A

Much of the mss herein bound was subsequently printed by me in The Early Records of Lancaster.

A

Miscellaneous Collection

of

Historical Papers

&

Memoranda

relating to the

History & Geography of

Lancaster.

from its purchase from the Indians

AD 1643.

to

AD. 1880.

Compiled by H. S. Nones.

Hollis Librarian

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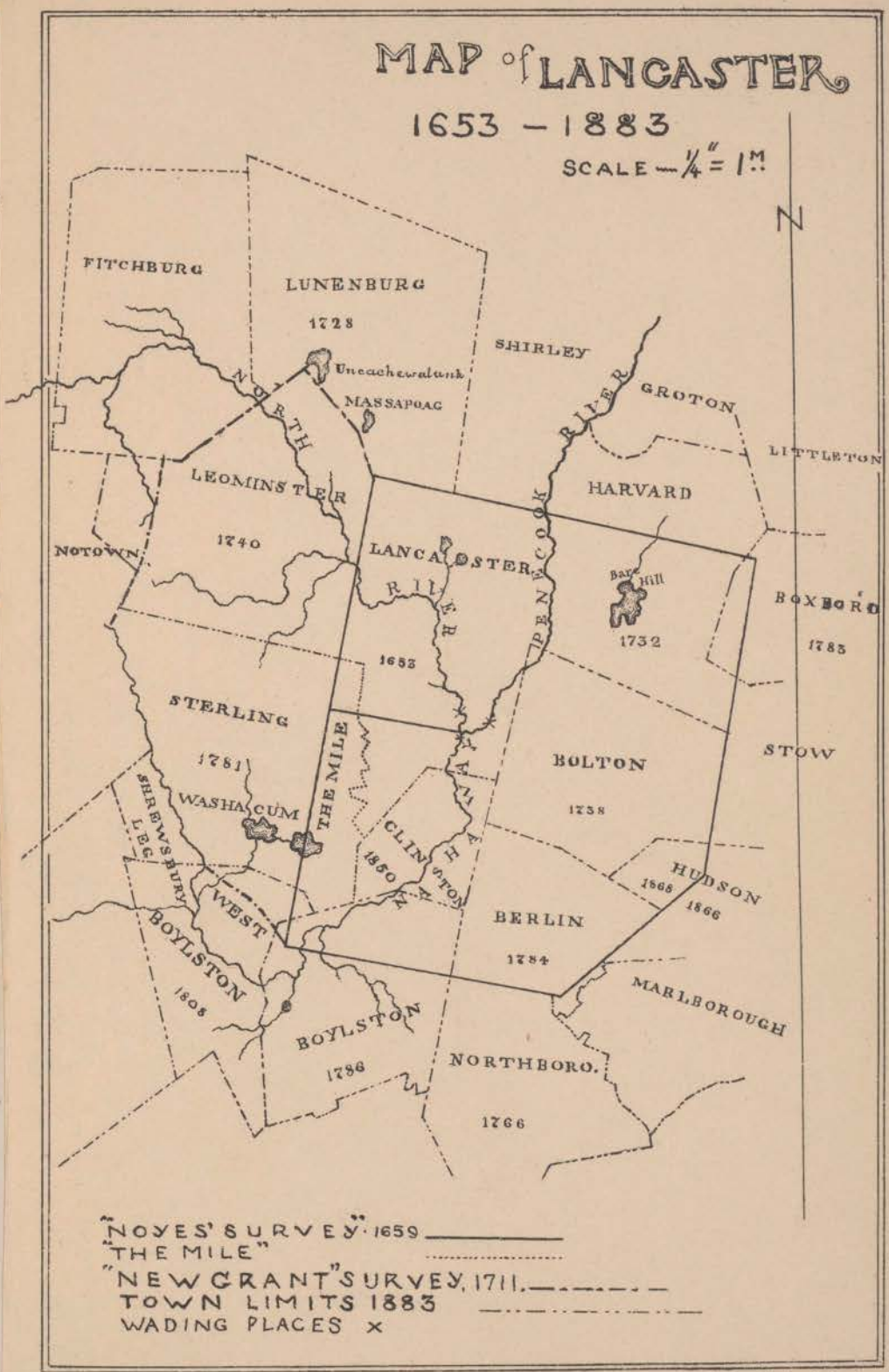

H.S. Nourse, dew. Harold Parker copied for pres.

The Heliotype Printing Co Boston.

E

Extracts from the "Records of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England" Concerning the early history of Lancaster.-
(Printed 1854)-

In Volume 1. I find no reference to the Nashaway Plantation.

Volume 2

Page 75. 29th May 1644 -

"The petition of Mr. Natha: Norcrosse, Robt Childe, Stephen Day, John Fisher &c. for a plantation at Nashawake, is granted: provided that there shall not be more land allotted to the towne or pticular men [notwithstanding their purchase of land of the Indians] then the Genrall Cort shall alowe."

Page 136 October 1 1645

"Upon ye petition of ye undrtak'rs for ye plantation at Nashawey, ye Cort is willing yt John Hill, Serieant John Davies, John Chandler, Isaack Walker, and Mathew Barnes, or any three of ym, shall have porr to set out lots to all ye plantrs belonging to ye said plantation, provided yt they set not their howses too far a sundr. & ye great lots to be pportionable to men's estates & charges. & yt no man shall have his lot confirmed to him before hee hath taken ye oath of fidelity before some magistrate."

Volume 2. p. 212, 11th November 1647.

"Whereas ye Corte hath formerly granted a plantation at Nashaway unto Jno. Chandler, Isa: Walker, Jno Davies Jno. Hill & Math: Barnes & yt Jno. Hill is dead, Jno. Chandler, Isaac Walker & Jno. Davies have signified unto ye Corte yt since ye said grant they have acted nothing as undertakers yr, nor laid out any lands, & further, have made request to ye Corte to take in ye said grant, manifesting their utter unwilgness to be engaged yrin, ye Corte doth not think fit to destroy ye said plantation, but rather to incurage it; only in regard ye psons now upon it are so few & unmeete for such a worke care to be taken to procure others, & in ye meane time to remaine in ye Cortes power to dispose of ye planting & ordering of it"

Vol. 2 p 225. 15th November 1647

"Towne Marks agreed ... by ye General Corte for horses to be ordered to be set upon one of ye next greens"

"X Nashaway"

Page 365 Vol 3 Colony Records (also p 210 Vol 4). 1654

Whereas Showanam, sagamor of Nashaway, is lately dead, & an other is now suddainly to be choosen in his roome, they being a great people, who have submitted to this jurisdiction, this Court doth order that Mr Increase Nowell & Mr Eliott be sent unto them to direct them in their choyce, their eyes being upon 2 or 3 which are of the blood, one whereof is a very debaucht, drunken fellow & no friend to the English: another of them is very hopeful to learne the things of Christ: if therefore their sent may by way of pswasion or counsell, not by compulsion, prevayle with them for the choyce of such a one as may be most fitt, it would be a good service to the Country -

Volume 3. (an independent record of the action of the deputies).

