## INDIANS AND EUROPEANS\*:

A PAPER BASED UPON ELLIS, PARKMAN AND OTHERS.

BY U. W. CUTLER.

Some one, writing upon history in general, said of the present—"It is the sum of all man ever was and all man ever did." For myself, I like to modify this mathematical figure, and to think of the present as the last term of a geometrical series, into which every past age enters as a factor. To study this series, to find any term, its number of terms, its ratio—to observe the capacities and opportunities of the primitive races, to recognize the various stages of human progress, and the motives and influences and tendencies which have been leading mankind upward and onward, is the fascinating duty of the student of history.

We study in the genealogical tables the virtues and surroundings of our ancestors, to better know our own characters; we review our local or our national history, to form wise opinions upon the burning questions of our own day; we follow the development of trade or manufacture, to learn to successfully employ the boundless resources this nineteenth century affords.

The true student of the past is emphatically a man of the present in his sympathies and his interests. The *application* of all historical knowledge is to present problems, present needs, present opportunities.

Thus exalted is the aim of The Society of Antiquity; thus inspiring the line of its work.

In the spirit of the above comparison, this paper seeks to throw light upon present Indian questions, by reflecting that gathered from past relations between civilized and uncivilized races in America.

Europeans, landing for the first time on these western shores, found the land already peopled. Who are you? Where do you come from? are questions which the white man has been asking the red man ever since that October day, now almost four centuries ago. They were questions which the wild, careless, unreflective children of nature had never thought to ask themselves; they had no name by which to call their race, and no traditions, going back more than one or two generations, from which to learn of their origin. The Spaniards, believing they had found what they so much wished to find—a westerly route to India—named the natives Indians, the name by which they will probably always be known, though the French, who soon followed up the explorations, never adopted it, always calling the natives “The Savages.”

In time explorers learned that India was still to the westward, and for a hundred years the American continent, which has been giving homes to all the homeless, and food to all the hungry for the remaining three centuries since the discovery, was regarded simply as a small obstacle to be surmounted, a narrow barrier to be broken down, that the coveted riches of India might be secured. And so the Spaniards rushed from the Atlantic across Darien to the kindlier Pacific, but no direct waterway did they find. Farther to the north the Dutch, and French, and English, attempted the Hudson, the St. Lawrence, and Hudson's Bay, only to be repulsed. And ever since, the most venturesome of all countries have been vainly hammering away at polar ice, with the same end in view, leaving their names to islands, bays and headlands, as monuments to defeated hopes. And now the French, with not a foot of land left them to preserve the traditions of all they have spent and suffered here, are still eager to accomplish the purpose of twelve generations, and through their enterprise and their capital hope to open the Panama Canal, the long desired, long sought short waterway to India. No new idea, to be sure, for Champlain, in 1600, suggested joining the two oceans by a ship canal at the Isthmus.

But why seek for gain by trade with India, when gold can be stolen in measureless abundance from terrified savages, or dug from

the mines by helpless slaves? The heartless Spaniards, no longer restrained by the Christiañ Isabella, and safe under the allpowerful arm of the pope, gradually ceased to care for the Indian trade, since sweeter juices could be sucked from the fresh, rich new world. And what a record they have left behind them here! What a load of infamy rests upon the breaking back of Spain for its cruel, bigoted barbarism, worse than any barbarian is capable of practicing, and all under the sanction of the Holy Catholic Church. Since the death of Columbus and his noble patron, Queen Isabella, there are but one or two Spanish names—at least other than those of the Californian missionaries—mentioned in connection with America, which do not make one's blood curdle.

The word conquest, as employed in American History—the conquest of Peru, the conquest of Mexico—is reserved for the Spanish plundering, despoiling, devouring. And what has become of the untold riches which the Spaniards wrung from the hands of the innocent, untaught natives? Spain is no greater, and the world is no better for all that Philip II. spent in torturing protestants, checking Dutch enterprise, and enslaving the Spanish Netherlands.

If the Indian could be made of use to the Spaniard, he was reduced from his native condition of proud independence of labor for his daily food, to one of most abject slavery; if not, he was trodden under foot and most ruthlessly stamped out of existence. Subjection, slavery, or even death, at the hand of Christians, was better than freedom or life as heathen. They came too early, perhaps, to understand and to apply to the wild men whom they conquered, a broader Christianity.

“Spanish civilization crushed the Indian,” says Parkman. “English civilization scorned and neglected him; French civilization embraced and cherished him.” Much is said, with truth, we are bound to acknowledge, concerning the wrongs of the red men at the hand of the English colonists, and the American government; but if the colonists were unjust and sometimes cruel, the Spanish invaders were infamous and barbarous. The shadows of the middle ages are reluctant to leave the Iberian

Peninsula. The reign of Isabella and her less noble consort, was but a lightning flash, after which the shadows closed down again more gloomy than before, because of the momentary revelation of a brighter condition, a broader civilization. Facilities for enjoying and using the light were increased; Mohammedanism had been expelled and Spain reunited; but except in an occasional, fitful flash, or pale gleam, the light itself had not appeared there in the sixteenth century, if, indeed, it has to any great extent in the nineteenth.

The French were but few years behind the Spanish in exploring the wonderful land of America. Bluff old Francis I., so jealous of the great power of his imperial rival, had no faith in the validity of Adam's will, conferring all that was then most rich and fruitful upon his Most Catholic Brother of Spain; and he was anxious for his share in this western continent, the only new world the earth has had, or will have to open out to mankind.

Ribault's Huguenot colony on the coast of what is now South Carolina, and Fort Caroline, on the St. Mary's, failed; the one through lack of true colonizing spirit on the part of its founders; the other, through the utter savagery of the Spaniards, just arrived at St. Augustine. But at Port Royal, and a little later at Quebec, there was a more persistent purpose. The fur trade drew many temporarily to New France, to range through the primeval forests and exchange firearms, trinkets, and fire water for skins. Then in 1625 came the Jesuits, replacing the less zealous Franciscans, who already a few years before had made a beginning—or at least an attempt—at converting the savage to christianity.

The story of the earnest and self-denying efforts of these black-robed messengers is a most thrilling one. Truly did French civilization embrace and cherish the Indian. These christian fathers, unused to hardship and privation, travelled by most dangerous and toilsome journeys far into the interior. Accustomed to comfortable, quiet convent life, they shared the Indian's smoky, filthy, crowded cabin, and the Indian's dish of sagamite, or endured with him, if need be, the almost utter lack of food, careful only to have at hand a little wheat bread and wine, reserved for the holy sacrament alone. Accustomed to social

converse with friends, they struggled in solitude to reduce to written form the crude Indian language, a language strangely lacking in words which they most wanted to use in their moral and religious teaching—an agglutinative language as it is called—a language with countless prefixes and suffixes, with short words attached to the main word, to the utter confusion of the learner; a language of long words, many of which, Cotton Mather said, had been growing ever since the confusion of tongues at Babel.

They followed the savages on their hunting expeditions to learn their habits and more perfectly their language; they doctored them when sick, they shared their privations, their tortures and their cruel death in war, coveting nothing for themselves but a martyr's end. And all this was in order to snatch the Indians from eternal ruin, by giving them Christian baptism. They did, to an extent, establish schools for the study of the catechism, and doubtless the influence of their example did something to soften the savage character; but whether the cruel heart was in the least changed or not, whether or not the convert understood anything of the principles of Christianity, or cared in the least to lead a righteous life,—baptised, the principal work of the Jesuits was done.

Their first efforts, extending out from the convent at Quebec, were among the wandering Algonquin tribes of Canada. But soon they longed to carry their message to the more agricultural, more intelligent Hurons around Georgian Bay. Brébeuf, one of the most heroic of the martyrs of the cause, a Jesuit belonging to a noble English family, was the founder of the mission, and, with many of his converts, heroically met his death when the Iroquois, in 1649, at last scattered and exterminated their immemorial enemies.

The policy of Champlain—the founder of French influence in the New World—the “Father of New France”—was to preserve the balance of power between the ever-warring Indian tribes; and ever after his arquebuse, appearing on the side of the Algonquins, struck terror to the hearts of the Iroquois on the shores of what has since been called Lake Champlain, these



Five Nations were the implacable enemies of that unhappy Algonquin race of red men inhabiting all the northern and eastern portions of the new country, as well as of the Algonquin's allies, the French. Consequently they cultivated friendly relations with the Dutch, who soon after appeared in the Hudson, for they wanted what civilization could bring them, if not civilization itself; and in the colonial wars, which followed one another in rapid succession down to the Peace of Paris, in 1763, they were the very useful allies of the English.

This hostility was fatal to the Jesuit cause among the Iroquois. To be sure, some bold spirits did go among them, but the influence they gained, if any, was very small, and often the opposition was most cruel, and would have overcome any but the stoutest hearts. The story of the father Jougues is one of the most thrilling among the records of the French missions. Carried southward from the St. Lawrence as a captive, he endured every sort of torture that Iroquois ingenuity could devise, with remarkable physical endurance and fortitude. At last he was ransomed by the Dutch at Albany, and landed on the shores of France. Telling his wonderful story, and showing his scarred and mutilated hands, he was most warmly received, and was soon sent back to Canada for renewed missionary effort and additional suffering. He became the agent of the government to go again among these most savage of savages, and at last an Indian tomahawk relieved from further distress this "lion and lamb" of the missions, as Ellis calls him, and gained for him the coveted martyr's crown.

His story is only one of many. They endured the jealousy and hate of those whom they were eager to die to save; they suffered the persecution and constant opposition of those strange characters, the pow-wows, whose influence among the Indians was almost irresistible; they did not flinch when the plague or the small-pox was sweeping away their parishioners; they did not flee when the frightful war-whoop sounded outside the palisades. They suffered starvation and privation; one was frozen stiff on his knees in prayer when lost in the snows of a Canadian winter; some were tomahawked, some were shot

through with arrows ; some were burned ; but there seems to be no record of a faint heart or a faltering purpose. They were buried in unhallowed ground by some wilderness lake "with stars for tapers tall" ; their blood was drunk by barbarians, eager for the heroism they manifested ; their dust was mingled with the ashes of their burning chapels ; and there is not much to show for it all, but a beautiful record of fidelity to what they believed right, of persistency of purpose, of bravery, moral courage and unwavering faith.

The inter-tribal wars did far more to reduce the native population than did their wars with Europeans. These often resulted in almost entire extermination of once powerful bands, as in the case of the Hurons. A little, degenerate company at Lorette on the lower St. Lawrence, are all that are left of a powerful people, a tribe giving more promise of the peaceable fruits of righteousness through Catholic influence, than perhaps any other. With the scattering of the Hurons the cause of the Jesuits began to decline in America. To be sure, stations were established at Michilimackinac, Green Bay and other places, and Père Marquette, a most devoted and zealous young missionary, won himself undying fame, when, in 1673, he ascended the Fox river, dragged his canoe over the portage to the Wisconsin, and floated down that river and the Mississippi far enough to satisfy himself that it did not flow into the Pacific—the first white man to explore the "Father of Waters."

But now the Jesuits were becoming more desirous of increasing the power of their order, and of developing the fur trade, than of making the savages converts to the Catholic Church. Though we must acknowledge the beneficial influence of the Catholic missionaries in softening, to a degree, the ferocious Indian nature, yet 'tis very true that the decline of the Jesuit order was favorable to civilization and liberty in the New World. All the Jesuit principles, since Loyola, in 1534, established the order, are opposed to liberty.

There is something wonderfully comforting in giving one's self, body and mind, one's hopes and ambitions and fears, to the

control of a system, to be directed into just the channel where the individual will do most and be most in the world. But 'tis a tremendous power thus put into the hands of a few. The father confessor, the superior, the pope, a power which is almost sure to be often misapplied or abused. The fundamental principle of unhesitating, unquestioning obedience to the will of the superior is directly opposed to freedom of thought or action. The system, essentially monarchical as it is in its government, worked exactly contrary to the broad democratic idea of liberty, as understood in these days and on these shores.

The name of the *Sieur de la Salle* stands preëminent among those of the French explorers. His family was one of rank, as the name implies. The young man was educated by the Jesuits, but later he associated himself more with the Sulpicians of Montreal, and consequently incurred the jealousy of the all-powerful Jesuit order, and possibly many of the difficulties he encountered in his great work were due to their secret opposition. As early as 1670 his hope was to discover, by way of the Ohio and Mississippi, the long sought passage to the Pacific. 'Tis probable that he was the discoverer of the Ohio—"Beautiful River"—and the Illinois, but to Joliet and Marquette belongs the honor of being the first Europeans to launch upon the Mississippi. Perhaps from LaSalle's failure to reach China, the name *La Chine* was derisively given on his return, to the place near Montreal.

With Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario—now strongly fortified—as a base of supplies, La Salle proposed a second great expedition for the purpose of establishing a chain of forts across the country, and of finally reaching the mouth of the Mississippi. The fearless, resolute explorer was strangely cold, reserved, unsympathetic in his intercourse with men, and he, in consequence, made few friends. Perhaps it was the secret hostility of the Jesuits, perhaps that of others, repelled by his natural coldness, which placed in the way of his success one obstacle after another, until any one but La Salle would despair. But over the natives he seemed to possess a wonderful power, and to this fact his final success is to a considerable extent due.

Above the Falls of Niagara he succeeded in building a vessel—"The Griffin"—the first sailing craft the Great Lakes ever saw. With this he sailed up Lake Huron, and in good time reached the mouth of what is now known as the St. Joseph, near the southern extremity of Lake Michigan. Here Fort St. Joseph was to form one link of the chain connecting the explorer with civilization. The Griffin returned for supplies for another vessel to be built at the head of navigation on the Illinois, and this was the last La Salle saw or heard of it. The loss of this vessel upon which he so much depended was a severe blow, but he was not disheartened. From the banks of the Illinois, where he had now founded Fort St. Louis, he started overland on foot back to Fort Frontenac. This was a most disheartening journey; arriving at the fort after the extreme toils and privations of the winter solitudes of the forests, he found his affairs in disorder, his friends grown cold and his enemies active. Without the needed supplies he returned to Fort St. Louis, to find the friendly Illinois scattered by the Iroquois, and his little garrison gone. But no discouragement overcame him, and at last, in canoes instead of a large vessel, he determined to carry out his plan of exploring the Mississippi to its mouth. In 1682, he stood on the delta—the first white man (unless possibly the Spaniard, de Soto, may have reached the point, one hundred and forty years before,) to know where the Mississippi floods discharged themselves; and in the name of his king, he took possession of the river and all the territory it drained.

'Tis interesting to trace through the pages of Parkman's most fascinating history La Salle's further wanderings, his toilsome return up the river, his almost fatal illness on the way, his arrival in Canada, return to France, and solicitations at court for means with which to carry out his scheme for a colony at the mouth of the river he had discovered. Then comes that disastrous expedition to convey the colonists to Louisiana by way of the Gulf of Mexico. When first at the mouth, La Salle had not been able to get the longitude, and consequently now missed his destination, and a suffering, starving time on the coast of Texas followed. The last survivors escaping starvation or death at the hand of savages,

are supposed to have fallen under the jealous hate of the Spaniards from their colonies farther south. La Salle himself, having set out on foot overland to Canada for aid, was villainously murdered in the wilderness by some of his companions. Only many years later, under Iberville, was French power permanently established at the mouth of the Mississippi.

The French acquired great territory in America, but the foundations of New France were broader than they were firm. The French nature is scarcely calculated to endure the privations and hardships of colonial life. The Huguenots, with their religious impulse towards independence of thought and action, were by far the best colonists, and after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, many of these found homes in England and the English Colonies, and became a valuable element in their adopted countries. But just this class, the most industrious, most temperate and most resolute, upon the arrival of the Jesuits, was absolutely excluded from Canada. The colonies were composed of noblemen to hold the land, hireling laborers with no interest in building up a community to work it, soldiers sent by the government to defend it from its enemies, missionaries only interested in baptizing, I do not say civilizing, the savages, and a crowd of unsettled fur traders and adventurers who cared for nothing but to enrich themselves at the expense of the innocent natives, or to lead the life of forest rangers entirely free from the restraints of civilization.

The French in general, by adopting Indian habits of life, intermarrying with Indian women, and cultivating Indian familiarity, lowered themselves to the Indian's level, instead of seeking to lift the savages toward that of European civilization. Perhaps if French civilization had embraced and cherished the Indian less, and had set him an example of industry and thrift, which to the Puritans were of quite as much importance as religion, or rather were essential elements in religion, the red men would be at least one stage farther on that long road from barbarism up to enlightened Christian manhood.

Soldiers, priests and noblemen—these are not the elements for building up a healthy frontier colony. Is it any wonder that at

the Peace of Paris all the territory east of the Mississippi became English?

The contrast between the French colonies in Canada and the neighboring English colonies is most striking. One is all head, the other all body. One is best represented by the sword, the other by the ploughshare. One is composed of priests, soldiers and nobles, the other of common people. The society of one was based upon feudalism, of the other on democracy. The religion of one was Popery, of the other Protestantism. In one we find the gentleman preëminent, in the other the Puritan farmer. In one there is the fur trader, in the other the agriculturist and navigator. In one there is scattered enterprise, in the other compact progress. In the one there is the decline towards barbarism, in the other progress in skill and increase of wealth. The French came for gain or adventure, and the names they gave to towns and rivers are almost their only monument; the English came for homes, and to that race almost all of the North American continent has been ceded.

The story of the growth of the English Colonies, their gradual but irresistible westward progress, their increasing difficulties with the natives, needs no reviewing. The idea of English colonization was a growth, promoted by peculiar circumstances in the mother country. Since, unlike that of France and Spain, it was the result of private enterprise alone, the plant developed late but vigorously. At first the Indians were not ungracious hosts. In many instances the early colonists were kept from starvation through Indian hospitality. The Pilgrims had no difficulty in settling for the corn they took to sustain life that dreary first winter. The Huguenots in the south were most kindly aided by the natives, and lived on most pleasant terms with them until they meddled in the quarrels among the tribes. 'Twas only as the white men learned to look down upon them, to cheat them, to encroach upon their rights, and to make them drunk with fire-water, made, as the Indian said, "from the hearts of wildcats and tongues of women," so fierce and so foolish did it make him, that he became the cruel, heartless, savage enemy which he is in history.

The colonists came with no expectation of fighting for their homes. There was space enough; they could live peaceably beside the rude natives, finding a welcome because of the firearms, utensils and trinkets they brought. It was only as the settlers realized more fully their superiority, that contention began. Except the Five Nations, the French were always on terms of peace and friendship with the Indians. With the same exception, the English were involved in a rapid succession of bloody and cruel wars with the Indians and their allies, the French. The throbs of Europe's intermittent fever were felt strongly and immediately, even off here in England's finger tips, and the savages were very ready to join, with or without cause, when scalps were to be won. No large area of New England but has its tale of Indian burning, massacre or abduction, illustrating the methods in which this strange, inhuman warfare was carried on.

The reasons why the Indians were the constant friends of the French and the constant enemies of the English have been suggested. The Englishman would only take the savage as his equal when he gave up his barbarism and led a sober, industrious life; the Frenchman made him his brother by giving up his own civilization, and living as a savage. John Eliot, the representative of the Protestant missionaries, ministering to his Indian parish at Natick, would admit his converts to communion only after they had, during several years, been instructed in the principles of Christianity, and had shown evidence of intention and ability to lead a sober, righteous and godly life.

The Catholic missionary, by exercising his priestly authority, by setting forth, with the help, perhaps, of highly colored pictures, the terrors of hell, or by some other device, led the savage to consent to baptism, and then he was in full brotherhood with the white man, whether or not he had any conception of its significance, or any intention of renouncing his thriftless, lazy, dissolute life. One is impressed with the picture of Indian character, and the enlightening, softening influence of the Franciscan Missions in Mrs. Jackson's charming romance, "Ramona." But a historian of California, writing of the period of the annexation to the

United States, the period when Alessandro and his unhappy friends lived and suffered, gives a somewhat different picture. I quote a paragraph from Mr. Ellis's "Red Man and White Man in North America."

"The writer (the above mentioned historian), says, The missionaries had the finest opportunities and the most facile subjects. But while he extols their sincerity and devotion, the results of their labors were to him doleful and dreary enough. 'Most of the missions,' he says, 'are in a wretched condition, and the Indians—poor and helpless slaves, both in body and mind—have no knowledge and no will but those of the Friars.' The word *domesticated*, as applied to animals, is more applicable to them than the word *civilized*. In 1833, about 20,000 natives were connected with the missions, and soldiers were needed at every station. The Indians were lazy and helpless slaves, fed and flogged to compel their attendance on the Mass, and besotted by superstition."

Christianity is the religion of civilization, says some one. To the Indian, a faith depending much upon external ceremonies, and little upon reasoning and belief, is, of course, the most attractive one. Considering the Puritan's high standard of Christianity, his high estimate of the importance of thrift, and his high ideas of social equality, 'tis no wonder the French missionaries gained more converts than they, and the French warriors more allies. But quality in our church members, our allies, our friends, is of more importance than quantity; so, though the death struggle of French influence in the New World was prolonged and painful, yet its death gave renewed life to true civilization and progress here.

Painful as it is to think of all the loss of life and wealth in the colonial wars with the savages, yet Parkman reminds us that these wars were probably far less costly than wars going on in Europe between civilized nations at the same time—the Thirty Years' War, the Wars of the Spanish Succession, and the rest. We are accustomed to lament the cruel extermination of the noble red man by the relentless white man's bullet. But there is no reason to suppose



that the Indians were numerous at the time the settlements began, and doubtless the native population is greater now than two hundred and fifty years ago. If there was a falling off during the seventeenth century, it was more because of diseases resulting from their barbarous life, and their wars among themselves, than from the white man's refined cruelty.

There is very much to excite our pity for the Indian in the story of the

"westward marches  
Of the unknown, crowded nations,  
Restless, struggling, toiling, striving,  
Speaking many tongues, yet feeling  
But one heart beat in their bosoms."

They drive the natives, we say, from their ancestral forests before them. Their hunting grounds contracted, we think of them as now at bay, like hunted deer, between the packs of Christian dogs from east and west. What a subject poet and romancer find in the homeless, despised, but ever dignified and stoical Indian. What is more pathetic than the "Seminole's Reply" of the old reading books, or the "Indian's Lament"—

"I will go to my tent, and lie down in despair;  
I will paint me with black, and will sever my hair;  
I will sit on the shore where the hurricane blows,  
And tell to the god of the whirlwind my woes."

Or the vision of Hiawatha, showing him his nation scattered,

"All forgetful of his counsels,  
Weakened, warring with each other;  
And the remnants of his people  
Sweeping westward, wild and woful,  
Like the cloudrack of a tempest,  
Like the withered leaves of Autumn."

Lamentable the circumstances are indeed; evils and wrongs there certainly have been and are, but let us regard the matter soberly, and take as fair a view as we can.

Observers in different positions judge very differently of Indian character, and it is hard to arrive at an impartial judgment from

reading alone. The Indian agent has seen the red men as wards of the government, unable to take care of themselves, whom he was to *manage* with as little trouble and as great profit as possible. The commander in the Indian wars has very likely seen him as a savage fighter, unreliable, treacherous, with barbarism as an indelible stamp on his character—by nature, training, associations, opposed to civilization. In his "Life on the Plains," Gen. Custer tells us that the "Noble Red Man" of Cooper's tales, is not at all the Indian with whom he has to do. *His* savage is a fierce, inhuman barbarian, mysterious in origin, and worthy of thoughtful study. He has a quickness in adapting himself to circumstances, and before a member of a peace commission, or on a visit to the "Great Father," at Washington, only one phase of his character is shown.

An artist like the famous traveller Catlin—going among them to study form and color, to record their peculiarities and paint their portraits, is quite sure to see them as strong, graceful, active children of nature, strange, but simple, hospitable, religious, highly intellectual, honest and honorable, and this with no laws in their land, no locks to their doors or bars to their windows, and no commandments. The word "savage," in its original sense—wild, uncultivated—he would apply to them, but not the word with its perverted meaning—fierce, barbarous.

But the philanthropist must see them as a branch of the human race, naturally disinclined to the sober, steady, industrious life of civilization, which has been repressed by necessary circumstances attending extraordinary growth, and often by grossest mismanagement on the part of individuals; a race whom it is our duty as fellowmen and Christians to strive to elevate.

The rapid growth of the country, the tumultuous rush after wealth and material prosperity, prompted by the boundless resources which exploration, invention and industry have brought to light, has left no time for philanthropic care of a careless race. Since the savages refused to be developed into civilized men, they had to give way before them. The opportunity came to choose between enlightenment and extermination, or at least exile from

their accustomed haunts. They persistently chose darkness, and to keep in it they had no alternative but flight before the advancing sun, which stays not in all its course.

Their westward progress is now checked, for, strange as it is, a dawning light has been advancing from the westward too, and enlightenment must come. Some have said, if the Indian *now* refuses to enjoy the light, he must cease to live. He must yield his place to him whom the light does rejoice. But this is a hard doctrine. Humanity, Christianity, compels us to open the blind man's eyes, if he cannot, or will not, of himself, see the brightness streaming all about him. It may cost time and suffering, but sight, physical or moral, a man is grateful for in the end, at any price. Some one says, it takes a hundred years to make a good English lawn, and three hundred years to make a Christian gentleman. 'Tis a long way the Indian must travel, therefore start him off at once. With the antediluvian principle "He that will not work, neither shall he eat," we are learning to combine the doctrine of the New Revelation, "Love thy neighbor"; and he that will not work must be taught to, if necessary be made to, in order that he *may* eat and enjoy all that life affords.

If the Indian will not work and plan and think for his daily bread, Christian philanthropy must teach him, until, after generations, he shall become civilized; until civilization shall be forced upon him, instead of acquired through natural development, as in the case of nations now so proud of their culture and wealth. Even through this most hopeful of means, no very satisfactory results can be expected until generations of children have been taught in ways of purity and industry. The filthy will be filthy still for a hundred years to come, though the results of the efforts of the many earnest laborers will be more and more apparent. The tribes longest under the influence of missionaries, show some advancement; but even these, which we are accustomed to call civilized, could not, 'tis said, support themselves, if thrown upon their own resources, without returning to barbarism.

The past century has been called one of dishonor, and in one sense such it has been. But it has been a century of weakness,

of irresolution, of vacillation, of mistakes in judgment ; but it has not been a century of wickedness, or of malicious or wilful cruelty toward the Indians, so far as the government is concerned. "We may," says Ellis, "justly use terms, severe and condemnatory in word and tone, to characterize the lack of wisdom, of calm, methodical, judicious administration of Indian affairs by our Government ; and we may use the most scorching invective against many of the agents and agencies to which it has entrusted functions most outrageously abused,—but we can acquit our Government of all intentions of inhumanity."

Though we seem only now to be awaking to a realization of our duties as a nation towards the untutored savages, we must not forget that their education, civilization, christianization, was early in the minds of many of the first settlers. "Come over and help us," were the words put into the mouth of the Indian pictured on the seal of Massachusetts colony. Roger Williams' and John Eliot's broad and generous sentiments in the matter are well known. Harvard College very early made special provision for educating Indians, and Dartmouth, I think, was founded for this very purpose. But it is acknowledged that the results of the efforts thus far have not been great. Harvard's single Indian graduate soon died of consumption. Some in the older states have intermarried with Europeans, through generations, until many or most of the faults of the race are overcome. But the Indian of unmixed blood is still an Indian. His senses are acute, he is naturally cunning and has power of invention, but he does not reason well and does not know how to apply his education.

The Indians were given fine physiques, strong constitutions, acute senses and good natural understanding ; they were placed in a temperate, healthy climate and on fertile soil, with every resource that land and water, river and sea coast, mine, forest or air could furnish ; and under all these favorable conditions they have never from the beginning shown any tendency to improve. Their predecessors, the Mound Builders, worked the mines, used iron and bronze implements, etc., but, had not the Europeans taught

the Indians something better, *they* would to this day be killing their game with stone arrow heads, making their fires by rubbing two sticks together, cooking their sagamite in wooden vessels by dropping into them heated stones, and scratching the surface of the ground with a stick, in order that their corn might take root.

The savages were entirely content with their lot, having no yearning for anything better, so unlike were they to their "restless, struggling, toiling, striving" conquerors "from the shining land of Waban." Even their most skillful and naturally gifted leaders, their Tecumsehs and Pontiacs, have been most persistent resisters of civilization, who would gladly guide their people back to the savage simplicity of their original condition. The Indians were not really improvers of the soil—they only skimmed its surface. To support themselves after their manner would require six thousand acres for each Indian, a prodigality of resources not for a moment justifiable.

The intrusion of the white races has certainly in many respects improved the condition of the Indians, for even the partial contact they have had with civilization has forced some beneficial changes upon them in spite of their vigorous resistance, while, all the time, the gradual pushing and crowding westward, cruel and unjust though it seems, has preserved them their associations with the forest and with untamed nature.

This irresistible power which has been driving the Indians on until they can go no farther, was natural, and in a way justifiable; an instance of the ever recurring fact of the survival of the fittest.

Great Britain, unlike the United States, inherited with her possessions in North America no Indian difficulties. Until very recently, colonization has not been encouraged in British America. I do not remember that Manitoba was mentioned on the maps of twenty years ago; the great region to the Northwest has, until now, lain in primitive wilderness. It remains to be seen whether the Canadian Pacific Railway will overcome the inertia of the ages.

The management of the giant monopoly—the Hudson Bay Company—was modified in 1863 only, and until then all its influ-

ence went to prevent the settlement of the region with which it had to do. Well may Great Britain in the past have preserved peaceful relations with the natives; white man's interests and red man's were one. But it may be that the problem now so prominently before the people of the Republic may very soon vex the Empire. Perhaps, indeed, the recent half-breed insurrection may be regarded as the beginning.

The United States did not start on its career as a nation unhampered. The Indians were largely allies of the British during the Revolution. At its close they were left unprovided for on our hands. They were not included in the peace, and with the French of the North and West, and the Spanish in the South, were dangerous neighbors. This inherited antipathy has not been lessened by the encroachments and contemptuous treatment of frontiersmen, and the inconstant policy of the government. This may to an extent tend to repel them from civilization. If they *were* disposed to adopt a steady, industrious life, there has been little in the past to encourage them to do so. If they planted a field, they might be asked to move on before they gathered the crop. Give them land in their own right, and let them hope in due time to become citizens; treat them as men, not as buffaloes; put more of their children into schools, breaking off all their associations with filth and savagery and improvidence, and in time, after generations it may be, the Indian race will become worthy men and women.

The Government is not entirely responsible for Indian difficulties which the British Government left on its hands, and not at all for those which grew up in colonial days. Neither French nor Spaniards recognized that the Indians had any rights to the land they roamed over, and indeed, their right was not as clear as would seem at first thought. They wandered over vast regions but were constantly warring with each other, and their territory was constantly changing. In the case of few if any tribes, was there ancestral territory, which for generations any one family or tribe had even skimmed on its surface. But though their legal claim to America or any part of it may be shadowy, by all principles of

natural law, they had some rights which we are bound to regard. The English settlers, unlike the French and Spanish, acknowledged these titles to an extent. It was the universal custom among the Quakers, and to quite an extent among other sects as well, to purchase the land of the natives. Very likely the natives were often cheated outrageously, but there was at least the semblance of justice.

In one way or another, then, the English colonists got and kept their land, by purchase, or by right of conquest, based upon the principle that the heathen have no rights, or that those who really improved the soil had right to the soil. At the Peace of Paris, in 1763, Great Britain acquired also all the land east of the Mississippi, which the French claimed by right of conquest. In 1783 all this territory reverted to the United States. Whatever rights England or France had now became the rights of our Government. Then various portions have since been added by purchase or cession or annexation, each bringing its load of Indian troubles. Whether or not the colonists had any right to a foot of the land they occupied, whether our Government had any right to receive by treaty or purchase from England, France, Spain, Mexico, or Russia, what those countries had no right to transfer, having never justly obtained it from the natives, are theoretical rather than practical questions. Justly or unjustly the United States Government has firmly in its grasp vast territories; justly or unjustly the Indian has been ignored, or pushed back against the wall of the Rocky Mountains, until he can no longer be held at arm's length, and must be taken into closer grasp.

Who are you? Where do you come from? are questions that will probably never be fully answered. What right have you to be here? is a question which has been long enough discussed. You are here—How can we most readily civilize you and make you one of us? is the great question before the people of the United States.

The reading of the paper was followed by remarks from President Crane, who gave some account of his personal experience with the Indians. He expressed the opinion that all attempts to educate or civilize the Red Man would be futile; that the present sentimentality in regard to this matter would have to give way to the stern facts that experience and time have demonstrated. To remove the Indian from his natural state of savagery and barbarism is simply to kill him. It is like taking a fish out of the water. We cannot reverse a law of nature. If the number of Indians is larger now than at the time of the discovery of America, it shows that they have increased under barbarism and not under civilization, for that is only just being applied. Contact with the white races, even when we leave out the vices introduced by the latter, has always acted like slow poison. Individual exceptions or even a large number of cases prove nothing to the contrary. The elements of time, race, natural tendency and universal law must be taken into consideration.

The Secretary exhibited a composite photograph of the class of 1886, Smith College.

There being no further business the meeting was adjourned.



The March meeting was held on the evening of Tuesday, the 1st.

Present: Messrs. Abbot, W. L. Clark, Crane, Gould, Hubbard, Jackson, G. Maynard, Meriam, Otis, F. P. Rice, Sawyer, Seagrave, C. E. Simmons, Stedman, Sumner, Tucker, Wall, and C. G. Wood.  
—18.

Joseph A. Titus of Worcester, and Rev. George Faber Clark of Hubbardston, were admitted as active members; and Rev. William A. Benedict of Orange Park, Florida, was elected a corresponding member.

The Librarian's report showed the following additions to the Library and Museum during February: 6 volumes, 74 pamphlets, 35 papers, and 3 relics.

The Secretary called attention to a copy of "The House Lots of the Early Settlers of Providence Plantations," presented to the Society by Mr. Ray Greene Huling of New Bedford.

The President read an entertaining paper on *Winds and Weather-Vanes*, prepared by Mr. Joseph A. Howland, who was prevented by an injury from presenting it in person.

The meeting was then adjourned.

Special meeting, Tuesday evening, March 15.

Mr. Charles M. Smith gave his lecture, "*From Andersonville to Freedom.*" It was one of the most thrilling and interesting addresses ever given before the Society.

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Regular meeting, Tuesday evening, April 5.

Present: Messrs. Dickinson, Leonard, Estey, M. A. Maynard, W. W. Rice, Staples, Barrows, G. Maynard, J. A. Howland, Marvin, Perkins, C. Jillson, A. H. Coolidge, F. P. Rice, Tolman, Abbot, Hubbard, Curtis, Meriam, W. L. Clark, Stedman, C. E. Simmons, Harrington, H. M. Smith, Lynch, Sumner, Wall, C. R. Johnson, members; and five visitors.—33.

Vice-President Tolman presided, and introduced Rev. A. H. Coolidge, who read the following interesting and valuable memoir of the Rev. John Nelson, D. D.

## REV. JOHN NELSON, D. D.

BY REV. A. H. COOLIDGE.

"I have no memories to record but the quiet, common, everyday kind. Together they constitute only a picture of ordinary interests and experiences, of ordinary lights and shadows, which, with a few variations, would be a picture of thousands of others." These are expressions of one of the most modest and worthy of men, found in the introduction of an autobiography of that part of his life which preceded his installation as pastor of the "First Church of Christ," in Leicester, Mass., and from which many of the facts and quotations of this paper are taken.

John Nelson was born in the north part of the town of Hopkinton, Mass., May 9, 1786, "of genuine Puritan stock, which had been thoroughly New Englandized." The Nelson family, coming from England, settled in that part of Rowley which is now embraced in the township of Georgetown, Mass. His grandfather's home was in Milford, and there his father, John Nelson, was born. The ancestors of his mother, Betsy Brown, settled in Stowe, Mass. Her father's name was Israel, and the names of his three elder brothers were Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. His mother lived in Newport, R. I., until she was sixteen years of age, when the family removed to Milford, Mass. Her father was a soldier in the revolutionary army. During his absence, while the family were on a visit to Newport, a British fleet came to take possession of the island, and his grandmother, and mother, "with a married sister with a little child and another daughter quite young, fled with the frightened people across Howland's Ferry to the main land, leaving everything in their house, even a dinner in process of cooking, and made their way to Milford on foot."

The house in which John Nelson was born was four miles from the meeting-house, in a retired and romantic spot, near the head waters of the Charles river. The features of the scenery were a beautiful pond into which extended a peninsula where Indian arrowheads and other implements were often found, a high, rocky hill infested with rattlesnakes, and a "dismal swamp filled in boyish imagination with all manner of serpents, wild beasts, hobgoblins, etc." I have heard Dr. Nelson describe in a playful way his feeling when, long afterward, he visited the spot, which in his memory was so invested with grandeur, and beauty, and awe. The hill did not appear half so grand, the pond was not half so large, the precipitous rock was not half so great, nor the "dismal swamp" half so gloomy and fearful as when he saw them with a boy's eyes.

His picture of the old house recalls memories familiar to only a few now living, "unpainted without and within," with "pine floors and wainscotings scrupulously scoured," "sanded floor," "long rows of kitchen shelves exhibiting shining rows of pewter plates," and "broad fireplaces, with their green logs, and backlogs, and backsticks, and foresticks," "giving out heat and some smoke."

The general lack of thrift, and consideration for the convenience of families, at that time, is shown by "the destitution of wood-houses, the out-of-door and often distant wells, with their sweeps and poles, the miserable low barns, with hay stacks about them, the poor fences, and the small and dilapidated schoolhouses." The food was mostly "produced on the farm," "salt meats were mainly used." "Bolted rye was the only flour, with the exception of a few pounds of 'Baltimore Howard Street,'\* with which to keep Thanksgiving." Apples were "mainly for cider which was universally used." "The moral habits of the people seem to me," he writes, "to have been formerly very much as they are now." There was "more coarseness and vulgarity, perhaps more intemperance." "But there was a higher style of gentlemanly and ladylike bearing, certainly in the elevated classes of our

\* Baltimore, Howard street inspection.

countrymen, in former times than can be met with now." "Villages were rare. In the centre of the towns there was generally a store, which supplied the people with groceries and dry goods, in exchange for their butter, cheese, pork, etc. There was generally one or more taverns, the prohibitory law not then existing."

It is a common impression that the homes of New England, a hundred years ago, were cheerless; that stern duty presided with an iron sceptre; that religion was clothed with gloom, and the sabbath was almost like the day of doom. It is interesting, therefore, and instructive to be introduced to one of the typical Puritan families of the last century.

Young Nelson often visited the home of his grandfather, Mr. Seth Nelson, spending days and weeks. There he came into the presence of a man of intelligent and strong character. "Strictly observing family worship, often referring to the Bible, which was always open on a stand by his chair, reading aloud in the Bible tone common to that day, he was a truly religious man, but not of that gloomy, repulsive sort which the present generation represents all the old Puritans to have been." "He was gentle, cheerful and facetious." "Of his six sons, five were deacons, and the sixth was a minister."

The father of John Nelson was a man of strong mind, versed in theological discussion, reading Edwards on the Will in the intervals of rest in haying time.

The family discipline was mild and wise, "not harsh and repulsive as many suppose was that alone which prevailed at that period." Once when he and his brother were quarrelling in the trundle-bed, his father came in and "measured the exact line through the middle of the bed, and placed a small pole under the sheet, and retired without saying a word." A most effective reproof. "Often," Dr. Nelson writes, "when I have seen mankind contending about nothing, I have wished that the dividing pole could be placed between them."

"We had our amusements too, our ball playing, our fishing, our hide and seek, and what has now gone out of date, our wrestling." "If shut up within doors, we had our nut cracking, our blindfold,

and our forfeits." Under the old oak tree, "we gave loose to frolic and fun," "with brisk chattering, with loud and noisy laughter." The children were required to be respectful, to rise and uncover their heads in the presence of their elders, and to bow upon entering the school room. They were required to learn the Lord's Prayer, the Commandments, and the Assemblies' Catechism. There was family worship morning and evening, at which the whole Bible was read through, aloud, each year, for forty years. The children were taken, or when old enough walked to church four miles, yet "never regarded it a hardship," and the boy Nelson was only "sorry when it was his turn to stay at home." "Going to church, certainly in our case, was not a burden but a pleasure."

Such a record, giving a vivid and circumstantial insight into typical New England families one hundred years ago, is perhaps rare, and is certainly of great value. It corrects some current misapprehensions, respecting the austerity and harshness of that generation. It shows how much love and sunshine there was in those simple, rural homes. There were doubtless families in which parental piety assumed an unattractive aspect, and others in which impiety was still more unlovely, but we have, perhaps, been too ready to accept as the rule what was rather the exception. The Nelson households, doubtless, were fairly representative of the better rural New England Christian homes of the last century.

John Nelson attended school in an "old broken-down school-house," ten weeks in summer and ten in winter. The discipline "was not altogether harsh." The principal text book was "Perry's Only Sure Guide." His comparative estimate of the education then obtained is quite favorable. "More vigor" of application, and "more attention to morals and manners."

One recollection of his childhood, was, that one day a daughter of a neighbor came to borrow a pillion, and carried it home on her back, that she might have it to strap on the horse of a young man who was to take her, behind him, to a ball, it being the custom for the lady to furnish that part of the outfit.

In April, 1799, the family with cattle and goods, left Hopkinton, and the next day settled upon a farm in the north part of the "famous town" of Worcester. Here he heard for the first time the tones of a church bell, of which there were then two in Worcester, on the meeting-houses of the First and Second Societies. The family attended the First, or Old South Church, of which Dr. Samuel Austin was pastor, and with which John Nelson united at the age of fifteen years. He was for many years the youngest member of that church.

The Old South meeting-house was an object of boyish interest to him, with its "tall steeple," its "rooster," its "bell ringing," and its "stocks under the stairs." On the back seats of the gallery was a long row of colored men, some of whom were elaborately tattooed, and were said to have been princes of noble birth in Africa. On the opposite side was a large number of colored women. The children did not sit with their parents. There were "tythingmen," with "short poles," who were charged with the duty of keeping in order the boys in the gallery. The choir was large, and, supported by an orchestra with "bass viols, violins, flutes and clarinets," executed in vigorous style the "fugue music" then in vogue. Over the high pulpit was the "sounding-board," in front the "deacons' seat," and in front of this "a large enclosure with table and seats supposed to be for church and town purposes." There were no town halls, and all assemblies, religious, civil, military and general, were held in the meeting-houses, which were without fires.

About the year 1801 he attended the "Circulating Grammar School," which was kept three months at a time in each of the nine districts, and in which the languages and higher mathematics were taught. Here, with six or eight other boys, he studied "Alexander's Latin Grammar, and read Æsop's Fables and four books of Virgil, in two terms." Of this school, Mr. Samuel Swan was the teacher. He was at the same time pursuing the study of law in the office of Judge Nathaniel Paine.

Under the date of Feb. 5, 1802, Rev. Timothy Dickinson, of Holliston, writes in his journal, "John Nelson, Jr. came to live

with me." And again Feb. 7, "I set Nelson to work on his Greek grammar." Here he remained working for his board till spring, one part of his duty being to pump water for a herd of ten cattle, and turn it into a trough as high as his head. He was very homesick, and when his time had expired, walked home thirty miles rather than wait the regular conveyance the next day. I have heard him relate an amusing reminiscence of the Holliston church. It was the custom of the time for mourners to rise in church, and stand while they were addressed in the funeral sermon. It was also a common practice for ministers, when the young people had indulged in some social gaiety during the week, to reprove them from the pulpit the next Sunday. There had been a ball, and knowing what to expect, the young men on Sunday took seats in the front row of pews in the gallery, extending the entire length of one side. When Mr. Dickinson reached the part of his sermon which referred to them, they all rose and stood until the philippic ended, and then quietly resumed their seats. After this time Nelson studied with Mr. Daniel Waldo Lincoln, a "fine scholar," whose instruction was gratuitous.