Page 45 October 2. 1645. [Compare with same, p. 1]

"In ans^r to ye peticon of Jo: Hill Srgnt Jo: Davies, Jo. Chandler, Isaacke Walker & Mathew Barnes. James Cutl^o, &c in relacon to Nashaway plantacon, itt is ordered, yt Jo: Hill, Srgnt Davies, Jo: Chandler, Isaack Walker, & Mathew Barnes, or any three of them, shall have pow^r to sett out lotts to all ye planters, provided they sett not their howses to farr asunder; & ye greater lotts to be proporconable to mens estates & chardges: & yt no man shall have his lott confirmed to him before he hath taken ye oath of fidellity before some magist"

The tenor of the petition is given in Willard's Centennial Address, page 71.

Page 15. May 14 1645

"In answ^r to ye peticon of ye Company at Nashaway, ye towne of Sudbury is graunted twenty pounds towards their finishing of their bridge, & way at ye end of it, to be paid when they shall have made ye way passable for loaden horse, p^vided it be doone within a twelve month from this time, 15th June 1645"

Page 203 June 19 1650

" Whereas John Prescot & others, the inhabitants of Nashaway, pferd a petition to this Coute, desireinge power to recover all Comenon charges of all such as had land there, not resedinge wth them, for answer whereunto, this Court, understandinge that the place before mentioned is not fit to make a plantation, (so a ministry to be erected & maintayned there), which if the petitioners, before the end of the next sessein of this Court, shall not sufficiently make the sajd place appeare to be capable to answer the ends above mentioned) doth order that the pties inhabitinge there shalbe called therehence, & suffred to live without the meanes, as they have done, no longer. p curia."

Pages 302, 303, May 18. 1653. (recorded out of place as a parenthesis in last amendement shows)

" The Courtes answer to a petition psented from the inhabitants of Nashawey, año 52 Concerning the settleing of the plant. in seuerall pticulers.

1 First, it is determined that the orderinge & disposeinge of the plantation of Nashaway is wholy in this Courts power, as appeares by an order of the Generall Court in año 1647.

2ly

2ly Considering that there is already at Nashaway about 9 familyes, & that several, both freemen & others intend to goe & settle there, some whereof are named in theire petition, this Court doth hereby give & graunt them libertyes of a townshipp, &, at the request of the inhabitants, doe order it to be called Prescott.

3ly That theire lymitts shalbe set out according to a deede of the Indian sagamore, vizt Nashaway River, at the passing ouer to the centur, & five miles north, five miles South, five miles east, & three miles west; & yt this Court appoynt some Commissioners to se these lynes extended & theire bounds lymitted.

4ly That Edward Brecke, Nathaniel Hadlocke Wm. Carley, Thomas Sawyer, John Prescott & Ralph Haughton, or any fowr of them whereof the major part to be freemen, to be fur pseut the prudentiall men of the sd towne both to se all allottments laid out to the planters in due pportion to theire estates & also to order the prudential affayres untill it shall appeare to this Court that the place be so farre settled with able men as the Court may thinke it capable of gieueing them full liberties of a townshipp according to law.

5ly That all such psons who haue possessed & continued inhabitants at Nashaway shall haue

theire

their lotts formerly layd out confirmed to them, ꝓvided they take the oath of fidelity.

6th That Sudbury should make carthwayes within theire bounds to pass to & from ye plantatio.

7th That the ye inhabitants be rated for publicke charge within the county of Middlesex & to that end the towne may choose a constable.

8th That they take care that a godly ministery may be maintayned amongst them, & yt no evill ꝑsons, enemies to this comonwealth in judgment or practise, be admitted as inhabitants amongst them, & none to have lotts confirmed but such as take the oath of fidelity.

9th It is hereby declared, that although the first vndertakers & copartners in the plantation of Nashaway are wholy evacuated of theire clayme in lotts there by order of this Court, yet that such ꝑsons of them who have expended either charge or labour for the benefitt of the place, & have helped on the worke there from time to time, either in contributing to ye ministery, or in the purchase from the Indians or in any other publicke worke, that such ꝑsons are to be considered by the towne, either in ꝑportion of land or some other

way of satisfaction, as may be just & meete, provided such psons doe make such their expenses clearly appeare in six moneths."

(The following articles seem to be of the nature of amendments)

"This Court, taking the condition of Nashaway into further consideration doe order, that it shalbe called henceforth West Towne. & doe further confirme there graunt of 8 miles square which was formerly graunted them, which will encourage many to plant there.

In answer to another petition from the inhabitants of Nashaway for settling of their graunt this Court doth order the plantation at Nashaway to centre, as in the Court order of May, 52 (which is the foregoing order,) and to be layd out in proportion to eyght miles square, & that the several particulers being in number nyne, be confirmed to them, saue in the close of the 2d article, about the name of the towne, that the name of it be henceforth called Lancaster, & in the sixth article, that Sudbury & Lancaster lay out high wayes according to ye Court order, for the Countryes vse & them repayre as need shalbe, & that instead of six moneths expressed in the close of the 9th article, such psons to haue twelve moneths from the end of this

Session for such demaundes: and that the intrest of Harmon Garrett ~~and~~ & such others as were first undertakers or have ben at great charges there, shalbe made good to him, them, or his or theire heirs in all theire allottments as to other theire inhabitats in ꝓportion to charges expended by him and such others aforesd, ꝓvided they make improvements of such allottements, by buildinge & plantinge, within three yeares after they are or shalbe layd out to them: otherwise theire intrests hereby ꝓvided for to be voyd. & all such lands so hereby reserved to be at the townes dispose."

p 351 May 15 1654

"In answer to the pet. of the inhabitants of Lancaster, they have the libties of a Township graunted to them that the Lawes allow, untill this Genll Court take further order therein; and that Lieut Goodenow & Thō Danforth lay out the bounds of the Sd Towne, according to ye Courts graunt, at the townes charge, & make returne thereof at the next Court of Election."

p 428. May 6th 1657

"In answer to the petition of Severall of the inhabitants of Lancaster, Major Symon

Willard, Capt. Edward Johnson, & Mr Thō Danforth are empowered as a Committee to heare & determine severall differences amongst them, & to manage the prudentiall affayres of the towne untill they shalbe furnished with men capable for that imployment according to law -"

Volume 4

Page 139 - May 18 1653

"In ans^r to the peticon of the inhabitants of Nashaway, the Court finds according to a former order of the Generall Court, in anno 1647, no 6: 95.

1 That the ordering & disposing of the plantacon at Nashaway is wholy in this Courts power.

2 Considering that there is already at Nashaway about 9 familjes and that severall both freemen and others intend to goe & settle there, some whereof are named in this peticon, the Court doth graunt them the libertie of a township, & orders that henceforth it shall be called Lancaster.

3 That the bounds thereof shall be sett out according to a deede of the Indian Sagamore, viz, Nashaway River at the passing over to be center, five miles north, five miles south, five miles east & three miles west, by such Commissioners as the Court shall appoint to see these lines extended & their bounds limitted.

4 That Edward Brecke, Nathaniell Hadlocke Willjam Carby, Thō Sawjer, Jno. Prescott & Ralfe Haughton, or any fower of them, whereof the major pte to be freemen, to be for p̄sent the pandentiall men of the sajd towne both to see all alotments to be lajd out to the planters in due proportion to their estates, and also to order other prudentiall affaires, untill it shall appeare to this Court that the place be so farr seated with able men as the Court may judge meete to give them full libertjes of a townshipp, according to lawe

5 That all such p̄sons who have passessed and continued inhabitants at Nashawag shall have their lotts formerly lajd out confirmed to them provided they take the oath of fidellitje.

6 That Sudbury & Lancaster lay out highwajes between towne & towne according to order of Court for the Countejes use & then repajer them as neede shall be.

7 The Court orders, that Lancaster shall be rated wthin the County of Middlesex, & the towne hath liberty to choose a Constable

8 That the inhabitants of Lancaster doe take care that a godly ministry may be maintajned amongst them, & that no evill persons, enemjes to the lawes of this Commonwealth in judgment or practise, be admitted as inhabitants amongst them, & none to [have] lotts confirmed but such as take the oath of fidellitje."

9 That although the first undertakers & copartners in the plantacon of Nashaway are wholy evacuated of their clayme in lotts there by order of this Court, yett that such p sons of them who have expended either charge or labor for the bennefitt of the place, & have helped on the publicke workes there from time to time, either in contributing to the ministry, or in the purchase from the Indians, or any other publicke worke, that such persons are to be considered by the towne, either in proporcon of land, or some other way of sattisfacon, as may be just & meete, provided such persons doe make such their expenses clearely appeare w^th^in twelve months after the end of this sessions, for such demands: and that the interest of Harmon Garrett, & such others as were first undertakers, or have bin at great charges there, shallbe made good to him, them his or their heires, in all allotments, as to other the inhabitants, in proporcon to the charges expended by him & such others aforesajd, provided they make improvement of such allotments by building & planting, w^th^in three yeares after they are or shallbe lajd out to them; otherwise their interest hereby provided for to be vojd, and all such lands so hereby reserved to be thenceforth at the townes disposal. In further ans^r^ to this peticon the Court judgeth it meete to confirm the above mentioned

nine p̄ticulars to the inhabitants of Lancaster and order that the bounds thereof be lajd out in proporcon to eight miles square."

Page 189 - May 14. 1654

"In ans^r to the peticon of the inhabittants of Lancaster, itt is ordered that the inhabitants of Lancaster haue those libertyes of a towneship that the lawes allow, untill the Gennerall Court take further order therein; & that Left Goodenow & ell^r Thomas Danforth lay out the bounds of the lajd towne according to the Courts graunt, at the townes charge, & make retourne thereof vnto the next Court of Election."

Page 296 "In ans^r to the peticon of the inhab-
1657 May itants of Lancaster, this Court judgeth it meete to graunt theire request. & doe therefore order & appoint Major^r Symon Willard, Capt. Edward Johnson and Mr Thomas Danforth commissioners, inpow^ring them to order the affaires of the lajd Lancaster, and to heare & determine theire seuerall greiuances & differences wch obstructs the present & future good of the towne, standing in power till they be able to make retourne to ye Generall Court. that the towne is sufficiently able to order its owne affaires according to lawe."

1657. Mass Records Vol 4 p 313.

In answer to the peticon of Steeven Gates, humbly desiring yt no fine may be inflicted on him for his neglect in not warning the freemen to give in their votes for magistrates he being at yt time sicke, & having p d tenn shillings for entering his peticon, the court graunts his request.

Vol. 4 Page 307 - May 15 1657 -

Extract from a Report of a Committee on Bridges of which Jno Prescott was a member and Thomas Danforth Recorder.

After recommending the building of two bridges at Billerick & Mistick" they go on to say - "And whereas it appears to us that Concord, Sudbury & Lancaster are at a greater charge in bridges for the publique use of the country then some other of theire neighbor townes, we conceive it meete that they be abated as followeth: Concord & Lancaster all theire rates, whether paid or to be paid, to those two bridges above named + + + +

Page 311. 14 October 1657.

The Court favorably answers a petition of Concord Lancaster &c for privilege "to erect one or more iron workes within the limitts of theire owne towne bounds, or in any comon place neere thereunto."

Page 337. May 26. 1658

The Court answers a petition of Maj. Simon Willard giving him "a farme of five hundred acres on the South side of the river that runneth from Nashaway to Merrimacke, between Lancaster and Groton, in satisfaction of a debt of forty foure pounds." Jno. Sagamore, of Patuckett, doth owe to him.

Vol. 4 Page 372-3.

John Prescott & Jonas Fairebancks. make return of the laying out of Richard Davenports farm "in the south line of Lancaster bounds" 600 acres.

See p. 27

Volume 4 Part 2. June 1661 - Page 23.

Major Symon Willard to send three or four men, powder &c. "from Lancaster to Quabacooke" unto Wassamegin to terrify his enemies by firing off musquetts &c.

Page 340. May 15. 1667

Stephen Day has liberty to procure of the Sagamore of Nashoway one hundred and fifty acres of upland, and gives him twenty acres of meadow.