In the fall of 1804, he started for Williams College in Dr. Austin's chaise, with his father's horse. His brother accompanied him as far as the Connecticut river at Hadley, and then returned with the carriage. With bag and trunk, the boy who was thus willing to struggle for an education, crossed the ferry, his brother watching him from the shore. "At this parting and crossing to the other side of the great river, I felt that the last link which bound me to home was indeed broken."

Arriving at Pittsfield next noon, he started on foot, with a few articles tied in his handkerchief, for Williamstown, twenty miles distant. He fortunately had an opportunity to ride most of the way, and was deeply impressed with the grandeur of the scenery of the Housatonic range. Next morning he appeared "before what seemed" to him "the greatest of all men, a college president," Dr. Ebenezer Fitch, and was admitted to the sophomore class.

His funds were reduced to a ten-dollar bill, which he could



pass for only nine dollars. He was obliged to teach several terms, in his college course, in order to meet expenses.

In his first senior vacation he taught in Worcester, but great as his need was he could not obtain his pay from the town. This condition of affairs was not peculiar to Worcester. Town orders for twenty dollars were at this time often sold for sixteen or eighteen dollars, and ministers often waited years for their salaries.

Mr. Waldo and others urged him to sue the town, and Hon. Francis Blake offered to collect the debt without charge. "But I did not feel big enough to assail the great town of Worcester." Ephraim Mower, chairman of the board of selectmen, at length advanced the amount.

It was upon his return to college in the spring of 1805, that he experienced his "first contact with a revival of religion." The moral and religious condition of the college had been low. The French revolution was a recent event, and Napoleon was then in the full tide of his conquering career. "The French revolution," says one of the early graduates of the college, "was at that time very popular with almost all the inmates of the college, and with almost all people in that part of the country. French liberty and French philosophy poured in upon us like a flood; and seemed to sweep almost everything serious before it." Any indication of awakened interest was the occasion of "ridicule and shocking abuse." In the revival of 1805 and 1806, the character of the college in these respects was transformed.

This was the period of the missionary movement that resulted in the organization of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Mr. Nelson was intimately associated with Samuel J. Mills, Gordon Hall, James Richards, and other men of similar spirit; and he was one of the number of those who attended with them the prayer meetings in Missionary Grove.

These influences doubtless affected his whole subsequent life. He was always deeply interested in the great missionary work which grew from these small beginnings. He attended the second meeting of the American Board, held in Worcester Sept. 18, 1811, and was afterward a corporate member of the Board.

Dr. Nelson repeatedly affirmed that the leading spirit in that missionary band, was a young man whose name is little known, Chauncy Robbins, who was the son of a minister in Connecticut, and who died young. Dr. Horatio Bardwell concurred in this opinion.

John Nelson was graduated from Williams College in 1807, being one of three to be honored with an English Oration. In scholarship, said one of his class, he had no superior. He had struggled hard for his education, his course had been interrupted by teaching, he was diffident and depressed in spirit. He gave his father's note for his college bills, and had five dollars in his pocket, which he had borrowed. He had already begun to teach a school of one hundred scholars on Charlestown Neck, and to this school he returned. The position was uncongenial, he was "very blue," and had contracted a cough, which troubled him for many months. At the end of the term he resigned, and began his theological studies with Dr. Austin, his time being taken up mostly in correcting the proofs of President Edwards's works, which Dr. Austin was then editing. He then taught one quarter in the Worcester Grammar school, which in its migratory career was then located in the east part of the town. In the fall of 1808, he was engaged for a year as assistant preceptor in Leicester Academy, of which Rev. Dr. Moore was principal preceptor.

At the end of the fall term, a messenger came on horseback from Williamstown, with an urgent request from Dr. Fitch, that Mr. Nelson would become a tutor in the College. The messenger came Tuesday night, and on Thursday, Mr. Nelson started on horseback for Williamstown. During this ride his cough entirely left him. Mr. Josiah Clark, then a senior in the college, returned with the horse and took Mr. Nelson's place in the Academy, which he retained till 1812, when he was elected principal preceptor.

The occasion of this sudden summons was a rebellion in the college, occasioned by the unpopularity of two tutors, against whose reappointment the students petitioned. The faculty interposed, prevented the presentation of the petition, and

demanded the discipline of the class. With this demand the trustees refused to comply, and, as a consequence, all the faculty resigned, except the President, who had come to sympathize with the students. A vacation of three weeks was ordered, and Chester Dewey, of Sheffield, Mass., afterward professor, James W. Robbins, of Norfolk, Conn., and John Nelson were made tutors. The situation was embarrassing. Mr. Nelson had been only a year from college, and was intimately acquainted with the members of the upper classes. It was a period when college officers conducted themselves with stately dignity, having little familiar intercourse with the students. With that tact which was one of his most marked characteristics through life, and by which without seeming to do so, he carried out his purposes, he called, on the evening of his arrival, upon all his former acquaintances in the upper classes. This course proved a master-stroke of policy. During the two years of his connection with the college he was a very popular instructor.

In the fall of 1810 he returned to Worcester and continued his theological studies in Dr. Austin's family five months. All the instruction or intercourse with Dr. Austin on theological subjects consisted of a few remarks on one of a set of questions furnished by him, and a few criticisms on one sermon. "This," Dr. Nelson said, "was my theological education."

Dr. Nelson was trained in the Hopkinsian school of theology. This was the theology of his father. His pastor in Hopkinton was the eccentric Nathanael Howe, and as we have seen, he came while young under the influence of Dr. Austin, an able and prominent Hopkinsian divine. That Dr. Austin believed in "infant damnation," as has been persistently affirmed, Dr. Nelson positively, and from personal knowledge denied, and moreover affirmed that he had, in his lifetime, known hardly a minister who held this view. The Hopkinsian theology emphasized the divine sovereignty and efficiency, and the duty of subordinating human interest to the Divine will. Under Dr. Austin's ministry, as Dr. Nelson said, the leading question put to candidates for church membership was, "Are you willing to be damned?" Rev. Edwards

Whipple, of Charlton, was of a different mind, and to a woman, who applied for church membership, saying she had this willingness, but whose piety he distrusted, replied that if she was willing, and the Divine will corresponded, he should not object.

At Williamstown Mr. Nelson came under the influence of another class of preachers, such as Doctors Fitch, Hyde, Shepherd, and Mr. Swift, of Williamstown, and was impressed with the superior practical power of their discourses. Their preaching was "less metaphysical and more practical, and their labors were more blessed with revivals," and he "lost his estimate of the importance of these distinctions." He was not a metaphysician. "I hate metaphysics," he once said to me in his pleasant way. He early accepted the views of the new school of New England theologians, in distinction from hyper-Calvinism and Hopkinsianism, and adopted the plainer and more direct mode of presenting Christian truth.

He was examined for approbation by the local Association, sometimes with a double significance styled the "Long and Narrow Association." His sermon before the body was on Justification, rejecting the view of Imputation. It was disapproved by Mr. Gough, of Millbury, but approved by the other members. At his ordination a layman on the council asked him, "Do you believe in unregenerate works?" Mr. Nelson hesitated, and asked the meaning of the question. "Do you believe it is the duty of the unregenerate to pray?" "Yes, I do," he answered. "Then I can't vote for you."

His first sermon was preached in Ward, now Auburn. He afterward went to Connecticut, on a horse, with saddle-bags, preaching in different places, and receiving as compensation what was found in the contribution box, which in one instance amounted to \$4.70. In Pomfret he preached three months. In this meeting-house was "a sounding board, and a sub-sounding board." On the first Sabbath he noticed that all the congregation remained standing in their places after the benediction until he had passed down the aisle. He was a modest man, and requested that the formality might thereafter be omitted. He received a

call from this church, with the cautious stipulation that he should receive his salary "so long as he performed the duties of the ministry." He declined the call, and accepted an invitation from the church in Leicester to supply the pulpit made vacant by the resignation of Rev. Zephaniah Swift Moore, who had been appointed Professor of Languages at Dartmouth College. He commenced his labors on the first Sunday of November, 1811, and on the fourth day of March, 1812, was ordained, and installed as pastor of the church, at a salary of four hundred and fifty dollars, which was after three years increased to five hundred dollars.

The exercises of the ordination were as follows: Opening prayer by Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D. D., of Worcester; sermon by Rev. Samuel Austin, D. D., of Worcester; consecrating prayer by Rev. Joseph Avery, of Holden; right hand of fellowship, by Rev. Edwards Whipple, of Charlton; charge, by Rev. Joseph Pope, of Spencer; concluding prayer, by Rev. Edmund Mills, of Sutton.

The ordination was on a beautiful winter-like day. The sleighing was excellent. The event was unusual. A concourse of three thousand people assembled, only a small portion of whom could find admittance to the church building; and it is handed down as a fact that there were, by actual count, on, and about the common, twelve hundred sleighs. The council was entertained on a liberal scale by Col. Thomas Denny, who also the next day extended similar hospitalities to the congregation. The first sermon after ordination, was from I. Tim., 6:20, "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust."

On the fourth of May following, Mr. Nelson rode on horseback to Barre, in a severe snow-storm, and, in the evening was married by Rev. James Thompson, D. D., to Zibiah, daughter of Abijah Bigelow, Esq., of that town. To her he declared himself more largely indebted for the comfort he had enjoyed, and the success that had attended his ministry, than he knew how to express.\*

\*Mrs. Nelson was born in the part of Watertown now embraced in Waltham, Oct. 15, 1787. She was a woman of superior ability, refinement, and strength of character, of great energy and executive force, and well fitted for leadership. She scrupulously cared for her household, and also

The town of Leicester then had about twelve hundred inhabitants. In the congregation were many intelligent and well educated people. The pastor was young and diffident. His predecessor, Dr. Moore, was a prominent and learned man, ranking high in educational circles, afterward a professor in Dartmouth college, and president, first of Williams, and then of Amherst college. Conscious of his youth and inexperience, the new minister hardly needed the reminder of the fact given him by an old man, one of the eccentric members of the parish. Calling on him the first time, Mr. Nelson was abruptly met with the question :

“How old are you?”

“Twenty-six.”

“You are of yesterday, and know nothing !”

The same man afterward sent him this message : “I’m sick. If you don’t come and see me I’ll send for Mr. Pope.”

For thirty-nine years he discharged the duties of the pastoral office alone, preaching twice on the Sabbath, conducting evening services, preaching in different parts of the town, sometimes holding meetings night after night for months, and performing the arduous work of pastoral visitation and ministration to the sick and the afflicted in families scattered over all parts of the town.

shared with her husband the work of pastoral visitation. She was especially thoughtful of the poor, the afflicted, and the sick. She was deeply interested in the sabbath school, and indeed in all that related to the welfare of the society. She was president of the Ladies’ Charitable Society forty-nine years, and directed its large benevolent work. She was an ardent patriot, and during the civil war was busily occupied in working for the soldiers. In the hundredth pair of stockings which she knit for them she placed a note stating the fact, and received an answer of thanks from the fortunate receiver. She was a natural artist, and in the leisure and fortunate surroundings of her old age, she revived one of the accomplishments of her girlhood. It was after she was ninety years of age that she resumed the work of embroidery, designing from nature, without pattern, and producing many specimens of handiwork which are justly admired as remarkable works of art. Mrs. Nelson died Dec. 19, 1881, in the ninety-fifth year of her age. She was a delightful letter-writer, and when too infirm to leave home remembered her friends in letters of consolation, congratulation and friendship.

In 1851, on the 4th day of March, Rev. Andrew C. Dennison was settled as his colleague. He was dismissed in March, 1856, and April 21, 1857, the writer was ordained, and was associated with him till the time of his death. He continued to preach in the latter period of his life, with the exception of the last five years, occupying the pulpit on Sunday morning, when health and weather permitted.

He was a ready writer, with a pure and pleasing style, marked rather by clearness, simplicity and fluency, than by startling antithesis, or sensational illustration. His sermons were short. He usually selected before Monday night the texts and themes of both his discourses for the following sabbath, and habitually completed his preparations before Saturday noon. When he ceased preaching he had a considerable number of sermons not delivered. He had no study and but few books. His sermons were written in the room occupied by the family and visiting friends. He did not approve of extemporaneous preaching, and his sermons were almost without exception fully written.

There were times, especially in periods of religious controversy, when his preaching was of a decidedly doctrinal cast, but usually it was of a more directly practical character.

When the writer became acquainted with him, he was nearly seventy years of age, and much enfeebled by disease ; but there were times, especially during the civil war, when he spoke with an earnestness and vigor which seemed like the flashing out of an old fire, and which revealed the secret of his early power and his popularity as a preacher, not only in Leicester, but in all this vicinity in which he was widely known and revered. On funeral occasions he was especially felicitous, entering with a true pastoral sympathy into the feeling of those to whom he extended the consolations of religion.

The weekly prayer meeting was established in the latter part of Dr. Moore's ministry. In 1819, May 3, the church took action with reference to "a plan of Sabbath School." The ministers in this vicinity were at first distrustful of the Sunday School, which in its origin was quite different in character from the institution

as it now exists. At a conference of pastors in the vicinity of Worcester, called sometime before this date, resolutions had been passed disapproving of Sunday schools as liable to violate the sanctity of the sabbath day. In Worcester the first schools were attended only by the children of the poorer families. Mr. Abijah Bigelow, who was much interested and saw the possibilities of usefulness in the institution, at last placed all the children of his large family in the Sunday school. His example was followed by others, and the school which had before made little progress, became in consequence popular and successful.

In Leicester five sabbath schools were organized, probably in 1819, in as many different parts of the town.

In this pioneer Sunday school work, Mrs. Nelson's labors were efficient and invaluable. She had charge of the school in the centre village, and also had general oversight of the other schools, to which she rode on horseback. Her earlier interest in this institution endured to the end, and she continued to attend the Sunday school until she was over ninety years of age.

The earlier years of Dr. Nelson's ministry were years of embarrassment and trial. His salary of four hundred dollars was perhaps, in 1812, sufficient for the support of a pastor's family. But the war with England immediately followed, and with it a very large increase in the cost of living. It was a period of great prosperity in the town, but of rigid economy in the parsonage. The hospitality of the Nelson home was always generous and free. The minister was expected then to entertain the clerical traveller, and the clerical beast, generally finding in his society and conversation an adequate remuneration for the cost and trouble. The ministerial tramp, however, that most unblushing of all mendicants, presuming upon hospitality as the servant of the Lord, not infrequently made the parsonage his home for days together, honoring the pastor as his groom, and the pastor's wife as his landlady; and, at his departure, acknowledging his satisfaction by promise of future patronage. In a few years the young pastor found himself hopelessly involved in debt. For this reason, he, in 1819, asked to be dismissed. A subscription of four hundred



dollars by some of the gentlemen of the parish, and an increase of fifty dollars to his salary, averted this result, and gave expression to the high regard of his people.

At the time of Dr. Nelson's ordination the church numbered sixty-five members, of whom eighteen were males; and all of whom were in advanced or middle life. In the first fifteen years there were few additions. He himself states that in the first thirteen years less than twenty made profession of faith. Between the years 1819 and 1827 there appear to have been very few, if any, additions.

But there came at length a great and gratifying change. In 1827 fifty-three persons united with the church, and in the six successive years one hundred and eighty-seven entered into its fellowship, thus more than quadrupling its membership. The years that followed were also fruitful in similar results. There were repeated periods of special religious interest, in some instances continuing for several years. During his ministry of fifty-nine years and nine months, six hundred and seventy-eight persons united with the church.

Dr. Nelson entered heartily into the spirit of these revivals, and the earnestness and effectiveness of his labors at such times, are still remembered. Still he was by nature cautious, and was not in full sympathy with what were termed "new measures." While he acknowledged the indebtedness of the church to these revivals, he preferred the calmer modes of administration, and had more confidence in ordinary and progressive, than in convulsive movements.

The congregation at the time of Dr. Nelson's ordination was composed of people from all parts of the town. On the sabbath day processions of carriages might be seen coming up the "Hill" from Cherry Valley, and along the "County Road" from the southerly parts of the town, as well as from the north and west. The increase of population, the growth of the villages, changes in the condition of the people, and the organization of other churches, in time wrought great changes in the *personnel* of the congregation.

At that time there was a Baptist church in what is now Greenville. There was also in the northeast part of the town a society of Friends.

All persons not connected with these societies were regarded as members of the original congregation, and were held responsible for its support. The parish, like those in other places, was identical with the town. Its business was transacted in regular town meeting until 1794. After this time those voters who had not formerly withdrawn from the support of the original church, met after the regular town meeting, on the same day, to act upon church affairs. "The First Parish of Leicester" was organized Feb. 9, 1833.

Five other religious societies were organized during his ministry. A Protestant Episcopal church at what is now called Rochdale; the Second Congregational Society; a Methodist Episcopal church in Cherry Valley; a Wesleyan Methodist church in the centre village; and a Roman Catholic church between the Centre and Cherry Valley.

One of the most trying periods of Dr. Nelson's ministry was that of the Unitarian division, in which, although the church retained its standing, and continued to hold the meeting-house and other parish property, some of his highly valued friends became dissatisfied, organized themselves into a Unitarian Association, and finally withdrew from his ministrations. The objection as formally stated was not so much to his own preaching, as to the choice of his exchanges; which were regarded by them as on the one hand exclusive, and on the other as objectionable. He was, by the association, requested to exchange with neighboring Unitarian ministers, and notified that if he did not do so measures would be taken to "procure Unitarian preaching in this place." To this memorial he replied, explaining his position, and firmly but courteously declining the proposition. In consequence of this refusal, the Second Congregational Society was formed, April 13, 1833.

Dr. Nelson was actively identified with the various interests of the town. For many years he was associated with the public schools, giving to them the benefit of his judgment and personal supervision.

He was actively associated with the temperance reformation in the various stages of its progress.

In politics he was a Whig ; and never, I think, quite lost his admiration for that party, or his regret at its dissolution. Later he was a Republican, and gave his influence and voice in favor of those restrictive measures, which aimed at the final suppression of slavery, and hastened its overthrow. His active life was in the days of the great struggle, and its closing years witnessed the great convulsion, and the final consummation.

He did not approve the extreme and disorganizing measures urged by many earnest advocates for the abolition of slavery. His duty as a Christian minister he well expressed in his sermon preached on the fortieth anniversary of his ordination. "I conscientiously believed that, while I ought to sympathize with and take what part I could in all wise and Christian measures for effecting outward reforms, my main concern was with the purifying that great fountain of evil, man's heart, by means of gospel ministrations, so that in the end all the streams which issue from it might become pure." Slavery he regarded as "in principle and in fact in every way wrong"; a political, social, and moral evil; "a sin against God and humanity." He desired its abolition, and believed that it might be secured constitutionally, gradually, and in a manner beneficial to master and slave alike, and to the nation at large. He rejoiced when in ways far other than he had hoped, and in ways too, in many respects the reverse of those urged by ardent and sincere men from whom he differed, the day of emancipation came at length, not as man had ordained, but in God's own way, and in God's own time.

He dreaded the struggle, and anticipated the crisis with anxious forebodings, but during all the period of the civil war his soul glowed with patriotic ardor. Though the strain on his sympathies was exhausting, the emergency gave vigor to his discourse, and animated him with unwonted zeal. Especially memorable is his sermon after the death of Lincoln, news of whose assassination did not reach Leicester till nearly noon of the day before it was delivered.

Such men as Dr. Nelson are often misunderstood, and sometimes misrepresented, especially in times of high debate. He was not fitted to be a leader in revolution; he was not a theological nor a political combatant. He was not a man of war, but a man of peace. He had the spirit and the skill rather to lay quietly and noiselessly, and yet securely, the foundations of social, moral and religious prosperity. He had no use for the weapons of invective and sarcasm. His gentle and loving heart recoiled from their indulgence. Yet, although he was not a controversialist, his judgments were decided, and in his own wise and quiet way he executed his purposes, held his position, maintained the integrity of his church, and nurtured its spiritual growth, in times when more belligerent and illustrious champions of orthodoxy and reform failed. He understood himself, and only a few days before his death he said to me, "Whatever good I have ever done, it has been done in a quiet and gentle way; and I think that ministers in general would do more good by this quiet, gentle way, than by the use of the sword and sarcasm."

He published in 1852 a volume entitled "Gatherings from a Pastor's Drawer"; and in 1860 a little book entitled "The Evening." Various sermons and addresses from his pen have also at different times been printed.

Dr. Nelson received the degree of D. D. from Williams College, in 1843. From 1826 to 1833 he was a trustee of that college, and from 1839 to 1848 of Amherst College. He was a trustee of Leicester Academy from 1812 to the time of his death, Dec. 6, 1871, and president from May, 1834.

He was made a Corporate Member of the American Board of Commissioners in 1842.

He preached by appointment before the Massachusetts Home Missionary Society; the General Association of Massachusetts; the Pastoral Association; and the Convention of Congregational Ministers.

He was active in the organization, at Paxton, of the Worcester Central Association, Nov. 4, 1823, and preached the first sermon before it; also of the Worcester Central Mission Society, at

Holden, Nov. 17, 1824. Of this society he was the first president, retaining the office twenty years. He was also one of the founders of the Worcester Central Conference of Churches, at Worcester, April 28, 1852, and was one of the preachers at that session.

He was commissioned chaplain of the First Regiment of the Sixth Division, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, Sept. 26, 1812; and discharged Oct. 8, 1828.

It was a time when military honors were highly appreciated and sergeants, corporals, ensigns and lieutenants proudly bore their titles at town meeting and market. Accepting the position of chaplain, he manfully attempted to do his duty and fulfill his trust at the first muster. He was a good horseman in those days, with a fine, erect figure, well suited to adorn the Colonel's staff, but his part of the proceedings was to offer prayer before the regiment, surrounded by the officers, and mounted upon an excited horse. He had to hold his reins, keep his eyes open, and use the customary language; but he once said in describing the scene, that he never was sure whether he ended the service with *whoa* or *amen*.

Next to his church and parish, Leicester Academy stands indebted to Dr. Nelson. His devotion to its welfare during the fifty-nine years of his service on its Board of Trustees was untiring. The delicate questions of administration often arising, were occasions of more anxious and perplexing thought than even the concerns of his parish. He fully appreciated the importance of its influence on the community, and freely gave his time and strength and the benefit of his rare wisdom for its advantage. He was personally interested in its teachers, and in its pupils, and they were always welcome to his home. His manly form, his benignant face, and his kind and fatherly counsels are still cherished as among the most delightful memories of the Academy, in the minds of hundreds of its surviving members. His portrait appropriately occupies a place of honor in "Smith Hall."

Dr. Nelson was unfortunate in coming to the ministry just at the time when the ancient custom of settling a minister for life

with an estate of land was abandoned. The old records of the town of Leicester show that these settlements had not been fortunate for the parish ; but in his case the result would have been quite different. He loved the soil, he was an enthusiast in agriculture, and a close observer of nature. He was skillful and energetic in gardening, and wise in sound maxims of husbandry. He was one of the early advocates of systematic forestry, and when our villages were bare of trees and shrubs, he urged his people to plant shade trees, and to graft apple trees, and set them the example. To one of his namesakes, then in his fifth year, he wrote in a new year's letter, "If you do not become a minister I hope you will be a farmer." A few months later he wrote again, "I am eighty-five years old to-day. I am too old to work any more at tilling the ground, and I therefore send you this rake and hoe."

After several changes of residence, Mr. Nelson purchased a house a third of a mile north of the meeting-house. It was while living here that he supplemented his already abundant labors, and sought to relieve his embarrassment by teaching in the Academy ; going before breakfast to early prayers, and often wading through the deep snow-drifts of the "North Road." These hardships and exposures, together with his arduous service in times of special religious interest, were doubtless the occasion of much of his subsequent ill health.

In 1828 the "Cottage on Leicester Hill," where the remainder of his life was spent, was built. With this abode the memory of Dr. and Mrs. Nelson is associated in the minds of those now living. This house, in the course of years, was the home of a large number of young people, children of relatives, and friends, and pupils of the Academy, who were brought into the moulding influence of its refinement and piety. Here were received impressions which helped to shape their lives, and for which they never ceased to be grateful.

Miss Zibiah Willson, niece of Mrs. Nelson, and wife of Mr. Joseph L. Partridge, formerly principal preceptor of Leicester Academy, passed a considerable portion of her early life here,

and, though never formally adopted, was ever regarded as one of the family.

It is not the aim of this paper to picture the domestic life of Dr. Nelson's family. Yet it was in his home that the graces and beauty of his character were most conspicuous. Dr. and Mrs. Nelson passed through the vicissitudes, and shared the struggles and successes incident to a pastor's experience, through fifty-nine years of married life. Never were conjugal love and helpfulness more true and enduring; and never was parental and filial love more devoted than that which existed in all the years, in the cottage on the hill.

In 1864 their adopted daughter Caroline, with her husband, John E. Russell, now Representative of the Tenth Massachusetts Congressional District, came home, and took possession and charge of the cottage, after eight years separation, five years of which had been spent in Central America. In 1867 the house was enlarged and its interior beautified and adorned. Here the last years of Dr. and Mrs. Nelson were passed, in a home enriched with rare treasures of literature and art, and with the remarkable productions of Mrs. Nelson's needle. Here every want was supplied, and every comfort and alleviation provided through the thoughtful and loving ministrations of "the children." Here too they welcomed and enjoyed the society of their many friends. Few men have been so fortunate and so happy in the home of their old age. There are few shrines richer in associations, or more sacred than "The Cottage."

In the year 1853, he with his daughter, Miss Caroline Nelson, took an extended tour of European countries. The incidents and observations of this journey were the subject of a series of delightful letters, published in *The Puritan Recorder*.

Of his reception on his return, he thus writes.

"We record the hour as one never to be forgotten, when my beloved people received us on our entrance into Leicester, with a demonstration so kind, so tasteful, and so cordial; when over our gateway and over the entrance to our long deserted cottage we met with 'Welcome,' in letters of beautiful green, to 'Home,

Sweet Home.' We had seen abroad magnificent arches, adorned with the richest sculpture, and some had stood for more than two thousand years, the admiration of every beholder, but never had we seen arches which penetrated our hearts like these."

Dr. Nelson was for many years an invalid, and during the last few years of his life he seldom went from home. Yet these were years of enjoyment. His surroundings were most congenial, and he was in an atmosphere of love. His old age, with all its suffering was happy. Indeed he was never really old. He was always in sympathy with the pursuits and feelings of the young.

He was a most genial and delightful companion. His conversation was rich in anecdote, and always breathed the spirit of love to all.

His classmate, and for a time his roommate at Williams college, Rev. Richard Salter Storrs, D. D., the eloquent pastor of the church in Braintree, thus truthfully wrote of him, "He was a perfect gentleman; that is, he treated every man with the respect and Christian courtesy due to his station and character, as a citizen, a friend, and a Christian." In his manner he was plain and unassuming, he was easily approachable, and had the rare instinct of sympathy to enter into the interests and feeling of others, without obtruding his own.

In his religious life he was simple, self-distrustful, and unpretending. He claimed no preëminence, he experienced no ecstasies. He surrendered his will to the will of God, and trusted in his grace. This was the practical application of all his theology, and the sum of his Christian experience.

As his friend, the Rev. Dr. Blagden well expressed it. "He seemed a living sermon of the truths he preached. His face, as you know, was a very benevolent and honest one in its expression, and his whole bearing as a minister of the gospel was gentle, dignified, and persuasive, without any, the least, affectation or formality."

In the later months of the year 1871 his health and strength declined, and in the last weeks he was a great sufferer.



He died Dec. 6, 1871. His funeral was from the First Congregational Church. A brief funeral address was made by his associate in the pastorate, and the devotional exercises were conducted by Rev. Geo. W. Blagden, D. D., of Boston. He was buried in the family inclosure in Pine Grove Cemetery.

Dr. Nelson descended from a strong, intelligent and pious ancestry. He early became a Christian, and united with the church. He was profoundly reverential and consecrated in spirit. He was preëminently judicious, and considerate in action, and singularly broad and catholic in his moral and religious judgments. Forgetful of self, he was always thoughtful of the happiness of others. Nurtured in a genial and happy home, inured to labor and hardship in his struggles for an education, brought, while in college, into the atmosphere of a great religious awakening, and intense missionary zeal, and actively associated with the great moral and religious movements of his time, he was trained and fitted for the ministry which he accomplished. His qualities were of the enduring kind. He loved his people and he loved his work. He was pastor of the church for nearly sixty years, and his loving, pure and gentle spirit won for him the lasting respect and affection of his people, and of all who knew him.

Remarks by Rev. Drs. Cutler and Perkins, Hon. W. W. Rice, Rev. Mr. Marvin, and Mr. Maynard of Leicester, followed the reading of the paper. Mr. Rice's reminiscences of Dr. and Mrs. Nelson were particularly pleasing.

The meeting was adjourned to the evening of Tuesday, April 19.

Adjourned meeting, Tuesday evening, April 19.

Present: Messrs. J. A. Howland, C. Jillson, F. P. Rice, C. R. Johnson, Barton, J. A. Smith, Hubbard, Harrington, Maynard, Estey, Lee, Meriam, Dickinson, Crane, Otis, Abbot, Wall, Staples, members; and Joseph Lovell, J. H. Bancroft, and G. E. Ham.—21.

Rev. Albert Tyler of Oxford, and Albert A. Lovell of Medfield, were elected corresponding members; and James Jenkins of Worcester, was admitted an active member.

The Librarian reported 28 volumes, 128 pamphlets, 44 papers, and 3 relics as additions for the past month.

Mr. Joseph A. Howland announced that Oliver Johnson, the veteran Abolitionist, had prepared a review of Hon. Eli Thayer's strictures upon the Garrisonians, embodied in his recent lectures before the Society. Mr. Johnson's review would be read to the Society by Rev. Samuel May. Mr. Howland said that he was willing to give Mr. Thayer full credit for his service in the Kansas troubles; but that he condemned him for his vituperative assault upon the Abolitionists. Mr. Thayer's criticisms were outrageous, untrue, and disgraceful to the Society, and should not have been published in the

Proceedings. The object of the Society was to perpetuate history, and not to excite controversy.

Mr. Caleb A. Wall read a valuable paper, full of statistics, upon "The Old Ministerial Land north of Front Street, and what became of it."\*

Remarks by Messrs. Barton and Lovell followed.  
Adjourned.

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Regular meeting, Tuesday evening, May 3.

Present: Messrs. Abbot, G. F. Clark, E. B. Crane, John C. Crane, Barrows, Dickinson, Estey, J. A. Howland, Hubbard, Leonard, Lynch, G. Maynard, Meriam, C. Jillson, C. R. Johnson, F. P. Rice, Perkins, Otis, A. F. Simmons, C. E. Simmons, H. M. Smith, Sumner, Tucker, C. G. Wood, Howe, members; H. A. Phillips and others.—28.

The Librarian's report showed that 5 volumes, 45 pamphlets, 4 papers, and 6 relics had been added to the Library and Museum during the last month.

It was voted that Princeton be visited on the Annual Field Day, and Messrs. Francis E. Blake of Boston, John Brooks of Princeton, and Thomas A. Dickinson, were appointed the Committee of Arrangements.

\* Printed in the *Worcester Daily Spy* of May 3, 1887.

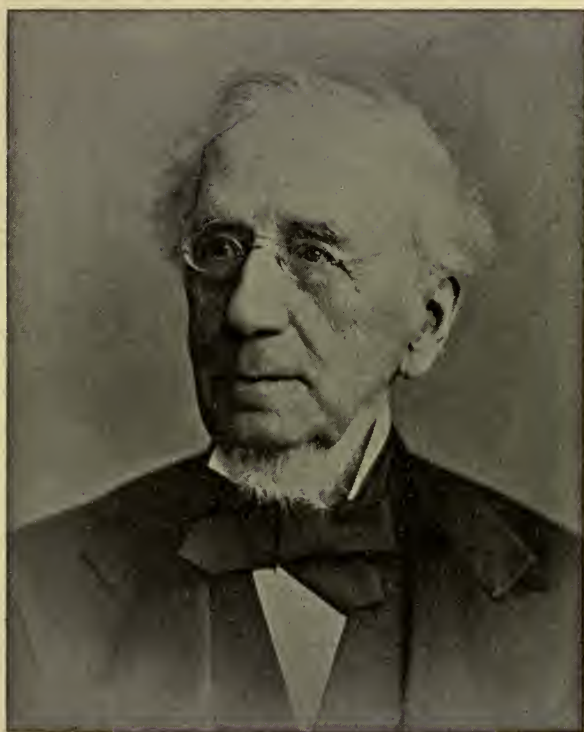
Mr. John C. Crane read the following biographical sketch of the late Col. Asa H. Waters of Millbury.

## ASA HOLMAN WATERS.

BY JOHN C. CRANE.

ASA HOLMAN WATERS was a direct descendant, in the seventh generation, of Richard Waters, who came from England to Salem, Massachusetts, with Gov. Winthrop, about 1630. He was born in that part of Sutton which is now Millbury, February 8, 1808. His birthplace was opposite his late residence, on the spot where now stands the house of the late Samuel D. Torrey. His early youth was spent in attending the village schools, and about the armory of his father, which was built the year in which he was born. At this armory his father was engaged in making arms for the government, under large contracts. Asa Kenney had established the first brass foundry in central Massachusetts, at what is now West Millbury, and all the brass work for the armory of Mr. Waters was there cast. Col. Waters, when a boy, was often employed journeying to and fro between the armory and the foundry. While thus engaged, he saw much of Thomas Blanchard, the inventor of the eccentric lathe, whose shop was opposite that of his rival, Asa Kenney, the brass founder. Young Waters by these journeys gathered much material that was useful to him in after years, as the biographer of Thomas Blanchard.

In the contest between those two men, Kenney and Blanchard, for the right to the eccentric lathe, Col. Waters was greatly interested. He attended the hearing which was held at the Old Common in Millbury. The matter had been referred to a board of arbitrators, and the hearing lasted several days. Hon. Salem





Towne, of Charlton, was chairman of the board. Blanchard's counsel were Gov. Levi Lincoln and Hon. John Davis, of Worcester. Counsel for Kenney, Hon. Samuel Hoar, of Concord, and Hon. Jonas L. Sibley, of Sutton. In the progress of the case, the models of both parties were exhibited, and to give Col. Waters' own words to me, "Kenney exhibited a beautiful brass model, polished like a mirror. Blanchard exhibited a rather clumsy wooden model, about four feet long." He said when he first saw the beautiful model presented by Kenney, so perfect in workmanship, it really seemed to him that Kenney ought to have the case. The hearing being over, Thomas Blanchard was adjudged to be the inventor of the eccentric lathe.

Col. Waters left home at the age of sixteen, and entered Monson Academy, where he was fitted for college. He also attended for a while a school at Wilbraham. He entered Yale College in 1825, and in 1829 was graduated with honor in a class of seventy-seven, having just reached his majority. He studied law in the Harvard Law School and was admitted a member of the bar, in the Court of Common Pleas, at Dedham, in 1835, and commissioned a Justice of the Peace the same year by Gov. Armstrong. His commission as justice, was renewed by Gov. Morton, in 1843, by Gov. Briggs, in 1850, and by Gov. Gardner, in 1857. His commission as Aid-de-Camp to Gov. Morton is dated March 20, 1843. He became a member of the Worcester County Horticultural Society in 1842, and being a great lover of fruits and flowers, ever took great interest in the proceedings of the Society.

The increasing business of his father called him to leave his briefs and clients behind. Judging from the ability displayed in the business life of Col. Waters, there is no doubt he would have risen to eminence, had he continued in the profession through life. On many important occasions, his advice was often sought, and events afterwards proved the soundness of the legal advice given.

But neither the law nor business was his true sphere. Had not Col. Waters felt it to be his duty to come to the aid of his father in his increasing business, there is no doubt a literary life

would have been his choice. But it was destined in a measure to be otherwise. Having left the practice of the law, he associated himself with his father at the armory, as Asa Waters & Son, and the business was thus carried on till the death of his father.

In a former paper on his father, read before this Society, I have given a detailed account of the gun business, there carried on, and of the many improvements invented and put in practical use by the elder Asa Waters. Richard Waters, the associate of Gov. Winthrop, of Colonial fame, was a gun-maker. The stirring times of the Revolution brought to the front two descendants of the same Richard Waters, Andrus and Asa, Sutton born, to take up the same employment, and become mighty helpers in the struggle for national independence. The war of 1812, found another Waters, Asa 2d, engaged in the same business at Armory Village, preparing arms for the second and final contest with Great Britain, and he supplied the Government with arms throughout the war.

In 1841 Asa Waters 2d departed this life honored and full of years, but his mantle fell on one in every way worthy to be his successor. The business was continued with vigor and success, by the subject of this sketch, until 1845, when all the private armories were unjustly suspended by order of Gen. Talcott, who was afterwards court martialed, proved guilty of embezzlement, and sent in disgrace out of Washington. The armory was, at one time, rented to Col. J. D. Green, who manufactured his patent rifles, on a contract for the Russian government. Mr. Green was Lieut. Col. of the Massachusetts 5th Regiment, which was so distinguished at Manassas and Bull Run. He was afterwards transferred to the regular army.

At the breaking out of the Civil War, 1861-5, the Government again sought the aid of a Waters in time of peril. An agent of the Government waited upon Col. Waters, and urged him to again resume the business of gun-making. The Colonel calmly thought the matter over, and stated that he had become engaged in other pursuits, that his business of gun-making had been unjustly suspended by the Government in 1845, that some of the machinery



had become unfit from not being used, that his workmen had become scattered, and many were engaged in other pursuits ; that it would involve a heavy expense to again manufacture guns complete. The agent acknowledged the injustice alleged, and gave Col. Waters his choice of making certain parts of guns. Having a strong desire to aid the Government in its efforts to suppress the insurrection, that, like the shadow of death spread over the land, he promised the help at that time most sorely needed. He chose as his part the manufacture of rods and bayonets. He continued the business through the years of the war, employed as many as two hundred hands, and part of the time the works were run night and day. Thus for the third time in the history of our country, the Waters family of ancient Sutton was engaged in time of war in supplying weapons for the Government. Thus the armory of Asa Waters had become an historical spot, and attracted large numbers of the most skilled mechanics in the country, and a thriving, industrious community grew up around it.

The foundations of many fortunes were laid here, and the success of the town of Millbury is greatly due to the armory of Asa Waters & Son, and the name of Armory Village is thus derived.

At the close of the war of the rebellion, he turned again to other forms of manufacturing, namely, running an extensive cotton mill, with the firm name of A. H. Waters & Co., and still later the Atlanta Mill Co., of which he was President, was formed for the manufacture of woolen goods. He also built the Stillwater mill about 1855, which at the time was one of the finest mills in the Blackstone Valley, a beautiful piece of architecture, which ornamented the town until it was burned. He retired from business life altogether about 1870, in possession of a fortune which was rightfully his own. As a business man he was eminently successful. During thirty-three years of active business, he never failed to meet his obligations promptly, although he passed through two of the greatest financial panics the country has ever known, those of '37 and '57.

He was a man of incorruptible integrity. His word was as good as his bond, and he never left a promise unfulfilled ; his

well-known signature was gladly seen in financial institutions. His sound judgment and painstaking care were never lacking. To the humblest and poorest his courtesy was unflinching. He never sought official position, but was honored by his fellow citizens with all of the important offices of the town. He was President, and for many years a Director of the Millbury Bank, which was founded by his father in 1825; and long occupied the position of postmaster. He was a member of the legislature in '48, '49, and a member of the Constitutional Convention held in Boston in 1854.

With the formation of the Free-Soil party, he left his former political associations and identified himself heartily with the new movement. He became a public speaker in its behalf, and was very successful in carrying the voters with him in towns where he spoke. From these Free-Soil associations, he passed naturally into the Republican party, and rejoiced in the election of President Lincoln in 1860.

In 1854-5 he participated heartily in what is known as the Eli Thayer movement to save for freedom the great state of Kansas. These were the days of John Brown and border warfare, and the work done by the friends of freedom in New England at that time, had much to do in giving shape to the subsequent history of the country. On the breaking out of the war of the Rebellion, in 1861, he, being then fifty-three years old, set at once vigorously at work raising a company to make one of the companies of a local regiment. On some memorandum papers which he left is one containing the names of over seventy men which were enrolled through his agency, and who were enthusiastic in their desire that he should be their captain. He had also the names of enough to complete the company, but many of his fellow citizens did not share his zeal at that time, and thought his enterprise unnecessary, so that he did not complete his work of a full company.

Considerable money was spent by him in keeping these men together, as the law made no provision for the payment or subsistence of volunteer recruits until they were called to active duty. All this expense was assumed and paid by him. Most of

the men, however, afterwards went to the war, though the town had to pay them bounties. This movement of Col. Waters was early, and before the bounty system had been brought into general operation.

As a public writer he took high rank. He was many times engaged in newspaper controversies, defending what he believed to be correct history. In all such matters his aim was to be perfectly accurate. One such minor contest was in regard to the right name of a pond in his native place, wrongfully called, as he always contended, "Dority Pond," but which he claimed should be called Dorothy.

One of the greatest contests in which he was engaged, was the memorable one with the *Worcester Daily Spy*, in 1877. Col. Waters was a great unbeliever in lost arts, and contributed several articles for the press upon this subject, many times arraigning Wendell Phillips for the statements made in his lecture on the "Lost Arts." His visit to Europe and the East only strengthened him in his belief that the lost arts were not lost at all, but arts laid aside. He found, particularly in the East, as he stated to me, the old primitive ways of doing work as in Bible times, namely, plowing with rude implements, women grinding at the mill, and the like. And from his investigations and thorough searching for the truth, he had summed up the matter in this way, which I will give in his own words :

"Before closing, I wish to say a word on lost arts without going into the subject *in extenso*. From a limited examination, I believe the truth to be this. Since the days of the ancients, a great number of the arts have been abandoned for better methods, and as the world moves in its onward progress, this process is constantly repeated year by year, but it cannot be shown that a single art of any value has been lost, which has not been supplemented by something better. After much research and reflection, I venture to repeat a few conclusions arrived at in my own mind. 1st. That motive power, other than human and animal, and also power machinery, were mostly unknown to the ancients. 2d. That in manufacturing, they never got beyond the hand loom and distaff.

3d. That we find no mention by them of any machinery whatever which in complexity could compare with a common watch. The machines chiefly referred to in ancient history are the battering ram, the balista and the catapult. These were all rude contrivances operated by hand, and would not now be classified under the head of power machinery. Recent explorations have furnished evidence quite satisfactory, I think, to establish the above positions."

The contest in the *Worcester Spy*, above referred to, was brought about by the publication, in that paper, of the discovery of very complex machinery for spinning and weaving, in the ruins of Carthage, described in the introduction to a work on Weaving, by Clinton G. Gilroy, of England. Col. Waters, fresh from the ruins of the old world, and having been a manufacturer, and knowing much about cotton and woolen machinery, doubted the truth of the article.