Page 439 12th October 1667.

In answer to petition from several towns of which Lancaster is one, ordered "that such persons living in the frontier towns within the County of Middlesex as are legally capacitated to fyst themselves troopers shall have liberty to doe the same under Thomas Wheeler Sen of Concord, lieftenant & Ne troope in Middlesex.

Page 378 27 May 1668.

"On the motion of Major Symon Willard, on the behalfe of the towne of Lancaster that the letter Lc be the allowed brand marke for the said towne of Lancaster, the Court orders the same so to be".

Vol. 4 Part 2 Page 545 Oct 11. 1672. (Recorded out of place)

April 7. 1659

In obedience to the order of the Generall Court to the now inhabitants of Lancaster, laid out the bounds of Lancaster according to the said grants. We began at the wading place of Nashaway River, and runne a line three miles upon a west north west point, one degree westerly: and from the end of the three miles wee runne two perpendicular line being five mile in length each line, the one line running North North East, one degree northerly, the other line running South southwest, one degree southerly: Wee made eight angles at the end of the tenn miles line running two perpendicular lines, running both of them upon an east southeast point one degree easterly: One of the said lines, being the north line, wee did runne at eight miles in length; the other being the south line, wee did runne it sixe miles and a halfe in length. and there meeting wth the middle of the line, which is the line of the plantation granted to the petitioners of Sudbury, whose plantation is called Whipsufferage. and so running their line fower mile wanting threescore perches, to the end of their line, at the northwest angle of Whipsufferage plantation; And from the said angle of Whipsufferage plantation, running sixe

miles and three quarters, there meeting wth the aforesayd east end of the eight mile line, and to period all the sayd lines and bounds of Lancaster wch sayd grant runns eighty square miles of land.

This by me

Thomas Noyes."

"The Court approves of this returne provided that a farme of a mile square, or six hundred ~~and~~ & forty acres, be layd out by Major Willard Ralph Haughton & John Prescot, within this bounds, for the Country's vse, in such place as is not already appropriated to any."

Page 556 May 7 1672.

"Whereas the honoured Major Willard, Mr Thomas Danforth wth the late Capt. Johnson, have by order of this Court, been a Comittee to order the prudentiall affaires of Lancaster for many yeares. Lancaster having been setled for severall yeares, ~~and~~ & as the sayd Comittee informes, many yeares since been trusted by them, ~~and~~ & able to manage their owne affaires, the sayd towne of Lancaster now humbly desiring the Courts favour, that the Comittee, for their great paynes & service for so long a season, may be thankfully acknowledged & dismist from future trouble in such respect & themselves betrusted, as

as
other townes are, to maanage their owne affaires, the Court judgeth it meet to grant their request herein."

Deputies &c

Page 485 May 31 1671 - Mr Tho Bratle
" 507 May. 15 1672 - do.
" 551 May. 1673 Mr Hawton.
" 561 Sept. 1673 Mr Ralph Hawton.
" 485 & 506 - Symon Willard - is Commissioner in Reserve for 1671-2 -

Page 583 - 1668-9 - Ralph Holton. Henry Herly & Jno. Prescott - made freemen.

Vol. 5 Page 75 Special Gen. Court Feb. 25. 1675/6
"Mr Rowlison not being disposed to accept of the motion of ye Court to goe out wth the forces as preacher, it is ordered that Mr Samuel Nowell be intreated to goe &c." This means with the Command of Major Savage. Coo mens -

Page 73 - Feby. 21 1675.
"It is ordered on request of Capt. Scyll, that the Comittee for the warr doe forthwth send twenty pounds of tobacco & three gallons of rume for the supply of the Company that now resides at Lancaster -"

22d Oct. 1677 Vol 5. p. 172.
"The Court on view of weddow Wheelers bill. of Lancaster of disbursements, signed by the Comittee for ye country, doe order and grant her payment from the Treasurer of Five pounds nineteen shillings and eight pence."

See also page 93. May 5 1676 instructions of a 2d Embassy to the Sagamores, consisting of Jonathan Prescott & Peter Gardner.

Page 82. "Instructions for Mr Seth Perry our messenger to the Sachems at Wachusetts." about ransom of captives.

Also. the "Courts' letter to the Indian Sagamores, Philip, John, Sam Washaken, Old Queen & Pomhom."

Too lengthy to copy here.

Page 56.

Lancaster's proportion towards the Indian War

13th Oct. 1675 - 11 £ 16s. In paying rates Wheat is reckoned at 6 shillings, Rye at 4s 6d Barley & Peas - 4s. Indian Corn 3s 6d. Oates 2s per bushel. delivered without charge to the Treasurer - One fourth abated for payment in money.

Page 122 12 October 1676.

Answer to John Houghton's petition

"This Court being informed by certifficat under the hand of Capt. Daniell Hinckesman that when he was out in the service of the Country at Lancaster, they had occasion to make vse of an oxe for a supply of the forces under his Command which saja oxe was valued, by indifferent persons at fiue pounds in Country pay, on a motion made in the behalfe of the ownor of the oxe John Houghton, it is ordered that the Treasurer

Page 104 Vol 5. 6th Sept. 1676.

"In answer to the petition of Ralph Houghton of Lancaster it is ordered that the petitioner be paid for his disbursements mentioned in his petition, by the executors of the late Treasurers in case there be so much in his hands, or in defect thereof by the present Treasurer, his owne rate amounting to six pounds to the country being discounted"

of the Country make payment to the said Houghton for the said oxe accordingly."

Page 295. Oct. 13 1680.

Ordered that the townes & companyes of Con-cord. Sudbury. Marlboro Chelmsford. Billerica Groton Lancaster & Dunstable wth the troope under the Comand of Capt. Thomas Hinchman or any other troope that hereafter shallbe raysed in those townes, be another regiment and under the comand of Major Peter Bulkley Esq. any law, usage or custome to the contrary notwithstanding."

Page 452. September 12 1684

"Henry Kerly, heretofore lieftenant at Lancaster now removed & marryed at Marlborow, is appointed insigne to the traine band there in ye roome of his brother deceased there."

Page 341 March 17 1681-2

"In ansr to the peticon of Ralph Houghton in behalfe of the inhabitants of Lancaster, the Court judgeth it meet to grant them exemption from Country rates for this yeare & the next."