The contest waxed warm, lasted several months, and attracted much attention. The result of the matter was, that Col. Waters succeeded in procuring a letter from Gilroy himself, acknowledging the whole introduction to his work a fraud, and the alleged discovery of a wonderful loom and other strange things at Carthage, myths, the fabrications of his own brain. Col. Waters, laboring in the interest of truth, had the book by Gilroy, in the Congressional Library at Washington, indelibly stamped as *unreliable*. I give Mr. Gilroy's letter of confession :


"ST. LOUIS, July 6, 1877.

"*Dear Sir:*—Although that entire introduction to my work on weaving is a *take-off* on men who

'Angle hourly to surprise,

And bait their hooks with prejudice and lies,'

yet it, that entire production *is of my invention and designed to expose* 'some people,' who claim to be great inventors in these last times :

" So that you must look upon all the discoveries spoken of in that introduction, as coming under the E. K. Arphaxed horo-

scope. With regard to the modes of manufacture in use among the ancients, there is not a trace of power loom machinery of their invention ; not a trace of Danforth frames and of self-acting mules ; not a trace,—*all was done by hand.*

“ Very truly yours,

“ CLINTON G. GILROY.”

He also had a long and spirited contest with Oliver Johnson, in the *Commonwealth*, on the agency of Mr. Garrison and his associates, in regard to the removal of American Slavery. Col. Waters took the ground that these men claimed for themselves, and were by many credited with an influence in this respect, which by no means belonged to them ; and that other men and other agencies had more to do in securing the destruction of slavery, than did the Garrisonian Abolitionists. His opinion in substance was, that before Mr. Garrison began his movement there was a wide spread anti-slavery sentiment all over the North, which would never accept Mr. Garrison's methods of work, but kept on in its own way, counting its voters in larger numbers year by year, until at length this sentiment was embodied in the Free-Soil party, in the Republican party, and finally in the election to the Presidency of Abraham Lincoln. When this end was reached the South plunged the nation into civil war. To put down that rebellion, the North took up arms, and found at length that the way to suppress it was to destroy the system of American Slavery. But it was difficult to see how the little handful of people who made up what was technically known as the Garrison party, could have had anything but a minor and indirect hand in securing this result.

Col. Waters was a warm admirer of the talents displayed by Thomas Blanchard, and was a personal friend of the great inventor. An excellent article on Blanchard was furnished by him for the Sutton history, giving a brief sketch of his life. He also wrote a more extended one which was published in *Harpers' Magazine*, July, 1881. The article was extensively copied. Some years later it was republished in the *Philadelphia Journal*

*of Progress*, with a portrait of Mr. Blanchard. At one time there was doubt as to which town, Oxford or Sutton, belonged the honor of giving birth to the great inventor. Col. Waters always contended that the honor belonged to the historic old town of Sutton, and he proved it by documentary evidence. He once said to me that he met Mr. Blanchard coming from the State House, in Boston, many years ago, and who said to him, "I have been up there to find out where I was born, but I give it up." Subsequent investigation by Col. Waters settled the matter in favor of Sutton.

He preserved and placed on record several anecdotes of Mr. Blanchard, that would otherwise have been lost. It was his delight to talk of him and to show that his invention of the eccentric lathe led to the interchange system. Having myself recently written a paper on Thomas Blanchard, I furnished Col. Waters with a copy, and in a letter I received from him after reading my article, he said, "You need have no fear of extolling his marvellous genius in mechanics too highly. Few if any inventions have ever been made which have been applied to so many useful purposes, as his eccentric lathe. It has led to what is called the interchange system, a system which has revolutionized all the workshops in this country, and for the most part in Europe."

Two extended articles on the Interchange System were written by Col. Waters, and published in the Boston papers some years ago. I was recently informed by him, that at one time he was requested by Gen. Benét, Chief of the Ordinance Department, at Washington, to write an exhaustive article on the Interchange System, for use in that department, and for the general public. I know it was his intention to have done so. Other historical articles were furnished by him for the Sutton history, namely: "North Parish Families," "Gun Making," also one on "Sutton in the Revolution."

His mother was a daughter of Jonathan Holman, Colonel of the Sutton Regiment in the Revolution. Col. Holman had also fought in the French and Indian war. In the mansion of Col. Waters there is a life size portrait of Col. Holman. Col. Waters furnished much historical information for the Worcester County

History, and other histories and publications to which his name is not appended. Probably no man in the Blackstone Valley so well knew the history of the Blackstone Canal, and water rights in connection therewith on the busy stream. His advice was often sought in regard to the great sewer problem, in which he was much interested. And when some grew impatient with him for moving in such a careful manner, he stood up in presence of his fellow townsmen and told them it was not advisable to move in a hasty manner; that Millbury should not alone try to bear the brunt of the battle, that other towns should come to their aid.

He also furnished a paper on the "Electric Telegraph," and as it contains much that is historically valuable, I will give the report of it entire.

"At a monthly meeting of the Millbury Natural History Society, in 1885, Col. Waters read a very interesting paper, in which he discussed the question as to who was the inventor of the 'Electric Telegraph,' and showed that the honor had been unjustly given to S. F. B. Morse. Prof. Morse first took the idea from Dr. Jackson, of Boston, but being wholly lacking in scientific knowledge and training, his experiments were wholly unsuccessful. In his extremity he took Dr. Leonard Gale into council, who being fully a scientific man, as Morse was not, quickly constructed the apparatus which made the telegraph instantly a success. Dr. Gale was enabled to do this by his familiarity with electric science, and the studies and experiments by Prof. Joseph Henry, late of the Smithsonian Institution. The real inventors were Dr. Jackson, Prof. Joseph Henry, and Dr. Leonard Gale. Morse invented the dash and dot alphabet, and this was his only real contribution to the telegraph. To Morse, however, belongs the real credit of bringing the invention before the public, securing government aid in the construction of the first line between Washington and Baltimore, and so accomplishing its commercial success.

"The first line was constructed under the direction of Dr. Gale, and was entirely successful, and was the infant which has grown to the monstrous proportions of a company which now pays dividends on a capital of \$80,000,000.

“Dr. Gale was born in Millbury, where W. R. Cunningham now lives. He received his early training in the schools of this town. He was a schoolmate of Col. Waters, and a correspondent during his college life. He afterwards occupied a professor’s chair in several colleges. He was for many years an examiner in the Patent Office, at Washington, from which position he was removed by President Buchanan, because he refused to surrender his anti-slavery principles.

“Col. Waters suggested that the town ought to provide some suitable memorial to both Dr. Gale and Thomas Blanchard, whose lives and achievements shed lustre upon the town of Millbury. A hearty vote of thanks was extended to Col. Waters for his valuable paper.”

In 1874, Col. Waters, in company with his wife and two daughters, visited Constantinople, one of his daughters residing there being the wife of Prof. E. A. Grosvenor, of Robert College in that city. He visited many of the principal places in Europe and the East. In the antiquities of Egypt—the Sphinx, the Pyramids, etc., he was much interested. On the 14th of March, 1876, he ascended the great pyramid of Gizeh, 461 feet in height.

In all matters of early history, the primitive manner of doing work, the ways and customs of the people of the old world, and all connected therewith, had been a study with him. He was *par excellence* the most thorough antiquarian of his native town. The opportunity afforded by this visit to the old world was well improved. His mind, already stored with historical facts upon these places and subjects, was ready to grasp every idea connected therewith. The ruins of the old countries were well inspected by him. He was a man not satisfied with a hasty examination of anything. A subject was mastered by him to its very bottom. His visit to Europe and the East was extended over a period of two years and during that time a valuable fund of information was added to a mind already well filled. Much of the knowledge there gathered was found useful to him in later years.

He returned improved in health and spirits, marking out for



himself many plans in literary work, in which he was so much engaged.

Col. Waters, throughout his busy life, took a great interest in the affairs of his native town, and in all of the important questions that came before his fellow citizens he took an active part. His voice was often heard in their gatherings, in support of measures he considered for the best interests of the town. He was a conservative, careful man, and strongly opposed those who sought to burden the town with heavy debts. In town meeting he was listened to with close attention; his commanding presence, and well chosen, forcible language, won the respect of all. Those opposed to him recognized his great abilities and admitted the honesty of his intentions. If the cause he supported was not popular, it was enough for him to know that it was just. As a public speaker, in his prime, he had few equals. His liberal education, great command of language, in his own and other tongues, his knowledge of many departments of business, law and history, and a mind stored with information upon so many subjects, gave him a power that held an audience at will.

The grand old mansion built by his father, in 1829, by his father's death, came into his possession. The stately trees by which it is surrounded were planted by his own hands. Grand and lofty, the solid old structure has well withstood the hand of time. In this quiet retreat, just removed from the turmoil of busy life, Col. Waters passed the score of years allotted to him after his business life closed. He said, "I well know what there is abroad, but after all, give me this, my home."

His library was a chosen retreat for him. There, surrounded by well-stocked shelves of books, containing the best thoughts of authors living and dead, he passed much of his time. His pen was never so busy but that he gladly laid it aside to act the part of the genial host. And well could he act the part. Rarely have I met his equal. His manner was, once a friend, always a friend. I think no man could spend an afternoon with him, without becoming convinced that his host had a rare gift of intellect, that he could grasp a subject with a power enjoyed by few men. His manner was genial and kind, and at once his guest felt at home.

He was quick to detect literary talent. It was to him a pleasure to assist such as possessed it to fame and fortune, if it was to be, and wish them a hearty God-speed. He assisted many such, by advice and encouragement as to plans and methods of literary work. His fund of anecdotes was inexhaustible, and often did he draw from his resources in this respect, to the delight of all who listened. His character for honesty and integrity was never questioned. In all his dealings with those about him, and in his employ, he acted in a spirit of justice, never forgetting that the poorest man had his rights. Proud of his ancestry, on both his father's and mother's side, he yet gave to the humblest his rightful due. But the grandest element in his character, was his faith in the God of his fathers, and his Son, the Lord Jesus Christ. His testimony living, and his handwriting yet speaking, proclaims his abiding faith in the book of God's word.

He married Mary Elizabeth, daughter of the late Daniel Hovey, of Sutton, June 27, 1849. Their children are Isabel Holman, Lilian Hovey, wife of Prof. E. A. Grosvenor, and Florence Elizabeth. In all his domestic relations, he was the dutiful son, the kind husband, the loving father, and the ever genial host. After a ripe old age, remarkably free from its common infirmities, he departed this life, Jan. 17, 1887, with "that which should accompany old age, as honor, love, obedience, troops of friends."

At the time of his death he was, with one exception, the oldest native born citizen of Millbury. His funeral was attended by a large concourse of his fellow citizens, and many prominent men from other parts of the State, Rev. Dr. S. G. Buckingham, of Springfield, Rev. Stacy Fowler, of Boston, Rev. George A. Putnam, of Millbury, and his pastor, Rev. John L. Ewell, taking part in the exercises.

In closing this sketch of one who played such an important part in the business, social, political and literary history of Worcester County, I wish to say, it is fitting that this Society should seek to place on record his achievements, leaving as he does, a name that shines forth as a bright example, for generations yet to come.

Mr. J. A. Howland spoke pleasantly of Colonel Waters, and explained that the rupture in the Garrisonian party which occurred in 1840, at which time Colonel Waters left it, was due to the placing of "a young Millbury school teacher,"—Abby Kelly—upon one of the committees.

Some discussion on the invention of the electric telegraph was participated in by the Secretary, and Messrs. H. M. Smith and Howland.

Mr. F. P. Rice spoke at some length in reply to the denunciatory remarks of Mr. J. A. Howland, at the last meeting, on the subject of Hon. Eli Thayer's lectures before the Society. Mr. Rice said :

"It is safe to say that this publication is the most important one ever made by the Society ; it has attracted attention throughout the country, and it has been widely noticed in the public press, while letters have been received from many eminent men who strongly commend the pamphlet as a valuable contribution to history. So far as the criticisms and opinions of the Garrisonians are concerned, they occupy in space only a fraction of the essay ; and the citations from the *Liberator*, and from letters, speeches, resolutions, etc., of the Garrisonians, no one can reasonably object to, when used, as in this case, to illustrate their methods and policy. If Mr. Thayer has made statements that are not true, he is open to correction. But we should not overlook the great importance of the purely historical part of the lectures.

"Some have expressed the opinion that the Society ought not to consider or discuss matters which tend to excite controversy, but the presentation of any historical subject of moment is seldom unattended by it ; in fact, it is often the case that only by

controversy can we arrive at the truth. In regard to the revival of dead issues, which may inflame the passions and operate to create dissension, the Garrisonians are as much to blame as the other side, for they continue to indulge in taunts and flings to this day ; as evidenced in the recent republication by a prominent Abolitionist, of virulent anti-slavery tracts against the church and clergy."

Mr. Rice then read portions of letters from Prof. L. W. Spring, the historian of Kansas ; Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Ex-Senators Doolittle and Trumbull, Prof. George P. Fisher, Hon. George Ticknor Curtis, Hon. George S. Boutwell, Hon. Hannibal Hamlin, Rev. L. W. Bacon, Hon. John Sherman, Bishop Huntington, Horace White, Hon. Richard Mott, Hon. John Bigelow, Rev. E. E. Hale, Senator Dawes, Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Prof. Brooks Adams, and Col. Homer B. Sprague, most of them expressing cordial approval of Mr. Thayer's lectures.\* Extracts from several prominent journals were also read or referred to, which reviewed favorably the lectures as published by the Society.

Mr. Howland rejoined that it was the spirit of Mr. Thayer's remarks that he objected to, and that his abusive epithets and false statements should not have been printed in the Society's Proceedings.

The discussion was further engaged in by Messrs. Rice, H. M. Smith, Howland, and Rev. Dr. Perkins.

\* Many other letters from distinguished persons have since been received.

The latter said, that while he did not approve Mr. Thayer's methods of discussion, he was convinced that his views would be sustained by history. He, himself, had always been a strong anti-slavery man, but he had been abused by the Garrisonians as being pro-slavery, because he did not believe in their manner of opposing the institution.

Adjourned.

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Special meeting, Tuesday evening, May 10, at Natural History Hall.

About sixty members and visitors attended.

Rev. Samuel May, of Leicester, read a Review of Hon. Eli Thayer's lectures on the New England Emigrant Aid Company, prepared by Oliver Johnson, Esq. This was followed by remarks from Hon. W. W. Rice and Mr. J. A. Howland. A vote of thanks to Rev. Mr. May was unanimously passed.\*

\*The proceedings of this meeting and Mr. Johnson's Review, have been printed as No. XXV. of the publications of the Society.

Regular meeting, Tuesday evening, June 7.

Present: Messrs. Abbot, Brooks, Crane, Cutler, Dickinson, Estey, Gould, J. A. Howland, Hubbard, Jackson, Lyford, Lynch, Marvin, G. Maynard, Meriam, Otis, Parker, Perkins, F. P. Rice, Seagrave, H. M. Smith, Staples, Stedman, Tucker, C. G. Wood, Dodge, and nine visitors.—35.

The Librarian reported 315 additions since the last meeting.

Rev. A. P. Marvin, of Lancaster, read his essay on "The Puritans of Massachusetts Bay," etc. The paper was followed by some discussion, in which several engaged. Henry L. Parker, Esq., stated that he should like to prepare a paper, to be given at some future meeting, upon the Puritan policy as viewed from the Church of England standpoint. He was cordially invited to do so by the President.

Mr. Marvin's paper is here printed in full.

## THE PURITANS OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY :

WHO WERE THEY ? WHAT CAUSED THEM TO  
LEAVE ENGLAND ? WHY DID THEY COME  
HERE ? WHAT DID THEY DO HERE ?

BY REV. A. P. MARVIN.

No one can understand the history of Massachusetts, and the character of her institutions, without learning, in the first place, the character and the designs of the early settlers. The question is, Who were the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay? Why did they leave England? Why did they come here? And what did they do here?

This preliminary question in regard to Puritans and Puritanism is important, because an error on this point has vitiated much speaking and writing in relation to our forefathers and their deeds.

Puritans and Pilgrims are often treated as being very different in design and spirit, and one class has been honored to the disparagement of the other, when they were generically and even specifically alike.

Confining ourselves to English history, there were reformers in the time of Wiclif, who wrought a great work, which, though suppressed in the reigns of the Lancaster princes, still smouldered in its ashes.

The Reformation broke out anew in the reign of Henry VIII., and, omitting the brief episode of Mary's rule, it made Great Britain a Protestant country.

The change in religion wrought a change in morals, and in the standard of Christian experience and living. A class of men sprang up who demanded an improvement in doctrine, in ritual,

and in church government. They insisted on discarding the papal rule, and everything in worship that was tainted with idolatry or superstition. But the Protesters were not all united. Some were satisfied with throwing off the papal supremacy in civil and national affairs, while adhering to the papacy as a hierarchy, and acknowledging the pope of Rome in regard to all matters ecclesiastical. Another class made a clean breach with Rome as a ruling power in both church and state. These, at first, constituted the great Protestant party. But it was soon found that there was a diversity of opinions in the Protestant ranks.

Some clung to the *old* as much as possible without reverting to Roman Catholicism. Others wished to carry the Reformation further, and hence arose a body of men nicknamed Puritans, in derision ; but the name has become a title of honor.

Puritan is a large term, including several varieties. There were 1,—Puritan Conformists ; 2,—Puritan Non-conformists ; 3,—Puritan Presbyterians and Congregationalists ; and 4,—Puritan Separatists.

The Puritan Conformists were those good and godly people who labored and prayed for a further reformation in the Church of England, but who strictly complied with the ritual and rubrics, and carefully avoided any actions which would expose them to the censure of the government, in relation to ecclesiastical matters.

The Puritan Non-conformists embraced those who adhered to the Church of England ; believed in prelacy ; loved the prayer book, and clung to the old church and church-yard as sacred, but desired to have certain errors expunged from the baptismal ceremony, and some blemishes removed from other parts of the service. This party included a large number of churchmen in the reign of James I., and an increasing number in the time of Charles I.

The Puritan Presbyterians and Congregationalists or Independents, rejected the Episcopal government, and the use of the prayer book, while adhering to the Articles of Faith, in use by the Church of England. In Scotland, the Presbyterian theory pre-



vailed. It was planted in England in the early years of the Commonwealth,—particularly in London and Lancashire—but was generally supplanted by Independency, which included Congregationalists, Baptists, and others, perhaps; and which was transplanted to this country.

The Puritan Separatists were the extreme Independents, who, agreeing with Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Congregationalists in all important doctrines, and in their view of the Christian life, yet who came out of the Church of England as apostate, and refused to hold communion with it as a branch of the church universal.

According to this classification, the poet Herbert was a Puritan conformist. He might have rejected the name, when used in the general sense, which was subject to reproach; but his strictness of life, saintliness of deportment, and devotional sentiment, allied him to the great Puritan body.

A great number of the clergy, in the time of James and Charles, were Puritan non-conformists, including quite a portion of those who afterwards became pastors in New England. They remained in the Church of England years after they ceased to conform entirely to the rubrics. Such statesmen as Hampden, Vane, Pym, Lords Say and Seal, Lord Brook, the Earl of Warwick, Oliver Cromwell, and others were non-conforming churchmen of the Puritan stamp, many years before they came into open conflict with the authorities of the State church. Some of these never went to the extremity of leaving the old church of their fathers, though they took up arms in favor of the parliament.

Among the Presbyterian Puritans was Richard Baxter; and among the Congregational Puritans were John Howe and John Owen. John Bunyan was another, but of the Baptist variety. John Milton was a Puritan in principle, in purity of life, and in severity of taste. Some of these withdrew from the national church, and some were cast out by the act of exclusion, in 1662, when two thousand Puritan ministers were driven from their pulpits and parishes.

John Robinson, and probably the larger part of the ministers, elders and membership of the churches formed in the northeast of England, in London, and in a few other places, between 1580 and 1620, were Separatists, the very quintessence of Puritanism ; in the words of Robert Hall, the "dissidence of Dissent" ; but Robinson and his immediate followers, on further inquiry and experience, receded from their extreme position, and held fellowship with all Protestant Christians. In this country, Roger Williams, for a time, was the typical Separatist, and cut loose from communion, not only with the Episcopal church, but from communion and joint worship with all the colonists who would not formally renounce and condemn their former connection with the national church of England.

By overlooking these distinctions many have fallen into serious error. It is to be noted also, that many men of historical renown, passed through several stages of development in the period between 1580 and 1640. For example, one who was born into a Catholic family, say in 1560, might become a Protestant at the age of twenty-five, but of the highest kind of high church stripe. In the progress of inquiry, and amid the conflict of opinions, become a Puritan conformist, but earnestly desiring reformation in many particulars ; the next step would be to that of Puritan non-conformity. He did not withdraw from the national church, nor wish to break away from diocesan Episcopacy, or the use of the prayer book, or to discard all church vestments ; but there were many things in the ritual as to garments, and emblems, and postures, which he considered as savoring of papal idolatry and superstition, and which he could not conform to, as bowing before the cross, using holy water, etc. Moreover, if his minister preached error, he claimed the right to worship in some other church, and he united with others like-minded, in setting up other services.

If a clergyman, he took the liberty to discard the customs and usages which he considered unscriptural, while using the prayer book, with exceptions, and holding himself in allegiance to his ecclesiastical superiors, in all things lawful. In this class were

many clergymen, and more laymen, in the reigns of James and his son Charles.

Moreover, by this time, another class, not large, but growing rapidly, had adopted the Presbyterian or the Congregational polity. So it came to pass that a man might have been a Roman Catholic, a high church conforming Episcopalian, a non-conforming Churchman, and a non-prelatical Dissenter in the course of his life. It is correct therefore to speak of Sir John Eliot, John Pym, and other great statesmen of that age, as Puritans, but Puritans of the non-conforming class. Vane, the younger, Cromwell and others, went through the Presbyterian phase into Congregationalism. Milton was a non-conformist of the highest type till he became an Independent. And like all the others above mentioned, he was a Puritan in sentiment, doctrine, mode of worship, morals and taste.

Lord Macaulay took occasion to say that Milton was not a Puritan. It is one of the few blemishes in his immortal history. Like his snappish remark about the Puritan cruelty in slaying beasts kept for sport, and about the "brayings of Exeter Hall," it was written when he was smarting under his rejection by the voters of Edinburgh. For the moment he took for the typical "Puritan," the crop-haired, snuffing, narrow-minded sectary, satirized in the pages of *Hudibras*, and in the plays of the foul-minded, rotten-hearted wits of the Restoration. He knew, but ignored the fact, that the mighty Puritan party which dethroned Charles, and wrought the great change in the English government, contained many of the nobility, and nearly half the gentry of England. The house of commons in 1640, and on, had a valuation double or triple that of the house of lords; and the great mass of English yeomen were on the republican side. Not only piety and severe morals were enlisted in the Puritan revolution, but wealth, learning, science, the highest talent for statesmanship and war, and the finest literary ability and taste. The manners of many of the leading Puritans were as elegant and courtly as those of the best and highest of the king's adherents.

In all essential points the settlers of Plymouth and of Massachusetts Bay were alike. Pilgrim or Puritan, they were English

Protestants, who abjured the particular rites of Rome, and the Episcopal imitations of the papacy. They believed that prelacy was unscriptural, and they preferred the spontaneous prayer of an earnest heart, to prescribed, or as they sometimes styled it, "stinted prayer." Both parties came in time on to the same church platform. Both were Pilgrims, with the difference that the settlers of the Bay came directly from England, while those of Plymouth came round by Holland. They made two removes instead of one. The main differences which were developed here in maintaining government and dealing with sectaries, grew out of peculiar circumstances; but the two were fundamentally the same.

## II. Why did the Puritans leave old England?

The story of the Pilgrims from their rise in northeastern England, to their removal to Holland; and then their voyage to Plymouth in the *Mayflower*, is familiar to our children. We are now to take a rapid glance at the rise and progress of the second migration, and the settlements in Massachusetts Bay. Nearly all the fathers and mothers of the colony who settled in and around Boston, were born in the latter days of Queen Elizabeth, and in the reign of James I. They grew up in a time of deep religious thought, when the public mind was familiar with the discussion of the great truths of revelation, and the deepest principles of government, human and divine. By degrees the ministers were alienated from the national church, and the laymen who drank in their teachings, were preparing for a separation, if necessary, for the preservation of a true church. The clergy found it more and yet more irksome to comply with the commands and exactions of their ecclesiastical superiors, upheld by the power and influence of the crown; and the laity gave them their warmest sympathies. When Laud became bishop of London, and still more, when his power was extended as archbishop of Canterbury, it was made clear that all dissent from strict compliance with the will of priest and king, was to be discountenanced and punished. The experience of numerous faithful parish priests, in different parts of the kingdom, was alike in substance, though sometimes unlike in form.

The following words from Governor Bradford, will enable us to see what the converts—whether Pilgrim or Puritan—had to undergo, from the beginning in the reign of Elizabeth, down to the time of the departure of Winthrop and his company, and even later. He writes: “The work of God was no sooner manifest in them, but presently they were both scoffed and scorned by the profane multitudes, and the ministers urged with the yoke of subscription, or else must be silenced; and the poor people were so vexed with apparitors, and persevants, and the commissary courts, as truly their affliction was not small; which, notwithstanding they bore sundry years with much patience, till they were occasioned (by the continuance and increase of these troubles, and other means which the Lord raised up in those days), to see further into things by the light of the word of God; how not only their base and beggarly ceremonies were unlawful, but also that the lordly and tyrannous power of the prelates ought not to be submitted unto, which thus contrary to the freedom of the gospel, would load and burden men’s consciences, and by their compulsive power, make a profane mixture of persons and things in the worship of God. And that their officers and callings, courts and canons, etc., were unlawful and anti-christian, being such as have no warrant in the word of God, but the same that were used in popery, but still retained.”

The lives of the first ministers in Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut and New Haven, all tell the same story. John Cotton was born in 1585; Thomas Hooker in 1586; John Wilson in 1588; Richard Mather in 1596; John Davenport in 1597, and John Norton in 1606. Many of the others were born in these or the immediately following years. They, in almost all cases had religious parents; were taught at home, sent to schools and academies, and finally to Oxford or Cambridge. Then came their induction into the ministry in the national church. They were faithful, laborious and successful in the sacred office. In doctrine, they held and taught, substantially, the system contained in the Articles of the national church, which they held in common with nearly all Protestant Christendom. And in the matter of Articles of Faith, whether styled Calvinistic, Augustinian or Pauline, they

held much in common with the Roman Catholic church. But little by little, the priesthood, which was almost unanimously (in the first half of Elizabeth's reign,) Calvinistic, became what was styled Arminian. The older kind of preaching was discouraged by the court, Arminian ministers were promoted; became archdeacons and deacons; rectors of large and well-endowed parishes; heads of great schools; professors in the colleges, and heads of the two universities. Only such could hope to be bishops, or aspire to the sees of York and Canterbury. An anecdote of the time of James is in point. A nobleman of the court was asked one day when the Calvinistic clergy could hope to rise. He replied, "Not till the resurrection."

The ritual was enforced upon the clergy more and more rigidly. Almost any degree of looseness in life and morals in the ministry was more readily tolerated, than any laxity in rites and ceremonies. Richard Mather, when before a commission, for non-observance of some of the ceremonies of worship, was told that he had better have seven bastards than offend in one point of the ritual. Things that were confessedly unessential, were required by law, and enforced by severe penalties. Copes, and scarfs, and gowns, and bands, and surplices, and other articles of "man-millinery," must be worn when ministering in the sacred office. Some of the rites and ceremonies imposed, seemed to the Puritan clergy to savor of ancient superstition; some were merely useless, and some were ridiculous in their estimation. To be obliged to comply with such requisitions was intolerable. Then the king issued his proclamation, calling the people to indulge in sports and pastimes on Sunday, after the hour of public worship, and ordered the ministers to read this in the hearing of their congregations. Not thinking that dancing promiscuously round may-poles, and carousing in other ways, was in accordance with the sacredness of the Sabbath, or promotive of good morals in any way, they refused to read the proclamation, and so incurred the displeasure of archbishop and king. For these and other reasons, many were silenced and deprived of their livings. In their enforced leisure, they thoroughly examined into the question of church government,

comparing all existing hierarchies with the teachings of the Bible ; and especially of the New Testament. The result was the adoption of essentially the Congregational system of church government and discipline. The claim that priests must be ordained by bishops, who themselves were in the line of succession from the pope of Rome, was rejected, and the parity or equality of all ordained ministers was maintained. But as the king and the heads of the national church held to prelacy as fundamental in church government, and as the friends of royalty agreed with king James, that no church was friendly to kingly and autocratic rule, but one which held to the different grades of the ministry, there was an insuperable obstacle to union or submission. "No bishop, no king," was the dictum of the royal Solomon, a sentence which led to the overthrow of church and royalty, and the beheading of the king's son.

Still, the deposed Puritan ministers did not, to any great extent, form Congregational churches. They preached as they found opportunity. They explained the word in private houses, mansions and palaces, and aided in bringing on a revolution in the public mind. In this they were powerfully seconded by the intelligent laymen of England, and thus the day was hastened when a portion of the Puritans came to New England, and the larger part, under the lead of Sir John Eliot, John Pym, John Hampden, and their compeers, built up the great party, which began to show its head in the last parliaments of James, and in the earlier ones of Charles, and finally culminated in the famous Long Parliament of 1640.

In this ferment of the public mind, preparation was made in the years 1626-8 for the settlement of Massachusetts Bay. The religious and political elements were mingled in the great revolution of sentiment which resulted in what some have styled the "Great Rebellion." It is not quite true to say that one grew out of the other, though they were synchronous and inseparable. The tyranny of king and noble might have led to a revolution, if there had been no reformation in the church, but it would not have been complete, because the national church was linked to

the state, and upheld the abuses of the government. There might have been a partial reformation of the church, without a change in the form of government, or any great mitigation of its severities and exactions, but the change could not have been radical. Puritanism, pure and simple, struck at despotism in both state and church. It aimed to break the shackles which held mankind in bondage. It was also inspired with the desire for purity of doctrine, worship, and life, in private ; and for good morals, public spirit, and general participation of power, in public. If the despotism of the crown were limited, the same result would reach the spiritual tyranny of pope, cardinal, bishop and priest. If men became godly in life they would be willing to participate with their fellow-men in the distribution of power. In brief, the two branches of the Puritanic revolution went forward, *pari passu*, and what the Puritan preachers labored for in the pulpit, the Puritan statesmen struggled for in the courts, and in parliament. Hampden upheld the Puritan clergy in opposing the exactions and superstitions of Laud, and the hearts of the clergy went with him when he refused the demand for ship money.

The above remarks express, substantially, the reasons why the settlers of Massachusetts Bay, as well as of Plymouth, left England. In a sentence, they could not remain in their native country and enjoy civil and religious liberty.

III. The third part of the question, viz. : Why did they come hither in preference to other parts of the globe? may be answered briefly. It was necessary to go somewhere, and also to a region where their design would meet no insurmountable obstacles, by reason of the opposition of natives to the soil, or hostility from other Europeans.

The fathers came here for the simple reason that here they found room in which they could build their houses, and found a Christian state. There was no place for them in Europe. In Africa there was no region known to them open to the occupancy of foreigners, except the Cape, which was then held by the Dutch ; Asia was crowded with inhabitants ; Australia was *terra incognita* ; the two sides of South America were mainly in the



torrid zone, except the southern part, which is a cold and barren region ; moreover its vast plains, from the Carib sea, far south to the La Plata, were pre-occupied by Portugese and Spaniard. All the northern part of North America that was habitable, was in the possession of the French. The southern was a part of the dominions of Spain. Virginia was settled by Church of England Episcopalians ; New York was in possession of the Dutch before the settlement of Massachusetts Bay was contemplated by the company of Winthrop. Here, between the French in Canada and the Dutch in New York, there was room for a new colony, and hither therefore, our fathers came.

IV. And now the question arises, What was their design in founding a colony, and how did they carry out their design? Privation and persecution drove them out of England ; they came here, because here only was there room for them ; but what did they desire to plant and build here? And how did they execute their design? Was their motive worldly gain? Did they come to fish, hunt, and trade with the Indians? Did they design to build up a rival to England, and be the head of a western empire? Without doubt, as sensible and prudent men, they had an eye to thrift, comfort, and security in their possessions ; but if we may believe their own declarations, they came here (1) to enjoy religion, both in faith and ordinances, in its purity, by planting Christian churches after the New Testament model. (2) To establish a colony or colonies, in which all the rights of free-born Englishmen could be enjoyed by themselves and their posterity ; and (3) to make the gospel of Christ known to the heathen. The fact that they believed this to be the best method of securing prosperity under the government of a benevolent God, did not dilute the purity of their motives, or detract from the nobility of their purpose. How they succeeded is familiar to all who have studied their history.

But before following the settlers in Massachusetts Bay from their homes in England, it is important to consider what right they had to come here at all. Their right was based on three grounds. 1. The right of God's children, who were obliged to

move somewhither, to occupy uninhabited territory, over which there is no claim of authority or jurisdiction. The region occupied by the colonists was almost a desert, made so by a desolating pestilence. No one had a right to exclude new comers, by the law of nature. 2. The consent of the natives. The colonists sacredly regarded the rights of the aborigines. It was their intention to gain a right by purchase, to settle here, and here to found a colony. They fulfilled that intention, so that it has been said, by high authority, that they more than paid for all the land they occupied. 3. All the authority which a charter from their king could give them.

In 1620, November 3-13, king James I. chartered a corporation styled "The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling and governing of New England, in America. This "Council of Plymouth," deriving title to lands by the grant from the king, granted a title to lands to the settlers in Massachusetts Bay. It could not grant powers of government. The grant of lands was made by a deed, bearing date March 19-29, 1627, by which was sold unto certain gentlemen, whereof John Endicott and John Humphrey were two, and their heirs and assigns, and their associates forever, all that part of New England lying between the rivers Charles and Merrimack, and three miles north and south of that section. Soon after, these gentlemen, by the agency of Rev. Mr. White, of Dorchester, were brought into connection with another set of gentlemen, living in and about London, who afterwards had much to do with the colony. Among those who were distinguished in early New England history, were Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Matthew Cradock, Increase Nowell, Richard Bellingham, Samuel Vassal, Theophilus Eaton, John Brown, Samuel Brown, William Vassal, William Pinchon, George Foxcroft, John Winthrop, and a few others. These parties being joined into one, and by purchase, becoming joint possessors, planned a colony for non-conformists, and by petition, sought a new patent from the king. The charter was granted by Charles I., dated March 4-14, 1628, giving them a right to the soil, by which titles were held as of the "manor of East Greenwich, in

Kent, and in common socage." This charter empowered them to elect their own officers annually, and to make such laws as were necessary and suitable to the plantation, saving that no law should be repugnant to the laws of the kingdom. Here was the foundation of a plantation, giving title to the soil by a fixed and legal tenure, and authority to govern themselves by making laws, and choosing officers to administer them.

The charter "constituted a body politic, by the name of the governor and company of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England." A governor, deputy governor, and eighteen assistants were to be annually elected by the stockholders, or members of the corporation. A general assembly of the freemen was to be held four times a year. The charter did not specify whether the seat of government of the colony should be in England, or in the colony. Soon after the charter was granted, the corporation, after careful deliberation, and taking legal advice, voted that the seat of government should be in the colony. Perhaps the charter was granted without any reference to this point. Perhaps the understanding of the government was that the governing body should remain in England. This is assumed by many writers and lawyers. The matter has been debated more than two centuries. Some have gone so far as to claim that the patentees had no thought of removing the government to the colony at first. They allege that this was an afterthought, and that the English government was surprised when it was announced that the corporators in England had voted the transfer to the colony. The opinion of Judge Parker was given at length, and with abundant learning, in one of the Lectures before the Massachusetts Historical Society, sustaining the legality of the transfer. Leaving the legal aspect of the matter to the legal fraternity, and looking at it in the light of common sense, it is hard to believe that John Winthrop, who was a good lawyer, and one of the soundest thinkers of his age, did not weigh well, and also take counsel upon, this step, before assenting to it. It is hard to believe that John Winthrop and his associates, who had in mind a large, continuous and increasing emigration from the old country, and the building up of

a great colony in New England, did not see that it would be simply impossible for the few freeman that staid in England, to govern the large and increasing number soon to be located in the colony. It was not to be a trading company doing business in foreign parts, through agents, while governed by a close corporation at home, but a colony of actual settlers, accustomed to the rights of Englishmen, freeholders of the soil, with the powers of government administered by officers of their own choice, the vast majority of whom would be on the soil, while a few only resided in England. The men who conceived the project of settlement, were careful, prudent and far-sighted, and could not fail to see that the seat of government must soon be in the colony, or the whole plan would fall to pieces. At all events, they soon decided on their course, and with solemn deliberation, transferred the seat of power to that part of the company that was to make the experiment of a colony, though the actual change was not effected till 1629.

Meanwhile efforts towards founding a colony had been made in Massachusetts Bay. The Plymouth company had a fishing station at Cape Ann. Adventurers undertook to break up their station, but were foiled. Roger Conant, under the encouragement of the famous Rev. Mr. White, made tentative efforts, with the poor help of such men as Lyford and Gorton, to form the nucleus of a colony. He had the aid of a few other men, of better character than those lawless rovers, but measures had already been taken which caused a transfer of the work to the company of which Winthrop became the head.

This company, in 1628, sent over a choice selection of people, who landed at Salem, under the leadership of John Endicott, as deputy governor, and the spiritual guidance of Messrs Skelton and Higginson. Conant, who was a sensible and excellent man, acquiesced in the change, and though an Episcopalian in sentiment, concurred in the plan of organizing a Congregational church, the next year. This was a momentous event, and has never been truly emphasized by historians. It was the turning point in Massachusetts, New England and American history. Its remote influence will probably be felt in every quarter of the globe, for centuries to come. Religious and civil liberty was bound up in

the decision. Endicott, Higginson and Skelton, and the whole company that came with them, had been bred in the Church of England, and with exceptions, had an exceeding love for the service. They belonged to the reforming party of Puritans, who desired to effect a complete separation from the papacy in the matter of ordination, a disuse of superstitious ceremonies, and a purgation of the Common Prayer from errors that inarred its power for good ; but they had no prejudice against, but a liking for the amended service, with its prayers, confessions and ascriptions of praise. Higginson, while on the passage over, gave voice to the whole company, in calling the Church of England "our dear mother." How then did it come to pass, that almost as soon as they set up worship on these shores, the whole Anglican system, in all its parts, the Articles of Faith excepted, was set aside. Bishop, priest and deacon were superseded by the teacher, pastor, and the ruling elder. The whole service of the liturgy gave way to the prayer, singing, and the sermon. The change of vesture, bowing at the name of Jesus, all the ceremonies required by the archbishop, were dropped, and the austere simplicity of the Congregational mode of worship was adopted. This was an entire change, a complete revolution ; and it was made suddenly, and it was made to stay. There must have been a powerful cause at work, which constrained nearly the whole company to break away from the church of their fathers and of their affections, and adopt a polity, and a service of worship *toto cælo* different. There was a cause, and it was all-sufficient. It prevailed with Endicott, Skelton and Higginson ; and when Wilson, Winthrop, Dudley and their compeers came the next year, 1630, it secured their hearty assent.

The cause was this. There was an absolute necessity for the colonists to make a break from the Episcopal church, root and branch, or abandon the whole object and design of their coming. If they adhered to the Episcopal service, they would have been obliged to receive their priests and deacons from the hands of their diocesans in England. If they received such a clergy, the power of Laud and his fellows in England would have been

complete and entire over them. They would have been under the jurisdiction of the bishop of London, and the supervision of the high commission court. The treatment meted out to non-conformists and Puritans in England, would have been visited upon Wilson, Higginson, Phillips, and other ministers in the Colony; and the Puritan laymen would have been obliged to yield to the spiritual guidance and rule of Laud, or abandon public worship.

Two years later, in 1631, the General Court restricted suffrage to members of the Congregational churches. None were disfranchised, as Blaxton and Maverick, but none were to be admitted to the franchise, unless of the prevailing faith. The object was the same as in setting up Congregational worship as exclusive in 1629. A few shiploads of Episcopalians from England could have revolutionized the colony, and these could easily have been formed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his friends. The only safety of the Puritan settlers,—their only hope of founding a colony in which they could worship God in the way their consciences dictated, was to retain power in their own hands; and they were too wise and brave to give it up.

The proof that the restriction of suffrage to members of the church, and that the adoption of the Congregational polity and mode of worship were caused by the fear of Episcopal domination, is ample.

When the church of Salem was formed in 1629, August 26, Dr. Fuller was present. He was the physician of Plymouth, and a prominent member of the church. He was well versed in the doctrine of ministerial parity, and of church independence of Episcopal control or supervision; and he had also some interesting information to give to the brethren in Salem. In fact, there had been persistent efforts to bring the Plymouth church under Episcopal control for several years, and nothing but the firm adherence of the principal men of Plymouth to the New Testament polity had kept the church in Plymouth from being under the power of the Ecclesiastical Commission.

When the Pilgrims came over, Pastor Robinson remained in Holland, with a portion of the church ; but with the expectation of coming as soon as arrangements could be made. He never came, and the reason was that the "Adventurers" who lent money to the Pilgrim Planters, prevented his coming, because he was a strong Congregationalist, and the majority of them were planning to change the colony from the Congregational to the Episcopal regimen. This is the express statement of Pastor Robinson himself.

Next, in two or three years after the landing, the Rev. Mr. Lyford appeared on the scene. Elder Brewster, not being an ordained minister, could not administer the ordinances, and there was a felt need of an ordained pastor. Mr. Winslow and Mr. Cushman, being in London, heard that Mr. Lyford was about to come over. For some reason—probably a good one—they did not encourage the coming. He came however, and avowed himself the most extreme Independent. He lamented that he had ever belonged to the national church. He insisted on being received into the church *de novo*. Soon he was in antagonism with the church and the colony. He set up separate worship, and that after the Episcopal form. He undertook, with the help of Gorton, to split and ruin the colony. Ere long he was found to be a villain in many ways, and was exposed and expelled. Afterwards it was found that he came to Plymouth under the auspices of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and for the very purpose of getting control of the church. Probably his base moral character was not known by the Episcopal authorities, but that makes no difference as to the design of those who sent him there.

A year or two later, a man of very different character came to New England. According to some authorities, he came in the fleet which Sir Ferdinando Gorges sent over, under the command of Captain Robert Gorges, his son or nephew, for the purpose of effecting a settlement under Episcopal influences. This was the Rev. William Morrell, a clergyman of the state church. He made his home, for a year or more, somewhere between Boston and Plymouth ; perhaps in Weymouth. He spent some of his time in

writing a description of New England in Latin verse, which he turned into English. He made no attempt to trouble the Pilgrims, or meddle with their religious affairs, because he was a gentleman as well as a scholar and Christian minister. But before Mr. Morrell left the country, he went to Plymouth and had an interview with some of the chief men, to whom he showed his commission to take charge of all the churches in this region. All these facts were known to Dr. Fuller. There is no room to doubt that he made them known to Endicott, and the ministers and other leading men at Salem, and that they saw at once, that the most effectual means must be taken to prevent being compelled to submit to the ecclesiastical tyranny of those who had driven them from their native land. Hence the adoption of the Congregational polity and worship ; and hence, also, the restriction of the franchise to members of the church. This policy was not adopted to guard against the inroads of "Arminians, Antinomians and Quakers," as is often said. Indeed, there were none of those people (except so far as some Church of England people were Arminians) on the ground, and but very few in England at that date. It was intended to prevent the monopoly of power by that sort of Church of England people who would labor to bring the churches under the control of the bishop of London. Such were the brothers Brown, of Salem, who, soon after their coming, began to make division and trouble. All which goes to prove that the whole object and design of the coming of the first settlers of the "Bay" was in danger of total defeat, and that it would have been consummate folly in the colonists to admit the enemies of their system to power.

The measures they took were effectual. Three years later, in 1634, Archbishop Laud issued an Order in Council, to "all places of trade and plantations where the English were settled, enjoining the establishment of the national church in them." Collier, in the *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, says, that the order was extended to, and generally obeyed in all the four great divisions of the world, but that the settlers of New England "established their own fancy."



It is not easy for the common reader of to-day to understand how such results were depending. He looks up and down the streets of the town, and sees a Congregational church on one side, and not far off a house consecrated according to Episcopal usage. Other churches are located around adding to the beauty of the place, while promoting its mental and spiritual advancement. They are all on the same basis so far as the law of the state can affect them. One has no supremacy over the other. It has no privileges, immunities, or governmental aid which the others do not enjoy. There is no wish, on either side of the street, to govern, harass, injure, or in any way impede the brethren of another name. Above all this, a good degree of harmony prevails. In some things they coöperate; in others they work in their own way, but pray "God speed" to their fellow Christians. And one result is, that the notion prevails widely that the Puritan Congregationalists were bigoted, narrow-minded, exclusive and persecuting, because they renounced the Episcopal church, and denied its friends the liberty to set up their system here. But there is no similarity in the circumstances of the two periods. Then the Church of England, as represented by its head, the king, and the convocation, under the lead of Archbishop Laud, would not admit that non-Episcopal congregations were churches. They required all ministers to be ordained by a bishop, or be silenced. They imposed upon all religious assemblies the whole book of common prayer, and all the ceremonies and vestments then in use by the national clergy. Heavy fines, imprisonment, and banishment were positive penalties, inflicted in addition to all the privations that grew out of the loss of their own more simple and Scriptural mode of government and worship.

Remembering now, that the only mode of establishing a system of free worship, on this soil, was by absolutely excluding the clergy, ritual and laws of the national church, we can see the motive of the fathers of New England in taking the ground of exclusion. And remembering that civil liberty was to be had only in connection with a free church, they framed their laws on this basis. And remembering still further, that if the national

church were established here, all they hoped to gain by coming here, would be lost, they contended against the policy of Laud and the Stuarts, as men battle for existence.

Our fathers, while in England, were on their own soil, and had as good a right to worship God in their own way, as any other subjects. They came hither as exiles, not to establish a despotic church, but to escape from one. It was then the established belief among statesmen that nations could scarcely exist with warring religions, or hostile varieties of religion within their bosom. Then said the Massachusetts Puritans, if these things be so, let us go forth and be alone. We will obtain a modest portion of the world created by our great Father; we will purchase it of the natives; we will buy it also of the Plymouth company in the county of Devon; and we will obtain a charter from our king, empowering us to emigrate, found a colony, and establish a government. Thus, with a title to the soil, and authority to found and carry on a government, they came hither, and with almost incredible toils, privations and hardships, they laid the foundations of church, state and school, and left it to Providence to determine the future.

That unknown future had a magazine of woes and of blessings for them. By their industry, frugality and sagacity, they laid open the wilderness, and brought the virgin soil under cultivation; they drew riches from the sea, and fetched wealth from the forest. The fields smiled with plentiful harvests. They built beautiful villages and towns. The school, the grammar school and the college raised them above all peoples in the scale of intelligence. Their meeting-houses were fountains of light, whence streams of salvation flowed forth. Happy homes were scattered over the land as the population increased with unwonted rapidity. They began to feel within them the "promise and potency" of future greatness, as some one in early times expressed it in letters graven on a rock, in this grand style:

"The Eastern nations sink; their glory ends,  
And empire rises where the sun descends."

But all their blessings were the fruit of care and toil. Soon the hostility of the national church was aided by the enmity of every sort of religious organization then known in the old country, and also by individual free-thinkers, adventurers, cranks and tramps, male and female, who combined in their efforts to break down the only free communities in the world. Our fathers resisted. They stood their ground. They held to their charter, and their churches, as the Hebrews held to the Ark of God. It is not strange if sometimes their patience gave way to anger, and that they met their pitiless and slanderous enemies with needless severity. But in process of time their society was consolidated; they had learned to endure the sects and parties which sought their ruin, and to resist the kings who strove to raze their colony to its foundations; and then, when fearless of crank, sect, church or king, they by degrees shaped the laws so that suffrage was extended to those outside of the Congregational order, and liberty of worship was secured to all religionists who did not violate the ordinary demands of good morals and citizenship. And this change was wrought while the Puritan faith and polity were held by a vast majority of the people. It was effected by the voluntary movement of the Christian voters, unforced by the decrees of base and liberty-hating kings, or the dangerous struggles of a threatening minority. It was the natural result of the planting of a Puritan colony; the rich fruitage of a free, New Testament church, both in doctrine and polity. In due time, by the providence of God, its spirit was breathed into the life of the nation, and is now, daily, unifying and elevating our magnificent empire.

Mr. B. A. Leonard of Southbridge presented to the Society a framed oil painting of "Joseph and his brethren," executed about 1830 by Francis Alexander. The picture was accompanied by the following autobiographical sketch of the artist:

In William Dunlap's History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States (2 volumes, 1834) is some account of Francis Alexander, the artist, with a communication from him giving an interesting history of his early life, struggles, successes, etc. He says he was born in Killingly, Connecticut, February 3d, 1800. His father was a farmer of moderate circumstances, and his early life was spent upon the farm. "Went hundreds of times to church in warm weather, barefoot, three miles. From the age of eight up to twenty I labored almost incessantly the eight warm months of the year upon my father's farm. The other four months of the year I went to a country district school until I was seventeen. My eighteenth and nineteenth winters kept school (in the same district where I had been one of the scholars previously), received forty dollars the first winter, forty-four dollars the second. Painted a fish at this time which received much praise. Went to New York to learn to paint."

A Mr. McKay in Warren street, an elderly gentleman, was kind to him, and introduced him to Alexander Robertson, then Secretary to the Academy of Fine Arts. Mr. Robertson received him into his school, where he staid five or six weeks, when his money gave out and he returned home. "Commenced painting on the walls of one of the rooms in father's house." Then painted a portrait which his mother praised, and one of a nephew three years old, at one *standing*. The first was painted upon the lid of an old chest and astonished the neighbors. He next painted the portrait of a nephew six years old "showing his white rows of teeth. These two were painted on pieces of board I picked up. Were called excellent likenesses. A Mr. Mason offered five

dollars to paint a little miss full length (he was my first patron). Then was offered by the mother one dollar a day to paint the rest of the family—half a dozen of them—received thirteen dollars for thirteen days !

“My fame had now travelled seven miles. I was invited to Thompson to paint several families—received three dollars a head and my board. As soon as I had earned fifty or sixty dollars I returned to New York for instruction in portrait painting. The old gentleman, Mr. McKay, gave me Mr. Stuart’s mode of setting the pallets, and Col. Trumbull lent me two heads to copy, and treated me with much kindness. Also Waldo and Jewett. After copying the above named portraits and one or two more, I was obliged to go back to Connecticut, my funds being exhausted. On my return I had the boldness to ask eight dollars a portrait, and received it !

“Mrs. Gen. James B. Mason, of Providence, sent for me to paint her family, promising me fifteen dollars a portrait. Labored for her and among her friends with success. Mrs. Mason died while I remained in Providence, when I lost one of my most valuable friends. I have met with many friends since I took up painting, but among them all I remember no one who was so zealous, active and untiring in my behalf as Mrs. Mason, nor any one to whom I am half so much indebted for my somewhat successful career as to her.

“I painted two years or more in Providence, and received constant employment, and from fifteen to twenty-five dollars for my portraits. I afterwards came to Boston, bringing a painting of two sisters which I carried to Mr. Stuart for his opinion. He called them very clever—said they reminded him of Gainsborough’s pictures—that I lacked many things that might be acquired by practice and study, but that I had *that* which could not be acquired. He invited me to come to Boston and set up as a portrait painter, so, after going home and making the necessary preparations, I returned and commenced painting, where I remained in the full tide of successful experiment until I set sail for Italy on the 22d of October, 1831. In Boston I received

forty dollars for the head and shoulders, 25 x 30 in. canvas, and more according to the size. Two years afterward I received fifty and seventy-five dollars for the kit-cat size.

“I sailed for Genoa, saw the fine paintings there, went to Florence, staid there five or six weeks, renewed my acquaintance with Mr. Thomas Cole, went with him to Rome, roomed with him there three months; then we went to Naples together, visited Herculaneum, Pompeii and Pæstum, and returned to Rome again in company.

“While in Rome I painted the portrait of Miss Harriet Douglass, of New York. Sir Walter Scott being there at the time, and an acquaintance of hers, he came with Miss D. in her carriage to my studio, where he remained nearly an hour conversing all the while in a most familiar manner. I had painted an original Magdalen; it was standing on one side of the studio at the time, and Sir Walter moved his chair up within six feet of it; there he sat looking at it for some minutes without speaking. I was all impatience to know what he would say. He turned away with the laconic remark: ‘She’s been forgiven.’

“I returned to Florence, staid seven months; returned to Rome the following winter, and staid three months more; returned again to Florence; visited Bologna, Pisa and Leghorn; thence to Paris, staid there twenty days; thence to London, there ten days; left in the London packet for New York on the 25th of August. After visiting my friends a month or two, I took my old room again here in Boston (Columbian Hall) where I have commenced painting with success—receive one hundred dollars for portraits, have not fixed upon prices yet for more than busts, choosing to recommend myself first, knowing that the good people of our country are willing to pay according to merit, Mr. Cole can perhaps give you some information about your humble servant if you desire more.

“When I was a farmer, I used to go three miles before sunrise to reap for a bushel of rye per day, and return at night. Oh! had you seen me then, wending my way to my labors, shoeless, and clad in trowsers and shirt of *tow*, with my sickle on my

shoulders, as you are a painter you might have given me a few cents to sit for my picture, but you would not have taken any notes for biography. I have written upon a large sheet, and compactly, hoping to have plenty of room, but I might add so much more.

Yours truly,

“FRANCIS ALEXANDER.”

[Mr. Alexander married Lucia Gray, only daughter of Colonel Samuel Swett, of Boston. Her mother was a daughter of William Gray. See N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register, Vol. 21, [1867] p. 374. Francis Alexander died in Florence, Italy, March 27, 1880. Miss Larned, in her History of Windham County, Connecticut, [Vol. 2, pp. 542-3] speaks of him.]

The meeting was then adjourned.

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## ANNUAL FIELD DAY.

The Worcester Society of Antiquity observed its ninth annual Field Day on Saturday, June 11th, by visiting Princeton and Wachusett Mountain. Members and their guests left Worcester at 8.15 and arrived at Princeton station at 9 A. M. Taking barges the party arrived at Princeton center at 10 o'clock, passing on the route the oldest house in town, which claims the age of more than one hundred years, the Methodist or Goodnow village, and the Boylston burying ground.

As the procession of carriages reached the green at the center the bell in the Goodnow Memorial Building rang out a merry peal of welcome, and the party alighted to inspect the fine library building and the neighboring town hall, both of which testify well to Mr. E. A. Goodnow's regard for his native town. The objects of interest in and about these buildings were explained to the visitors by Messrs. Francis E. Blake and John Brooks of the Field Day committee, and John A. Dana, Esq., natives of the town.

The members of the party gathered in the library room of the Memorial Building, where Mr. Blake, the chairman of the committee, referred briefly to Mr. Goodnow's gift to the town in well received remarks. After inspecting the pictures, cabinet of natural curiosities, books and other objects, the visitors registered their names at the request of the librarian, Miss S. A. Davis, who, with her assistant, Miss L. N. Davis, was present. Mr. Goodnow, the donor, received many congratulations on the occasion for his well directed liberality to the town of his birth, and the excellent taste and beauty with which everything about these two model structures was arranged. The library now contains about 2100 volumes.

The excursionists then proceeded to the mountain, passing over Meeting House hill, where the first two meeting houses were located, opposite the oldest burying ground. The first house of worship was erected here in 1762, and the second one on the same site in 1795. The third structure of this old society was erected in 1838 on the center of the common, but was removed to its present location, fronting the east side of the common, after the old town hall, called Boylston Hall, was burnt, and before the present elegant town hall was built.

On reaching the Mountain House at the foot of Wachusett, a portion of the party left the barges, and proceeded on foot to the summit, the remainder following the roadway in the carriages. At the top of the mountain the visitors were given a cordial welcome by landlord G. H. Derby of the Summit House, and all made themselves happy for an hour in his broad piazzas and on the grounds around the hotel, in viewing the magnificent landscape presented to view on all sides, and which can only be seen to the best advantage on a clear, cool day, such as they were then enjoying.

At 1 o'clock came the welcome sound of the dinner bell, and all were ushered into the spacious dining hall. The following gentlemen were seated at the tables :

Francis E. Blake of Boston, President E. B. Crane, Stephen Salisbury, Hon. Amos Perry of Rhode Island, E. M. Barton, S. S.



Green, Prof. H. T. Fuller, S. E. Staples, John Brooks of Princeton, T. A. Dickinson, John A. Dana, Albert Tolman, E. A. Goodnow, R. N. Meriam, Rev. A. L. Love of Princeton, Rev. S. D. Hosmer of Auburn, C. G. Wood, H. M. Smith, C. C. Denny of Leicester, Israel Plummer of Northbridge, E. M. Wood, Daniel Seagrave, Alfred Waites, E. I. Comins, J. Lord, W. L. Clark, George Sumner, J. A. Smith, L. L. Pollard, Dr. F. C. Jillson of Sterling, Caleb A. Wall, J. A. Howland, Dr. W. E. Brown of Gilbertville, F. P. Rice, Ledyard Bill of Paxton, J. L. Estey, G. Estey, H. J. Wood, J. A. Farley, Gen. A. B. R. Sprague, H. W. Hubbard, A. S. Roe, A. K. Gould, J. C. Otis, E. Tucker, George Maynard, Hon. Velorous Taft of West Upton, B. A. Leonard and H. M. Fisk of Southbridge, H. H. Chamberlin, R. O'Flynn, W. F. Abbot, A. E. Peck, M. E. Barrows, H. A. Denny, F. G. Stiles, A. Stone, H. Wesby, H. A. Phillips, J. D. Chollar, W. H. Clark of Paxton, J. D. Gregory of Princeton, E. W. Shumway.

Chairman F. E. Blake of the Field Day committee of arrangements, presided at the tables, and the divine blessing was asked by Rev. A. L. Love of the Princeton Congregational Church, after which due attention was paid to the excellent dinner. This done, at 2.30 Chairman Blake called to order and bade the visitors welcome to his native town. He first called on President E. B. Crane of the Society, who spoke of the object and mission of this body, now in the twelfth year of its existence, the present being its ninth annual excursion, made, in connection with other work, to promote and perpetuate an interest in local history and gather additional facts.

A letter was read from Senator George F. Hoar, regretting his inability to be present, as he had intended, his absence being compelled on account of his attendance at the funeral of George Draper at Hopedale.

Stephen Salisbury, Esq., Vice-President of the American Antiquarian Society, was introduced to speak for that organization in the absence of its President, Senator Hoar. Mr. Salisbury spoke of the interest which the older society had always taken in the progress and welfare of the younger organization, commend-

ing the good work being done by it in the preservation of the records of local history by such excursions as these, and in other ways.

Hon. Amos Perry, Librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, said it was an occasion of great interest to him. The society he represented had existed for sixty-five years, but had accomplished no more in that time than The Worcester Society of Antiquity had in twelve years. The Society deserved the highest praise for its enterprise, energy and industry, and its publications had gained for it an enviable reputation. Continuing, he said: "I am personally interested in Princeton because my mother's half-brother, Captain John Jones, raised a company here and in the borders of the neighboring towns in 1775, and tried to reach Lexington and Concord, but did not. He and his men, however, were at the battle of Bunker Hill, at the siege of Boston for a time, and then marched to Quebec in Colonel Doolittle's command under Montgomery. Captain Jones died at Crown Point on the return from Canada."

John A. Dana, Esq., spoke facetiously, introducing several apt quotations from the "dead" languages, with subtle allusions to those nearest him at the table.

Librarian Samuel S. Green of Worcester, said the last speaker was proud that he was a graduate of Yale, and it seemed almost a pity that he hadn't a Yale lock on his mouth. Mr. Green gave some facts about his ancestor, General Timothy Ruggles, and said his character had been misunderstood. His daughter, Mrs. Spooner, who was executed with others for the murder of her husband, was undoubtedly insane.

Remarks followed by Hon. Velorous Taft, Albert Tolman, Esq., Prof. H. T. Fuller, Librarian E. M. Barton of the American Antiquarian Society, Sheriff A. B. R. Sprague, and Samuel E. Staples, Esq., the first President of the Society of Antiquity. The latter made appropriate reference to the late Solon Wilder, a native of Princeton, and prominent as a musical composer and leader. Mr. Barton in his remarks referred to the attempt made sixty years

ago to change the name of Wachusett to Mount Adams, in honor of J. Q. Adams, then President of the United States, and presented to the Society three letters on the subject published in the papers at the time.

After dinner a short time was afforded for the further enjoyment of the prospect, and then the party reëntered the carriages and made their way down the mountain to Wachusett Lake. This ride was very enjoyable, and the view was surpassing.

Following round the lake Redemption Rock was reached at 5 o'clock. The inscription placed here by the Hon. George F. Hoar, tells the story of the spot: "Upon this rock, May 2d, 1676, was made the agreement for the ransom of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson of Lancaster, between the Indians and John Hoar of Concord. King Phillip was with the Indians but refused his consent."

At this place Mr. J. T. Everett of Princeton was presented to the party, and spoke interestingly of the rock and its associations. The neighborhood was one of the spots most frequented by the Indians in this locality. He ploughed up the skeleton of an Indian in his orchard forty years ago, buried in a sitting position. In an adjoining meadow, a short distance from the rock, was committed the first murder in this part of the county. Samuel Frost killed his father, but was acquitted on the ground of partial insanity. He afterwards killed Captain Allen and was hung. In another field near by the Keyes child was murdered by a man named Littlejohn. Mr. Everett related other incidents which make the place historic. The party and the rock were photographed by Mr. A. S. Roe and others.

From here the party took the route to the center of the town, passing many old residences recalling the names of Mirick, Osgood, Beaman, Merriam, Howe, Russell and others; and Mr. John Brooks's "Hillside Farm" was reached at 6 o'clock. Here an ample collation was served on the lawn, to which full justice was rendered. The lateness of the hour prevented an inspection

of Mr. Brooks's farm and stock, so widely known, and a visit to the (Ward Nicholas) Boylston estate.

From Mr. Brooks's the party rode to the railroad station, and at 7 o'clock took the cars for Worcester, with cheers for the Committee of Arrangements, and hearty expressions of pleasure at the success of the trip. In fact it was conceded to have been one of the most delightful excursions the Society has made.

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Regular meeting, Tuesday evening, July 5th.

Present: Messrs. Crane, C. Jillson, Dickinson, Meriam, F. P. Rice, Hubbard, Wall, Otis, Seagrave, W. A. Smith, G. Maynard, Barton, Stedman, C. E. Simmons, C. G. Wood, A. F. Simmons, Perkins, Estey, J. A. Smith, and one visitor.—20

Franklin P. Rice was chosen Secretary *pro tem*.

Rev. S. D. Hosmer of Auburn, and H. A. Phillips and E. J. Rockwood of Worcester, were admitted as active members of the Society.

The Librarian reported 228 gifts from 31 donors.

The President called the attention of the members to No. XXV. of the Society's publications,—“The Abolitionists Vindicated,” by Oliver Johnson—just issued. He said that both parties in this controversy concerning the character and influence of the Garrisonians, had been fully and fairly heard, and

that Mr. Thayer and Mr. Johnson had expressed themselves as satisfied with their treatment by the Society.\* He considered that under the circumstances the discussion of this subject should be carried on no further in the Society, and declared it closed.

A communication from Edward H. Thompson, United States Consul at Merida, Yucatan, was read by the President. This was a résumé of his work in exploring the ancient ruins of Yucatan during the past year; and the writer promised more full details in the future.

Mr. Caleb A. Wall read a brief sketch of the Wellington Family, and its branches and connections.

William S. Barton, Esq., presented to the Society a copy of Benton's "Thirty Years' View," which was formerly owned by his father, the late Judge Ira M. Barton. The thanks of the Society were voted for the gift.

The meeting was then adjourned.

\* In a letter to Mr. F. P. Rice Mr. Johnson says: "The Society of Antiquity has behaved very handsomely towards us Garrisonians, and I am grateful for the opportunity it has given us to make the explanations rendered necessary by Mr. Thayer's attack." Mr. Thayer approved of closing the discussion before the Society, and wished to have it stated that he had fully replied to Mr. Johnson's Review, and also to the remarks of Hon. W. W. Rice, made at the same meeting, in the *Worcester Daily Telegram* of May 12, 1887.

Regular meeting, Tuesday evening, September 6.

Present: Messrs. Abbot, G. F. Clark, Crane, Estey, Gould, Harrington, J. A. Howland, Meriam, G. Maynard, Otis, F. P. Rice, Stedman, J. A. Smith, Tucker, and four visitors.—18.

Hon. Phineas Ball and W. A. Houghton of Worcester, and H. A. White of Leicester, were admitted as active members of the Society.

The Librarian reported 201 gifts during the month.

The President spoke of a memorial to Jonas Rice, the first permanent settler of Worcester, and said that the Society would do well to act in the matter.

Mr. Rufus N. Meriam read the following genealogical paper.

## SOME MERIAMS, AND THEIR CONNEC- TION WITH OTHER FAMILIES.

BY RUFUS N. MERIAM.

The oldest book extant of which we have any knowledge, (with the possible exception of the Book of Job), is historical, and largely genealogical, as its title indicates. We should know nothing positive of the origin of this earth, and the introduction of life upon its surface ; nothing of the introduction of sin and its consequent hereditary evils, and the immediate promise that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head as the effectual remedy, were it not for these early records, which science and human experience have verified as true. What should we know of the generations of man before the Flood were it not for that fifth chapter of Genesis, or the re-peopling of the earth after the Deluge except for the record in the tenth and eleventh chapters? To me, these are among the most interesting passages in the old Scriptures ; as well as the first chapter of Matthew's Gospel and the third of Luke.

In giving some account of the Meriams of this country, and their marital relation to other families, it is not my design in the present paper to furnish a full genealogy thereof,—time and your patience will not permit ; that must be left to a more elaborate and concerted work—but rather a sort of bird's-eye view that may not prove altogether uninteresting.

In County Kent, England, the ancient Cantium, where dwelt the Cantii, where was established the first kingdom of the Saxon Heptarchy, and where first landed the Romans when they invaded Britain, called "the garden of England," and described in the "Gazeteer's or Newsman's Interpreter," published in London, in

1716, by "Lawrence Echard, A. M., of Christ's College, in Cambridge," as "a very rich and pleasant Countrey, lying between the Thames and the narrow seas," one district of which, called the "Weald of Kent," exhibiting "the most delightfully diversified scenery that can be imagined,"—in a pleasant little village in this County, called Hadlow, lived, died, and on September 23, 1635, was buried William Miriam. From him are descended all in this country who legitimately bear his name, spelt either with one or two r's, or, as is now universally the case, with *e* instead of *i* preceding the r. I say *legitimately*, for there are some who go by this name who are not Meriams; notably some of the descendants of John Marion of Watertown and Boston, a Welshman, whose name is spelt several different ways in the Boston records, and by Savage erroneously mixed up with the genuine Meriam stock. Such undoubtedly are the Ashburnham Merriams named in Mercy Hale's memoir of the Lawrence families, and in the recent town history, one of whom, Otis, recently died in Chelsea, Mass. Joel Merriam, who recently died in Worcester, and whose widow, children and grandchildren now reside here, was a native of Westminster, in this county, and his father's name was Perry, but for some reason which his widow declines to give, he and one of his brothers changed their names to Merriam. It is well to make record of such facts, as it may save the future historian from going astray.

William Miriam was by trade a clothier, and, though probably of an untitled family, having no coat of arms, was quite wealthy, owning lands in Hadlow, where he resided, Goodhurst, Yalding, and Tudeley, all small villages near Tunbridge. From his will\* found by William S. Appleton, Esq., recorded in the city of Rochester, Kent, we learn that his wife's name was Sara; that he had five daughters, Susan, Margaret, Joane, Sara, and one other, then deceased, who married a Howe; and three sons, Joseph, George and Robert. He also mentions his grandchildren by the name of Howe; his granddaughter Mary, daughter of

\* Dated Sept. 8, 1635, and proved Nov. 27, 1635.



George ; grandson William, son of Joseph ; and appoints his son Robert sole executor.

Tradition says that George had sailed for America in May, previous to the death of his father. If so, it is quite evident he did not bring over his family till later, probably in 1638, as the births of the following children are recorded in Tunbridge, Kent, where he married Susan Raven October 16, 1627 ; viz. : Mary, born and died 1628 ; Mary, born 1630 ; Elizabeth, born 1635 ; and Joseph, born 1637, who all died young. Mary, the one named in her grandfather's will, died August 10, 1646 ; and the first birth recorded in Concord, Mass., where the three brothers settled, was Elizabeth, born November 8, 1641, who died in infancy.

According to the Charlestown records Robert seems to have first located there, as in 1638 he owned lands there with "house, storehouse, &c.," and record says "removed to Concord." Moreover, from the Note-Book of Thomas Lechford, Esq., recently published by the American Antiquarian Society, it is positively known that Robert and Joseph were in England in the spring of 1638, and that Joseph, and probably Robert and the families of the three brothers, with their household effects, sailed from London in April, in the ship *Castle of London*, which arrived at Charlestown in July of that year. Joseph, Thomas Rucke, and William Hatch were joint undertakers for this voyage, and the two former entrusted the whole matter to Hatch, who, in the final settlement, seems not to have been quite honest, for out of it arose two suits at law, as shown by the depositions of Robert and Joseph Meriam, and Thomas Rucke, taken by Governor Winthrop in June, 1639. All that is known as to the final disposition of these cases is contained in the following letter, entered in the Note-Book but afterwards crossed out.

"John Winthrop Esqr Governor of the Jurisdiction of the Mattachusetts bay in New England To the wor<sup>th</sup> my Friend & neighbor [William Bradford] Esqr Governor of the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth salutacons in the Lord &c. Forasmuch as blessed be the Lord God there hath bin & is and it much concerneth that ever there should be mutuall amity and correspond-

ance betweene our severall Plantations and to the end Justice may be equall administred to the Kings subjects w<sup>th</sup> us it will often to passe that we shall have occasion to write one unto the other touching justice to be done and parties to be righted in their causes as hath bin used heretofore according to the w<sup>ch</sup> good custome I shalle request you that you cause full & speedy justice to be done betweene Joseph Meriam & William Hatch in the cause herewith sent unto you according as you shall find the merits of the said cause to require And the like favour & justice you for any of yo<sup>rs</sup> shall upon occasion offred finde w<sup>th</sup> us And I likewise send you the depositions of Robert Meriam & Thomas Rucke taken before myself concerning the said cause. Thus I wish you right heartily well to fare in the Lord & rest

“Yo<sup>r</sup> loving friend

“Jo W Gov<sup>r</sup>.”

“Boston 22. (6) 1639.”

The town of Concord, Massachusetts, was incorporated Sept. 3, 1635, and the first settlement made in the fall of that year. “The first houses were built on the south side of the hill from the publick square to Meriam’s Corner, and the farm lots laid out extending back from the road across the ‘great fields and great meadows,’ and in front across the meadows on Mill brook. Huts were built by digging into the bank, driving posts into the ground, and placing on them a covering of bark, brushwood, or earth. The second year houses were erected.” Johnson, in his “Wonder-working Providence,” gives a vivid description of the trials to which these settlers were subjected in those early days.

“Meriam’s Corner” is “about a mile from the center of the town, on the Boston road, at the junction of the thoroughfare of the old road to Bedford,” and an important point at the time of the Revolution. A garrison-house stood near by, and after the first onset, at the “Concord Fight,” when the British fell back, about 150 Provincials went across the “Great Field” to intercept them at this place, where throughout the day “this little band of patriots kept the enemy at bay, and on the happy arrival of reinforcements, caused him to make a precipitate retreat.”

Robert<sup>2</sup> Meriam (William<sup>1</sup>), if we take his age as given in his deposition in the Meriam-Hatch case, 1639, as "about 26 years," was b. in 1613, but if the record of his age at the time of his death, Feb. 16, 1681-2, 72 years, is correct, he was b. at least three years earlier. He m. Mary, dau. of Edmund Sheaf, who was bap. at Cranbrook, Kent, Sept. 26, 1620, and d. in Concord, July 22, 1693, aged 72. They d. without issue, leaving by their wills much valuable property to relatives specified therein. He names his w. Mary; his nephew Isaac Day in Old England, son of his sister Joan Day, deceased; Robert Meriam of Cambridge, son of his nephew Joseph Meriam, deceased; his nephew Jonathan Hubbard; the ch. of his two deceased brothers, Joseph and George Meriam, viz., William, John, and Samuel Meriam; Elizabeth Hinchkmans; Susan Scotchford; Elizabeth West; Hannah Taylor, and Abigail Bateman; his nephew John Buss, and Sarah Wheeler who formerly lived with him; w. Mary executrix. She names her nephew Jonathan Hubbard; her niece Elizabeth Corwin, eldest dau. of her bro. Jacob Sheaf; her niece Mrs. Mehitable Sheaf, youngest dau. of the same bro.; her sister's four ch. living in the southern parts, viz., John, Nathaniel, Mary, and Joanna Chittenden; her nephews John and Samuel Ruck; her nephew William Meriam; her niece Elizabeth West; her nephew Isaac Day; her nephew John Meriam; her nephew Scotchford, and her nephew Robert Meriam. Her executors were Jonathan Hubbard, John and Samuel Meriam.

The land in Cambridge which Robert left to Isaac Day was on condition that he should come over and take possession before the death of Mrs. Meriam, with which he complied, and lived in Cambridge, with his w. Susanna, where he had two ch. b., viz., Robert, b. Oct. 24, 1686, d. Feb. 4, 1688-9; Susanna, b. Nov. 28, 1688. In a deed of an estate in Cambridge which, in conjunction with Mrs. Meriam, he sold to Richard Proctor of Boston in 1692, he is described as "heretofore citizen and embroiderer of London." As no other trace of this family is found they probably returned to England.

John, Nathaniel, Mary, and Joanna Chittenden were ch. of William, and lived in Guilford, Conn., "southern parts." Elizabeth Corwin was w. of Jonathan of Salem. John and Samuel Ruck (Rucke) were of Salem, and were sons of Thomas of Charlestown, who was partner with Joseph Meriam and William Hatch, undertakers on board the ship Castle, and whose w. was sis. to Mrs. Mary Meriam. Jonathan Hubbard was son of John of Weathersfield and Hadley, and gr.-son of George Guilford; but whether his mother was a Meriam or a Sheaf I am unable to say.

Robert Meriam was admitted freeman March 13, 1638-9. He was a prominent man in town, being a trader, commissioner, town clerk, representative and deacon of the church, besides administering, or assisting to administer several estates.

Besides the five ch. of George<sup>2</sup> and Susan (Raven) Meriam, previously mentioned, they had six others, viz.: Samuel<sup>3</sup> and Hannah<sup>3</sup>, twins, b. 14: 5: 1642; Elizabeth<sup>3</sup>, b. 21: 5: 1643; Susanna<sup>3</sup>, b. Nov. 3-8 or 11, 1645 (these three dates being given); Abigail<sup>3</sup>, b. 25: 5: 1647; and Sarah<sup>3</sup>, b. 17: 5: 1649. Samuel<sup>3</sup>, m. Elizabeth Townsend, and Shattuck says, "had four daughters," but in fact had six daughters and one son, as I learn from Mr. George Tolman, a corresponding member of this Society, who has made a thorough examination of the Concord records; viz.: Mary<sup>4</sup>, Elizabeth<sup>4</sup>, Sarah<sup>4</sup>, Susanna<sup>4</sup> Samuel<sup>4</sup>, Hannah<sup>4</sup>, and Abigail<sup>4</sup>. Of these daughters, Susanna<sup>4</sup> m. John, s. of Eliphalet and Mary (Hunt) Fox of Concord, and g. s. of Thomas and Rebecca of Watertown and Concord; and Hannah<sup>4</sup> m. his bro. Dea. Nathaniel Fox of Concord and Dracut. Both d. leaving families. Samuel<sup>4</sup>, the only son, m. Abigail Lee and had one son, Samuel<sup>5</sup>, an only ch. who d. unmarried, thus ending the male line of George<sup>2</sup>, the emigrant. Samuel<sup>4</sup>, erroneously called s. of John and Mary Cooper by Shattuck, was dea. of the church, and in his will, dated June 9, 1763, mentions his "sis. Gates of Harvard, deceased; sis. Sarah Wheeler of Concord; sis. Susanna Fox of Concord; sis. Hannah Fox of Dracut; and sis. Abigail Marble of Stow."

Hannah<sup>3</sup> (George<sup>2</sup>, William<sup>1</sup>), m. 1st., June 14, 1665, Henry Axdell, or Axtell, as the name was afterwards and is still spelt, who was of Marlboro' in 1660. He was s. of Thomas, who came to this country Aug. 1635 from Burkhamstead, Eng., and settled in Sudbury, where he d., and was buried March 8, 1646. They had four ch.: Mary<sup>4</sup>, b. Aug. 8, 1670, and m. May 24, 1698, Zachariah Newton; Thomas<sup>4</sup>, b. May or Aug. 8, 1672, and m. Nov. 2, 1697, Sarah Parker; Daniel<sup>4</sup>, b. Nov. 4, 1673; and Sarah<sup>4</sup>, b. Sept. 28, 1675. Henry was killed by the Indians on the road between Marlboro' and Sudbury, April 19, 1676, and his widow m., July 16, 1677, William Taylor of Concord by whom she had no ch. She d. Dec. 6, 1696. Thomas<sup>4</sup> Axtell removed with his family to Grafton, Mass., about 1730, where he d. Dec. 18, 1750. He is said to have had a mind of his own in all matters, especially religious matters, as the Grafton church records show, and he said of two of his sons, "one is overmuch righteous, and the other overmuch wicked." He had six ch., viz.; Thomas<sup>5</sup>, who d. in infancy; Sarah<sup>5</sup>, who m. Josiah Hayden; Joseph<sup>5</sup>, who m. Abigail Hayden; Thomas<sup>5</sup>, who m. Elizabeth Sherman and Mary Sanger; John<sup>5</sup> and Abigail<sup>5</sup>. There are many of his descendants still living in this vicinity; in Grafton, Sutton and Worcester. One of his great-great-grandsons, Thomas<sup>8</sup> by name, b. in 1814, went to St. Louis when a young man, where he spent most of his life and held various important offices, being at one time collector of taxes for St. Louis County. Another descendant, Seth J. Axtell<sup>9</sup>, Jr., studied at Pierce Academy, Middleboro', Amherst College and Brown University; was ordained a Baptist minister at Monroe, Mich.; settled at West Medway, Mass., and removed to Needham; was chosen President of Leland University, New Orleans; returned to Massachusetts, and is now in Medway or that vicinity. Another descendant was the wife of Rev. Job Boomer, late of Worcester, and mother of Gen. George B. Boomer, whose monument stands in our Rural Cemetery. Another descendant was the late Joshua McClellan Armsby, so long connected with the agricultural works of Ruggles, Nurse, Mason & Co., in this city. Several other descendants did honorable service in the War of the Rebellion.

Elizabeth<sup>3</sup> (George<sup>2</sup>, William<sup>1</sup>) m. Henry West of Salem.

Susanna<sup>3</sup> m. John Scotchford, s. of Thomas, and gr.-son of John and Elizabeth of Brenchley, Kent, a clothier, whose will, dated Jan. 16, 1600, was proved at Brenchley Dec. 26, 1600; of whom Mr. Henry T. Waters, A. B. of London says, "the testator of the above will was probably the ancestor of John Scotchford who m. Susanna (probably), daughter of George Meriam, and d. June 10, 1696." They had no issue.

Abigail<sup>3</sup> m. Thomas Bateman of Concord, and had numerous descendants; and Sarah<sup>3</sup> m. a Mr. Gove of Cambridge.

From Joseph<sup>2</sup> (William<sup>1</sup>), the remaining bro., are descended all who now legitimately bear the Meriam name, and his descendants are found scattered over this whole continent. He m. in England, Sarah —, and they had three s. and at least three daus.; viz., William<sup>3</sup>, Joseph<sup>3</sup>, a dau. who m. John Buss; Elizabeth<sup>3</sup>, who m. Thomas Henschman of Charlestown, where they lived, died, and their wills are recorded; Sarah<sup>3</sup>, who m. William Hall; and John<sup>3</sup> (posthumous). Joseph<sup>2</sup> took the freeman's oath Mar. 14, 1638-9, the day after his bro. Robert, while George did not take it till Jan. 2, 1641. Joseph<sup>2</sup> d. Jan. 1, 1641.

William<sup>3</sup> (Joseph<sup>2</sup>, William<sup>1</sup>) seems to have had three wives; Sarah —, Elizabeth Breed and Ann Jones. He settled in Lynn and had eight ch. Two of his s. removed to Connecticut about 1714-16; viz., William<sup>4</sup> who settled in Cheshire, and John<sup>4</sup> in Meriden. William<sup>4</sup> had four wives; Hannah Dugal, Athildred Berry, Abigail Mower and Ruth Webb, by all of whom except Abigail he had ch. From William<sup>3</sup> were descended Rev. Burrage Meriam of Weathersfield, Conn., who m. Sept. 12, 1765, Hannah Rice, and d. Nov. 30, 1776; the Rev. Clement Meriam, who graduated at Columbia College in 1805; and the Rev. Matthew<sup>6</sup> Meriam, who graduated at Yale College in 1759, and was settled over the Presbyterian Church in Berwick, Me., Sept. 25, 1765, where he d. Jan. 1797. One of Matthew's sons, John<sup>7</sup>, b. at Berwick Aug. 1, 1776, m. Patience Neal and settled in Belfast, Me.; was one of the original members of the Baptist Church, formed in 1810-11; was Representative in 1817; Chief Justice

of the Court of Sessions from 1820 to 1826; and repeatedly chosen Selectman. One of his sons, George Washington<sup>8</sup> Meriam, one of the crew of the schooner *Albert*, which was burnt while lying at the head of Bishop's wharf, Belfast, Sunday, Jan. 11, 1829, perished in the flames with another of the crew, Thomas Reed, Jr. Another son, John Chase<sup>5</sup> Meriam, and a companion, fell through the ice and were drowned, Feb. 5, 1822, aged 10 years. Another descendant of William<sup>8</sup>, James S.<sup>9</sup> Merriam, is a lawyer in New York City; and one, Augustus C.<sup>9</sup>, bro. of James S.<sup>9</sup>, is Professor of Greek in Columbia College, New York, and last fall was selected to be a director of the "School of Athens" the present year. Another descendant, Berthia<sup>7</sup>, dau. of Ephraim<sup>6</sup>, married Theophilus Hall, a "physician of repute and skill" of Meriden, Conn.

Theophilus<sup>6</sup> Meriam, gr.-son of William<sup>8</sup>, b. at Lynn, July 16, 1688, m. April 14, 1714, Abigail Ramsdell, and was found dead on the ice on Saugus river, Dec. 31, 1744, and all trace of his family is lost. Another gr.-son, Ebenezer<sup>6</sup>, bro. of Theophilus<sup>6</sup>, s. of Joseph<sup>4</sup>, b. Feb. 11, 1685, m. 1st, Feb. 13, 1709-10, Jerusha Berry, and 2d, Elizabeth —, and d. between Oct. 20, 1753 and Feb. 6, 1754, dates of will and entry at probate. At a town meeting in Lynn, Oct. 8, 1722, he and Thomas Cheever were granted the privilege to build a mill on Saugus river, "at the Boston Street crossing," which they soon had in operation, being the first mill erected on the river. In 1729 he sold out to Cheever and moved to Mendon, where he was licensed, Aug. 12, 1735, to keep a tavern, and was surety for John Sadler and John Hazeltine of Upton, they being surety for him. He was also licensed the next year; was Representative in 1738 and 9; Selectman in 1741; and chosen Assessor of ministerial rates, April 13, 1744. At a town meeting Dec. 7, 1739, upon his petition the town voted to pay him for serving as Representative, the Province treasury being bankrupt, he promising to refund the money providing the General Court made provision for the same. He had eight ch., all named in his will. One of his gr.-sons, Ebenezer<sup>7</sup>, s. of Benjamin<sup>6</sup>, b. in Mendon Feb. 17, 1750, m. Margaret —, b. May 20, 1750 and d. at West Brookfield Nov. 21, 1823. He d. at Paxton April 8,

1790. They had four ch., sons, one of whom, George<sup>8</sup>, b. July 8, 1773, m. Dec. 22, 1796, Dorothy, dau. of Rev. Dr. Joseph and Lucy (Williams) Sumner of Shrewsbury. He d. in Worcester May 22, 1802, and was buried in the old Mechanic street burial ground, and in 1879 his remains were removed to the family tomb in Shrewsbury by his nephew, Mr. George Sumner, an honored vice-president of this Society, who has in his possession a crayon portrait of his aunt Dorothy and an oil portrait of their only ch., George May<sup>9</sup> Meriam. George<sup>8</sup> kept a bookstore in the "Old Compound," a one-story wooden structure on the corner of Main and Front streets, Worcester, and lived in the old Daniel Goulding mansion, corner of Front and Church streets, afterwards owned and occupied by Hon. Abijah Bigelow, Clerk of the Courts of Worcester County, and at one time Member of Congress. His brethren, Daniel Meriam and Joseph Sumner, Jr., administered his estate. His widow d. in Shrewsbury in March, 1841. Their son, George May<sup>9</sup>, m. Caroline Pamelia, dau. of Samuel Haven, Jr. of Shrewsbury, b. July 10, 1802, and at the age of about 30, after the death of her first husband, m. George J. Webb of Boston, and d. at Orange, N. J., in Jan. 1879, where her dau. Carrie Webb, was then living. George May<sup>9</sup> d. in Worcester, where he followed his trade of printing and bookbinding, and was buried at Shrewsbury, as also was his infant son.

Another son of Ebenezer<sup>7</sup>, Ebenezer<sup>8</sup>, brother of George<sup>8</sup>, b. in Mendon Dec. 15, 1777, m. 1st, Sarah Hitchcock who d. Jan. 9, 1805, and he m. 2d, Mary Cutler. In 1790, at the age of 13, he was apprenticed to Isaiah Thomas, the celebrated printer of Worcester, with whom he remained till 1796. He then spent a few months in Boston, and from there went to Brookfield, now West Brookfield, and commenced the publication of the *Massachusetts Repository and Farmers' Journal*, the *Spy* being the only other paper published in the county. This he continued for three years, printing upon the same press formerly used by Benjamin Franklin. In 1800 he began book work, and was assisted by his brother Daniel<sup>8</sup>, in which he continued 51 years. The average number of boys employed in his office was about 8, and



the whole number of regular apprentices taught by him was 62. By his 1st w. he had 2 daus. and 1 s., Ebenezer Parsons<sup>9</sup>, who m. Aug. 23, 1831, Rachel Randall of Worcester, where he was at one time engaged in business with Moses Spooner, printer. Ebenezer<sup>8</sup> d. at West Brookfield Oct. 1, 1858. The celebrated publishers of Webster's Dictionary, at Springfield, Mass., were sons of Daniel<sup>8</sup>; viz., the late George<sup>9</sup> and Charles<sup>9</sup> Merriam.