Page 120 - Oct. 12. 1676 -

"In answer to the petition of Lawrence Waters of Lancaster humbly desiring the favour of this Court to order the payment of his accounts mentioned in his peticon, of seven pounds fiftteen shillings & fower pence or thereabouts, due him from the Country, his rate of forty two shillings being deducted. the fallance may be paid him, being aged & blind &c. it is ordered that the Tresurer make payment to the peticoner the sume above mentioned provided that if it is belonging to the old Tresurer & not charged to his account, that he passe it to the new Tresurer".

Delegates to General Court - 1689 - 1692.

Five Courts were summoned in 1689.

Ralph Houghton was representative in 1689 at Courts convened May 9th & May 23d

John Moore Jun. at Courts of June 5 & Nov. 5

John Moore Sen at Court of Dec 3d

In 1690 the representatives were,

John Moore Sen. Feby 12th.

John Houghton Dec. 10th.

Oct 20 1658 - "Marshall Richard Wajte is granted 60 acres on north east side Washakam Ponds" Said out December 1668.

May 1675 - George & Francis Adams had grant of "Washaame Hill" confirmed - a gift from Sachem, Matthew & Samuel his sons

May 6 1659 Treasurer Richard Russell received a grant of 500 acres "bounded on the north east side Washakam Pond & a swamp adjoyning thereto."

These are some of the "former grants" probably referred to in order for the New Grant. pp 21-22

In 1659. A grant of 100 acres accorded John Prescott. See p. 398 of Colony Records. Vol IV Part I -

"In ans^r to ye peticon of Jno. Prescott the Court considering the grounds of his peticon doe judge it meete to graunt him one hundred acres of land to be layd out adjoyning to the lands that are layd out by order of this Court to Lancaster."

Again Vol IV Part II p. 526 - May 15. 1672. "In ans^r to the peticon of John Prescott the Court receiving good information that ye peticoner is - auncient planter, & hath bein a usefull, helpfull & publicque spirited man. doing many good offices for the country relating to the road to Connecticutt. marking trees - directing passengers &c, and that the land petitioned for being but about one hundred and seven acres & lying not convenient for any other plantation. & only acomodable for the peticoner the Court judgeth it meet to confirm ye Indian Sale. & grant made to him by James Joisen an Indian. & to his heirs"

"Additional Grant"
to Lancaster 1711-

Page 13+14 David Wilder's History of Leominster

"In Council. The report of the Committee upon the surveys of land prayed for by Lancaster November 21+22-1711- Whereas we the Subscribers viz: Jonathan Prescott, John Farnsworth, & Samuel Jones, are a Committee appointed to view a tract of land, petitioned for by the Inhabitants of Lancaster, and to make report to the General Court, for their consideration we have accordingly been upon the Spot, the days above dated and proceeded thereupon as follows: Imprimis we began at the proper bounds of the Lancaster Plantation & thence run one line upon a northwest point or thereabouts, along by the southwest side of Massapange and Unkachewalewick Ponds, extending said line three miles, from thence we made an angle running near upon a Southwest point crossing a river called the North River, running over hills called Monoosnock Hills, said line being about six miles in length, till it meets with the middle branch of Lancaster River, at or near a little hill on which the Indians had marked a tree for a corner of said land being near five miles wide. At the Southward end bounded partly by Capt. Davenports farm.

See p 27

to the southwest corner of Lancaster Old bounds
The land included within these bounds is
rocky and mountainous and very poorly
accommodated with meadow.

Jonathan Prescott
Samuel Jones. John Farnsworth.

"Read & ordered that the tract of land
above described be added and confirmed to the
towne of Lancaster as a part of the Township
not prejudicing any former grant.

Concurred by the Representatives

Consented to Joseph Dudley"

Isaac Addington
Secry.

The bond given by Georg Talbanto
for the above tract of land was made
June 26 1701. It will be found in full in
Marvin's History of Lancaster Vol 1. page 150
& in Wilder's History of Leominster &c."

The original records of additional Grant's
proprietors is said to be in Leominster.

April 25 1781 - The Second Precinct was set off from Lancaster with the name of Sterling -
Bounded as follows:
"Beginning upon the southeast corner of Leominster, and running thence
East 21° south 160 Perch:
thence South 8° West 2 1/2 miles and 20 Perch: which distance will be due west of Jonas Fairbank's House:
thence South 18° west to a certain place called the Foot of the Scar & extending on said line until it shall strike the line of the town of Shrewsbury" Numerous alterations statements

Feby 2 1781 - An act for annexing that Part of Lancaster called the Southerly part, to the Town of Shrewsbury -

Sect 1 - xx That the southerly part of Lancaster with the Inhabitants thereof bounded as follows: viz: Beginning at the northwest angle at Still Water River at a heap of stones by said river at the end of Ezra Beman's stone wall as it now stands, near Josiah Cattings Mills: from thence East 5° south 198 rods to a county road leading from Worcester to Sumenburg: thence angling round Ebenezer Pikes farm to a heap of stones the North East angle of said Pikes' farm: thence East 19° 30' South 144 rods to a heap of stones: thence East 5° 30' South 152 rods to a heap of stones: thence East 18° North 180 rods to a heap of stones thence East 10° north two miles to Lancaster, thence East 25° North 1 1/2 miles & 30 rods to a heap of stones on Bolton town line: thence South 20° 30' west to a heap of stones on Shrewsbury town line: thence angling on said Shrewsbury & said Still Water River ~~River~~ to the first mentioned angle - be set off to Shrewsbury -

23 Centra

Boylston 1786 March

Bounded. Beginning at Worcester town line at a heap of stones between Nathaniel Haywood's and Jonathan Lovell's and running (only southern bounds surveyed)

East 9° North 17½ rods thence North 6° East 40 rods thence East 13¼° North 178 rods, thence East 20° North till you come to the lands of Nathan Bannister. thence South 16° West 35 rods, thence East 12° North 166 rods thence North 26° East 74 rods. thence East 20° North till you come to the land of Jonathan Fassets, thence South 40° East 62 rods thence South 2° West 37 rods. thence East 13° North 114 rods thence South 21° West 48 rods, thence East 43° South 34 rods, thence East 24° South 29 rods. to Northborough town line. bounding South on Shrewsbury, Easterly on the towns of Northborough & Berlin, Northerly on the towns of Lancaster and Sterling & Westerly on the towns of Holden & Worcester.

From an Article upon "the Boundary lines of Groton in Boy State Monthly June 1884.

The original copy of the petition for Harvard is now probably lost; but in the first volume (page 53) of "Ancient Plans Grants &c." among the Massachusetts Archives, is a rough plan of the town, with a list of the petitioners, which may be the "Schedule" referred to in the extract from the printed Journal. It appears from this document that, in forming the new town, forty-eight hundred and thirty acres of land were taken from the territory of Groton; and with the tract were nine families, including six by the name of Farnsworth. This section comprised the district known, even now, as "the old mill," where Jonas Prescott[x] had, as early as the year 1667,?? a gristmill. The heads of these families were Jonathan Farnsworth, Eleazer Robbins, Simon Stone, Jr., Jonathan Farnsworth, Jr., Jeremiah Farnsworth, Eleazer Davis, Ephraim Farnsworth, Reuben Farnsworth, and [*torn*] Farnsworth, who had petitioned the General Court to be set off from Groton. On this plan of Harvard the names of John Burk, John Burk, Jr., and John Davis, appear in opposition to Houghton's petition.

The town of Harvard took its name from the founder of Harvard College, probably at the suggestion of Jonathan Belcher, who was governor of the province at the time and a graduate of the college.

[x] John Prescott senior contracted with Groton to build the mill Sept. 1667. and probably built it the next year, 1668. Jonas Prescott received it from his father, John, as his portion. As Jonas is said to have been born in 1648. he was not of age until 1669.

Harvard 1732.

Act for erecting a New Town within the County of Worcester, by the name of Harvard - Passed June 29 published July 1. 1732 -

Section 1 "That the lands in the extream parts of the towns of Lancaster, Groton & Stow, as the same are hereafter bounded & described, be & hereby are set off & constituted a separate & distinct township by the name of Harvard: vizt, beginning at the southerly end of the causeway near the house of Samuel Wilson in Lancaster & from thence running northwest & by west till the line meets with Lancaster River: & from said causeway running south East & by east to Lancaster east bounds: then running northerly in the east bounds of Lancaster till it comes to Beaver Brook then bounding on said brook till it comes to Littleton bounds. & then running on said Littleton line near to the northwest corner thereof: vizt so far that as a west northwest line shall leave the dwelling house of James Stone in Groton six perch to the northwest: & continuing the same course to Lancaster River aforesaid excepting Cayacus Farm or so much thereof as shall fall within the bounds aforesaid: and to bound west on said River.

Page 644 of 2^d Vol. "Acts & Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay" 1874 Edition

See p. 26 bis for part of it taken by Boxborough

Page 942.

Bolton 1738.

Act for dividing the town of Lancaster in the County of Worcester & erecting a new town there by the name of Bolton - Passed June 24. published June 27. 1738 Whereas x x x x x, Be it therefore enacted x x

Section 1 - "That the Easterly part of the town of Lancaster be and hereby is set off from the said town of Lancaster & erected into a separate & distinct township by the name of Bolton, according to the following boundaries viz. northeasterly upon Harvard, easterly upon Stow. southeasterly upon Marlborough, southerly upon Westborough, & westerly upon Lancaster. by a line running near a south & north point parallel with the west line of said township of Lancaster at four miles distance therefrom. agreeable to a vote of the said town passed the first day of March 1735. x x x

Page 1023.

Leominster 1740.

Act for dividing the Town of Lancaster & making a new town by the name of Leominster. Passed June 23. published July 16 1740.

Section 1. That the northwesterly part of the town of Lancaster comprehended within the following boundaries viz: beginning four

miles southerly from the northwesterly corner of the Old Township: and from thence running westerly over the Southernmost Wakapeekit Hill and so over the Rocky Hill: and thence to the westerly line of the "additional grant" so called: from thence northeasterly to a heap of stones on Monoosnock Hill; from thence to a heap of stones being a corner mark by Unchachawalunk Pond; from thence southeasterly by said pond & Mattapoge Pond and as the marks direct to the northwesterly corner of said Lancaster old bound(s) and then, with the land of Thomas Houghton to Lancaster old west line, thence southerly, with said line to the station first mentioned, be and hereby is set off from the town of Lancaster & erected into a separate and distinct township by the name of Leominster.

1768. Shrewsbury Leg. Annexed to L.

From Page 273 Worcester Magazine History of Sterling.

xx "All that part of Shrewsbury called the Leg bounded South on Quinnepoxet River, west on Holden line north on Princeton line, & East on Bill water River is hereby set to Lancaster" - - -

"About three miles in length by one and one half miles in breadth".

The act is Chap. 19 2d Session 1767-8 passed Feb 27th.
The above is merely the substance of act. not a copy.

Berlin

1778. An act for setting off a part of the town of Bolton in the County of Worcester as a separate Parish

"Whereas x x x Be it enacted x x x That all lands with the inhabitants thereon in the town of Bolton to the Southward of a line beginning three miles & one half and sixty two rods from the Southwesterly Corner of said Bolton at a stake and stones on Lancaster line, thence running East 24° south one mile, one half & forty rods to a heap of stones near Amos Merriams shop thence running East 37° South three miles four rods, to Marlboro line - Be and is set off hereby as a separate parish by the name of the South Parish of Bolton"

(1784) x x x "An Act to incorporate the South Parish in the town of Bolton & the above named inhabitants [David Taylor, Silas Carley, Job Spafford, & John Brigham] of Marlboro, into a district by the name of Berlin" - x x x x March 16 1684

1812. The town of Berlin was incorporated with the district bounds - "on the north by Bolton, East by Marlboro, South by Northboro - West by Lancaster" -

The original "Petition of Inhabitants of the Southerly part of the town of Bolton" to be set off - is in Mass. Archives Vol. 183. p. 400.

Feb 8, 1791 An Act to set off Peter Larkin with his family and estate from Lancaster to the District of Berlin -

This is the first act regarding Boylston. afterward greatly altered

"Boylston District - Feb. 25. 1783 was formed of the extreme parts of the towns of Stow Harvard and Littleton - The bounds are as follow: "Beginning at the road southerly of John Robbins buildings, and running southerly to Acton Corner three miles and ninety two rods to a heap of stones; from thence running southerly in Acton line to a place called Flay Hill being two miles, three quarters and two rods to a heap of stones: from thence westerly in Stow two miles and a quarter to a stake and pillar of stones in the Harvard line: there running northerly through part of Harvard to a white oak tree by a causeway. from thence to the place first set out from." - The part of Harvard taken must have belonged to the original Lancaster Grant.