Many of the descendants of William<sup>3</sup> and his s., John<sup>4</sup>, are scattered through the State of New York and the Western States, some being quite prominent in their localities, among them James S.<sup>9</sup>, and Augustus C.<sup>9</sup>, mentioned above. This John<sup>4</sup> taught a school in Lynn in 1713, called a "grammar school" because Latin was taught in it. The other studies were "reading, writing, and ciphering." "English grammar was not a common study, and no book was introduced into general use till about 70 years after. No arithmetic was used by the scholars; the master wrote all the sums on the slate. No spelling book was used. There was no established system of orthography, as may be inferred by the different ways in which words were spelt, though some uniformity now prevailed."

John<sup>3</sup> Meriam (Joseph<sup>2</sup>, William<sup>1</sup>), b. in Concord July 9, 1641 (posthumous), m. Oct. 21, 1663, Mary, dau. of John and Anne (Sparhawk) Cooper of Cambridge. Anne was dau. of Deacon Nathaniel and Mary Sparhawk. Lydia, the mother of John Cooper, after the d. of her hus. in England, m. Deacon Gregory Stone of Cambridge, and was the mother of Sarah Stone, w. of Joseph<sup>3</sup> Meriam, bro. of John<sup>3</sup>. John<sup>3</sup> was made freeman May 12, 1675, and tythingman Feb. 24, 1699. He d. Feb. 2, 1703-4. He had nine ch. and his descendants are very numerous at the present day, some of whom we will notice.

His s., John<sup>4</sup>, b. in Concord Sept. 3, 1666, m. 1st, July 22, 1691, Sarah Wheeler, who d. in childbirth, and he m. 2d, Feb. 16, 1692-3, Sarah Spalding, and d. July 3, 1737. By his last w. he had one s., John<sup>5</sup>, b. Dec. 16, 1693, m. Nov. 15, 1714 Abigail Norcross of Sudbury, and went to Littleton. In the Proprietors'

Records of Worcester, I find the following, which I think without doubt refers to one of these two Johns :

"[59] Worcester march 16 1714 By order of the Honour<sup>l</sup> Comitte laid out to John Barron in the room & right of John miriam a Thirty acre Lott at Worcester with right in comon to S<sup>d</sup> 30 acres granted by S<sup>d</sup> Comitte may 20<sup>l</sup> 1714 to John miriam lying on y<sup>e</sup> north sides of Connect road near burnt coat plain on and joyning to Indian hill : bounded East by land laid out to Benj<sup>m</sup> Barron South by land laid out to Thomas & Jcabod Brown and undivided land : north by land laid out to Benj<sup>m</sup> ffletcher West by comon land near mill brook & signified in the platt  
"Surveyed by D. Haynes"

Then follows the "platt," which is shown on the map recently constructed by our President, Mr. E. B. Crane.

Two of the sons of John<sup>3</sup>, Nathaniel<sup>4</sup> and Samuel<sup>4</sup>, settled in Bedford, where they became prominent in town and church affairs. Three of his ch. m. descendants of Thomas and Grace Brooks, early emigrants to this country, who first settled in Watertown and afterwards removed to Concord. Elizabeth<sup>4</sup>, dau. of John<sup>3</sup>, b. Oct. 5, 1674, m. Dec. 6, 1694, John<sup>3</sup> Farrar, called "Ensign John," of Marlboro', b. in Lancaster about 1672, and was killed in battle by the Indians in Sterling, Aug. 19, 1707. His widow administered his estate, and June 16, 1708, the Government allowed her £1, 10 s. for the loss of her husband's gun. Among the original proprietors of Lancaster, incorporated May 18, 1653, were John<sup>1</sup> and Jacob<sup>1</sup> Farrar, bros. who are said to have come from Lancashire, England, about the middle of the 17th century, Jacob being about 30 years of age. His wife's name was Ann —, m. about 1640, whom he left with four ch. and about half his property in England till his house in Lancaster should be ready to receive them. He was appointed to assist in marking the boundaries of the town in 1659. John<sup>1</sup> d. in Lancaster, and Jacob<sup>1</sup> remained there till after the town was destroyed by the Indians Feb. 10, 1675-6, when he removed to Woburn where he d. Aug. 14, 1677. He had four sons and one daughter. Two of his sons were killed by the Indians ; viz., Jacob<sup>2</sup>, the eldest, Aug.

22, 1675, and Henry<sup>2</sup>. Jacob<sup>2</sup> left four sons, Jacob<sup>3</sup>, George<sup>3</sup>, John<sup>3</sup> and Henry<sup>3</sup>. John<sup>3</sup>, who m. Elizabeth<sup>4</sup> Meriam, and was killed by the Indians, left two ch., John<sup>4</sup> and Elizabeth<sup>4</sup>. Jacob<sup>3</sup> settled in the north part of Concord, now Lincoln, and d. leaving eleven ch. Jacob<sup>4</sup>, the eldest, was killed in the famous battle called "Lovell's Fight," near Fryburg, Me., May 8, 1725, leaving five ch., the fourth, Jacob<sup>5</sup>, m. Mary<sup>6</sup> Meriam, a descendant of William<sup>8</sup> of Lynn.

Joseph<sup>5</sup>, s. of Joseph<sup>4</sup>, and gr.-s. of John<sup>3</sup>, b. in Concord Sept. 16, 1709, m. 1st in 1733, Ruth Hunt who d. Aug. 17, 1749, and he m. 2d, Dec. 26, 1754, widow Hannah Wadsworth, and d. May 5, 1797. He settled in Grafton, on the "Indian Purchase" of 24 acres, which his father had received Oct. 28, 1729, but had never occupied. In taking possession of this land he slept the first night in the cleft of a rock still to be seen on the old homestead, where still dwell some of his descendants. "He sustained an unblemished character; was fifty-five years Deacon of the Church, and first of the original settlers to die." His son and grandson of the same name, Joseph, were also deacons of the same church; the latter of whom had a son Joseph who possessed the "butteris" used by his great-grandfather when he shod the first horse in Grafton. Of the third one, Mr. John C. Crane of West Millbury relates the following incident. "Once while fishing in the once famous trout brook in Merriam district, the writer encountered the venerable Deacon Joseph Merriam, then living. After showing him some trout weighing in the neighborhood of a pound apiece, the old gentleman tossed his head in scorn at them. Said he, 'When I was a young man and used to fish up and down this brook, I used to catch lots of 'em that would weigh from three to five pounds apiece; those you have are little fellows.'" A memorial window has just been placed in the renovated church by his friends in Grafton, dedicated to the honor of his memory.

Rebecca<sup>7</sup>, granddaughter of Dea. Joseph<sup>5</sup>, m. Dea. Tyrus March, of Millbury, father of Dea. David T. March, who piloted the members of this Society on their late visit to the famous Indian

soapstone quarry. One descendant of Dea. Joseph<sup>5</sup>, Dea. Henry Harlow<sup>9</sup> Merriam, resides in this city, connected with the firm of L. J. Knowles & Brother.

Joseph<sup>6</sup> (Nathan<sup>5</sup>, Joseph<sup>4</sup>, John<sup>8</sup>), b. in Concord Jan. 26, 1743, moved to Mason, N. H., about 1769, where "he enjoyed through his long life a large share of the confidence and esteem of his townsmen." Says Mr. Hill, the town historian, "To Mr. Meriam belongs the honor of being the first representative chosen, March 1793, under the apportionment (when the town ceased to be classed with Raby). No citizen of Mason was ever more worthy of this mark of the confidence of his fellow townsmen." In Dec. 1782, he was chosen one of a committee of nine, to "proceed to take under consideration the bill of rights and plan of government," and being one of the selectmen assisted in establishing the north-west boundary line between Mason and New Ipswich that year. He was also a trustee of the "Boynton Common School Fund." He has many descendants.

Dea. Joseph<sup>6</sup>, s. of Dea. Joseph<sup>5</sup> of Grafton, b. there Sept. 19, 1734, m. in 1762, Sally Wadsworth, and d. July 2, 1814. "He was a hale old man of nearly 80 years, when he met with a sudden and fatal accident. He was driving home from mill and sitting upon the front seat of his butcher's cart, when, coming down a steep hill in Grafton, the harness broke, the 'tackling' gave way, his horse fell, and he was precipitated to the ground, striking upon his head. The blow rendered him unconscious, and death ensued before he could be carried home." He had seven ch., the youngest of whom, Lucy<sup>7</sup>, b. Dec. 22, 1786, m. William E. Green, Esq., s. of Dr. John Green the first, of Worcester, by his 2d w., Mary, dau. of Brig.-Gen. Timothy Ruggles of Sandwich, afterwards of Hardwick. He was b. at "Green Hill," Worcester, Jan. 11, 1777, and grad. at B. U. in 1798; a prominent lawyer in Grafton and Worcester; in company with Judge Bangs and his s. Edward D. Bangs, Esq.; and in his later years became a noted agriculturist at Green Hill, where he d. at the age of 88, July 27, 1865, in the room in which he was born, having outlived all of his four wives, Lucy being the 2d. He was

a great-grandson of Capt. Samuel Green, one of the founders of Leicester, and grandson of the Rev. Dr. Thomas Green, a physician and surgeon as well as preacher, who organized the Baptist Church at Greenville (South Leicester), and was ordained its pastor in 1736, and gave the land for the meeting-house, parsonage, and burial ground.

I find the following thrilling incident in reference to Lucy Meriam Green, in the *National Ægis* published in Worcester, Wednesday, Feb. 3, 1808, which seems to have escaped the notice of the historians of Worcester and Grafton, and which throws some light upon the condition of the town at that time. "On Saturday afternoon last, the wife of William E. Green, Esq., of this town, in attempting to pass to a neighbor's inadvertently pursued a path which led her to a large tract of woods, consisting of swamps and almost inaccessible ledges. In this dreary place, calculated to inspire sensations of horror in the most resolute mind, this tender female became alarmed, bewildered and deranged. After traversing cliffs and morasses in every possible direction, until past 8 o'clock in the evening, she found her way into the road on the east side of the street in Worcester, which leads to Grafton, her native place. In this state of derangement she followed as is supposed a straight course until she arrived at her father's barn, which opened upon the road, which she entered, and ascending a ladder, concealed herself in the hay. In this situation she was found in an exhausted state at 11 o'clock on Monday. Her mind gradually recovered its tone as from the sensations of a dream. The interim from her concealment, in the hay, to the time when she was discovered, is totally lost, as her senses had given her no intimation that a day had passed. Her feet were very much swollen, but otherwise she had received no material injury. We are happy to announce for the satisfaction of the sons and daughters of humanity in this and the neighboring towns, who have taken so lively an interest in the distress of this lady and her afflicted friends, that she is in a fair way of recovery from her fatigue and that her mind will soon be restored to its wonted quietude and vigor.

"Mr. Green did not return from his office till about 8 o'clock. Being informed by his mother that his wife was at his neighbor's he repaired thither without anxiety, for the purpose of attending her home ; but finding she had not been there, the tumult of his feelings cannot be described. By the help of a lantern and the assistance of his neighbor, he was enabled to trace the footsteps of his hapless wife, in a light snow which had lately fallen. He traversed her mazy windings until 10 o'clock, when he came into the road. Under the hope that she had returned home, he hastened to his house, but in vain. The alarm was early given, and the inhabitants turned out with a promptitude, and commenced and prosecuted the search with a zeal most honorable to the cause of humanity. Information was immediately sent to the neighboring towns, and great numbers of the inhabitants, particularly from Holden, Boylston, Shrewsbury, Grafton and Sutton, assembled at Worcester early on Monday morning to renew the search, and being joined by the inhabitants of Worcester, and without a feeling for their own personal safety, amidst a torrent of rain, while a number of gentlemen who had volunteered their services, set off in every direction, to give and obtain information, continued the search until they were called in by the firing of cannon and the ringing of bells which was agreed upon as the signal of her being found.

#### "A CARD.

"W. E. Green, with the connections of his family, tender their heartfelt gratitude to their friends and fellow citizens of this and the neighboring towns for their kindness and zeal manifested in the late alarming event in his family.—While they make the acknowledgement as an evidence of their own feelings on the occasion, they are aware that the best reward to the benevolent is their own sensations."

Lucy Meriam Green d. Sept. 8, 1811, leaving a dau., Lucy Meriam, b. Nov. 12, 1810, who lived unm., a devoted educator.

David Edwin<sup>8</sup> Merriam, late cashier of Leicester Bank, is a son of Dea. Joseph<sup>7</sup> of Grafton.

Joseph<sup>7</sup> (Timothy<sup>6</sup>, Dea. Joseph<sup>5</sup>), b. in Grafton Oct. 15, 1797, m. in 1826, Emeline Bidwell of Farmington, Conn., sis. of Rev.

W. H. Bidwell, D. D. He grad. at B. U. in 1819, and at Andover in 1822, in the same class with the late Dr. Anderson of the A. B. C. F. M.; Dr. Hallock of the Amer. Tract Soc.; and the Rev. William Richards, an early missionary to the Sandwich Islands. During that year, 1822, Dr. Rice of Richmond, Va., came to Andover to induce students to go as missionaries to labor in Virginia; and he, in company with a classmate, traveled to Richmond in a one-horse wagon, and labored over a year, when he went to Randolph, Ohio, and was installed in 1824 over the then new church, where he was still pastor in Oct. 1880 (but has since died), at which time only one of the original members, a man of 80 years, survived. Soon after marriage they moved into a new house, built for them, in which they celebrated their golden wedding in 1876. They have had five ch., of whom three were living in 1880, and twenty gr.-ch. Enfeebled by age he was then only able to attend church meetings, keep the records, and preach funeral sermons. Sept. 11, 1880, he performed his 180th marriage ceremony for members of his church. He was then the oldest Congregational pastor in the Western Reserve, and his wife was still living.

Timothy<sup>6</sup> (Josiah<sup>5</sup>, Joseph<sup>4</sup>, John<sup>3</sup>), b. Sept. 29, 1757, m. Hulda Darling and became a noted physician in Framingham, where he d. Sept. 17, 1835, within twelve days of reaching his 78th birthday. Another gt.-gr.-s. of John<sup>3</sup>, Samuel<sup>6</sup>, b. in Bedford Nov. 5, 1749, m. Feb. 21, 1785, Alice, wid. of Thomas Hadley, Jr. The record of her m. says, "Said Alice Hadley married in a borrowed suit of clothes." The probable reason was from a notion which formerly prevailed, that if a man married a woman and had no property with her, he could not be held responsible for her debts.

Hannah<sup>7</sup>, dau. of Dea. Joseph<sup>6</sup> of Grafton, b. Aug. 14, 1765, m. Rev. Jonathan Grout, b. in Westboro' April 11, 1763, grad. at H. C. in 1790, settled at Hawley Oct. 23, 1793, and d. June 6, 1835. She d. in 1792.

Adolphus<sup>7</sup> Merriam, a man of wealth and influence, living at South Framingham, and a member of the Cordaville Woolen Co.,

is a gt.-gt.-gr.-s. of John<sup>8</sup>, and his son, John McKinstry<sup>8</sup> Merriam, is to be the private secretary of Senator Hoar during the next session of Congress. Another of his gt.-gt.-gr.-s., Nathan, who was b. lived and d. in Princeton, was twice m. and had fifteen ch. Jonathan B. Sibley, a native of Grafton, constable, deputy-sheriff, and in 1872, City Marshal of Worcester, who d. Feb. 12, 1887, was a gt.-gr.-s. of Dea. Joseph<sup>5</sup> Meriam. While deputy-sheriff in Worcester he had the honor, if honor it be, of hanging Silas and Charles S. James for the murder of Jonas Clark, Sept. 25, 1868, being the last execution; except one, that has taken place in this city.

Another descendant of John<sup>8</sup>, Ebenezer<sup>7</sup>, b. in Concord June 20, 1794, was a distinguished statistician and meteorologist; the original "weather prophet" who kept a record of the weather for thirty years. He originated the theory of cycles of atmospheric phenomena, from which has been developed the Weather Bureau of the U. S. Government. He d. at Brooklyn, N. Y., March 19, 1864.

Another descendant of John<sup>8</sup>, was John Newton<sup>8</sup> Merriam, a sketch of whose life, with a portrait, is given in the *Manufacturers and Manufactories of New England*. His bro. William W.<sup>8</sup>, m. Susan Dimond, and they went as missionaries to Bulgaria, European Turkey, where he was murdered by native robbers July 3, 1862, and his wid. d. July 25, 1862, from exposure, cold and grief, leaving an infant dau. Mary<sup>9</sup>, b. at Phillippopolis Aug. 27, 1861, came to America and was brought up in the family of her uncle, John N. She m. Nov. 27, 1884, Charles W. Coman of Ohio, and they are now living in Americus, Lyon Co., Kan. Mary Bates<sup>9</sup> Merriam, late a missionary to Africa, is also a descendant of John<sup>8</sup>.

We now come to the other son of Joseph<sup>2</sup>, viz., Joseph<sup>3</sup>, and his descendants. He was b. in England about 1630, came here with his parents in 1635-8, took the freeman's oath May 22, 1650, m. July 12, 1653, Sarah, dau. of Dea, Gregory Stone of Cambridge, and d. April 20, 1677, aged 47 years. His tombstone is the oldest in Concord. After his d. his wid. lived with her ch. at



Cambridge Farms, now Lexington, where she d. April 5, 1704, aged 71, having survived her hus. nearly 30 years. They had eleven ch., a part of whom only are given by Hudson in his *History of Lexington*; viz., Sarah<sup>4</sup>, Lydia<sup>4</sup>, Joseph<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth<sup>4</sup>, John<sup>4</sup>, Mary<sup>4</sup>, Robert<sup>4</sup>, Ruth<sup>4</sup>, David<sup>4</sup>, Thomas<sup>4</sup> and Jonas<sup>4</sup>.

Dea. Gregory Stone came to this country in 1635 and settled in Cambridge; was made freeman in 1636; was one of the members of the first church in Cambridge; Representative in 1638; one of the proprietors of Watertown; and d. Nov. 30, 1672, aged 82. He m. in England the wid. Lydia Cooper, by whom he had four s. and two daus., and was step-father to her two ch. by her former hus., John and Lydia Cooper, the latter of whom m. David Fiske, Esq., of Cambridge Farms, who was a leading man in town and church; was Clerk of the Precinct, a magistrate and surveyor. "The will of Dea. Gregory is a fine specimen of the wills of those days, witnessed before Daniel Gookin, Esq."

Joseph<sup>4</sup>, the eldest s. of Joseph<sup>3</sup>, b. May 25, 1658, m. Charity —. He was early at Cambridge Farms, being a subscriber to the first meeting-house in 1692. "He was not called so frequently to places of honor and trust as some of his kinsmen, but was elected tythingman, an office conferred upon none but the most respectable citizens." He d. May 31, 1727, leaving two ch., and his wid. afterwards m. Andrew McClure.

Mary<sup>4</sup>, dau. of Joseph<sup>3</sup>, b. June 4, 1664, m. Isaac Stearns of Billerica, s. of John and gr.-s. of Isaac who came to this country in 1630, probably with Gov. Winthrop, and settled in Watertown. They have many descendants, among them Mr. C. C. Stearns of Worcester, the musical composer.

Thomas<sup>4</sup>, s. of Joseph<sup>3</sup>, b. in 1672, m. Dec. 23, 1696, Mary Harwood of Concord. He was one of the original members of the church at Cambridge Farms in 1696, and he and others were granted leave to "build a seat for their wives on the back side of the meeting house, from goodwife Reed's seat to the woman's stairs." He held the offices of Constable and Selectman. He d. Aug. 16, 1738, aged 66, and his wid. d. Sept. 29, 1756, aged

81. They had seven ch., viz., Mary<sup>5</sup>, Thomas<sup>5</sup>, Lydia<sup>5</sup>, Nathaniel<sup>5</sup>, Simon<sup>5</sup>, David<sup>5</sup> and Isaac<sup>5</sup>.

Mary<sup>5</sup>, eldest dau. of Thomas<sup>4</sup>, b. about 1698, m. Ebenezer<sup>3</sup>, s. of Ebenezer<sup>2</sup>, and gr.-s. of William<sup>1</sup> Locke, an emigrant to this country from Stepney Parish, London, Eng. In 1715, Ebenezer<sup>3</sup> Locke, at the age of 16, "put himself and of his own free will and accord, put himself apprentice to Joseph Loring of Lexington, House Carpenter and joiner to learn his art, trade or mystery, After the manner of an Apprentice." At the close of the indentures in this "memorandum," "It is to be understood yt ye sd. Apprentice is bound to Lydia Loring, ye now wife of ye above sd. Joseph Loring, and she to him, in all things to [be] performed what is above written." His father d. Dec. 24, 1723, and bequeathed "him the sum of ten shillings in money, and one hundred and fifty acres of Land lying in ye North Township above Groton (now Townsend and Ashby), the which with what I formerly gave him, I count to be his full part and double portion out of my estate." The same year he sold 100 acres of this land to his bro. Josiah, and soon after went to Hopkinton, where in 1733 he bought land of John Howe, and in 1736 bought of Benj. Beduna land and a grist-mill. The same year he sold land to Josiah Rice, and in 1751, being then of the "Country Gore," now North Oxford, he sold lands in Hopkinton to Joseph Wood of that town. He and his w. were "admitted to full communion" in the church at Hopkinton April 4, 1725, and dismissed to the church in Oxford Sept. 3, 1738. In 1753 he contracted with the "Proprietors of Gardner's Canada Township," now Warwick, to build them a mill, but it was not completed for several years, as he was frequently driven from his work by his fear of the Indians, who were "doing much mischief in the vicinity," but gave as an excuse for not fulfilling the contract in the time specified, 1753, sickness in his family, and the death of a dau. of whom there is no further account. They had three daus. who lived to have families, and their descendants are numerous at the present day, viz., Lydia<sup>6</sup>, who m. Elijah Towne of Oxford and settled in Warwick; Hannah<sup>6</sup>, who m. Nehemiah Stone of Charlton, where they

settled ; and Susannah<sup>6</sup>, who m. Silas Towne of Oxford, and settled in Warwick, but he was not a bro. of Elijah. Susannah<sup>6</sup> is described as "a woman of remarkable energy of character, and many persons cotemporary with her could testify to her many acts of charity and benevolence."

Edward I. Comins, teacher, and President of the Common Council of the City of Worcester, is a gt.-gr.-s. of Nehemiah and Hannah Stone, as well as his half-bro., the late Capt. Julius Tucker of Charlton. •

Thomas<sup>5</sup> (Thomas<sup>4</sup>, Joseph<sup>8</sup>), bap. April 21, 1700, m. Tabitha Stone, and d. in Westminster, June 4, 1752. They had twelve ch., most of whom settled in Westminster, viz., Samuel<sup>6</sup>, m. Anna<sup>6</sup> Whitney of Waltham ; Nathan<sup>6</sup>, m. Mary Hosmer ; Mary<sup>6</sup>, m. David<sup>5</sup> Whitney of Waltham ; Hannah<sup>6</sup>, d. young ; Thomas<sup>6</sup>, m. Sarah Wilder ; Tabitha<sup>6</sup>, m. Nathan<sup>5</sup> Whitney of Waltham ; Lydia<sup>6</sup>, m. Josiah Cutting of Narragansett, now Westminster ; Hepzibah<sup>6</sup>, d. young ; Elizabeth<sup>6</sup>, m. Moses or Nathan Sawtell of Concord ; Hannah<sup>6</sup>, d. young ; Eunice<sup>6</sup>, d. young ; and David<sup>6</sup>, who m. Patty Conant, and was the ancestor of Rev. George W. Phillips, late of Worcester, whose mother was Julia Stone, gr.-dau. of David<sup>6</sup> Meriam. Edward and George C. Whitney of Worcester are descendants of Thomas<sup>5</sup> Meriam. From Samuel<sup>6</sup> (Nathan<sup>7</sup>, Nathan<sup>8</sup>) are descended Dea. Abner Holden<sup>9</sup> Merriam, for many years Principal of Westminster Academy, now of Templeton, and the Rev. Franklin<sup>9</sup> Merriam (Joel<sup>8</sup>, Nathan<sup>7</sup>) of Waterville, Me. Jacob Harris<sup>8</sup> Merriam (Jonathan<sup>7</sup>, Samuel<sup>6</sup>) was a minister at Fitchburg.

Lucinda<sup>8</sup> Merriam (Jonas<sup>7</sup>, Thomas<sup>6</sup>), b. in Westminster April 15, 1791, m. July 15, 1814, Dea. Benjamin F. Wood, of Westminster, and their eldest ch., Franklin<sup>9</sup>, grad. at D. C. in 1841 ; taught school at Southboro' ; at Canton Academy, St. Lawrence Co., N. Y. ; at Gilbertville Academy and Collegiate Institute, Butternuts, Otsego Co., N. Y. ; was Judge of Probate for Wright Co., Minn., in 1857 ; resigned in 1858 ; took charge of the male seminary at Newcastle, Hardman Co., Tenn. ; returned to Westminster and opened a select school in its vicinity ; went to Marys-

ville, Ohio, and established a female seminary, and is now at Binghamton, N. Y. Their 2d s., Abel<sup>9</sup>, grad. at D. C. in 1843; and at Andover Theo. Sem., 1848; preached at Warner, N. H.; taught at Beloit, Rock Co., Ill.; at Canton, N. Y.; at Kimball Union Academy, Meriden, N. H.; at Albany, N. Y., Academy; and is Principal of the Collegiate Institute at Gilbertville, N. Y., at the present time.

David<sup>7</sup> Merriam (Isaac<sup>6</sup>, Isaac<sup>5</sup>, Thomas<sup>4</sup>, Joseph<sup>3</sup>), b. in Concord Jan. 28, 1760, m. 1st, Phœbe Foster, and 2d, Betsey Conant, both of Ashburnham, and went to Walpole, N. H., and from there to Brandon, Vt., where he d. Feb. 15, 1849. He was several years selectman, and filled other town offices. He was deacon of the church a long time; "a man of an uncommonly mild and quiet temperament, and his death was as placid as his life had been peaceful."

Isaac<sup>7</sup> (Isaac<sup>6</sup>), b. in Concord Jan. 26 or 27, 1762, was a soldier in the Revolution; m. Betsey Waite; removed to Northumberland, N. H., and d. at Jackson, N. Y., Feb. 1, 1853, aged 91.

Jonathan<sup>7</sup> (Isaac<sup>6</sup>), b. in Concord, in 1764; went to Brandon, Vt.; m. a dau. of John Conant, Esq., of Brandon; was selectman and filled other town offices; and was dea. of the Baptist Church. He had two s., Isaac<sup>8</sup> and Jonathan<sup>8</sup>, who were Baptist ministers. This Isaac<sup>8</sup> I think to be the one who was settled at Webster in 1829, and at Sturbridge in 1836.

Isaac Foster<sup>8</sup> (David<sup>7</sup>, Isaac<sup>6</sup>), b. in Brandon, Vt., July 27, 1790, m. June 23, 1817, Cynthia Conant, and d. Sept. 30, 1856. He was a distinguished physician, having studied with Dr. Joel Green of Brandon.

Laureston Alphonso<sup>9</sup> (Herschel Parks<sup>8</sup>, Jonas Davis<sup>7</sup>, Isaac<sup>6</sup>), b. in Malone, N. Y., Dec. 7, 1843, m. March 8, 1873, Mattie D. Carter of Waukan, Wis., but a native of N. Y. State. "a successful sketch writer, and has been given the name of 'The Fanny Fern of the West.' She is a regular contributor to several Eastern periodicals, among which the *New York Weekly* has been the most prominent." He received a classical and scientific education at Franklin Academy, Malone, grad. in 1867, and at the U.

of Mich. in 1873, with the degree of M. D. He practiced at Berlin, Wis., and Cresco, Iowa, till 1879, the summer of which and the following winter he spent in N. Y. City, matriculating at Bellevue Hosp., Med. Coll. and Univ., especially in diseases of the nervous system. He returned to Cresco for a while, and June 1, 1881, went to Omaha, Neb. While in Iowa he was secretary and treasurer of the Howard Co. Medical Society; delegate to the Am. Medical Association, 1876; and has been secretary and treasurer, vice-president and president of the North Iowa Medical Society; was attending physician and surgeon to Childs Hospital, Omaha, in 1882-3; is a member of Douglas Co., Neb., Medical Society, and Nebraska State Medical Society; and was elected Prof. of the Principles and Practice of Medicine in Neb. Univ. Coll. of Med., June 14, 1883, which position he still holds; and is a regular contributor to the Courses of Medicine and Surgery of St. Louis. His parents are still living at Berlin, Wis.

Robert<sup>4</sup> (Joseph<sup>3</sup>), b. Dec. 17, 1667, m. Abigail Hayward. He was a subscriber to the meeting-house at Cambridge Farms in 1692; assessor in 1700; and in 1711, one of the subscribers for the purchase of the common. He and his w. were admitted to the church in 1698. They had nine ch., one of whom, Jonathan<sup>5</sup>, moved to the "Country Gore" (North Oxford), in May, 1729, with his bro. Dr. Hezekiah<sup>5</sup>, and cousin, Ebenezer<sup>5</sup>, where they bought of Joseph Haven and Henry Mellen, of Hopkinton, 400 acres for £315, 6s., one fourth part of which, on the 13th of the following Aug., they sold to Joshua<sup>5</sup>, bro. of Ebenezer<sup>5</sup>, for £85 "in good bills of Credit on the Province." Jonathan<sup>5</sup> built a house on the northeasterly part of this purchase, the site of which is still visible on the farm of the late Mr. George W. Hartwell, to whose granduncle, Capt. Isaac Hartwell, he sold the place or a portion of it, by deed May 30, 1734. Some portion of this house was used in building the one occupied by Mr. H. Jonathan returned to Lexington where he d. Feb. 20, 1738. He was b. July 25, 1705, and m. Sarah ——. They had no ch. so far as known.

Dr. Hezekiah<sup>5</sup>, bro. of Jonathan<sup>5</sup>, b. in Lexington May 30, 1707, m. in 1725, Prudence ——. He went to the "Country

Gore" in 1729, and first settled at the place afterwards occupied by Joseph Childs, just south of the Ebenezer Locke place. The house was torn down within my remembrance. He afterwards moved two or three times, each time farther east, the last within the limits of Ward, now Auburn, where he d. Oct. 24, 1803, aged 97 years, leaving a wid. with whom he had lived upwards of 78 years. They had eleven ch., one of whom, Dr. Hezekiah<sup>6</sup>, m. Sarah Claffin. Dr. Hezekiah<sup>6</sup> was both a physician and a farmer. One dau. Lucie<sup>6</sup>, b. May 18, 1746, m. in 1767, Benjamin, s. of Dea. Jonathan and Patience (Morse) Keys of Marlboro', and settled in the North Parish of Shrewsbury, now West Boylston.

Beulah<sup>6</sup> (Joseph<sup>5</sup>, Robert<sup>4</sup>), b. July 12, or Aug. 2-7, 1730, these three dates being given by different ones, m. Aug. 7, 1757, John, s. of Samuel and Dinah Chandler, then of that part of Concord afterwards included in Lincoln, but subsequently moved to Lexington, where he spent his days, dying Nov. 22, 1810, aged 79. She d. Feb. 9, 1813, aged 83. He held a commission under Gov. Bernard as "Cornet of his Majesty's Blue Troop"; nevertheless he was not false to his native colony, as he belonged to the Spartan band, headed by Captain Parker, in 1775. His sword, holsters, and a part of his commission are preserved in the family, and were in the hands of his gr.-s., the late Samuel Chandler. He held many important offices, being selectman in the period of the Revolution; a member of the committee of correspondence; and many years treasurer of the ministerial funds, which "he managed with great wisdom and fidelity." They had six ch. John<sup>7</sup>, the eldest, b. Dec. 31, 1758, m. Jan. 12, 1786, Peggy Mack of Salem, by whom he had ten ch. He was a member of Captain Parker's company, and was on Lexington Common on the 19th of April, 1775. He was also in a detachment of the company which was called to Cambridge May 10, and in another one which marched to Cambridge June 17, 1775. In 1779 he entered the marine service under Commodore Tucker. "Being on the southern coast he was included in the capitulation of Charleston, S. C., by Gen. Lincoln in 1780. After enduring severe suffering from confinement and want of food, he was exchanged,

and in company with Joseph Loring, another prisoner from Lexington, without money and nearly naked, made his way home as best he could, depending upon the charity of the people, reaching Lexington after about a year's absence, destitute and wretched." After the close of the war he was actively engaged in the militia; was elected captain in 1790, and major in 1796. He was also a selectman. Nathan<sup>7</sup>, another s., b. Feb. 24, 1762, m. Oct. 24, 1785, Ruth, only dau. of Lieut. William and Ruth Tidd; was a lieut. in the Lexington Artillery in 1793; selectman 15 years; assessor 11 years; town clerk 8 years; treasurer 13 years; representative 8 years; senator and councillor 4 years; and for a long time one of the principal magistrates of the town. Another s., Samuel<sup>7</sup>, b. Feb. 16, 1766, grad. H. C. in 1790, studied theology and was ordained over the 2d Church in Kittery, now Eliot, Me., Oct. 17, 1792. He m. May 30, 1793, Lydia Spring, dau. of his predecessor in the parish, by whom he had a family; one s., Alpheus S.<sup>8</sup> Chandler, was a physician in Columbia, Me.

Daniel<sup>8</sup> Chandler (John<sup>7</sup>, Beulah<sup>6</sup> Meriam), b. Oct. 14, 1788, m. June 7, 1815, Susanna Downing. He entered the U. S. service as ensign in March, 1812, and on the breaking out of the war, marched in Aug. to the frontier, in Col. Tuttle's regiment, wintered in 1812-13 at French Mills, and was at Plattsburg in 1813. While on a hunting excursion he was severely wounded by the accidental discharge of a gun, and being unable to perform active duty was detailed on the recruiting service till 1814, when he returned to the frontier. He was promoted to the rank of lieut. and on the return of peace resigned his commission and returned home. He was 5 years Supt. of the Farm School at Thompson's Island, Boston Harbor, and was afterwards appointed Supt. of the House of Industry, and also of the House of Reformation in Boston, and d. June 16, 1847, of ship fever.

Samuel<sup>3</sup> Chandler, another s. of John<sup>7</sup>, b. Oct. 26, 1795, m. 1st, Lydia, and 2d, Abigail, daus. of Amos and Lydia Muzzy. He entered the U. S. service as ensign in 1814, and was stationed at Pittsfield, from whence he was detailed to conduct a body of British prisoners to Canada on exchange. Soon after his return

the troops were ordered to the Niagara frontier, and arrived at Buffalo the day before the battle of Lundy's Lane, but not in season for this corps to take part in the fight. Early in Aug. they were ordered to Fort Erie, then besieged by the British under Gen. Drummond, and kept in a close state of investment about two months. During this period there were two desperate battles in which he participated,—an assault by Drummond on the fort, Aug. 15, and a sortie from the fort, Sept. 17, which induced Drummond to raise the siege. The loss in these two battles was returned at 595 Americans and 1700 British, including 400 prisoners. After this trying campaign, during which he and others for five months never slept but with their clothes on, came the return of peace. Though he had been promoted, and held a commission of lieut. he had had command of a company, and was subsequently maj.-gen. of the militia. He held the office of sheriff 10 years; was state senator, justice of the peace, and trial justice; and d. at Lexington July 20, 1867. His s., John L.<sup>9</sup> Chandler, at the breaking out of the Rebellion was in Missouri, and entered the service in which he continued till the troops were discharged. He began as lieut., was in several battles, and promoted for gallantry from time to time till he reached the rank of lieut.-col. He was on Frémont's staff, and afterwards provost marshal at Little Rock. Three other sons, Joseph<sup>9</sup>, Samuel<sup>9</sup> and Edward<sup>9</sup>, were in the U. S. service during the Rebellion. Joseph<sup>9</sup> was taken prisoner at the first Bull Run battle, and taken to Richmond, where he was confined about six months. He re-enlisted in the 12th regiment, was made quartermaster-sergeant, and was discharged to accept the office of 1st lieut. in the 7th Mo. cavalry, and served as adjutant. Other descendants of Beulah Meriam were prominent in military and civil affairs, with credit to themselves, and satisfaction to those who gave them honor.

We now come to John<sup>4</sup> Meriam, s. of Joseph<sup>3</sup>, the last one whose descendants I shall notice at the present time. He was b. in Concord, May 30, 1662; m. in 1688, Mary Wheeler, and about this time went to reside at Cambridge Farms, where he was a subscriber to the meeting-house in 1692, and chosen a dea. at



the same time. He became one of the most prominent men of the parish and town; frequently represented the church in ecclesiastical councils; was assessor under the parish organization; and when the precinct was erected into a town, was chosen selectman, an office to which he was frequently recalled. The record of his ch. is imperfect, but he had at least eight, viz., Mary<sup>6</sup>, Benjamin<sup>6</sup>, John<sup>6</sup>, Jonas<sup>6</sup>, Ebenezer<sup>6</sup>, Joshua<sup>6</sup>, William<sup>6</sup> and Amos.<sup>5</sup>

Benjamin<sup>6</sup> was b. Jan. 6, 1701, m. Mary Poulter, and d. Aug. 28, 1773. He was one who marched to the relief of Fort William Henry in 1757. His dau. Elizabeth, b. March 10, 1735, m. Jan. 21, 1758, Jonas, s. of Ebenezer and Abigail (Adams) Brown of Waltham. Jonas Brown was an uncle of Ebenezer of Oxford, who m. Mrs. Bathsheba (Nichols) Conant of Charlton, an aunt of Nancy Tyler Nichols who m. Samuel<sup>7</sup> Meriam of North Oxford. Ebenezer was father of the late Amos Brown, formerly in company with Calvin Foster of Worcester, and built "Brown's Block," cor. of Salem and Myrtle streets. They had six ch. and other numerous descendants.

Benjamin<sup>6</sup> (Benjamin<sup>6</sup>, John<sup>4</sup>) b. June 8, 1737, m. Feb. 28, 1762, Ginger Porter, and d. in Pelham Feb. 1, 1806. They had eleven ch. One s., Rufus<sup>7</sup>, b. Oct. 28, 1762, m. in 1785, Martha, dau. of Joshua and Martha (Bowers) Simonds, by whom he had seven ch., and d. May 7, 1847. He was the first postmaster of Lexington, and for many years kept a public house. At the time of the battle of Lexington he was in his 13th year, "and used to tell of standing on the steps of the old Buckman tavern, afterwards his own residence, and seeing the British column coming up the road. Some of our men were firing from the house, and Mr. Buckman requested them to stop, as the British would be likely to return it; but some loyalists present said there was no danger so long as they were there"; but the bullet-holes left in the house prove they were mistaken. A cut and description of this house may be found in Hudson's *History of Lexington*, and also in Barber's *Historical Collections*. Joshua Simonds, father of Martha, "was among the brave men who met the British, April 19, 1775. He went into the meeting-house for powder, and finding himself cut off from his company, cocked his gun and placed

the muzzle on an open cask of powder, resolved to blow up the house in case the British should enter it."

Julia Ann<sup>8</sup>, dau. of Rufus<sup>7</sup>, b. Oct. 12, 1804, m. Aug. 22, 1827, Rev. Caleb, s. of Capt. Thomas and Elizabeth (Cook) Stetson, b. July 12, 1793; grad. at H. C. in 1822, and studied divinity at Cambridge; ordained over the First Parish in Medford Feb. 28, 1827; next settled at South Scituate, and after leaving there went to Lexington, and resided on the old homestead of his father-in-law in 1860. There is a portrait of him in Hudson's *History of Lexington*. His father was a lineal descendant of Robert Stetson, commonly called "Cornet Robert," being cornet of the first company of horse in Plymouth County, and the original emigrant. Thomas was a shipmaster about thirty years in his younger days, but left the sea and settled in Harvard, where he d. in 1820. His w., Elizabeth Cook, was a lineal descendant of Edward Gray, who was brought over in the Mayflower, at the age of 17, by Gov. Winslow, his guardian, and m. the dau. of John Winslow, bro. of the governor. They were of Kingston, where their ten ch. were b., of whom Caleb was the 9th.

Jonas<sup>5</sup> (John<sup>4</sup>), bap. Jan. 12, 1704, m. 1st, Oct. 1728, Abigail, dau. of Dea. William Locke, Jr., and cousin of Ebenezer who m. Mary<sup>5</sup> Meriam. They were admitted to the church July 1, 1729. She d. Dec. 1755, and he m. 2d, June 22, 1758, Sarah Winship, and d. July 23, 1776. He filled several town offices, and was treasurer in 1747. He had nine ch., all by Abigail. Her grandfather, William Locke, senior, came to this country when 6 years of age, with his relative, Nicholas Davis, in 1634, and d. June 16, 1720.

Abraham<sup>6</sup>, s. of Jonas<sup>5</sup>, b. Dec. 23, 1734, m. April 22, 1756, Sarah Simonds; lived at Lexington some years, moved to Woburn, and finally to Mason, N. H., where he d. Nov. 26, 1797, and where his ch. and some of his other descendants settled.

Jonas<sup>6</sup>, s. of Jonas<sup>5</sup>, and gr.-s. of John<sup>4</sup>, b. at Lincoln, formerly a part of Lexington, in 1730, m. 1st, Nov. 1758, Mehitable, eldest dau. of Francis and Mehitable (Coney) Foxcroft of Cambridge; grad. at H. C. in 1753; admitted to the church in Roxbury, Oct.

6, 1754; received the degree of A. M. in 1757; settled over the church in Newton, their 4th pastor, March 22, 1758, and d. Aug. 3, 1780, aged 50 years, having been pastor of the church 22 years, 5 months. His w., Mehitable, was b. Aug. 19, 1723, and d. April 22, 1770, aged 47 years. They had one ch., Mehitable, b. June 5, 1760, who m. John Kendrick Esq., of Boston. Rev. Jonas<sup>6</sup> m. 2d, in 1771, Jerusha Fitch of Brooklyn, who d. in 1776, and he m. 3d, Sarah Chardon of Boston, who survived him. He had no ch. by the last two marriages. He was buried in Boston in her family tomb, and a monument was erected to his memory in Newton. At a town meeting Dec. 9, 1757, it was "voted to confer with the Church in giving him a call, requesting him to supply the pulpit till his ordination, and fixing his yearly salary at £80, beginning with the date of his ordination, and fuel from the 'ministerial wood-lot,' together with £1000, old tenor, as an inducement for him to accept. The town also voted to defray the expenses of his ordination, which amounted to £13, 6s., and chose a committee to confer with him as to 'what manner he would chose to come into town,' and to wait upon him accordingly. He was the last minister settled by the town, which bore the expenses of his funeral, paying £60 for his coffin, and £31 for ½ barrel of beer and ½ cord of wood." "In 1770 his house was consumed by fire, and in it the records of the church. His people liberally aided him in rebuilding, but the records could not be fully restored." The fire is said to have originated in the garret among some corn-cobs, and was discovered while the family were at supper. The table and its contents were removed, and preserved in the family in after years. His successor in the ministry records of him: "He was reputed a scholar of considerable talents. He had a happy skill in composition. His natural temper was mild and amiable. Charitable towards the distressed, he studied peace through his life." These traits are well illustrated by the following anecdote, related by his grandson as he received it from his mother. "After his marriage to Jerusha Fitch her mother came to reside with them, and brought with her a female slave, named Pamela, whom she received as a

present from her son, Eliphalet Fitch, Esq., then living in the Island of Jamaica. The treatment of this slave by her mistress sorely tried him. One day on seeing his mother-in-law strike and otherwise maltreat the slave, he asked at what price she would sell her to him. She replied, 'One hundred dollars.' He immediately paid the price, and thereupon gave Pamela her freedom; but she chose to live with him, and did so till his death, after which she went to live at Little Cambridge, now Brighton, where she married, and died at a very great age. She always claimed that she was born in Africa, where she was stolen from her parents and carried to Jamaica where she became the slave of Mr. Fitch."