During this period the town of Harvard was incorporated. It was made up from portions of Groton, Lancaster, and Stow, and the engrossed act signed by the governor, on June 29, 1732. The petition for the township was presented to the General Court nearly two years before the date of incorporation. In the Journal of the House of Representatives (pages 84, 85), October 9, 1730, it is recorded: —

A Petition of *Jonas Houghton*, *Simon Stone*, *Jonathan Whitney*, and *Thomas Wheeler*, on behalf of themselves, and on behalf and at the desire of sundry of the Inhabitants on the extream parts of the Towns of *Lancaster*, *Groton* and *Stow*, named in the Schedule thereunto annexed; praying, That a Tract of Land (with the Inhabitants thereon, particularly described and bounded in said Petition) belonging to the Towns above-mentioned, may be incorporated and erected into a distinct Township, agreeable to said Bounds, for Reasons mentioned. Read, together with

Clinton

March 14. 1850.

"Be it enacted

Section 1 – "All that part of Lancaster in the County of Worcester which lies southerly of the following described line. Viz:– Beginning at a monument on the east line of the town two hundred and eighty nine and fifty six hundredths rods northerly of a town bound which is a corner of Bolton Berlin and Lancaster, and running thence north 65° 30' west five hundred and eighteen and eleven hundredths rods to a bound near the railroad bridge at Goodrich Hill; and thence south 48° 30' west. seven hundred and eighty three rods to a town bound on the westerly line of said town near the Elder farm, is hereby incorporated into a separate town by the name of Clinton." x x x

$10000 bonus paid to Lancaster by Clinton.

"Davenports. Farm"

"1659. May 28. The bounds of Richard Davenports his farme"
"Layd out in the year sixteene hundred fifty & eight according to
the order & graunt of the Generall Court of the Massachusetts
in America, being measured in the presence of the Comitee
John Prescot & Jonas Fairebancks in manner following
First beginning at a great white oake being in the south
line of Lancaster bounds wch sayd oake being three
quarters of one mile and forty perches to the eathwards
of Lancaster, southwest angle running, wee say upon
a west northwest pointe one hundred & seventy
rods. then making an angle running upon a west
and be north point one mile one quarter & seventy
five rods, there making a right angle passing over the
river running a line fifty rods in length then
making an angle & running south east & by south
one mile & one hundred and twenty rods. there
making an angle at a great pine tree & running
from thence north east & be east one mile &
eighty rods wch line periods at the white oake where
we first beganne. all wch lynes so drawn out
contains sixe hundred acres. and also layd
out fifty acres more wch sayd fifty acres is a
part of the farme graunted Capt Davenporte & lyeth
a mile distant from the northwest angle of the
aforesd farme

John Prescott
Jonas Fairebancks.

The court approves of this returne

Diary of Samuel Sewall

Vol 1. Page 12.

1676 "April 25 Tuesday. Major Willard dyes at Charlestown. buryed 27th."

Page 22. 1676 "Sept. 26 Tuesday Sagamore Sam and Daniel Gookin is drawn in a cart upon bed-Cloaths to execution ×× One eyed John Malumpe Sagamore of Quapang. General at Lancaster &c. fetched (the Father) walk to the gallows."

Page 337 Wednesday Dec. 3 1690 "A Church is gathered (at Lancaster) & Mr John Whiting ordained Minister. - Mr Sam Whiting gives him his charge. Mr Estabrooks gives the Right hand of Fellowship: Mr Brinsmead and others there."

Page 459. "Sabbath Sept. 12 1697. "We hear of the slaughter made at Lancaster yesterday"

"Sept. 13 At Roxbury Mr Danforth tells me that Mr Whiting the Minister was dead and buried: Indians shot and scalped him about noon."

Vol 2. "1705 Oct 15. Three men are carried away from Lancaster from Mr Sawyers Sawmill [by Indians]

"Oct. 16 Hear the bad news from Lancaster."

12th day 1697 "Hanah Dustin Came to see us. - She saith her master whom she killed did formerly live with Mr Rowlandson at Lancaster

From

John Winthrop's History of New England.

Page 152. Edition of 1826. edited by Jas. Savage. 2d Vol.

1643 "Others of the same town [Watertown] began also a plantation at Nashaway some fifteen miles NW. from Sudbury."

May 1644

Page 161. "Many of Watertown and other towns joined in the plantation at Nashaway. and having called a young man, an university scholar, one Mr Norcross to be their Minister. seven of them who were no members of any churches were desirous to gather into a church estate; but the magistrates and elders advised them first to go and build them habitations &c. (for there was yet no house there) and then to take some that were members of other churches, with the consent of such churches, as formerly had been done and so proceed orderly. But the persons interested in the plantation being most of them poor men. and some of them conceit in judgment, and others profane. it went on very slowly. so that in two years they had not three houses built there and he whom they had called to be their minister left them for their delays."

1646 - Page 306 - "Special Providences"

"Prescott, another favourer of the petitioners lost a horse and his lading in Sudbury River. and a week after, his wife & Children being upon another horse were hardly saved from drowning"

Extracts from Winthrop - Continued.
1648 Page 325. "This year a new way was found out to Connecticut by Nashua which avoided much of the hilly way."

Narrative of the Indian Wars in New England. by Wm Hubbard - 1677
Page 116-117 Boyles Edition 1775.

"About the 10th of February after, some hundreds of the Indians, whether Nipmucks or Nashaway men (is uncertain belonging to him they call Sagamore Sam, and possibly some of the stoutest of the Narragansets that had escaped the winter brunt, fell upon Lancaster, a small village, of about fifty or sixty families, and did much mischief, burning most of the houses that were not garrisoned: And which is most sad and awful to consider, the house of Mr Rowlandson, minister of the said Lancaster, which was garrisoned with a competent number of the inhabitants; yet the fortifications of the house being on the back side closed up with fire wood, the Indians got so near as to fire a beanter, which burning the house immediately to the ground, all the persons therein were put to the hard choice, either to perish by the flames, with the house, or to yield themselves into the hands of those cruel savages.

which last (considering that a living dog is better than a dead lion) they chose. and so were forty-two persons surprized by the Indians. above twenty of the women and children they carried away captive, a rueful spectacle to behold: the rest being men, they killed in the place, or reserved for further misery: And many that were not slain in fighting, were killed in attempting to escape. The minister himself was occasionally absent to seek help from the Governor and Council to defend that place, who returning, was entertained with the tragical news of his wife and children surprized, and being carried away by the enemy, and his house turned into ashes. yet it pleased God so to uphold his heart, comforting himself in his God. as David at Ziklag. that he would always say he believed he should see his wife and children again, which did in like manner soon come to pass within five or six months after: all save the youngest which being wounded at the first, died soon after among the Indians

And such was the goodness of God to those poor captive women and children, that they found so much favor in the sight of their enemies, that they offered no wrong to any of their persons, save what they could not help being in many wants themselves. Neither did they offer any uncivil carriage to any of the females nor ever

attempted the chastity of any of them, either being restrained of God, as was Abimelech of old, or by some accidental cause which which withheld them from doing any wrong in that kind.