Dr. Silas<sup>6</sup>, s. of Jonas<sup>5</sup>, and gr.-s. of John<sup>4</sup>, b. March 5, 1737, m. 1st, — Dale of Danvers, by whom he had five ch. After her death he m. 2d, Lydia Peabody, by whom he had seven ch. He settled in Middleton before 1760, and was a noted physician in his day. A long prescription which he gave to Capt. Isaac Hartwell of Oxford, and in the possession of his grand-nephew, George W., dated Oct. 11, 1785, closes as follows: "And if any more of the Hemlock Pills be wanting doubtless you may be supplied by sending to Oliver Smith apothecary, a few shops above the Court House in Boston, on the right hand going out of Town."

Dr. Andrew<sup>7</sup>, s. of Dr. Silas<sup>6</sup>, m. 1st, Lydia, dau. of Dea. Francis and Margaret (Knight) Peabody of Middleton; and m. 2d, Ann Jane Nixon. He had six ch., viz., Andrew<sup>8</sup>, Francis Peabody<sup>8</sup>, now living at Middleton; Silas<sup>8</sup>, b. Dec. 19, 1819, grad. at D. C. in 1844, studied divinity at Andover one year, class of 1847, taught in Kentucky three years, but his health failing, embarked in business at Marion, Iowa. He m. in Oct. 1850, Laura Parkhurst of Cincinnati, O., and has since died. James Nixon<sup>8</sup>, Martha Jane<sup>8</sup>, and William Augustus<sup>8</sup> now living in Oakland, Cal., and has one son in Williams College.

Jonas<sup>7</sup>, s. of Dr. Silas<sup>6</sup>, m. Nov. 24, 1789, Mehitable, dau. of John and Hannah (Smith) Peabody of Middleton. She was cousin to Lydia who m. Dr. Andrew<sup>7</sup> Meriam. Lieut. Francis Peabody of St. Albans, Hertfordshire, Eng., b. in 1614, came over in the ship Planter, Nicholas Travis, master, in 1635, and Dea. Francis and John were his descendants of the 4th generation.

Elizabeth<sup>7</sup> (Dr. Silas<sup>6</sup>), b. in Middleton Nov. 14, 1784, m. June 2, 1804, Col. Jesse Putnam of Danvers, a grand-nephew of Gen. Israel Putnam, with whom she lived 56 years and 8 months, he dying in 1861, aged 83. Nov. 14, 1884, she celebrated her 100th birthday, being at the present time the only surviving Meriam of that generation except one, so far as my knowledge goes.\* She is the mother of six sons and six daughters, all of whom lived to grow up and be married, and five of whom, two sons and three daughters, were then living. There had then been forty-two grandchildren, twenty-five of whom were living, and twenty-four great-grandchildren, of whom twenty were living. Col. Putnam was a highly honorable, public-spirited gentleman, and proved that the stock from which he descended had not degenerated. In the War of 1812 he was commissioned as colonel, and stationed at Beverly. He was a firm abolitionist, a friend of Phillips, Garrison and Whittier, but not a "Come-outer" from the church. At this anniversary were gathered four children, eleven grandchildren, and twelve great-grandchildren, and the "good old mother received more than 100 calls from her friends and neighbors," among them the Poet Whittier, who left his card inscribed, "To Mrs. Jesse Putnam at her 100th anniversary. From her husband's friend in the antislavery cause. John G. Whittier. Oak Knoll, 11th mo., 14, 1884." The *Boston Journal* of the next day speaking of this gathering, says: "At Beaver Brook, (Danvers) yesterday, in the venerable New England farm-house of a century and a half ago, to which Colonel Jesse Putnam brought his bride eighty years ago last June, there gathered a notable company of sons and daughters, grandchildren and great-grandchildren, to tender their congratulations, and to bring proof of their love and esteem for the aged mother who still lives in the old homestead which her husband gave her so many years ago, upon her completion of a full century of life. . . . On either side were vignettes of 'Maud Muller' and 'Mabel Martin.' Miss Burnham of Northampton, the head of a large and flourishing ladies' school there, a grandchild now abroad in England, sent a

\* She died Sept. 20, 1887, aged 102 years, 10 months and 6 days.

centennial cake. The ladies of the Third Congregational Church in Chelsea, of which Mrs. Putnam's daughter is a member, sent a basket of 100 roses. There was a profusion of beautiful flowers, and a friend contributed a handsome century plant. Among the many who called were the Rev. Charles B. Rice of the First Parish Church of Danvers, the Fielder Israel of the First Church of Salem, Judge Chamberlain of Boston, city librarian (her son-in-law); the Rev. A. M. Merwin, missionary to Chili, who married a granddaughter of Mrs. Putnam; and ex-superintendent Philbrick of the Boston public schools. Dr. Grosvenor, the family physician of Mrs. Putnam for 46 years, also paid his respects. The aged hostess received her guests with great hospitality and courtly, old-time grace. Her complexion was wonderfully fresh and fair, and betokened a green old age of rare and beautiful serenity. No spot could have been more appropriately chosen. The ancient house, which is more than one hundred and fifty years old; the antique china and queer old furniture; the huge old chimney pieces, and spacious low-studded rooms, redolent with the sacred memories of four score years of peaceful home life. Across the way another old house, which has withstood the gales and storms of 217 years, and in which Gen. Putnam himself was born, lends a sacred historic character to the place." The *Salem Gazette* of Aug. 12, 1885, says: "On Wednesday last Mrs. Elizabeth Putnam, over 100 years of age, visited Middleton, her native place, and was the guest of F. P. Merriam and family, in good health." On her 102d birthday she also received many calls and congratulations.

Ebenezer<sup>5</sup>, s. of John<sup>4</sup>, b. in Lexington March 4, 1706, m. 1st, Esther<sup>2</sup>, dau. of Thomas<sup>1</sup> Gleason of Oxford, who d. Dec. 8, 1740, and he m. 2d, Sept. 17, 1747, Elizabeth<sup>4</sup>, dau. of Ebenezer<sup>3</sup>, s. of William Locke, Jr.,\* and bro. of Abigail<sup>8</sup> who m. his bro., Jonas<sup>5</sup> Meriam. He d. Aug. 20, 1761, and his widow d. May 1, 1797, aged 77. He went to the "Country Gore" in 1729, and settled on the 400 acre purchase. He built his house where his s.

\* William Locke, Jr., was brother of Ebenezer<sup>3</sup>, who married Mary<sup>5</sup> Meriam, daughter of Thomas<sup>4</sup>.

Jotham<sup>6</sup> Meriam, Sen., and gr.-s., Jotham<sup>7</sup> Meriam, Jr., afterwards dwelt, a little west of the house which Ebenezer<sup>3</sup> Locke, who m. Mary<sup>6</sup> Meriam, built, which was afterwards owned and occupied by Parley Eddy, Sen., and later by his s., Rufus Eddy, who m. Phœbe<sup>3</sup> Meriam, a gt.-gr.-dau. of Ebenezer<sup>5</sup>. He had ten ch., four by his 1st w. and six by the last. Thomas<sup>1</sup> Gleason was one of the original proprietors of Oxford at its incorporation in 1713. His wife's name was Mary —, who d. March 13, 1737. He d. Jan. 11, 1731-2.

Ebenezer<sup>6</sup>, s. of Ebenezer<sup>5</sup>, b. in the "Country Gore" March 28, 1734, m. Aug. 20, 1752, Phœbe<sup>4</sup> Locke, sis. of his father's 2d w., by whom he had ten ch. He d. July 16, 1795, and his wid. d. Oct. 27, 1802, aged 71. He lived on the old homestead; was a farmer and brickmaker. His eldest dau., Molly<sup>7</sup>, m. Reuben Eddy of Oxford, and her gr.-dau. Mary Meriam<sup>9</sup> Eddy (Joel<sup>8</sup>), b. April 8, 1813, m. John F. Pond, then of Providence, R. I., afterwards of Worcester, where he is remembered as the chronic joker of the city. Another gr.-dau., Harriet N.<sup>9</sup> Eddy, dau. of Daniel P.<sup>8</sup>, m. Isaac K. Tainter, a native of Leicester, but now of Worcester, s. of Harvey Tainter, Sen., the first postmaster of Cherry Valley,\* Leicester, established in 1859, who m. Lucy, dau. of Ephraim Copeland of Greenville, Leicester, Sept. 12, 1816. Lucy Copeland was a lineal descendant of Gov. William Bradford, John Alden, and the Rev. James Keith who came from Scotland in 1662. Her father was a very eccentric character, and many humorous anecdotes are related of him. Some provisions of his will illustrate this. He was twice married, and Lucy was the dau. of his 1st w. He gave her the interest of \$1000., and to his 2d w. the same, with the addition of house-room and some minor things; to the Baptist Church at Greenville land for an

\*The reason given why Harvey Tainter was appointed postmaster of Cherry Valley is, that a few years before an ineffectual attempt had been made to have a postoffice established there, and on its being renewed it was deemed necessary to the success of the enterprise that a Democrat should be named for postmaster; and as he was the only Democrat in the place, the lot fell upon him.

addition to the burial ground upon certain conditions, and land adjoining to it for the erection of a schoolhouse in which nothing should be taught but the spelling-book and Bible, and only female teachers employed. This institution was to be called "The Bible School, or New Testament sought out." As an endowment the institution was to receive \$1000., the interest of which he had willed to his w., after her decease. He also made provision for a like institution in his native town, West Bridgewater, the endowment to be the \$1000., the interest of which he had given to his dau., at her death. The town of West Bridgewater voted to accept the bequest, but as the will was set aside in the interest of his widow, Leicester and West Bridgewater have remained in ignorance to this day. Furthermore, he gave instructions, though not by will, to have a tomb built in which his body should finally rest, and till this was completed he should be buried beside his 1st w., with his head at her feet. The tomb was built, but his body remains as originally interred.

Jotham<sup>6</sup> (Ebenezer<sup>5</sup>), b. Aug. 26, 1749, m. Sarah, dau. of Ebenezer Burnap of Sutton. He d. Aug. 22, 1798, and his wid. m. 2d, Col. Samuel Denny of Leicester. They had eight ch. Their s., Jotham<sup>7</sup>, gives the following interesting incident of their family life. "In these days when all our spinning and weaving are done by machinery, it will be interesting to notice the following incident which occurred in my father's family, in the old-fashioned spinning days of our mothers. It was in the spring—April or May—about the year 1794. I am not certain about the exact time; I write from memory. At that time Uncle Stephen Pratt, who married father's sister Phœbe, resided in Charlton, about one and a half miles from father's, and his daughters often exchanged work with my sisters, for the two-fold purpose of doing the work in a short time and of enjoying each others' company. In those days to spin two double skeins of linen, 14 knots each, was called a day's work, and to card and spin 4 single skeins of tow, or 6 skeins after it was carded, was called a day's work. At this time Abigail Pratt, Uncle Pratt's second daughter, was here, and they agreed to try their power of speed and endurance on a certain day at spinning. In preparation they borrowed one or



two foot-wheels, and when the time appointed had come they commenced work bright and early. My mother did her house-work, and spun two double skeins of linen, and carded tow enough for six skeins of yarn of seven knots each. Abigail Pratt spun four double skeins of linen, and stoppéd work before night, her fingers being worn so as to bleed. (She was 17 years old.) My sister Sarah (16 years old) spun two and a half double skeins of linen, one and a quarter days' work. My sister Anna, about 12 years of age, spun six skeins of tow—all amounting to 27 single skeins, or 137 knots, or 7,480 threads; 14,960 yards or 44,880 feet." "Sister Sarah" mentioned above, m. her cousin Joel<sup>7</sup>, s. of Ebenezer<sup>6</sup>, and after her d. he m. 2d his cousin Phœbe,<sup>7</sup> dau. of Stephen Pratt. "Sister Anna" m. James<sup>7</sup>, s. of James<sup>6</sup>, and gr.-s. of Joshua<sup>5</sup> Meriam, bro. of Ebenezer<sup>5</sup>. Jotham<sup>7</sup> m. Sophia, wid. of John P.<sup>4</sup> Nichols, and dau. of Joel and Chloe (Hancock) Shumway of Oxford. She had a bro. Rufus, who lived and died in Worcester, in the large brick house on the west side of Portland St., near Park. John P.<sup>4</sup> Nichols was bro. to Nancy T.<sup>4</sup>, who m. Samuel<sup>7</sup> Meriam (gr.-s. of Joshua<sup>5</sup>), and also bro. of the late Charles P.<sup>4</sup> Nichols of Worcester, the lame painter, who last lived on Main street, near Chandler. Jotham<sup>7</sup> was a farmer, living at the old homestead of his grand-parents, which he sold to David Fitts, who m. Chloe<sup>5</sup> Nichols, a dau. of his w. by her 1st husband, and moved to Monson, where his w. d., and he returned and settled near Clappville, now Rochdale, where he d. April 27, 1874, aged 90. He was a justice of the peace, and assisted in gathering material for a history of the Locke family; a man of positive opinions and not easily turned from them when once his mind was made up, and always emphasized his statements by a peculiar motion of the index finger, and an unique twist of his lips.

Reuben<sup>7</sup>, s. of Jotham<sup>6</sup>, b. Dec. 31, 1785, m. Nov. 1, 1821, Eliza Jacobs, eldest dau. of Daniel and Rebecca (Jacobs) Tainter of Sutton, twin-bro. of Dr. David Tainter of Westboro', and uncle of Harvey Tainter who m. Lucy Copeland. They were descendants of Joseph and Mary (Guy) Taynter who sailed from England in April, 1638, and settled in Watertown. Reuben<sup>7</sup> was a machinist and card manufacturer on Leicester Hill, and represented

the town in the legislature in 1834. After the d. of his w. Dec. 26, 1872, at the age of 79 years, 10 months, he went to live with his bro., Jotham<sup>7</sup>, near Rochdale, but both being taken sick at the same time, he was removed to a neighbor's a few rods distant, where he d. April 27, 1874, within a few minutes of the death of his bro., aged 88 years. Another coincident of these bros. is the fact that each had an only s. b. in the same year, 1824, and both d. in 1850, only 10 days intervening between the d. of one and that of the other.

Silas<sup>7</sup>, s. of Jotham<sup>6</sup>, b. Feb. 5, 1792, was 3 times m., 1st to Mary Jacobs Forbes of Westboro', half-sis. of Eliza J., w. of his bro. Reuben<sup>7</sup>; 2d, Elizabeth Temple Bachelder; and 3d, Harriet Pamela, dau. of Col. Samuel and Sukey (Vicery) Watson of Leicester, who after his d., April 13, 1856, m. for her 2d hus., Isaac S. Hutchins of Danielsonville, Conn., and is still living.\* In his younger days Silas<sup>7</sup> travelled in the West, and once owned land in Ohio, but about the time of his 1st m. bought a farm in Sutton, where he resided till the spring of 1844, when he removed to Uxbridge, and about one year afterwards went to Leicester, where he d. One s. George Dwight<sup>8</sup>, b. June 27, 1826, m. Sarah Elizabeth, dau. of John Loring of Leicester, a teamster who for many years did the principal freighting business between Leicester and Worcester. George D.<sup>8</sup> settled in Worcester, where his wid. still resides, and his two daus. are among our best teachers. At the time of his d. in 1862, he kept a fruit and produce store under the City Hall. Silas<sup>7</sup> d. in Jan. 1855. His only other s., Silas Austin<sup>8</sup>, is a painter in Brooklyn, N. Y.

Phœbe<sup>7</sup> (Ebenezer<sup>6</sup>, Ebenezer<sup>6</sup>), b. Sept. 11, 1759, m. Jonathan Pratt of Charlton, and their eldest dau., Matilda<sup>8</sup>, b. Nov. 12, 1788, m. May 31, 1813, Lieut. Parley Stockwell of Sutton, who d. Jan. 24, 1814. She was murdered Feb. 26, 1817, by Peter Sibley, who beat her to death with the butt of his gun. She had taken him as a boarder in charity, when others refused to harbor him on account of his violent temper. He was tried at Worcester in

\* She died in Leicester December 13, 1887.

Sept. 1817, and was acquitted on the ground of insanity. He was confined in the Jail till 1833, when he was sent to the Insane Asylum, where he d. in 1851, aged 63, having been confined 34 years.

Ebenezer<sup>7</sup> (Ebenezer<sup>6</sup>, Ebenezer<sup>5</sup>), b. Dec. 4, 1764, m. Phœbe Stockwell, and resided on a portion of the old homestead, where their youngest ch., Wright Stockwell<sup>8</sup> Meriam,\* and two of their gr.-s. live. He was one of the corporate members of the "Oxford Parsonage Association," formed Dec. 11, 1816, with a capital of \$4000., and rose to the rank of captain in the militia. After his d., March 29, 1820, his wid. m Andrew Parsons of Vernon, Vt., but still lived at the homestead. They had twelve ch., viz., Amos<sup>8</sup>, who m. Lucina King of Sutton, where he settled and spent his days; Artemas<sup>8</sup>, who m. Jerusha Stevens of Charlton, and lived on the homestead; Amasa<sup>8</sup>, who m. Philena Case, and settled in Millbury; Parley<sup>8</sup>, who m. Lucy Brown of Thompson, Conn., went to N. Y. State, and in 1849 settled at Waupun, Wis., where he d. Aug. 24, 1883, in his 89th year; Ebenezer<sup>8</sup>, drowned in the clay-pit at his father's brick yard when nearly a year and a half old; Cyril<sup>8</sup>, who m. Eunice Meriam Gleason of Ward, and d. by his own hand April 13, 1838; Luther<sup>8</sup>, who m. Susan Gleason Marsh of Ward (Auburn), where he d. July 17, 1886, in his 89th year; Ebenezer<sup>8</sup>, who m. Clarissa Cummings of Montpelier, Vt., where he resided a number of years, but is now living at Auburn; Phœbe<sup>8</sup>, who m. Rufus, s. of Parley Eddy, Sen., and lived on the Ebenezer Locke place, North Oxford; Ira<sup>8</sup>, who m. Nancy Converse of Spencer, and wid. Persis M. Bellows, and resides in Oxford; Diantha<sup>8</sup>, who m. Ithamer Stow, Jr., of Millbury, who d. Feb. 16, 1887, aged 84; and Wright Stockwell<sup>8</sup>,\* who m. Eliza, dau. of Jesse Eddy of Auburn, and resides on the old homestead.

Amos<sup>5</sup>, s. of John<sup>4</sup>, bap. July 25, 1715, m. Hannah Danforth. In 1744 he was one of a number of petitioners to be set off from

\* Died September 10, 1887, aged 72 years and 10 months.

Concord to the new town of Lincoln. Of his eight ch., one, Levi<sup>6</sup>, b. Feb. 3, 1756, m. Abigail Fife and moved to Berlin, and his s., Levi<sup>7</sup>, b. Aug. 8, 1781, m. Mary B. Stevens, and was of the firm of Merriam & Brigham of Boston, where his s., Levi B.<sup>8</sup> Merriam, of the firm of Ellis & Merriam, iron dealers, b. April 28, 1812, became an alderman, and d. April 19, 1856. His bro., Charles D.<sup>8</sup> Merriam, b. April 17, 1814, m. Nov. 3, 1836, Eliza F., dau. of Francis Jackson, Esq. of Boston, the abolitionist. After his d., June 2, 1845, she m. James Eddy, then of Boston, now of Providence, R. I. His house is a "Museum of Art"; and at his own expense he erected the "Bell Street Chapel," where by his invitation, a meeting of the "Eddy Family" was held, Oct. 20, 1880, to commemorate the 250th anniversary of the landing of John<sup>1</sup> and Samuel<sup>1</sup> Eddy at Plymouth. Francis Jackson<sup>9</sup> Merriam, s. of Charles D.<sup>8</sup>, b. March 18, 1837, was with John Brown at Harper's Ferry, and one of those who made their escape. He m. Minerva Caldwell, and died in September, 1865. Mr. F. B. Sanborn in his *Life and Letters of John Brown*, devotes some space to his history and movements.

Joshua<sup>5</sup>, s. of John<sup>4</sup>, bap. Feb. 22, 1708, m. Nov. 12, 1733, Susannah, dau. of Thomas<sup>2</sup> and Susannah Gleason of Oxford, a niece of Esther, the 1st w. of his bro. Ebenezer<sup>5</sup>. In the deed of land at the "Country Gore," which he received from his bro. and cousins, before mentioned, Ebenezer<sup>5</sup> signed his name *Meriam*, and Jonathan<sup>5</sup>, Hezekiah<sup>5</sup>, and Joseph, a witness, signed theirs *Miriam*. I have this deed in my possession, as well as other important papers relating to him and his descendants. To his first purchase he added other lands adjoining, and in other parts of the town, some now included in Auburn. He also owned land in Roxbury and Gardner's Canada; the latter being the 60th share of the six miles square "granted by the General Court to the descendants, or legal representatives, of such persons as were in the Canada expedition in the year 1690, under the command of Capt. Andrew Gardner." Nov. 12, 1751, he received from Lieut.-Gov. Phips, Esq., a commission "to be Ensign of the Foot Company in a place called the Country Gore adjoining to Oxford Leicester and Sturbridge under the command of Captain Isaac

Hartwell in the first Regiment of Militia in the County of Worcester whereof John Chandler Esq is Colonel." Sept. 2, 1754, he received from William Shirley, Esq., "Captain-General and Governour in Chief, in and over His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, &c.," a lieutenant's commission in the same Company of Foot, under command of Captain Jonathan Tucker (bro. of Hannah who m. John<sup>1</sup> Nichols), and Colonel John Chandler, and at the same time he took the oath of allegiance. Gov. Shirley also issued to him a commission as lieutenant, June 10, 1755. By the following documents it appears that he was afterwards captain of the same company.

"26 Dcember 1758. a Just and True List of the Names of Those men In the Country Gore So Called that marcht upon the the alarm to Releave the province Forts when beset by the Enemie and was In the Service Eight Day & Marcht To Sheffield: also an account who Rid a Hors Back & who Did not allso how much was Taken up upon Governments Account.—we were Detained two Nights at Sheffield—

	<i>Hors Back</i>	<i>The Govemnt Account Sheffield</i>
Capt. Joshua Miriam	hors	hors 1 nights
Leat Jonhthan Wheelock	hors	hors 2 nights
Sargt Paul Wheelock	hors	
Sarg Jonas Hammond	hors	hors 2 nights
Sarg Ebnezzr Hammond	hors	hors 2 nights
Sarg John Thompson	hors	hors 2 nights
Clerk Uriah Stone	hors	hors 1 night
Corp David Wheelock	hors	hors 2 nights
Corp Nehemiah Ston	hors	
Isaac Hartwell	hors	hors 1 night
Jesse Smith	hors	hors 2 nights
Robert Miriam	hors	hors 1 night
Elijah Stoddard	hors	
Aron Thomson	hors	hors 2 nights
Hezekiah Eddy	hors	hors 2 nights
Elijah Curtis	afoot	
Uriah Ward	hors	hors 2 nights
Simion Mory		
Zeanos Mory		



Reseved of Joshua Miriam Twenty one Shillings & one Pence one farthing in full <sup>for</sup> the hire of a man for to go in the Continental army for three years Being his Parte of three hundred Dollars givin the man for going

Charlton 3<sup>d</sup> Sept yr 1781

Solomon Jones Chare<sup>man</sup>

He d. June 7, 1784, aged 76 years, and his wid. d. Oct. 1, 1788, aged 72 years. The house which he built about 1730, and which received additions by his s. James<sup>6</sup>, was torn down by his gr.-s., Samuel<sup>7</sup>, on the erection of a new one near the same site in 1843, and the panel over the mantel in the parlor, on which is painted what tradition says was intended to be a view of the *town* of Boston at that early day, was preserved, and I now have the pleasure of presenting to this Society this relic of the days of my great-grandfather. Beneath the roof of this venerable old farm-house were born and reared three generations of children of ten each; the b. of the first being Aug. 18, 1734, and the last May 20, 1837, a period less than 103 years, only four of whom are now living.

Joshua<sup>6</sup>, s. of Joshua<sup>5</sup>, b. Aug. 18, 1734, m. 1st, Abigail<sup>6</sup>, dau. of Samuel<sup>5</sup> Eddy of Oxford, afterwards set off to Ward, and sis. of Samuel<sup>6</sup>, who m. his sis. Susannah<sup>6</sup> Meriam. He m. 2d, Mrs. Hannah Lovell, and 3d, Ann Stockwell. Of his four ch. Jonathan<sup>7</sup> is said to have m. a "Dutch girl" and moved to N. Y. State, and I have no further trace of him. Abigail<sup>7</sup> m. 1st, William Forbes of Oxford; 2d, John Plummer of Thompson, Conn.; and 3d, Josiah Prentice, Esq. of Oxford, and d. without issue. Lydia<sup>7</sup>, m. Jonathan<sup>8</sup>, s. of John<sup>2</sup> Nichols of Charlton, and father of the late Capt. Thomas<sup>4</sup> Nichols of Oxford, whose dau. Thirsa S.<sup>5</sup>, is one of our school teachers. John<sup>7</sup> m. Hannah<sup>8</sup> Nichols, sis. of Jonathan<sup>8</sup>, and settled in Oxford, but d. in Charlton Oct. 6, 1840, aged 71 years. When a boy he lived with his grandparents, and his grandfather, Joshua<sup>5</sup> Meriam, left him by will £69, "equal in value to so much in silver as it stood in the year 1770," to be paid to him on his arrival at the age of 21 years, and which was paid by the executor, James<sup>6</sup> Meriam, Dec. 10, 1789, for which he gave his receipt, witnessed by Marcy<sup>7</sup> Meriam and James<sup>7</sup>

Meriam, Jr. He was one of the corporate members of the "Oxford Parsonage Association." He had five ch., only two of whom lived to grow up, viz., Celia<sup>7</sup>, who m. Parley Eddy, Jr., bro. of Rufus who m. Phœbe<sup>7</sup> Meriam; and Sophia<sup>7</sup>, who m. Timothy Morse of Charlton, several of whose gr.-ch. reside in Worcester.

Susannah<sup>6</sup>, dau. of Joshua<sup>5</sup>, b. Oct. 23, 1736, m. Samuel<sup>6</sup> Eddy of Oxford. His descent was Samuel<sup>5</sup>, Samuel<sup>4</sup>, Samuel<sup>3</sup>, John<sup>2</sup>, William<sup>1</sup>, who was a native of Bristol, Eng., educated at Trinity College, and was Vicar of Cranbrook, Kent, from 1589 to 1616, and d. Nov. 23, 1616. He m. 1st, Mary, dau. of John Fosten, Nov. 20, 1587, who d. July, 1611, leaving ten ch. He m. 2d, in 1614, Elizabeth Taylor, by whom he had one ch. John<sup>2</sup> Eddy and his bro. Samuel<sup>2</sup>, s. of William<sup>1</sup>, left London for America Aug. 10, 1630, and arrived at Plymouth Oct. 29, 1630, and settled at Watertown. Sarah<sup>3</sup> Eddy, dau. of John<sup>2</sup>, m. John Marion of Watertown and Boston, whose name and those of his descendants have become so mixed up with the Meriams on the records that it has been sometimes hard to distinguish them. Samuel<sup>5</sup> Eddy, b. in Watertown Aug. 14, 1701, m. Elizabeth Ward and moved to Oxford in 1726, where he d. in 1762; but is said to have first gone there in 1720. "He lived in a cabin, and one evening found that a rattlesnake had taken possession of his bed during his absence, which had to be ejected before he could retire." His s., Samuel<sup>6</sup>, lived on the same farm, situated in that part of Oxford afterwards included in Ward, and kept a public house during the War of the Revolution. He represented the town of Ward in the General Court in 1787. His gr.-s., Samuel<sup>7</sup>, also resided there, as did his gt.-gr.-s., Samuel<sup>8</sup>, who d. there Sept. 28, 1882, at the age of 86, whose s., Samuel<sup>9</sup>, once kept a grocery store on the corner of Myrtle and Southbridge streets in Worcester, in company with Joseph R. Torrey, the razor strop man. In 1793 Samuel<sup>6</sup> gave a deed of the place to his s., Samuel<sup>7</sup>, on condition that he would support his father and mother during their natural lives, which obligation seems never to have been recorded, but is now in my possession, and is an interesting document.



Ruth<sup>6</sup>, dau. of Joshua<sup>5</sup>, b. Feb. 4, 1739, m. Henry Burnet. He settled in Warwick. On the motion made in town meeting, July 13, 1775, to confine the Rev. Lemuel Hedge, he voted yes. He had a social, jovial nature, and could appreciate a joke. There was an old lady friend of his, well advanced in years of "single-blessedness," whom he delighted to banter on that account, and who declared she would never marry. "Now," said he, "supposing there should come along a nice, rich young man and offer you his hand, don't you think you would accept?" "Oh, I don't know," she replied, "we're changeable critters." Years afterwards he would repeat this story and laugh heartily.

Lydia<sup>6</sup>, dau. of Joshua<sup>5</sup>, b. July 26, 1745, m. David<sup>4</sup> Gleason of Oxford, and settled in Ward. He was s. of Thomas<sup>3</sup>, gr.-s. of Thomas<sup>2</sup>, and gt.-gr.-s. of Thomas<sup>1</sup>.\* Esther<sup>2</sup> Gleason, 1st w. of Ebenezer<sup>5</sup> Meriam, was his great-aunt; Susannah<sup>8</sup> G., w. of Joshua<sup>6</sup> Meriam, was his aunt; and Ruth<sup>4</sup> G., who m. Ephraim<sup>6</sup>, s. of Ebenezer<sup>5</sup> Meriam, was his sis., so that his w. appears to have been his cousin. His s., Ezra<sup>6</sup> Gleason, m. 1st, his cousin Eunice<sup>7</sup>, dau. of James<sup>6</sup>, and gr.-dau. of Joshua<sup>5</sup> Meriam; and he m. 2d, Marcy<sup>7</sup>, sis. of Eunice<sup>7</sup>. Eunice<sup>6</sup> Gleason, dau. of Ezra<sup>5</sup> and Eunice<sup>7</sup>, became the w. of Cyril<sup>8</sup>, gt.-gr.-s. of Ebenezer<sup>5</sup> Meriam. David<sup>4</sup> Gleason was a farmer, and deacon of the church. His dau. Merriam<sup>5</sup> Gleason, m. Edward, s. of Comfort and Martha (Morris) Rice of Worcester, and gr.-s. of Lieut. Gershom Rice, Jr., whose father, Gershom Rice, Sen., settled on Packachoag Hill, so named by the Indians, says Daniel Gookin, "from a delicate spring of water there."

James<sup>6</sup>, s. of Joshua<sup>5</sup>, b. Nov. 30, 1747, m. Eunice, dau. of Thomas and Eunice (Putnam) Lovell of Sutton, afterwards set off to Millbury. They lived on the old homestead of his father in the Country Gore. Her father made some objection to the marriage on account of the distance the place was situated from the meeting-house, four or five miles; but James told him he had two horses, and she would have no trouble in going to meeting.

\* Thomas<sup>1</sup> Gleason was son of Thomas of Sudbury, and grandson of Thomas of Watertown and Charlestown.

This is explained by the fact that there was then, 1774, no open road to the place, and the usual mode of travel was by foot or on horseback. Once on returning home from a visit to her friends she was thrown from her horse, startled by the sudden assault of a yelping dog, and in consequence suffered the dislocation of one hip, which, not being properly set, caused her to hobble on crutches the remainder of her life. This was afterwards aggravated by being thrown out of the old "one horse shay" returning from a visit to her only sis., Sarah, w. of Josiah Waite of Royalston, caused by the horse stumbling in descending a hill in Leicester. Her bro., Ezra Lovell, was called the strongest man in "these parts," and it was his yearly pastime to place the barrels of cider in the cellar upon the third tier, simply lifting them by the chimes. He once lifted a weight of 900 pounds. The following is characteristic of one who was occasionally called to attend the family in his official capacity as physician, whose w. was a cousin of the w. of Samuel Meriam :

Oxford May 3<sup>rd</sup> 1815

This may Certify that the Subscriber has given the kine pock Disease to Mrs. Eunice Meriam to Samuel and to Nancy Meriam her Children, and do promise should they, or either of them ever have the small pox to pay all expenses of their having said Disease

Witness my hand Delano Pierce

James<sup>6</sup> was enrolled a soldier in the Revolution, as the following documents show :

Oxford Sept<sup>m</sup> the 23 1777 this  
may sartfy that I have Rec<sup>d</sup>. By the [hand] of Sert. James Meriam  
fifteen Pound as a fine for Refusen to go into the Contaniel Sarvis  
in the Room & Steed of his father

Recd by me

John Town cap

To Sert. James Meriam your forth with Required to notify &  
warne Capt Isaac hertwell to Sarve in the Contanental armye  
Eight months or get Sum Good abele Bodied man in his Room  
& Stid or pay Fifteen Pounds in twenty four ours by Spchel orders  
from Corte Oxford Sept the 22 : 1777 John Town Capt

Worcester July 7<sup>th</sup>, 1779

Personally appeared James Meriam Clerk of the Second Militia Company in Oxford and made solemn oath that he would honestly faithfully & Imparshally Execute the several Duties of his S<sup>d</sup> office according to the best of skill and abilities

before me Jacob Davis Jus. Peace

Oxford Aug 29<sup>th</sup> 1781 Then Recd of M<sup>r</sup> James Meriam Ninety Pounds in Stock and Money in full for a Negro Man to go into the army and this is to Discharge him from all Demands I have on S<sup>d</sup> Meriam and Clap as witness my hand

Edwd R Campbell

Leicester Aug 30<sup>th</sup> 1781 this day recvd one man for the town of Oxford to Sarve in the army for three years for the clase whear of Mr James Meriam is chear man

Seth Wash burn Superint

He was one of the original members of the "Oxford Theft Detecting Society," formed in 1791. His eldest s., James<sup>7</sup>, m. 1st, Anna<sup>7</sup>, dau. of Jotham<sup>6</sup> Meriam, by whom he had one ch., Adolphus<sup>8</sup> Meriam. He m. 2d, Zaruia Rich of Milford, N. Y., where he resided some years and then moved to Fort Wayne, Ind., where he d., and near where some of his descendants still live. Thomas<sup>7</sup>, s. of James<sup>6</sup>, m. Lucy, dau. of Deacon Isaac Stone of Ward, where he settled, but in his last years lived with his only ch., Isaac S.<sup>8</sup> Meriam, at one time a real estate broker in Worcester. He rose to the rank of major in the militia; was a justice of the peace; and represented Auburn in the Legislature in 1843.

Samuel<sup>7</sup>, s. of James<sup>6</sup>, m. Nancy Tyler<sup>4</sup>, dau. of John<sup>8</sup> Nichols of Charlton, and settled on the old homestead at Oxford North Gore. Her gt.-gr.-father, John<sup>1</sup> Nichols, came from Ireland at the age of 17, probably about 1727, as he d. Jan. 10, 1801, aged 91; and bought a large tract of land in Oxford and what is now the south part of Charlton. He m. Hannah, dau. of Capt. Jonathan Tucker, Sen., of Charlton, by whom he had two ch., John<sup>2</sup> and Hannah<sup>2</sup>. His will is dated May 12, 1798, and proved March

3, 1801. Lucretia (Putnam) Nichols, mother of Nancy T., was the dau. of Dea. Amos Putnam of Sutton and Worcester, bro. of Gen. Rufus, the pioneer in the settlement of the Western Reserve, Ohio; and their father, Dea. Elisha, was a cousin of Gen. Israel Putnam. Dea. Amos lived at what is now Jamesville, where one of the gates on the old Worcester and Stafford Turnpike was located, and may have been its first keeper, although he has not been given the credit of it. When 3 years old, Nancy fell into the well, still in use, at the old homestead of her father, but was rescued without injury. Of the ten children born to Samuel<sup>7</sup> and Nancy but four remain, the writer being the firstborn, now (Sept. 6, 1837) in the 70th year of his age. April 2, 1867, they celebrated their golden wedding, at which were present the original groomsmen and bridesmaids, Dea. Seth Daniels and wife of Oxford, parents of George F. Daniels who is engaged in writing the town history.

Nancy<sup>7</sup>, youngest ch. of James<sup>6</sup>, b. Dec. 30, 1791, remained single and d. Nov. 5, 1822. At the age of 18 she became hopefully converted, and ever after proved her devotion to the cause she had espoused. She held frequent correspondence with her numerous friends, of which she made and preserved copies, and kept a diary from 1811 to near the close of her life, in which she recorded not only her own thoughts and feelings, but the scripture texts, heads of discourses, and sometimes large portions of the sermons to which she was privileged to listen, which she wrote from memory, not taking any notes at the time of delivery. These are valuable mementoes of those early days, and those old-time pastors. She was active in all benevolent works of the time in which she lived, as the following extracts from her diary prove :

*May 5th, 1819.*—The Oxford Female Cent Society formed. Fifty-six members. The meeting introduced by prayer and exhortation by the Reverend Mr. B.[Batchelor] The Society unanimously adopted a constitution, chose their officers and a committee to appropriate their bounty. We have succeeded beyond my most sanguine expectations in the formation of this Society.

Then follows a prayer for God's blessing upon their efforts. She was chosen secretary of this Society, and made and preserved annual reports of their doings, copies of which, and of the constitution I have in her handwriting.

*May 12th.*—Attended a female prayer meeting at Mrs. P.'s. The first I believe ever held in this town. It was proposed that the members of the Female Cent Society and the sisters of the church who do not belong to this Society, meet monthly for prayer, reading and religious conversation. I returned much refreshed in spirit.

*May 30th.*—Just returned from the Sabbath School. I have this day commenced a new and most important work. I feel incompetent for the task.

This school was in the Gore District, which she was instrumental in forming, there being another at the center of the town in which she also sometimes assisted. After her death there was some talk of having her biography written, but those most competent for the task had either passed away or were not approached in regard to it. It was a time when many such biographies were published to stimulate the minds of the young, and fiction was utterly discarded.

Martha<sup>6</sup>, dau. of Joshua<sup>5</sup>, b. June 30, 1752, m. Asa Conant Sen.,\* and settled in Warwick, where she d. March 12, 1812, and he d. Feb. 21, 1832. On the question of confining Rev. Mr. Hedge he voted no. Of their nine ch., Susannah<sup>7</sup>, b. May 29, 1783, m. James, s. of Jonathan and Mary (Pierce) Blake of Dorchester and Warwick. He was a farmer and first settled in Warwick, then lived two or three years in Dorchester, returned to Warwick in 1810, moved to Gill in 1816, lived some years in Vermont, and finally returned to Warwick about 1836, where he d. Oct. 1, 1847. He was deacon of the Unitarian Church at Warwick from 1838 till his death. Patty<sup>7</sup>, dau. of Asa and Martha Conant, b. Oct. 23, 1786, m. Hon. Jonathan Blake, bro. of James, b. in Dorchester May 29, 1780. Of himself he says, in a letter to Samuel Blake: "I lived one year in Dorchester, and then moved to

\* A native of Dudley.

Warwick in Franklin County, and lived there over 73 years ; and then moved to Brattleboro', Vt. Was Town Clerk of Warwick 15 years, served as Selectman, Overseer of the Poor and Assessor 9 years, was an active Justice of the Peace 42 years, Land Surveyor and Conveyancer 50 years, Representative to General Court 2 years, Senator of Mass. 2 years, County Commissioner in Franklin County 9 years, and Chairman of the Board 3 years, trained as a common soldier in the Militia 17 years, Superintendent of Sunday School 20 years, Agent, Clerk, one of the Directors, and President of the 'Franklin Glass Factory Company' 8 years, wrote the History of Warwick, and many other fugitive pieces in prose and verse, was a member of the Convention of 1820 to revise the Constitution of Mass., a member of the Unitarian Church in Warwick over 50 years, and a humble private citizen through life." The descendants of these two Blake families are very numerous.

Asa<sup>6</sup>, youngest ch. of Joshua<sup>5</sup>, b. Oct. 20, 1754, m. Mary, dau. of Luke and Lydia (Situat) Lincoln of Leicester, a descendant of Gen. Lincoln of Revolutionary fame. He became a distinguished physician, and settled in New Salem, where he d. May 7, 1795. Several of their daus. became teachers, not only in New Salem and towns in that vicinity, but in Boston and Cambridge. Their s., Joshua Lincoln<sup>7</sup> Meriam, b. April 6, 1783, m. Lucy (Hatstat) Meriam, wid. and 2d w. of William<sup>7</sup>, gr.-s. of Ebenezer<sup>5</sup> Meriam. She was dau. of George Hatstat, a Hessian soldier in the Revolution. She was b. Jan. 7, 1782, and d. in Petersham at the house of Sanford B. Cook, who m. her gr.-dau., Jan. 9, 1880, aged 98 years, 2 days. Joshua Lincoln<sup>7</sup> d. Feb. 7, 1869, aged 85 years, 10 months.

In this paper I must necessarily pass by many worthy of honorable mention, but cannot close without returning thanks to the large number of correspondents who have so greatly aided me in collecting the great amount of material in my possession, which I hope some day to see woven into a family history ; and I earnestly request all who have in their possession facts that will in any way aid in making such a history complete, to communicate them to me.

Mr. Meriam presented to the Society the ancient panel on which is painted a view of Boston in the early time, mentioned in his paper. Thanks were voted for the gift.

The meeting was adjourned to the evening of Tuesday, September 13th.

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Adjourned meeting, Tuesday evening, September 13th.

Present: Messrs. Abbot, Crane, Hosmer, Gould, Dickinson, Harlow, Houghton, Harrington, Lee, J. A. Howland, Hubbard, Jackson, C. Jillson, Wall, Lyford, Marvin, Mellen, Meriam, Parker, Perkins, Phillips, F. P. Rice, H. M. Smith, Staples, members; and Rev. Dr. E. Cutler, Rev. Henry Hague, C. F. Adams, F. L. Mellen, C. A. Perkins, F. Whipple and others, visitors.—38.

The following paper was read by Henry L. Parker, Esq.

THE  
ANGLICAN CHURCH IN THE COLONIES.

BY HENRY L. PARKER.

The historian like the poet is born, not made. The two indispensable qualities he should possess, the critical faculty and a judicial mind, are the gifts of nature rather than the acquirements of study and art. But without these two qualities the writer of history becomes the writer of fiction, and perpetuates falsehoods under the semblance of truth.

The early historians of Massachusetts lacked the judicial mind, for they were writers of contemporaneous history, and partizans from necessity; while those who followed them lacked the opportunity to exercise the critical faculty had they possessed it, on account of the dispersion of material, and the consequent inextricable confusion of dates. It is but little more than thirty years since the records of the Massachusetts Colony were collected in proper shape and published by order of the General Court.

For these reasons many erroneous statements have passed current as historical facts for more than two hundred years. It is only within the present generation that they have been challenged and refuted. But the result of the labors of those investigators who have sifted the materials which have been collected within the present generation has not been as a whole to the disadvantage of the Puritans.

The writers of the present day speak in plainer language however. They call things by their right names. They drop the tone of indiscriminate praise and fulsome eulogy, and find apology unnecessary. The Puritans were austere, bigoted, and it is hard



to believe that they were not vindictive,—they were intolerant. Granted that they were. Better than any other class of men that ever lived they could afford to be. They can stand upon their merits as for more than two centuries they have stood. They need no apotheosis—no apology.

The Bible offers no apology for King David. Stained with crime as he was, save in the matter of Uriah the Hittite, he was still “a man after God’s own heart.” And so the Puritans, with all their shortcomings, were none the less the chosen people of God, working out at His behest, through pain and hardship and martyrdoms and blood, a mighty problem. As the foothills of the Alps tend by contrast to throw into stronger relief the lofty domes that rise from their midst, so the faults of the Puritans serve only to make more conspicuous the grand residuum of their character.

It is hardly necessary to add that it is not my purpose in what I may say to-night, to make any assault upon these men—to cast any slurs upon them. I seek no quarrel with them, as did not the Anglican Church, but yielded rather to the constituted authorities as directed in the thirty-nine articles. Article xxxvii. provides that “the power of the civil magistrate extendeth to all men as well Clergy as Laity in all things temporal. . . . And we hold it to be the duty of all men who are professors of the Gospel to pay respectful obedience to the Civil Authority.” My only object in presenting this paper is to defend the Anglican Church and its members from the aspersion that they sought to break up or interfere with the civil or religious government which the Puritans had founded, or that they sought or desired anything farther than the enjoyment by themselves and in their own way, of their own service and forms of worship. And furthermore, that they are not to be classed with Roger Williams and the Anabaptists and the Quakers, as intruders and dissentients.

If, as has been facetiously said, the Puritans had a *theological* fee simple as well as fee simple in the land, the members of the Anglican Church were not trespassers, but joint tenants rather. They were not wolves in the fold, but a *part of the flock*.

They were rightly here. Some were already here as owners and occupants of the soil. Others came with Endicott and Winthrop, and they came as original patentees and members of the Council, and they came in good faith. They were simply outnumbered. That was all.

In the discussion of the subject before us to-night—"The attitude of the Colonies towards the Anglican Church, and the relations of the one to and with the other"—a good deal of misapprehension may be avoided by first tracing briefly the origin and growth of the different shades of religious opinion occasioned by the Reformation, and defining the terms by which these shades of opinion were known. The Pilgrims were not Puritans, for while the former were Separatists or Independents, the latter were believers in a national church, and claimed to be members of the Church of England. But there was among the Puritans themselves almost as wide a distinction. Some of them were dissenters to the doctrine of the Church, some to the discipline, and some to both; while others conformed, some to the one, some to the other, and some to both.

When Henry VIII. proclaimed himself the head of the English Church, it was intended simply as an assertion of ecclesiastical independence of Rome. It was not a protest against any of the doctrines or practices of the Roman Church. It was not a denial of its orthodoxy or its claims to be a divine institution. It was a denial of the sovereignty of the Roman Pontiff, not of apostolic succession. The Anglican Bishops claimed ecclesiastical equality with the Pope. Henry VIII. lived and died a devout believer in all the essential doctrines of the Church of Rome. Nor did he consciously or intentionally open the questions which led to the Reformation, for the purpose of introducing the theories of the Continental reformers. Nevertheless the Act of Supremacy was the entering wedge for the introduction of such Protestant doctrine.

Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, encouraged the growth of the reformed doctrine. He allowed clergymen to hold benefices without ordination by a bishop. He revised the liturgy, it is said

at the suggestion of Calvin, which resulted in the book known as King Edward's Service Book. Up to the time when Mary ascended the throne, there had been no separation, no non-conformity. But the five years of Mary's reign were retrogressive. The Pope was re-acknowledged, the diffusion of knowledge among the people was stopped, the revised liturgy was superseded, and the Romish ritual and ceremonial again introduced. And the persecution to which those were subjected who refused to submit to the new order of things, drove many into exile on the Continent.

It was among these refugees on the Continent that the first controversy arose on the subject of King Edward's Prayer Book, owing largely no doubt to the influence of the reformers among whom they sojourned. This controversy was afterwards transferred to England in the time of Elizabeth, and gave rise to the two parties known as Puritans and Court Reformers, known later as Conformists and Non-conformists, and still later as High Church and Low Church. These rival parties in the Church strove for the establishment of a ritual and ceremonial in accordance with their respective views.

The Puritan party strove to incorporate into the doctrine of the Church the views of Calvin, especially the doctrine of predestination; and to abolish the use of vestments, the cross, and bowings and genuflections in the service, as savoring of popery. This the Church constantly resisted. Matthew Arnold says:

"Everybody knows how far non-conformity is due to the Church of England's rigor in imposing an explicit declaration of adherence to her formularies. But only a few, who have searched out the matter, know how far non-conformity is due, also, to the Church of England's invincible reluctance to narrow her large and loose formularies to the strict Calvinistic sense dear to Puritanism. Yet this is what the record of conferences shows at least as signally as it shows the domineering spirit of the High Church clergy. There is a very chain of testimonies to show us from Elizabeth's reign to Charles the Second's, Calvinism as a power both within and without the Church of England, trying to get decisive command of her formularies; and the Church of England, with the instinct of a body meant to live and grow, and averse to fetter and engage its future, steadily resisting."

Now this controversy went on with vicissitudes of fortune through the reign of Elizabeth, and down to the date of the settlement of the Massachusetts Colony. Acts of Uniformity were passed, to which some of the Puritan clergy conformed. Others refused conformity in ritual or discipline, and some abandoned the clerical calling. But up to the date of the sailing of the *Arbella*, the Puritan party, with the exception of about seven years under Bancroft, Bishop of London, and one year under Archbishop Laud, succeeded in avoiding the observance of the most obnoxious ceremonies without much trouble.

Meanwhile, in 1583, the sect known as Brownists, from its founder, Robert Brown, originated. Brown himself in 1589 became again reconciled to the Church of England, but the sect continued to flourish, and were known as Separatists or "Independents, of whom Cromwell afterwards became the head. A party of these, with John Robinson \* as pastor, went to Leyden, where they remained until they landed at Plymouth in 1620. As contra-distinguished from the settlers at Massachusetts Bay they were known as Pilgrims.

So that in 1630, when Winthrop and his company landed, the religious proclivities of the English-speaking world, according to an excellent authority on our early Colonial History, † might be classed as follows :

\* Robinson himself, late in life, uttered these words, which would seem to indicate reconciliation with the Church of England, or at any rate that his views had greatly moderated: "For myself thus I believe with my heart and profess with my tongue and have before the world that I have one and the same faith hope spirit baptism and Lord which I had in the Church of England and none other; that I esteem so many in that church of what state or order soever as are truly partakers of that faith (as I account many thousands to be) for my Christian brethren and myself a fellow member with them of that one mystical body of Christ scattered far and wide throughout the world."—*Young's Chronicles*, p. 400.

† "Brief Review of the History of the Puritans and Separatists from the Church of England." By A. C. Goodell. *Hist. Coll., Essex Inst.*

In the Church of England.

- 1st. Conforming Puritans in England.  
Non-conforming Puritans in England.
- 2nd. The High Church Party.
- 3rd. Massachusetts Non-conformists.

Out of the Church of England.

- 1st. The Plymouth Separatists or Semi-separatists.
- 2nd. The Leyden Separatists or Semi-separatists.
- 3rd. The Brownists at Amsterdam.
- 4th. The old Separatists—a few in England.

These all might be resolved into three general classes:—The High Church Party, the Low Church Party, and the Separatists or Independents.

With the Plymouth Colony this discussion will have little to do. The Independents from Robinson and Bradford to Cromwell and Milton, were broad and tolerant. The administration of the Plymouth Colony was for the most part mild and just. The Pilgrims said what they meant and meant what they said. They minded their own affairs and desired the rest of the world to mind theirs. It is not on record that they scourged delicate women in the public streets, or hung Quakers, or sold the children of captive Indians into slavery.

How much of this can be said of the Colonists of Massachusetts Bay? Under what circumstances did they come here? What was their purpose? Was it for the purpose avowed by the Pilgrims, to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience? To found a new church? The Charter says the main end of their coming is the conversion of the Indians, in these words:

“To wyne and incite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the onlie true God and Savior of mankind and the Christian Fayth, which is our royall intention and the adventurers free profession is the principall ende of this plantation.”

At a meeting of Assistants April 8th, 1629, in the proposition accepted in writing for the employment of the Rev. Francis

Higginson and Rev. Samuel Skelton as ministers, there is this clause :

“—Whereby to their uttermost to further the maine end of this plantation, being by the assistance of Almighty God the conversion of the salvages.”

In the Company's first general letter of instructions to Endicott and his council (who it will be remembered preceded Winthrop by nearly two years), there is this passage :

“And for that the propagating of the gospel is the thing we do profess above all to be our aim in settling this Plantation.”

And still later Gov. Cradock in his letter to Endicott says :

“And we trust you will not be unmindful of the main end of our Plantation by endeavoring to bring the Indians to a knowledge of the gospel.”

How was this avowed purpose carried out? If we date from the Plymouth Colony settlement, nearly a whole generation passed before any beginning was made. Meanwhile the Indian was made to feel the power and superiority of the white man. They kept them at a distance, acquired enough of their language for the purpose of trade and barter, but made them amenable to the white man's laws for theft, polygamy, and murder, and waged war upon them for defending what they believed to be their natural rights. In the pequot war of 1637 the Colonists seemed almost bent on extermination, thinking they were doing God's service. And of the male captives some were carried to the West Indies and sold as slaves, while others were distributed among the Colonists as bond servants. When the Colonists were at last stirred to take some action in furtherance of this main end of their coming, it was evidently occasioned by the complaints and censures of their friends in England. Certain perfunctory orders were then passed by the Massachusetts Court, and at about this time Eliot, Mayhew and Gookin began their labors, but they met with but little aid or sympathy from the Colonists. The Puritans soon grew to regard the Indians as vermin and pests to be exterminated. Cotton Mather said of them: “These doleful creatures are the veriest ruins of mankind. One might see among them what a hard master the Devil is, to the most devoted

of his vassals." Rev. Solomon Stebbins writes to Gov. Dudley proposing that "they may be put into ye way to hunt ye Indians with dogs as they doe bears."

So much for the avowed purpose of the Colonists in coming, and the manner in which it was carried out.

Did they intend at the outset a separation from the Church of England? Not unless their own language belies them. When on board the *Arbella* and detained by unfavorable winds, a farewell letter was written to their friends, entitled "The Humble Request of his Majesty's Loyall Subjects, the Governor and the Company late gone for New England; to the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England; for the obtaining of their Prayers, and the removal of suspicions and misconstruction of their Intentions."

I wish I could give the whole letter, but I must confine myself to this extract:

"And howsoever your charity may have met with some occasion of discouragement through the misreport of our intentions, or through the disaffection or indiscretion of some of us or rather amongst us (for we are not of those that dream of perfection in this world) yet we desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals and body of our Company as those who esteem it our honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother; and cannot part from our native Country where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation we have received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breasts. We leave it not therefore as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there; but blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body, shall always rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her and while we have breath sincerely desire and endeavor the continuance and abundance of her welfare with the enlargement of her bounds in the Kingdom of Jesus Christ."

This letter is dated April 7th, 1630, and is signed by Gov. Winthrop and his associates. John White, author of the *Planter's Plea*, who has been called the "Father of the Massachusetts Colony" and the "Patriarch of New England," cites this letter in answer to the charge that "faction and separatism" was secretly

harbored by those projecting the settlement of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and that it was intended as a "nursery" of faction and rebellion, disclaiming and renouncing the Church as Anti-Christ"; and says, "Some variation from the formes and customes of our Church" might be expected, but denies that the Colonists were projecting this settlement for a nursery of schismatics; "—that at least three out of four of the planters had lived in a constant course of conformity unto our church government and orders." "Mr. John Winthrop had been every way regular and conformable in the whole course of his practice." "Neither all nor the greatest part of the ministers are unconformable."

Notwithstanding these protestations we find within an incredibly short time after landing at Salem, a complete change of sentiment. Within fifteen days Rev. George Phillips, one of the signers of the letter dated from the Arbella, and who had acted as chaplain on the voyage over, privately told Dr. Fuller, the physician from Plymouth summoned to attend the sick among the new comers, that "if they will have him stand minister by that calling which he received from the prelates in England he will leave them." \*

Roger Williams in 1630-31 refused to join with the congregation at Boston "because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England while they lived there." When on the 27th of August John Wilson was chosen teacher Gov. Winthrop says in his Journal: "We used imposition of hands, but with this protestation by all that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England." And within six weeks after landing, the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Isaac Johnson, and John Wilson,

\* Savage says in relation to this language attributed to Rev. George Phillips: "This was not the spirit of the first settlers of Massachusetts until they had lived some years in the wilderness"; and he further adds, "and I imagine Phillips was overcome by the persuasion of friends to postpone the scruple he had communicated to the Plymouth Colonist."



the minister, organized in Charlestown a Separatist Non-conforming congregation or church.

There has been much controversy as to the occasion of this sudden change of base. The causes that led to it will probably never be satisfactorily determined. But from this time there began and continued for almost half a century, until at least the forfeiture of their charter, the remarkable rule of the Puritans. By their charter the Colony was nothing more nor less than a trading company like the East India Company. Its franchise was like that of any corporation organized for trade. Its governing body could act only within the limits of England. All their regulations for the government of the country must be similar to the laws and ordinances of municipal bodies in England, and subject to appeal and judicial supervision. One of the first acts of the Colonists was to remove their charter to America and establish the governing body here. And that governing body was a theocracy pure and simple. The clergy was the ruling power—the power behind the throne. The administration of all its affairs was placed upon an ecclesiastical basis. The town meeting was the church meeting, at which none but church members could vote. The right of appeal to Parliament was denied; and supervision was exercised by the authorities over the commonest and minutest affairs of life. Fines were imposed for spending time unprofitably, for non-attendance at church, for using tobacco, for denying the Scriptures to be the word of God. For censure of the Church or Government or disrespect of the magistrates, corporal punishments were inflicted, such as whipping, standing in the pillory, and cropping of the ears. The spirit of the times found good expression in the famous charge of the Sessions Justice: "Gentlemen of the Grand Jury, you are required by your oath to see to it that the several towns in the County be provided according to law with 'pounds and schoolmasters, whipping posts and ministers.'"

But the distinguishing feature of Puritan rule was religious intolerance. The cruel scourgings, imprisonments, and mutilations inflicted upon the Antinomians, the Anabaptists, and

Quakers, were inflicted as penalties for the indulgence and expression of *religious opinion*, and no impartial and patient investigator who will seek the fountain head of truth and search the original records, can reach any other conclusion. At the conclusion of the trial of Anne Hutchinson, Coddington stood up and said: "Here is no law of God that she hath broken, nor any law of the Country that she hath broke, and therefore deserves no censure; and if she say that the elders preach as the apostles did, why they preached a covenant of grace and what wrong is that to them . . . therefore I pray consider what you do for here is no law of God or man broken."

Among the unpublished documents on file at the State House in Boston are the minutes of the trials of forty Quakers at the Court of Assistants in Boston. Of these a few are for alleged misdemeanors such as entering church with their hats on, and twenty-six of them (all but fourteen) are on trial for the expression of religious opinion, and that expression probably drawn from them by the process of examination.

It would be foreign to this discussion to enter at any greater length upon the inhumanities exercised towards these religious sects—

"The tale is one of an evil time,  
When souls were fettered, and thought a crime;  
When heresy's whisper above its breath  
Met shameful scourging, bonds and death."

I have referred to it only for the purposes of illustration.

Mark the difference all this while between the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colony. At Plymouth the death penalty was never inflicted except for murder. It does not appear that any Quaker was ever punished by the Plymouth Colonists in any manner or form. Judge William Brigham is authority for the statement in an address published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, "that no Quaker was ever injured in a hair of his head in the Plymouth Colony." No person was ever tried there for witchcraft; and they had but little if any trouble with dissenters from their own faith. Their ostracism was extended chiefly to

members of the legal profession. It was not till about 1671 that parties were allowed to employ attorneys to conduct causes for them, and then only on the express condition that they should do nothing "to deceive the Court or darken the case."

But the Puritans not only practiced intolerance ; they claimed it as a virtue. Ward, the author of "The Simple Cobbler of Agawam," calls toleration "room for hell above ground" ; and "to authorize an untruth by a toleration of State is to build a sponce against the walls of Heaven to batter God out of his chair." President Oakes of Harvard University said in an election sermon : "I look upon toleration as the first born of all abominations." At the death of Gov. Dudley the following lines were found in his pocket :

"Let men of God in Courts and Churches watch  
O'er such as do a Toleration hatch,  
Lest that Ill Egg bring forth a Cockatrice  
To poison all with heresie and vice."

And another writer adds : "He that is willing to *tolerate* will for a need hang God's Bible at the Devil's girdle."

It is remarkable that the treatment received from the Puritans by those conforming and adhering to the Church of England, should have received so little notice from historians. This may perhaps be accounted for from the fact that no such extreme penalties were visited upon them as in the case of the Anabaptist and Quaker recusants ; and this simply for the reason that as good churchmen they yielded to the constituted authorities. Had they been as stubborn and persistent as the Quakers, there is little doubt they would have met the Quakers' fate.

The feeling manifested towards the Browns and towards the earlier settlers, who at the time of their arrival were in occupancy at Charlestown, Boston and vicinity, such as Rev. William Blaxton or Blackstone, Thomas Morton,\* Samuel Maverick and others,

\*"In September, 1630, the following decree was passed : "That Thomas Morton of Mount Wollaston, shall presently be set in the bilboes and after sent prisoner into England by the ship called the 'Gift' now returning

was most bitter and acrimonious. In the Massachusetts Bay Company's records, under date of Sept. 19, 1629, may be found the following entry :

"At this Court were read letters from Capt. Endicott and others from New England; and whereas a difference hath fallen out betwixt the Gov. there and Mr. John and Mr. Samuel Brown it was agreed by the Court that for the

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thither; that all his goods shall be seized upon to defray the charge of his transportation, payment of his debts, and to give satisfaction to the Indians for a canoe he unjustly took away from them; and that his house after that his goods are taken out shall be burnt down to the ground in the sight of the Indians for their satisfaction for many wrongs he hath done them from time to time."

This decree was carried out. Samuel Maverick in a letter to the Earl of Clarendon, says: "One Mr. Morton a gent of good qualitie vpon p'tence that he had shott an Indian wittingly w<sup>ch</sup> was indeede but accidentally and no hurt done, they sentenced him to be sent for England prisoner as one who had a designe to sett the Indians at variance w<sup>th</sup> vs, they farther ordered as he was to saile in sight of his house that it should be fired, he refusinge to goe into the shipp as havinge no business there was hoisted by a tackle, and neare starved in the passage. No thinge was said to him heare; in the tyme of his abode heare he wrote a booke entituled New Canan, a good description of the Cuntery as then it was, only in the end of it he pinched too closely on some in authoritie there for w<sup>ch</sup> some yeares after cominge ouer to look after his land for w<sup>ch</sup> he had a patent many yeares before, he found his land disposed of and made a towneship and himselfe shortly after apprehended put into the gaole w<sup>th</sup> out fire or beddinge, no bayle to be taken, where he remained a very cold winter, nothing laid to his charge but the writing of this booke w<sup>ch</sup> he confessed not, nor could they proue. He died shortly after and as he said, and may well be supposed on his hard vsage in prison."

Charles Francis Adams, Jr., says: "These were high-handed acts of unmistakable oppression. The probabilities in the case would seem to be that the Massachusetts magistrates had made up their minds in advance to drive this man out of Massachusetts."

De Costa says: "Morton had a patent for his land; he violated no law; he lived apart by himself attending to his own interests; yet being an enemy to dissent, a successful trader, and an advocate of common prayer, it was decreed that he must not be tolerated. What to some may appear the more singular is the fact that they objected not only to his use of Common Prayer, but to the Bible which the leaders among the Non-conformists in New England did not regard with the favor now taken for granted."

determination of those differences Mr. John and Mr. Samuel Brown might choose any three or four of the Company on their behalf to heare the said differences the Company choosing as many."

The differences here alluded to arose because a few of the Colonists at Salem under the leadership of John and Samuel Brown, preferring the old forms of service to which they had been accustomed, to the new order of things, had gathered themselves together to hold the "common prayer worship." This was the head and front of their offending, and for this they were pronounced guilty of stirring up sedition and faction, and were sent back to England, their letters to their friends in England meanwhile having been intercepted and read. Yet these two men were among the first patentees, both were members of the Colonial Council, and in the language of the Puritan authorities, "men of party and post in the place." In the first general letter of the Governor and Deputies of the New England Company to the settlers at Salem under Endicott they are specially commended in these words :

"Two Brethren of our Company: Mr John and Mr Sam: Browne, who though they bee noe adventurers in the general stock, yett are they men wee doe much respect, being fully persuaded of their sincere affections to the good of o<sup>r</sup> plantacion. The one, Mr John Browne, is sworne an Assistant here, and by vs chosen one of the Councell there—a man experienced in the lawes of o<sup>r</sup> kingdome, and such an one as wee are perswaded will worthyly deserve yo<sup>r</sup> favor and furtherance we<sup>ch</sup> we desire he may haue, and that in the first devison of land there may be alloted to either of them 200 acres."

Banished thus as "factious and evil-conditioned," they went back to England, having been at Salem but five or six weeks, and leaving their goods and lands behind them. Of course the expenses of their outfit, voyage, and settlement, were a total loss. They applied for redress in England, but it does not appear that any compensation was ever awarded them.

Rev. Francis Bright who came over in Winthrop's company, and who Hubbard says was "a Godly minister," was also sent back to England for favoring Episcopacy.

When Boston was settled by Winthrop and his company, three men of the same faith were in occupation of the three peninsulas

now covered by that city—Thomas Walford at Charlestown, Rev. William Blaxton at Boston, and Samuel Maverick at what was then known as Noddle's Island, now East Boston. The claim of Blaxton to the territory he occupied was recognized, and he was paid thirty pounds, with which, and his books and a herd of cattle, he left the Bostonians behind and penetrated further into the wilderness saying, "I came from England because I did not like the *lord*-bishops; but I cannot join with you because I would not be under the lord-brethren." But with Thomas Walford the proceedings were more summary. He was fined 40 shillings and banished with his wife from the "Pattent," for as the records say, "his contempt of authority and confronting officers" &c.

Samuel Maverick, although a strong, uncompromising churchman, was left for a while undisturbed, but was dealt with later. Maverick was one of the most genial of men, kind-hearted, hospitable. When Winthrop and his company came to Boston from Salem on foot, on their tour of exploration for the site of a settlement, they were entertained at Maverick's house. Joslyn says: "I went a shore upon Noddle's Island to Mr Samuel Maverick . . . the only hospitable man in the whole countrey." Johnson says of him: "A man of a very loving and courteous behavior . . . very ready to entertaine strangers." Savage says: "He was a gentleman of good estate." Winthrop says he was "worthy of a perpetual remembrance." It is recorded of him that when the Indians were dying of small-pox, his wife and servants went daily to them, ministered to their necessities, buried their dead, and took home many of their children. Notwithstanding all this he was excluded from all offices of any importance, was forced to attend and taxed to support a church which would not baptise his children, and fell into such suspicion that in 1635 he was ordered to remove to Boston and forbidden to entertain strangers for more than one night without leave of a magistrate.

In 1646 Maverick with several others presented to the General Court a petition setting forth the grievances they were suffering, and praying for leave to establish an Episcopalian form of worship. The petitioners were William Vassall, Dr. Robert Childe, Thomas

Fowle, Thomas Burton, David Yale, John Smith, John Dand, and Samuel Maverick. The Court considered the petition seditious in its character, and summoned the petitioners before it. They were charged with "contemptuous and seditious expressions and were required to find sureties for their good behavior." The Court ordered an answer to be drawn up and published, which was done. The Court met by adjournment in November (the petition having been presented in May) and the case was taken up. Meanwhile two of the petitioners had made preparations to sail for England. They were sent for by the Court and required to find sureties for their appearance at another day. They demanded a hearing at once, but finally found sureties and were liberated. Sureties were not required of the others. The Court fined Dr. Childe, being a leader, fifty pounds, Mr. Maverick ten pounds, and the rest thirty pounds each. They all appealed to Parliament in writing, but the Court refused to accept or read the document.

After these proceedings Dr. Childe with three others of the petitioners prepared to return to England, a ship being ready to sail. The Court under the pretence that his fine had not been paid, caused him to be seized and detained and his study searched. They found nothing concerning the matter with Dr. Childe's effects, but did find obnoxious papers in Dand's study which they had caused to be searched at the same time. Dr. Childe was in a great passion when brought before the Court, but finally offered to pay his fine. The Court refused to take it on the ground that they had new matter and worse against him, the writings found in Dand's study being claimed to be in his handwriting. They were thus kept in custody until the ships were gone. This was undoubtedly the intention of the Court from the first, and the arrest and new accusation were made to effect that purpose.

The authorities seem to have desired to keep a knowledge of their proceedings from Parliament, and they then proposed to send an agent of their own choosing to represent their own side of the case. They selected Edward Winslow as their agent for

that purpose. Vassall and Fowle went to England it is supposed at the time that Dr. Childe and the others were detained.

The final result upon the new accusation and new proceedings was that several of the signers were imprisoned six months and were then fined as follows :

Dr. Childe (imprisonment till paid), £200. John Smith, £100. John Dand, £200. Thomas Burton, £100. Samuel Maverick for his offence in being ꝑty to y<sup>e</sup> conspiracy (imprisonment till paid), £100. Samuel Maverick ffor his offence in breaking his oath and in appealing ag<sup>nst</sup> y<sup>e</sup> intent of his oath of a freeman, £50.

Two hundred pounds was the equivalent of about \$5000. So that to all the petitioners (save Maverick who had a large estate, and the two who had gone to England) the presentation of this simple petition for the privilege of exercising what to-day is recognized as the inherent right of every human being, was social ostracism and financial ruin. Some of the early historians have called the petitioners factionists, troublesome fellows, and men of small repute ; and Palfrey says the petition was a plot to introduce the direct government of England. But the petitioners were not all of the same religious denomination ; Vassall was thought to be an Independent, and there is some ground to believe that Dr. Childe was of Calvinistic tendency. As to the men themselves, William Vassall was one of the original patentees named in the Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Thomas Fowle was a merchant of Boston. Dr. Childe received the degree of A. M. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and afterwards the degree of M. D. at Padua. The historian of the town of Lancaster and compiler of the annals of that town thus speaks of him :

“ Gifted with great mental force, he held ideas of man and nature in advance of the age. His petition for the enlargement of political and religious privilege *just and moderate* as it now seems, so roused the ire of the Massachusetts theocracy that he was compelled to seek safety from his intolerant persecutors by flight across the seas.”

Samuel Maverick has been already noticed. Subsequently to



these proceedings he was appointed one of the Royal Commissioners.

Bancroft, following the cue of the earlier historians, says that the Petition and Remonstrance was written in a spirit of wanton insult, but a careful reference to the original document fails to convince us of the truth of this assertion. It begins as follows: "To the Worshipful the Governor &c. The Remonstrance and humble petition" &c. Beginning with an acknowledgment of the indefatigable pains, the continual care, and constant vigilance which "by the blessing of God hath procured the blessings of peace and plenty in the wilderness," it sets forth three grievances or causes of complaint: (1) That whereas the place was planted by Letters Patent granting incorporation into a company, &c., &c., with power of choosing rulers and making laws not repugnant to the laws of England, yet there was no settled form of government according to the laws of England, from whence proceed fears and jealousies of illegal commitments, unjust imprisonments, taxes, rates, customs, &c., concluding with a humble request to concur to establish the fundamental and wholesome laws of our native country.

(2) The second cause of complaint was that many thousands in these plantations freeborn are deprived of the privilege of holding office and right of suffrage, with a prayer that civil liberty and freedom be granted to all truly English equal to the rest of their countrymen and as all freeborn enjoy in our native country.

(3) The third grievance was: Whereas there are divers sober righteous and godly men members of the Church of England not dissenting from the latest and best reformation of England Scotland &c., yet they and their posterity are detained from the seals of the covenant of free grace because as it is supposed they will not take these churches' covenant for which as yet they see no light in God's word. Nor clearly perceive what they are, every church having their covenant differing from another's at least in words. Notwithstanding they are compelled under a severe fine every Lord's Day to appear at the congregation and in some places forced to contribute to the maintainance of those ministers who

vouchsafe not to take them into their flock. (Then follows a recital of the evils resulting therefrom.)

We therefore humbly intreat you in whose hands it is to help, and whose judicious eyes discern these great inconveniences for the glory of God and the comfort of your brethren and countrymen to give liberty to the members of the Church of England (if they are to remain as members of these churches or Congregations) or otherwise to grant them liberty to settle themselves here in a Church way (intimating that if not they would be necessitated to apply to Parliament for aid and redress).

It ought to be said for the credit of three of the magistrates, viz., Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Saltonstall and Mr. Bradstreet, that they dissented and desired to be entered *contradicentes* in all the proceedings (one of them, Mr. Bradstreet, leaving before the proceedings terminated, as did also two or three of the Deputies).

Rev. Robert Jordan lived in Falmouth, Maine, thirty-one years, preaching and administering the sacraments according to the service of the Church of England. The Records of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, under date of Oct. 16th, 1660, contain the following entry :

“Whereas it appears to this Court by severel testimonys of good repute that Mr Robert Jordan did in July last after exercise was ended vpon the Lord’s Day in the house of Mrs Mackworth in the towne of Falmouth then & there baptise 3 children of Nathaniel Wales of the same towne, to the offence of the government of this Commonwealth, the Court judgeth it necessary to beare witness ag<sup>t</sup> such irregular practises, doe therefore order that the Secretary by letter in the name of this Court require him to desist from any such practises for the future & also that he appeare before the next General Court to ans<sup>wr</sup> what shall be layd ag<sup>t</sup> him for what he hath donne for the tyme past.”

The sequel may be found in the official report of Col. Cartwright in 1665, one of the Royal Commissioners, who says, “They did imprison and barbarously use Mr Jordan for baptising children, as himselfe complayned in his petition to the Commissioners.”

But to trace beyond this point the history of the Church in the Colonies would exceed the proper limits of this paper. Not

long after this date the laws restricting the franchise to church membership were repealed, and the people were free from ecclesiastical rule.

It is said in justification of the treatment of Churchmen by the Puritans, that there was a systematic attempt on the part of the Church authorities in England to enforce conformity, and to bring the churches of the Colonies under the domination of the Church of England. I can find no evidence of this assertion during the period I have covered, and certainly after that period until the Revolution, the action of the Church authorities was confined and directed simply to the object of establishing a foothold for the Church.

The letter of Charles II. to Massachusetts in 1662 asserts that "the principle and foundation of the Charter was, and is, the freedom of liberty of conscience." And a letter prepared for the royal signature by the Lords of the Committee for Plantations, in October, 1681, not only recites that the Charter granted "such powers and authorities as were thought necessary for the better government of our subjects at so remote a distance from this our kingdom"; but adds, "Nothing was denied which you then deemed requisite for the full enjoyment of your property, and the *liberty of your conscience* so you would always contain yourselves within that duty which the bonds of inseparable allegiance binds you to."

Much has been said of Archbishop Laud. Whatever he may have done to the Puritans in England, where is the evidence that from the foundation of the Massachusetts Colony he sought to dominate here? Collier in his Ecclesiastical History quotes at length the order in council which Archbishop Laud issued June 17th, 1634, to all places of trade and plantation where the English were settled, enjoining the establishment of the national church in them, and remarks that while that order was extended to all the four great divisions of the world, and generally received and obeyed in all colonies and settlements, "New England was somewhat of an exception." "The Dissenters," he continues, "who transported themselves thither established their own fancy."

It is true that Lyford and Morrell were sent here. Morrell came over with Gorges in 1625, but he saw no opportunity to exercise, and did not exercise his vocation. Lyford was sent over in 1623, it would appear by the Company of London Adventurers, the main purpose of whose incorporation as expressed in its charter, was the same as that of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, viz., the conversion of the savages. There is no evidence however that he was even a Conformist, except to rely upon the fact that he was "in orders." But this was years before the settlement at Massachusetts Bay. From the landing of Winthrop in 1630 till 1660, the Colonists, so far as I am able to find, were left severely alone by the Church of England authorities, and there was no attempt systematic or otherwise to enforce conformity.

It must not be supposed that there was no restiveness on the part of the people under this autocratic rule, or even a unanimity of sentiment among the leaders themselves: Winthrop himself, as his letters show, was of a tender, gentle spirit, but he believed that unity was above all things essential, and to preserve this, he yielded many times against his better judgment. But many of the leaders here, as well as friends in England, were alienated. William Coddington, the friend of Winthrop, one of the founders of the Colony, and afterwards Governor of Rhode Island; William Vassall, also one of the founders; Francis Bright, Sir Henry Vane, Richard Bellingham. Thirteen of the most learned and eminent non-conforming clergymen in England wrote to the Governor of Massachusetts remonstrating against the course pursued.

Sir Richard Saltonstall, who came out with Winthrop, and was an honored member of the Court of Assistants, returned to England in the following March, alienated by the course of his associates, and wrote thus to his friends, Cotton and Wilson:

"Reverend and deare friends whom I unfaynedly love and respect: It doth not a little grieve my spirit to hear what sadd things are reported dayly of your tyranny and persecutions in New England, as that you fyne, whip, and imprison men for their consciences. First you compel such to come into your assemblies, as you know will not join with you in your worship, and

when they show their dislike thereof or witness against it then you styrre up your magistrates to punish them for such (as you conceyve) their public affronts. Truly friends this your practice of compelling any in matters of worship to doe that whereof they are not fully persuaded is to make them sin, for so the Apostle (Rom. 14 & 23) tells us and many are made hypocrites thereby, conforming in their outward persons more for fear of punishment. I hope you will not practise those courses in the wilderness which you went so farre to prevent. These rigid ways have layed you very low in the hearts of the saynts. I doe assure you I have heard them pray in the publique assemblies, that the Lord would give you meeke and humble spirits, not to stryve so much for uniformity as to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. I hope you do not assume to yourselves infallibilate of judgement when the most learned of the Apostles confesseth he knew but in part and saw but darkely as thro a glasse. Oh that all those who are brethren tho yet they cannot thinke and speake the same things might be of one accord in the Lord."

This rebuke seems all the more severe coming as it did from one who was in full and active sympathy with the religious sentiment and views of the Colonists, and who, although he did not return to Massachusetts, exerted his influence many years in favor of the Colony at the English Court.

There was disaffection also in the rank and file. There is every reason to believe that a very large majority of non-voters, comprising, it is said, not less than five sixths of the male adult population, were not only opposed to the arbitrary proceedings of the authorities, but looked upon them with indignation. But they were overawed and helpless.

With the voters the case was different. The theocracy having been founded on the idea that the whole government of church and state was to be administered, and civil and criminal justice dispensed in accordance with God's word and God's will, they were taught to believe that the Elders were the interpreters of that word and that will. And under the statute that no one could be a voter who was not a communicant, and with the power in hands of the minister to exclude any communicant from the sacrament at his own arbitrary will, thus virtually disfranchising him, and consulted as they were by the magistrates upon every important question that arose, it can be readily seen that not

only was all the real temporal power in the hands of the clergy, but that their influence over their respective churches must have been phenomenal.

Notwithstanding all this, even the voters grew restive and became divided. At last, during some of the later atrocities of the Quaker persecution, the indignation of the people burst all bounds. It could be restrained no longer. Human nature could endure no more. When William Brend, in irons, kept sixteen hours without food, and with his flesh beaten to a jelly, his skin hanging down in little bags of clotted blood, was thrust into a cell to rot and die as he surely would, the people of Boston raised an outcry, burst the doors of his cell, and rescued him.

When Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambrose had been flogged through Hampton and Dover on that bitter winter's day, the men of Salisbury rose *en masse* as they reached that town, tore the warrant from the constable's hands, trampled it under their feet, cut these bruised and bleeding women from the cart's tail at which they were dragged, and saved them from a still more awful fate. When the execution of Robinson, Stevenson, and Mary Dyer occurred, military precautions were taken. The official records show that the prisoners were guarded by "Capt. James Oliver with one hundred soldiers completely armed with pike, and musketeers, with powder and bullet." A drummer led the van with orders to beat the drum if any of the prisoners should attempt to speak. To such a point had the excitement of the people grown at the trial of Wenlock Christison, that the magistrates faltered and hesitated two weeks before reaching a decision, and Endicott alone had the courage to insist upon a verdict of guilty and pronounce sentence; but even Endicott quailed before the subsequent manifestations of feeling from the multitude. His execution could never have been effected. Not all the armed forces of the Colony could have prevented a rescue.

But all this presents the darker side of the Puritan character, and before leaving them I wish to do them exact justice,—to present the other, the brighter and better side. I have spoken

of the avowed purpose of their coming to New England, and of the transfer of their Charter. It has been charged that they were guilty of duplicity in announcing one purpose when they meant at heart another, and that the transfer of the Charter to New England so that its powers might be exercised here was accomplished in a fraudulent and clandestine manner. A careful weighing of the evidence does not seem to me to sustain these charges. I believe on the weight of the evidence that the letter written from the Arbella, expressed the sincere and honest sentiments of Winthrop, its reputed author, and the majority of those who signed it; that the predominating motive actuating the minds of Winthrop and his associates, while it was not openly avowed, was an escape from what they conceived to be a religious thralldom at home; that while they were restive under its forms and ritual, they still claimed allegiance to the Church of England.

There were some in the Company, undoubtedly, who from the beginning were out and out Separatists. These are those to whom the letter alludes in the clause: "Through the disaffection or indiscretion of some of us or rather amongst us."

Then it must be remembered that Endicott and his company, who had preceded Winthrop by nearly two years, had enjoyed a friendly intercourse with the Plymouth colonists, and without doubt at the time of Winthrop's landing entertained a kindly feeling towards the Plymouth doctrine. Then again much allowance must be made for the general desire for peace and unity; to the exigencies of the situation, to the difficulties in the way of Episcopal ordination and supervision.

With regard to the transfer of the Charter, it is hardly reasonable to believe that men of the intelligence of Winthrop's company would have staked their all upon such a document without legal advice as to its construction, and there are many circumstances which lend credit to the theory that the original draft was made by the counsel of the Colonists. However that may be, this much is certain, the Colonists maintained from the beginning that the Charter gave them the right of local government, and in this claim they were afterwards sustained by Chief Justices

Rainsford and North, and by the official opinion of Attorney-General Sawyer. The transfer was therefore made under a claim of right, and they should be relieved from any charge of fraud.

The Puritans were men of convictions, and men of convictions, always and everywhere, from enemies as well as friends, command respect. We may reject their creed, we may deprecate their intolerance ; but the more we study them, the more we are compelled to admire their grand virtues and lofty aim. And here let me make a confession. This paper was prepared—or the germ of it rather—many years ago, and for another occasion. Since then, upon further investigation, it has been twice revised and rewritten, and each time with a milder judgment.

Take the letter written from the Arbella. Where can there be found in English literature a production more full of pathos, or breathing a stronger fervor of devotion? Self-renunciation is stamped on every line. These were not refugees and outcasts, the pariahs of society, who uttered these sublime sentiments. They were men of culture and learning. Many were of large estate, and some of noble blood. It was no Eldorado they were seeking ; they knew well the outlook before them. Their enterprise meant hardship, toil, privation, perhaps destruction ; and yet they faltered not. These are the men of whom martyrs are made. For the opinions they then held mayhap their own kith and kin had burned at Smithfield, and they were ready if needs must be, to share the same fate. And these were the men, paradox as it may seem after what has been written, who laid the foundations of civil and religious liberty.

The Puritans laid the foundations of civil and religious liberty, but it was not Puritanism that did it. It was in spite of Puritanism. And by Puritanism I mean not the doctrine but the ecclesiastical or Puritan rule. The Puritan rule was the Red Sea through which they must pass ; the forty years in the wilderness which they must spend before reaching the promised land ; the fiery furnace heated seven times hot out of which they were to come as fine gold.

The Puritans lived in an age when toleration was unknown ;



when Papist and Protestant, Conformist and Non-conformist, were alike persecutors as the one or the other chanced to be in the ascendant. It was God's design that by this bloody and terrible ordeal, men should learn once and for all time, that free thought and free speech, and freedom of religious worship, are the conditions of true liberty, and the foundation stones of a Christian Commonwealth.

Rev. A. P. Marvin being called upon by the President stated that—

He was present because he had been informed that Mr. Parker's paper was intended as a reply to one read by him at a previous meeting ; but as the two papers did not cover the same period, nor relate specially to the same points, he would give way for other gentlemen, with the remark that he had listened with pleasure to a well-written literary production.

After remarks upon the subject of the paper by Mr. H. M. Smith, Rev. Dr. Cutler, Mr. S. E. Staples, Rev. Mr. Hague, Rev. Dr. Perkins, Mr. Charles E. Stevens, Rev. Mr. Hosmer, and Mr. Parker, Mr. Marvin again addressed the meeting, and said :

In reference to the case of the brothers Brown of Salem, the claim that they were unjustly subjected to hardship, sometimes made, had very little foundation. They set up separate worship, according to the Church of England ritual, and attempted not only to divide the Church, but to make a schism in the colony. Their course was judged incompatible with the safety and even the existence of the colony, on its original basis, and they were required to withdraw. They were treated kindly ; their property was not confiscated, but they were sent home. In England they made their complaints, which came to nothing.

In reference to the case of Dr. Robert Childe, William Vassall, and five others, who in 1646-7 sent a very innocent-seeming

petition to the General Court, asking for liberty of worship, etc., Bancroft in Vol. I., pp. 438-44, of his History had given a true history of the matter. According to him the paper was written in a spirit of wanton insult. It undertook to subvert the government of the colony; indeed, it denied that any settled form of government existed on good authority. It threatened moreover to appeal to Parliament if redress were not granted. These men were traitors in spirit, and would have been in fact, if they had not been dealt with in a summary manner. Their attempted revolution was squelched, and they ought to have been thankful that they escaped with punishment far less severe than they deserved. When the matter came up in Parliament, the action of the colony was sustained.

With regard to the penal laws made by the colony against the Quakers, there was no time at the end of a session to do justice to the subject. There was much to be said on both sides. The Quakers exasperated the authorities by the most bitter provocations; denied and defied their authority; reviled them individually and collectively; disturbed their congregations, and violated the demands of common modesty. Such conduct now, by any class of people, would be punished by law, in some cases by fines, and in others with imprisonment or banishment; and in some cases it would be restrained by seclusion in an insane hospital. On the other hand, the authorities were too sensitive; they did not realize the strength of the government, and its power to endure the action of irregular and eccentric enthusiasts, and for the moment, they seemed to let anger usurp the throne of reason. Capital punishment was decreed against persistent offenders, and four persons were hanged. New England will never cease to mourn over that sad exhibition; but it has been well said that no one was hanged but those who were determined to be. Instead of obeying the command of Christ, to flee when persecuted to another place, they came back, and defiantly challenged, by their action, the government to sustain the law. The law was soon repealed, and by degrees, all penal laws in relation to such matters, were erased from the statute book. Thank God for the progress of religious liberty.

Special meeting, Tuesday evening, September 27.

Present : Messrs. Abbot, F. W. Brigham, Crane, Dickinson, Forehand, Gould, Houghton, Hubbard, J. A. Howland, C. Jillson, G. Maynard, Meriam, Nichols, Otis, Paine, F. P. Rice, Sawyer, Stiles, E. H. Thompson, Tucker and Wall, members ; and fourteen visitors.—35.

Mr. Thompson, United States Consul at Merida, gave an interesting account of his experiences in Yucatan, covering many details of his explorations among the ruins of that country, and of his daily life as Consul. He also exhibited a large collection of photographs, natural products and relics belonging to that section.\*

Remarks by several gentlemen followed, and on motion of Dr. Brigham the thanks of the Society were given to Mr. Thompson for his instructive and entertaining address.

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Regular meeting, Tuesday evening, October 4.

Present : Messrs. Abbot, Crane, Dickinson, Gould, Harlow, Harrington, Hosmer, J. A. Howland, Hubbard, C. R. Johnson, Lynch, G. Maynard,

\*The substance of a portion of Mr. Thompson's remarks is contained in a communication from him printed in the Report of the Department of Archaeology and General History.

Meriam, Otis, Parker, W. W. Rice, Sawyer, Wall, C. G. Wood, members; and thirteen visitors.—32.

The Librarian reported 106 contributions.

Mr. Wall read his essay entitled, "The Pilgrims of Plymouth, and the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, viewed from a Quaker standpoint."\*

Remarks on the subject of the paper were also made by Hon. W. W. Rice, Col. Israel Plummer, and Messrs. Howland and Johnson.

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Regular meeting, Tuesday evening, November 1.

Present: Messrs. Abbot, Crane, Dodge, Dickinson, Estey, Gould, Hosmer, Hubbard, C. Jillson, Lee, Meriam, G. Maynard, Otis, Phillips, F. P. Rice, Staples, J. A. Smith, Tucker and Wall, members; and twelve visitors.—31.

The Librarian reported 102 additions during the month.

Mr. George Maynard gave his illustrated lecture on "The Topography and Antiquities of the Holy Land."

Rev. Mr. Hosmer of Auburn related some incidents of his visit to Palestine.

\* This paper has been published by Mr. Wall.

After a vote of thanks to Mr. Maynard, and a brief consideration of certain proposed changes in the Constitution, the meeting was adjourned.

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Annual meeting, Tuesday evening, December 6.

Present: Messrs. Barrows, Crane, Dickinson, Gould, Lawrence, Leonard, Lynch, Meriam, G. Maynard, F. P. Rice, Stedman, members; and two visitors.—13.

Franklin P. Rice was appointed Secretary of the meeting.

Henry L. Shumway of Boylston was elected a corresponding member, and Franklin F. Phelps of Worcester was admitted an active member.

The Librarian reported 433 gifts to the Society since the November meeting.

The Treasurer and Librarian presented their annual reports as follows:—

## TREASURER'S REPORT.

To the Officers and Members of

The Worcester Society of Antiquity :

GENTLEMEN :—In accordance with the requirements of the By-Laws of this Society, I herewith present this Annual Report, showing the receipts and expenditures of the Society from Dec. 7, 1886 to Dec. 6, 1887, as follows :

<i>CASH RECEIVED.</i>		<i>CASH PAID.</i>	
1887.	DR.	1887.	CR.
Assessments,	\$491 00	Rent,	\$175 00
Admissions,	24 00	Gas,	8 04
Life memberships,	50 00	Water,	2 00
Donations,	207 00	Printing Proceedings,	204 00
Sale of publications,	5 00	Printing Constitution,	10 00
	<u>\$777 00</u>	Postage,	3 68
Balance from 1886,	22 75	Printing Notices,	28 20
		Collecting,	34 50
		Supplies for Librarian,	20 46
		Librarian,	37 54
		Interest,	16 98
		Smith note,	<u>237 95</u>
			\$778 35
		Balance on hand,	<u>21 40</u>
	<u>\$799 75</u>		\$799 75

There are admission fees and assessments due the Society to the amount of \$146.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY F. STEDMAN, *Treasurer.*

## LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

The whole number of additions to the Library and Museum during the past year is 1881, as follows:—337 bound volumes, 1033 pamphlets, 412 papers, and 99 articles for the Museum. Number of contributors, 141. A list of gifts with the names of the donors forms a part of this report.

Transactions and Reports have been received from thirty-six kindred societies and institutions. The publishers of the following periodicals have regularly forwarded their issues to us:—Athol Transcript, Webster Times, Oxford Mid-Weekly, Martha's Vineyard Herald, Worcester Home Journal, Practical Mechanic, The Messenger, and The Academe. We have also received by gift or exchange, the Granite Monthly, N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register, Magazine of American History, Pennsylvania Magazine, Iowa Historical Record, Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica, and the Narragansett Register.

Nos. XXIV. and XXV. of the Society's publications have been issued and distributed since I presented my last report.

THOMAS A. DICKINSON, *Librarian.*

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 GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

- ABBOT, W. F. 15 pamphlets, 6 papers; miscellaneous matter; photograph of donor.
- ALLEN, E. G., London. 1 pamphlet.
- ALLIS, G. S. Ancient documents.
- AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Proceedings as issued.
- AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 1 pamphlet.
- AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY. Publications as issued.
- AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, N. Y. Publications as issued.
- AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. 1 pamphlet.
- ANDREWS, W. H. 2 pistols.
- ASTOR LIBRARY, N. Y. 2 pamphlets.

- BAILEY, GEORGE W. 1 pamphlet; ancient flax heckle.
- BANISTER, CHARLES H. 8 papers.
- BANKS & BROS. 1 pamphlet.
- BARROWS, MYRON E. 87 pamphlets.
- BARTLETT, WILLIAM H. 114 pamphlets; package of papers.
- BARTON, WILLIAM S. Benton's Thirty Years' View, 2 volumes.
- BEACHAN, JOHN. Paper.
- BENJAMIN, W. B. Catalogues.
- BISHOP, Dr. H. F. Cane.
- BLAKE, FRANCIS E. 1 pamphlet.
- BLANCHARD, F. S. Pamphlet and papers.
- BOOTH, C. C. 1 pamphlet.
- BOSTONIAN SOCIETY. 1 paper.
- BOYDEN, Mrs. JOHN. 18 volumes, 3 pamphlets; 35 steel engravings; fire buckets and bag; several other articles.
- BROOKLYN LIBRARY. 1 pamphlet.
- BROWN, EDWIN. 31 pamphlets.
- BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 1 pamphlet.
- BURGESS, Mrs. DANIEL. Wooden pin from house of Rev. Thomas Holt of Hardwick, built in 1769.
- CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Papers, volume I., part 1.
- CALIFORNIA, UNIVERSITY OF. 5 pamphlets.
- CHAFFEE, W. W. Cane made of wood from old Huguenot Dam, Oxford.
- CLARK, A. S. 2 pamphlets.
- CLARK, J. H. Ancient scales and weights.
- CLARK, ROBERT, & Co., Cincinnati. Catalogues.
- CLEMENCE, HENRY M. Old crockery, 5 pieces; reaping hooks.
- CRANE, ELLERY B. 3 pamphlets; whale's tooth.
- CRANE, JOHN C. Indian soapstone pottery, arrow points; envelope.
- CRITIC COMPANY, N. Y. Papers.
- DANA, JOHN A. 72 pamphlets, 2 maps and 2 papers.
- DAWSON, HENRY B. His Westchester County, N. Y., during the Revolution.
- DENNY, HENRY A. Continental Bill.
- DICKINSON, THOMAS A. 7 volumes.
- DODD, MEAD & Co. 1 pamphlet.
- DODGE, BENJAMIN J. 6 pamphlets.
- DOUGLAS, R. W., & Co. 2 pamphlets.
- DUFOSSE, E. DE, Paris. 1 pamphlet.
- EARLE, DR. PLINY. Letters of Eleazar Smith, 1813-14; original card tooth machine, 1800; model of card pricking machine, 1800.
- EDUCATION, BUREAU OF, Washington. 1 volume, 21 pamphlets.
- EPOCH PUBLISHING CO., N. Y. 1 paper.
- ESSEX INSTITUTE. Bulletin as issued.



- ESTES & LAURIAT. Catalogues.
- ESTEY, JAMES L. 1 pamphlet.
- FIRE SOCIETY, Worcester. Reminiscences.
- FLINT, Mrs. HARRIET, Leicester. 12 volumes, 1 pamphlet.
- FORUM PUBLISHING Co., N. Y. 1 magazine.
- GILBERT, CHARLES W. Coin.
- GOODNOW, EDWARD A. Dedication of Goodnow Memorial Hall, Princeton.
- GOULD, ABRAM K. Gen. Lee's Farewell Address.
- GREEN, Hon. SAMUEL A., M. D. 1 volume, 36 pamphlets, 1 paper.
- GRIFFIN, MARTIN J. J. 1 pamphlet.
- GRISWOLD, W. M., Washington. 1 pamphlet.
- GUILD, Mrs. CALVIN. Collection of church programmes.
- HARRASSOWITZ, OTTO, Leipsic. Catalogues.
- HARVARD UNIVERSITY, LIBRARY OF. Bulletin as issued.
- HARVEY, Capt. C. Coat worn by a member of the State Guard, (1863-74).
- HERBICH & RAPSILBER. 3 pamphlets.
- HIERSEMANN, KARL W., Leipsic. 2 catalogues.
- HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F., U. S. Senator. 137 public documents.
- HOME KNOWLEDGE ASSOCIATION, N. Y. 1 pamphlet.
- HOWARD, JOSEPH JACKSON, LL. D., London. *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, for the year.
- HOWLAND, JOSEPH A. Framed certificate; canes from Mt. Vernon and Putnam's Wolf Den.
- HULING, RAY GREENE. Home Lots of Early Settlers of Providence Plantations; 1 pamphlet.
- IOWA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 2 pamphlets.
- JACQUES, B. C., & Co. Weather vane and ball from the Central Church in Worcester, erected 1823.
- JENKS, CHARLES E. History of North Brookfield, Mass.
- JILLSON, Hon. CLARK. The Town of Webster, illustrated; *Granite Monthly* for the year; binding of several volumes.
- JILLSON, Dr. F. C. Ancient Lamp.
- JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY. Publications as issued.
- JOHNSON, CHARLES R. 1 pamphlet.
- KAY & BRO. 1 pamphlet.
- KENDALL, SANFORD M. (deceased) Complete file of the Christian Union; framed picture.
- LAWRENCE, EDWARD R. File of Constitutional Telegraph, 1799-1800.
- LEE, PARDON A. Framed portrait of Dr. B. F. Heywood; nails from the Old South Church.
- LEONARD, BERNARD A. Framed oil painting by Francis Alexander; 29 volumes, 4 pamphlets.
- LEWIS, WILLIAM DEAN. Ancient foot rule.

- LIBBIE, C. F., & Co. Sale catalogues.
- LIBRARY COMPANY, Philadelphia. Bulletin as issued.
- LINCOLN, EDWARD WINSLOW. Report of the Parks Commission.
- LINDSAY, R. M. Catalogues.
- LUCE, ROBERT, Boston. 1 pamphlet.
- MANITOBA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications.
- MARBLE, A. P. 3 pamphlets.
- MASON, JOSEPH. 11 volumes, 61 pamphlets.
- MAY, Rev. SAMUEL. Life of William Lloyd Garrison, 2 volumes; 8 pamphlets and 2 maps.
- MAYNARD, M. A. Impeachment of Andrew Johnson, 3 volumes.
- MCCLURG, A. C., & Co. 1 pamphlet.
- MERIAM, RUFUS N. 2 volumes, 86 pamphlets, 14 papers.
- MILLER, HENRY W. 2 volumes.
- MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Reports.
- MORRISON, J. T., Wooster, O. 1 pamphlet.
- MORROW, Mrs. O. N. Photograph.
- MYER, ISAAC. Paper.
- NARRAGANSETT PUBLISHING Co. Narragansett Historical Register for the year.
- NASH & PIERCE. 1 pamphlet.
- NEBRASKA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 1 volume.
- NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC-GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY. Register for the year.
- NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings.
- NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY. 6 volumes.
- O'FLYNN, RICHARD. Ancient Swedish lock; 1 pamphlet.
- ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 1 pamphlet.
- OTIS, JOHN C. Framed photograph of citizens of Worcester.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL. 21 pamphlets, 50 papers; photograph; relic from the Gaspee.
- PEABODY MUSEUM, Cambridge. Publications for the year.
- PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Pennsylvania Magazine for the year.
- PERRY, Hon. AMOS. His Carthage and Tunis, past and present.
- PERRY, S. D. File of the Massachusetts Spy, 1822.
- PHILLIPS, ALBERT M. His Phillips Genealogy.
- POLLARD, L. L. Large hornets' nest.
- PRINCE, LUCIAN. 4 pamphlets and 1 paper.
- PROVIDENCE PUBLIC LIBRARY. 1 pamphlet.
- PUTNAM, DAVIS & Co. 2 volumes, 170 pamphlets, 53 papers.
- PUTNAM, G. P., & SONS. Catalogues.
- POOR, H. V. & H. W. 10 volumes Railroad Manual.
- PORTER & COATES. Catalogues.
- RECORD COMMISSION, Boston. 2 volumes.

- REINSWALD, G., Paris. 1 pamphlet.
- RICE, FRANKLIN P. 3 pamphlets.
- RICE, Hon. W. W. 2 volumes.
- ROE, ALFRED S. His American Authors and their Birthdays; 7 volumes, 10 pamphlets, 78 papers; framed portrait.
- RUSSELL, Hon. JOHN E., M. C. 2 specimens Massachusetts currency, 1780.
- SALISBURY, STEPHEN. Lend a hand for the year; framed engraving of Sumner and Longfellow.
- SAUNDERS, W. B. Catalogues.
- SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN CO. 1 volume.
- SCOTT, LEONARD. 1 pamphlet.
- SCRIBNER & WELFORD. Catalogues.
- SANFORD & DAVIS. Boylston Centennial.
- SECRETARY OF THE COMMONWEALTH, Boston. 6 volumes, 2 pamphlets.
- SHAW, Mrs. MARY A. Brass warming pan; picture.
- SHUMWAY, HENRY L. Magazine of American History for the year; 1 volume, 42 pamphlets.
- SIMMONS, Rev. CHARLES E. Piece of Charter Oak.
- SMITH, HENRY M. 1 volume, 2 pamphlets; reception cards Gov. Ames.
- SMITH, ISAAC H. Japanese shoes.
- SMITH, JAMES A. 47 pamphlets, 9 papers.
- SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION. 1 volume.
- STAPLES, Rev. CARLTON A. 2 memorial sermons.
- STAPLES, SAMUEL E. 36 pamphlets.
- STATE DEPARTMENT, Washington. 12 pamphlets.
- STECHET, GUSTAVE E. 1 paper.
- STEVENS, B. F., London. Catalogues.
- ST. LOUIS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE. Proceedings.
- STRAHAN, CHARLES. 1 paper.
- STRONG, HELEN and JULIA. 7 volumes.
- SUMNER, GEORGE. 2 volumes, 11 pamphlets, 58 papers; portrait and other articles.
- THAYER, Hon. ELI. 1 volume.
- THOMPSON, E. FRANCIS. His edition Midsummer Nights' Dream.
- THOMPSON, EDWARD H. Articles used in aboriginal dances, Yucatan.
- TIWETMEYER, A., Leipsic. Catalogues.
- VANEVERENS, P. F., New York. 1 pamphlet.
- WARD, Prof. HENRY A. 1 pamphlet.
- WARD & HOWELL. 2 papers.
- WESBY, HERBERT. 47 pamphlets.
- WESTERN RESERVE AND NORTHERN OHIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 2 pamphlets.
- WILDER, HARVEY B. Ancient and Honorable Artillery sermon.
- WINSLOW, Hon. SAMUEL. His Inaugural Address as Mayor of Worcester.

- WALL, CALEB A. 1 pamphlet.  
 WHITE, CHARLES D. Framed receipt, 1777.  
 WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 2 pamphlets.  
 WOODMAN, Mrs. D. O. 17 pamphlets; Bowie knife.  
 WOODS, H. D. 1 volume, 2 pamphlets.  
 WOODRUFF, E. W. 1 pamphlet.  
 WRIGHT, J. O., & Co. 1 pamphlet.  
 YALE COLLEGE LIBRARY. 2 volumes.
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The reports of the Treasurer and Librarian were accepted and placed on file.

The Society then proceeded to ballot for the choice of officers for 1888, and the following were elected.

President: ELLERY B. CRANE; 1st Vice-President: ALBERT TOLMAN; 2d Vice-President, GEORGE SUMNER; Secretary: WILLIAM F. ABBOT; Treasurer: HENRY F. STEDMAN; Librarian: THOMAS A. DICKINSON; Member of Committee on Nominations to serve three years: DANIEL SEAGRAVE.

The annual assessment for 1888 was fixed at four dollars.

Messrs. Crane, Staples and Rice were re-elected to serve as the Committee on Publications for 1888.

The Chairmen of the several Departments were authorized to present their reports in print.

The meeting was then adjourned.

This closes the record of 1887.

## ISAAC NEWTON METCALF.

BY SAMUEL E. STAPLES.

ISAAC NEWTON METCALF was born at Royalston, Mass., March 8, 1818, and died in Worcester, in the closing hours of Easter, April 10, 1887, after a day of active service at St. John's Episcopal Church. His profession was that of music. He was for many years located in Lowell, where he was actively engaged in the duties of his calling. Subsequently he came to Worcester, and for some years was music teacher in the public schools of this city, but resigned his position and became a partner in the firm of Fay, Richards & Co., dealers in pianofortes and general musical merchandise. Upon the retirement of Mr. Fay, the business was continued for some time by Messrs. Richards, Metcalf & Co.; and upon the final dissolution of the partnership, Mr. Metcalf engaged in other pursuits.

He compiled a number of small books of considerable interest, among them an illustrated quarto entitled "Heart of the Commonwealth," a business guide to the City of Worcester, published by Snow, Woodman & Co., 1881; and a Church and Choir Directory of Worcester County. He also compiled an almanac that was published a number of years. At the time of his death he had been engaged for some months in collecting material for a new illustrated Worcester history, to be published by Mr. O. B. Wood, the plan and work of which have been completed by other hands.

But Mr. Metcalf evidently took the greatest interest in church work, especially the music of the church. He was for many years choir master at All Saints Episcopal Church, and was also one of the church wardens; and subsequently upon the formation

of St. John's Episcopal Church, Lincoln street, he performed the same duties there, from its beginning to the day of his death.

He was president for a number of years of the Worcester Choral Union, and also served for sixteen years as an officer of the Worcester County Musical Association, in which he had a deep and an abiding interest, and for which he performed a great amount of useful labor. For ten years or more he rendered efficient service as assistant assessor of Ward One.

Mr. Metcalf was admitted a member of The Worcester Society of Antiquity March 6, 1877, but his various duties precluded his giving that active service here that he was accustomed to render in other associations, though he was interested, especially in local historical researches, as works which he has issued plainly indicate. His was an active and useful life, spent in doing what he could to elevate and improve the condition of others. He was a genial friend, his companionship agreeable, and his life a bright example of the true Christian gentleman. May all emulate the virtues of so worthy a man.

## DEPARTMENT REPORTS.

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### ARCHÆOLOGY AND GENERAL HISTORY.

The year 1887 has not been remarkable for extraordinary archæological discoveries, but it has been a period of great activity in the various fields of research, and much valuable work has been accomplished therein by diligent and well-directed effort.

In our own country increased interest has been manifested in the remains of the Mound Builders. Many mounds, hitherto undisturbed, have been opened, and their contents carefully scanned; fortifications have been subjected to closer study than heretofore; and religious monuments have been made the objects of most critical attention. The grand result of all these labors seems to be a growing opinion among students, amounting to a conviction on the part of many, that the builders of the mounds and kindred structures were closely allied in race and general culture to the people found existing in the vicinity of these remains at the time of their discovery by our fathers, if they were not actually of the same race.

In the Southwest the work of investigation and discovery among the Zuñis and the Pueblo Indians is making rapid progress under the direction of trained government officers, while in the far North a new field has been opened by the labors of Lieut. A. P. Niblack, U. S. N., in the wilds of southern Alaska. This faithful officer and accomplished archæologist has recently returned to Washington, after a three years' sojourn in that distant region, bringing with him an immense amount of ethnologic and archæological material, which it will now be his duty to classify and

describe. How well this work will be done may be inferred from his valuable contributions to the records of the Smithsonian Institution on other occasions.

In the distant South, our associate, Edward H. Thompson, in the face of adverse circumstances, has continued operations in the wilds of Yucatan, and overcoming obstacles that would have baffled the skill and energy of most men, has succeeded in taking moulds of a carved façade of a structure in the ruined city of Labná, and in safely conveying them thence to Worcester. Plaster casts have been made from these moulds, and an exact reproduction of a portion of this façade may now be seen at Antiquarian Hall, in this city. Mr. Thompson continues to maintain close relations with our Society, and an interesting communication from him, received early last summer, is appended to this report.

Many noteworthy discoveries have recently been made in the Old World, though economy of space will permit reference to but two of these.

In the excavations at Pompeii a large number of silver vessels and three books have been found heaped together under circumstances which indicate that their owner, a lady named Dicitia Margaris, had packed them together in a bundle covered with cloth, and endeavored to escape with them at the time of the destruction of the city. This woman undoubtedly lost her life in the undertaking. The books, which consist of wood tablets fastened together in book form, show her name and the nature of her valuable property. The tablets are about five by eight inches in space, and when discovered were coated with wax in which the letters were made. After a few days the wood became dry and the wax peeled off in small pieces, leaving the inscriptions mostly illegible. Before this happened inspection showed that the books contained the title deeds and important contracts of this lady. The contracts were between Dicitia Margaris and one Poppæa Note, a freedman. From the names of the Consuls mentioned in some of the contracts, it appears that they were made in the year 61 A. D. Two of the contracts relate to the



sale of some slaves by Poppæa Note to Dicidadia ; another fixes 1450 sesterces as the penalty which Poppæa agrees to pay Dicidadia should the slaves prove unprofitable. The silver plate found consists of four goblets with four trays, four cups with handles, a cup without a handle, a filter, a bottle with perforated bottom, a spoon and a small scoop. It appeared from the books that the silver plate of Dicidadia was composed of a set for four persons, but the set found is incomplete, probably owing to the gathering up of the articles in great haste by their owner preparatory to flight.

A recent discovery at Jerusalem may result in throwing much light on the question of the site of the sepulchre of our Savior. An ancient tomb has been laid bare just seventy-two feet due west from the so-called Holy Sepulchre, and fifteen and one half feet below the surface of the present street (Christian street). Henry Gillman, U. S. Consul at Jerusalem, says: "All who have seen this tomb, and who are experienced in such antiquities, unhesitatingly assign it to the Canaanitish or Jebusite period. The discovery is thought by many to furnish strong evidence in support of the claim that the true sites of Calvary and the tomb of Christ are not those generally accepted, but are identical with the high knoll at the cave of Jeremiah, and the tomb in the garden near by, outside the walls of Jerusalem, adjacent to the Damascus Gate, as it would seem that the Jews would never have chosen as a place of interment a Jebusite or Canaanitish burial spot.

In closing this report the chairman is impelled to express the hope that the coming year will witness increased interest among the members of the Society in general in the work of this Department, as well as renewed efforts on the part of those more closely connected with the Department, to augment its efficiency.

CHARLES R. JOHNSON, *Chairman.*

## MR. THOMPSON'S COMMUNICATION.

*To the members of The Worcester Society of Antiquity :*

Although it has been some time since the Society has heard from me, it is not because I have forgotten that I have the honor of being a member.

My archæological work during the past year has been principally that of exploration and study, rather than of writing. Since my last communication to you I have visited, explored, and photographed among the ruins of Aké, Izamal, Kabah, Uxmal, and Zayi. Of the last it is said that I am the first person who has visited it since Stephens, and if my appearance upon my return be any indication of the trials to pass through before it can be reached, it will be some time before any one else will again undertake the task, although the road cut out by my men will make it much easier for the next explorer.

I have discovered upon my last expedition into the interior a very interesting ruined city to which I have given the Mayan name of "Thum-Kat-oin." This city has been hitherto unknown even to the Indians. Photographs of an edifice within this city, that among others I shall have the pleasure of presenting to the Society upon my anticipated visit to the United States, will, I trust, be of interest to the members.

The discovery of these ruins was accomplished only after we had passed about fifteen days in the jungle and wilderness of the almost unknown interior of Yucatan, consequently both myself and men, as well as my clothing, were about used up; indeed my once stout deerskin shoes had given out under the hard usage, and as I stood upon the platform of a mound that overlooked the ruined and deserted city, my tiger-skin leggings were about the only serviceable article of wear left upon me. One who has never traversed a Yucatan wilderness can have but a faint idea of the toil involved.

After having taken measures to determine our position, and photographed the adjacent edifice, I returned to the ruins of

Labná. I left this interesting and hitherto unknown group of ruins regretfully, but deemed it best to defer its exploration until next season when, fresh and vigorous, I could come prepared to give it the thorough investigation it merits. At Labná my principal work was to take a mould of a certain interesting carved façade; this I have successfully accomplished, and in the not distant future the result will probably be seen.

Excellent good health has been enjoyed in all of my expeditions, sometimes when circumstances were decidedly against it. We were at one time awakened past midnight from a comfortable slumber in our hammocks beneath the trees, to find ourselves in absolute darkness and drenched by a tropical tempest; as morning dawned the tempest changed into a steady downpour, and for three days we were thus confined to the chambers of a ruined edifice so damp that the glued parts of the camera came apart, and of a necessity our provisions became scanty and covered with mould. Notwithstanding this, in a region where the slightest exposure to the damp is a cause for anxiety because of the fierce and fatal fevers that abound, I had no evil results follow personally, and the slight fevers induced among my men were easily controlled by me.

I have made my last expedition into the unexplored regions for this season, and am now collating my notes and arranging my collections of scientific objects preparatory to my visit to the United States. Meanwhile my leisure moments do not lack material to occupy them. A huge, ancient, artificial mound overlooking the city is being levelled, and this to me is an operation of exceeding interest. This mound has a history, though unluckily only its last pages can be read by us. When first seen by Montijo and his small band of followers, in 1540, upon its summit stood a magnificent "Ku" or Temple.

When the ancient city of the Mayas, Tihoo, was converted by the Adelantado Montijo into the Spanish city of Merida, the San Franciscan monks took this ancient temple and converted it into a monastery. When in process of time Yucatan was again a part of Mexico, and the whole land had passed through the throes of

a successful revolution against Catholicism and Maximilian, monasteries, convents and the like were abolished, and the government made of the monastery a fortress. It was then by popular voice christened "El Castillo" (the Castle). El Castillo situated upon the mound built by prehistoric hands, commanded the whole city and proved a source of offence as well as defence. Less than a quarter of a century ago, when revolutions were the order of the day and peace a rarely enjoyed luxury, the faction which succeeded in reaching the Castle first was the one that could successfully levy assessments upon the city, and, because of the government magazine, could burn the most powder in the direction of its enemies. In later years the "powers that were" awoke to the fact that the various revolutionists were occupying and using the Castle much oftener than the government was itself. Accordingly it was fitted up for their permanent use by being converted into a prison.

The present government has decreed the total demolition, not only of the building (by this time a queer agglomeration of Maya, Spanish and Mexican architecture), but of the great mound as well; and while I regret the demolition of this huge work of the ancient Mayas, I am rejoiced that I have a chance to view the work as it progresses, and thereby gain an interesting insight into the structural methods of these prehistoric workers.

EDWARD H. THOMPSON.

*U. S. Consulate, Merida, Yucatan,  
May 30, 1887.*

## LOCAL HISTORY AND GENEALOGY.

## THE RECORD OF 1887.

The period of twelve months, which completes the round of the four seasons, has become the universal milestone of time ; a station where without a halt in the world's events we take the backward look. For the purpose of the present summary, a few words as to the general facts of the year 1887 may be of interest.

The year gave a good record of prosperity in business matters, and generally undisturbed industry throughout the country, with an absence of wide-spread strikes and labor troubles ; and the law has been vindicated in the execution of the Chicago Anarchists.

Abroad we have seen England celebrate with great splendor the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne, while the Tory government has gone on suppressing discussion in Ireland by vigorous measures of coercion. France has passed safely, but not without peril, through a change of administration. Germany has increased her army, and has extended her possessions in the Pacific. Russia has struggled with conspiracies and attempts on the life of the Czar, while her discontent with the election of Prince Ferdinand to the throne of Bulgaria has caused mutterings and rumors of war. On the whole, Europe, though at peace, has seemed trembling on the verge of great convulsions.

The events of the year of more than common note were the severe earthquake shocks in February, in the best centers of pleasure-seeking on the European continent, at Nice, Cannes and Mentone, and causing wide ruin in the Italian Riviera, costing the loss of six hundred lives.

In this country frightful railroad disasters have occurred. The year opened with the collision on the Baltimore and Ohio, in which cars were telescoped, and horrible scenes of passengers

burning to death took place. This was followed by similar calamities on the Boston and Albany, at Westfield; Vermont Central, at White River Bridge; Boston and Providence, at Bussey's Bridge; and on other railroads, all accompanied with more or less loss of life; a strange and ghastly procession of similar events, out of which has come attempted reform in methods of heating and lighting cars.

The elements bore a striking part in the calamities of the year. In October the city of Quelito in Mexico was totally destroyed by storm and flood, and many lives were lost. Very recent reports have been received of the destruction of several hundreds of thousands of lives by a flood in a Chinese river.

In the first quarter of the year, in March, the burning of the Richmond Hotel, in Buffalo, caused the death of several inmates. In May the Opera Comique was burned in Paris, with a great loss of life. At various periods several lumber towns in Wisconsin have been swept by devastating fires. Barnum's great winter menagerie was burned at Bridgeport in November, we are not sure a regretted fact with the proprietor of a great moral show which always profits by notoriety.

The météorology of the year in the country at large has shown great extremes of heat and cold, wet and dryness. Some of our January weather in 1887 might have been filed away for the use of the oldest inhabitants of the future in comparisons to be confidently made. In February came one of the worst storms of snow known in New England for many years. In New England the rainfall of the season was large; at the same time large areas in the central states east of the Mississippi were parched with drought. In this locality the autumn was delightful, and the tardy approach of cold weather has largely favored outside building operations.

But neither to the fluctuations of business, or the succession of mundane events, however startling, that are nevertheless recurrent as dis-associated from humanity, comes the meaning that attaches to the passing of human lives. "The dead to-day is as completely so as he who died a thousand years ago." They

were with us when the year began. They are gone. Their records are finished. The first sense of grief at bereavement comes to the immediate home circle, and with the common multitude it remains there. The average man or citizen is soon forgotten, save where he is held by those of his kin as a link in a chain of genealogy. If he acts well his part the community in larger or lesser manifestation will recognize his passing, and can do no more. It is the common lot. Poor Rip Van Winkle in Jefferson's matchless impersonation asks with marvellous pathos, "Are we so soon forgot when we are gone?"

Not all, else where were earth's prizes for eminent and worthy living? Some men are great in themselves; some make or mark eras, or are associated with the great facts of history. To these in our necrology of the year we turn for a brief reference.

We doubt if any life ending in 1887 leaves a stronger record, a wider and deeper mark on the age, than that of the great Brooklyn pastor and preacher. I find no better ascription to his merits than the analysis of Prof. Swing of Chicago :

"Mr. Beecher's greatest years were only twenty in number, lying between 1845 and 1865. That group of twenty years was made tremendous by the great ideas which lay beneath them. These great years would have been thirty had not his large themes died from fulfillment. We cannot find fault with good dreams which suddenly end by coming true. His mind and body were equal to a longer service, but England no longer needed any instruction as to America; Kansas needed no more intercession; the slaves needed no more of the eloquence of abolition. The cathedral of liberty had been completed and the architect had only to go inside and become a worshiper. For twenty years this wonderful man worked for the human race, then he wrought twenty years more for his parish, this last score of Summers being also full of power, but not to be compared with the time when the toil was for the nation, and the task the greatest upon earth. In the greater period he seemed under the employ of the people to plead their cause in politics and religion. His pulpit moved around in the daily press, and was on the banks of the Ohio and the Missouri, while, as the old Scottish clans sprang forth from the bushes when their chieftain gave a blast on his trumpet, the audiences of this evangelist issued at his call

from all the hills of the East and the waving grass of the West. In times of deep distress the slaves' souls cried out with the Scotch poet :

‘Oh, for a blast of that dread horn,  
On Fontarabian echoes borne.’

“The public services of Daniel Webster did not cover so wide a space in time ; nor did the great career of Abraham Lincoln take in so many circles of the sun. To Mr. Beecher must be given the fame and gratitude for a battle long fought, and well fought to the final perfect triumph.”

Grouped with Mr. Beecher in the ranks of anti-slavery reform in the older day, two other dead of the year 1887 have a place : Henry B. Stanton and Abby Kelley Foster. The latter has been a permanent fixture in Massachusetts and New England, and to us here in Worcester, was a neighbor. Some of us who remember the earnest outspoken young woman of her early day are perhaps not ready to accord to herself and her compeers all that is claimed for them by those who are seeking to build altars to their praise. But it is not yet discovered how the world can get forward on the lines of its better progress without the agitators. Troublesome, cranky men and women, some of them, that will not obey Paul and be silent, yet what should we do without them. They are always with us. I suspect reforms can never spare them, though all their pioneer work seems superfluous and excessive, and not exactly in the line of the grand movement of progress. Who can say that in this very resultant line they had no share? Certainly one cannot who knows what come-outerism means, both in anti-slavery and modern prohibition ; and finds the puzzle still a live one, with a pretty solid conviction that there is room for all ; that not one pulse-beat for reform or progress is lost or wasted.

Three noted women of world fame passed away—Jenny Lind, the Swedish Nightingale ; Dinah Mulock Craik, and Lady Brassey.

In the general list of Americans of eminence are missed such names as Edward L. Youmans, Alvan Clark, Spencer F. Baird,



secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and Gustus Robert Kirchoff, discoverer of the spectroscope. In music Maurice Strakosch, impressario of much note. Of poets, authors and journalists, there have died David A. Wasson, Charles P. Ilsley, Benjamin F. Taylor, Charles J. Peterson, John G. Saxe, Ben : Perley Poore, and Sylvanus Cobb, Jr. The sacred calling lost Rev. Dr. Ray Palmer, the hymnist, and Mark Hopkins, ex-president of Williams College. Among distinguished engineers James B. Eads. Of Jurists Justice Woods of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The ravages of death have been great among statesmen and politicians. Of these ex-governor William Smith of Virginia ; William A. Wheeler, once vice-president ; James B. Speed, attorney-general in Lincoln's cabinet ; Hon. Bion Bradbury and Hon. A. P. Morrill of Maine ; Hon. R. M. T. Hunter of Virginia ; Hon. William McKee Dunn ; Hon. Isaac Reed of Maine ; Ex-Gov. William B. Washburn of Massachusetts ; and Thomas C. Manning, Minister to Mexico ; Hon. E. B. Washburne, ex-Minister to France ; Hon. J. R. Bodwell, Governor of Maine ; Hon. Daniel Manning, ex-Secretary of the Treasury ; Hon. John K. Tarbox, Insurance Commissioner of Massachusetts.

The army list has lost Gen. Randolph B. Marcy, father-in-law and associated with the campaigns of Gen. George B. McClellan ; Gen. Thomas Kilby Smith, Gen. Grant's chief of staff at the close of the war ; Gen. W. Hazen, chief signal officer ; and Commodore Truxton and Rear Admiral Craven of the United States Navy.

Among noted foreign deaths is that of Lord Lyons, well known in America as the representative of Great Britain at Washington during the civil war, and better understood after the war as our steady friend, who formed at Washington a correct judgment of the probable issue of the conflict, and gave wise counsel to Lord John Russell which undoubtedly prevented English recognition of the South. The characteristic incident is recalled, that when it became the duty of the English ambassador in 1863 to inform President Lincoln of the marriage of the Prince of Wales, Mr. Lincoln instead of a formal response to a ceremonious speech,

said bluntly, "Well, Lyons, go thou and do likewise!" But the diplomat never did marry, and his titles die with him. A short time before his death he was received into the Catholic church.

Worcester has within the year suffered the loss of an unusual number of active business men, cut off in middle career of usefulness. Among these to be long missed are Sumner Pratt, Charles M. Miles, William H. Hackett, and E. R. Morse. David Whitcomb and William Dickinson, though advanced in years, were still actively contributing to the best forces of the community. The death of the venerable Horatio Phelps removed one of the few remaining links between the Worcester of this present, and the very start and outset of our larger manufacturing industries. The wound of the loss of Judge Francis H. Dewey within a few days is still fresh.

The names of some of the other sex deceased within the year stir deeply local memories. Miss Sally Chadwick Eaton has gone from her dwelling on Main street, the oldest building now remaining in Worcester, where her whole quiet and useful life had been spent. The death of Abby Kelley Foster has already been referred to. Chiefly, but with those who knew them, not solely by the names they carried in their widowhood, linking them to an important and valuable past, such deaths as those of Mrs. Lydia Stiles Foster, Mrs. Lydia W. Upham, and the venerable widow of Gen. Nathan Heard, awaken multitudes of old and tender Worcester memories.

In the death list of each year a special interest attaches to those who had long outlived the average human term. There are said to be fifty persons living in New England who have survived their one hundredth year. Of this number eleven live in Connecticut, four in Rhode Island, ten in Massachusetts, sixteen in Maine, five in New Hampshire, and five in Vermont. The oldest of all is Giles Benson of Castleton, Vermont, 115 years of age. Doubt is sometimes thrown on the age of alleged centenarians, owing to the lack of records to establish it, but we read that the municipality of Vienna, after the strictest investigation, declares that Madeleine Pouka has completed her 112th year, her birth having been in the year 1775.

The following are the deaths in this city during 1887, at the age of 85 years and upwards.

- February 11. Mrs. John L. Goodwin, 88. William Dunn, 85.  
 March 4. Mrs. Susan M. Chamberlain, 85.  
 March 14. Mrs. Ellen Flynn, 100. Mrs. Eliza Drury (Ward) Baldwin, 93.  
 March 16. May Phillips, 87.  
 March 23. Eliza Holmes, 81.  
 April 5. Lincoln Fay, 87.  
 May 28. Mary W. Marsh, 90.  
 May 29. Mrs. Hannah Stone, 99 y., 8 m., 29 d.  
 June 19. Andrew Conlin, 90.  
 June 20. Miss Sally Chadwick Eaton, 86.  
 June 21. Miss Mary Thompson, 99 y., 8 m., 20 d.  
 August 19. Amos Stearns, 86.  
 September 7. Horatio Phelps, 89.  
 September 8. Mrs. Olive S. Brown, 86.  
 October 11. Robert W. Flagg, 92.  
 October 25. Mrs. Betsy Stevens, 91.  
 November 1. Mrs. Susan M. Fuller, 87.  
 December 15. Mrs. Sally Sawyer, 91.

The list of deaths in Worcester County at the age of 90 years and upwards is as follows :

#### JANUARY.

- Fitchburg. Mrs. Catharine O'Brien, 90.  
 Winchendon. Mrs. Sally Webber Morse, 90.  
 Millbury. Antoine Gregory, 95.

#### FEBRUARY.

- Petersham. Mrs. Hannah Parkhurst, 94.  
 Upton. Mrs. Betsey Forbush, 95.  
 Fitchburg. Mrs. Sarah L. Haskell, 90.  
 Brookfield. Mrs. Sarah P. Prouty, 93.  
 Grafton. Silas Forbush, 91.

#### MARCH.

- Gardner. Sarah Chapman, 96.

- Blackstone. Mrs. Bridget Cooney, (said to be) 101.  
 Grafton. Miss Henrietta Willard, 91.  
 Clinton. Laken Bennett, 92.

## APRIL.

- Spencer. Otis Green, 91.  
 Oxford. Mrs. Mary DeWitt, 90.  
 Grafton. John Chollar, 92.  
 Oakham. Mrs. Melisse Whipple Crawford, 91.

## MAY.

- Sterling. Mrs. Huldah Kingman, 91.  
 Brookfield. Mrs. Alonzo Rice, 95.  
 Dana. Dr. Daniel Lindsay, 93.  
 Leominster. Mrs. Abigail Hawes, 92.  
 Sterling. Mrs. Rebecca Howard, 97.  
 Lancaster. Miss Lucy C. Puffer, 91.

## JUNE.

- Spencer. Mrs. Fannie Dewing, 95.  
 Warren. Noah Elwell, 90.

## JULY.

- Barre. Mrs. Lucy Rice, 92.  
 Athol. Mary Koley, 91.

## AUGUST.

- Leicester. John Johnson, 90.  
 Shrewsbury. Relief Doane, 92.  
 West Brookfield. Adolphus Hamilton, 95.  
 Harvard. Martin Lawton, 95.

## SEPTEMBER.

- Phillipston. Ephraim Martin, 95.  
 Westminster. Mrs. Lucinda Moore, 90.  
 Phillipston. Patrick W. Colon, 90.

## OCTOBER.

- Winchendon. Charles Baldwin, 90.

## NOVEMBER.

- Barre. Mrs. Lavina Stone, 94.

## DECEMBER.

Millbury. Nathaniel Goddard, 90.

Petersham. Ellen Meany, 94.

Brookfield. Mrs. Rachel I. Pond, 90.

I close with the following complete summary from the *Worcester Daily Spy*:

“The number of deaths in Worcester in 1887 was 1463, including 128 stillborn infants, against 1271 in 1886 and 1395 in 1885. Of those in 1887, 757 were males and 706 females. The deaths in the different months last year were: January, 135; February, 107; March, 134; April, 119; May, 102; June, 108; July, 158; August, 128; September, 126; October, 128; November, 102; and December, 117. The deaths of the 417 infants under one year, including the stillborn, were divided among the different months as follows: January, 31; February, 32; March, 39; April, 29; May, 15; June, 39; July, 65; August, 44; September, 42; October, 31; November, 24; and December, 26. The total number between 1 and 2 years was 77; between 2 and 5 years, 71; and there were 107 over 50, 298 over 60, 170 over 70, 66 over 80, 7 over 90, and 2 over 100.”

HENRY M. SMITH, *Chairman*.

## RELICS, COINS AND CURIOSITIES.

## THE MUSEUM COLLECTION.

Some interesting articles have been added to this department during the past year, among them the following:

The weather-vane and ball from the old Central Church on Main street in Worcester, erected in 1823. Presented by B. C. Jaques & Co.

Mr. W. H. Andrews has given to the Society two pistols made in Worcester, and carried through the Civil War. One of them belonged to Warren Alger of the 15th Mass. regiment, who died in Andersonville Prison.

A coat which belonged to a member of the old State Guard. Presented by C. H. Harvey, who was the last captain of this organization.

Mrs. John Boyden has presented among other valuable gifts, two fire buckets and bag of the Social Fire Society ; also military relics.

Two valuable additions have been made to the collection of ancient card-setting machinery, by Dr. Pliny Earle of Northampton. One is a model of the machine for making twilled cards, invented and patented by his father, Pliny Earle of Leicester, in 1803 ; the other a machine for forming card teeth, used by Pliny Earle before 1800.

B. A. Leonard of Southbridge has made some valuable donations to the Society, of which I will particularly mention the painting by Alexander of Joseph and his brethren.

Another interesting object is the ancient painted panel representing Boston about 1740, taken from the old Meriam house in Oxford, and presented by Rufus N. Meriam.

Edward H. Thompson, Consul at Merida, remembered the Society by the gift of two articles used by the natives of Yucatan.

A great many other things might be specified, but the above are the most important.

THOMAS A. DICKINSON, *Custodian.*

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