Upon the report of this disaster, Capt. Wadsworth then at Marlborough, with about forty resolute men, adventuring the rescuing of the town that was remaining: And having recovered a bridge, they got over safe, though the planks were pulled off by the enemy, and being hid up in a way, not discovered by them they forced the Indians for the present to quit the place, after they had burnt and destroyed the better half of it. Yet afterwards, it not being judged tenable it was abandoned to the pleasure of the insulting foe."

Page 150- "A person formerly acquainted with the Indians about Lancaster, did adventure upon the forementioned overtures, to go amongst them to try if he could not prevail with them for the redemption of the ministers wife taken captive in February last from Lancaster, and through the favour of him who having the hearts of all in his hands inclines them as he pleases, obtained the desired end upon an inconsiderable sum." ~~which~~ gave encouragement to the council to send

two messengers on the like errand the same week to procure the redemption of others, not without success: The former, viz. Mrs Rowlandson being brought to Boston upon Election day, May 3d, it was generally looked at as a token of providence, and doubtless was a return of prayer, and answer of faith with which her husband had been upheld and supported from the day of her captivity: his two children also were returned back not long after." x x x x x.

Compare "Records of the Colony of Mass. Bay" Volume 5 p. 82 - "Instructions for Mr Seth Perry messenger to Sachems at Wachusett & the letter of the Court to the Indian Sagamores. also p. 93 for later Embassy.

History of Massachusetts by Thomas Hutchinson, Edition of 1795. Page 274 of Vol 1

"The 10th of February several hundred of the enemy assaulted Lancaster burnt the houses, killed and captivated forty persons, the ministers wife among the rest, he himself (Mr Rowlandson) being absent." (See p 37 post).

New Englands Memorial by Nathaniel Morton - Edited by John Davis - 1826 - Appendix Page 436 - "On the 10th of Feb: Thos Hinckley Esq. then at Boston thus writes to

his wife. "Dear Heart" Since my last inclosed which I broke up to signify to thee, not to expect my coming home this week. Job the other Indian spy, sent out as I have before said, is last night returned to Capt. Gookins & informs, that the Narragansets are got to the Quabang Indians four hundred of them & three hundred of the others as I mentioned heretofore & informs that six of Eames his children, the owner of the house burnt at Sudbury of which before, are with the Indians and the Indians intend marching this day three hundred of them to fall upon Lancaster alias Nashaway. Post was sent by Capt. Gookin and Mr Danforth last night, midnight for Eighty troopers & forty foot thereabout & at Marlborough to hasten to Lancaster for their relief, but whether they came time enough is not yet known. A post came thence today to inform, a great many Indians were at Lancaster bridge: and the smoke of some houses fired there appeared to him as he came. The good Lord fit us for his pleasure."

"Lancaster was a flourishing settlement of about thirty years standing & contained between fifty and sixty families. The

greater part of the houses were consumed & among the rest, the house of the minister Mr Rowlandson though "garrisoned with a competent number of inhabitants" his wife and children were made prisoners, he being absent. Then the women & children who had taken refuge in that house were also captured, eight men fighting in their defence were killed. About forty two persons in all, says Hubbard, "were slain or captured"

In Mather's "Magnalia" the story of the Destruction of Lancaster is thus told. "On February tenth fell upon the town of Lancaster where they burned many houses captived more than forty persons. Mr Rolandson who had been at Boston to intercede for some speedy succours, though by this journey from home he was himself preserved, yet at his return he found his house on fire, his goods & books all burned, and which was worse, his wife and children and neighbors in the hands of the worst barbarians in the world. This good man like David at Ziklag yet believed for the recovery of his relations out of horrible hands which about four or five months after accomplished with wonderful dispensations of

Providence, whereof the gentlewoman herself has given us a printed Narrative." See p. 51 for another quotation.

Niles' History of the Indian & French Wars. written about 1760. See 3d Series Vol. 6 of the Collections of the Mass. Historical Soc. p. 244.

"We come now to the year 1698. On September 11 a party of the enemy fell upon the town of Lancaster and killed twenty people among whom was Mr John Whiting, the minister of the town & burnt three houses with several aged people in them: five were carried captive. Captain Brown pursued them but by the backing of some dogs with the Indians they rose in the night and fled in haste but first stripped and scalped a captive woman"

Page 261

But to return to the westward where the enemy did some mischief, which alarmed the people of Lancaster, and was the occasion of their worthy minister's death, the Rev. Mr Gardner, in the prime & bloom of his age: the circumstance which was briefly this - The men in the garrison had been tired with scouting in the woods to discover the enemy and with watching for defence against them.

Niles' acct. of the Massacre of 1676 is too lengthy to copy, & is an almost verbatim transcript from Willis' Rowlandson's Narrative. It will be found in Vol 5, 4th Series of Mass. Hist. Col. pp 381-6

N.B. For Penhallow's Account - see p 42-43 of Willard's Hist of L in this Vol.

"Mr Gardner proposed to watch that night and give the soldiers opportunity to take some rest and did so: but in the night perhaps being cold and willing to warm himself, or from some other reason, he came out of his watch box. One of the men, either not perfectly awake or from a surprising fear, shot him in the back. He called to open the door for he was wounded. He fainted with the effusion of blood, but then reviving a little, he enquired who it was that shot him and they told him. He prayed God to forgive him as he also forgave him, supposing it was not done with any design against him. He comforted his sorrowful spouse commending her & his bereaved flock to God, and about an hour after expired greatly lamented by his family, flock, and all who knew him."

Page 183.

"February 10. the Indians fell upon Lancaster, then an out town, burnt many houses and murdered and captivated more than forty of the inhabitants."

See also note on margin of opposite page.

In Hutchinson's History 2d Vol p. 100 I find also.

"A party of the enemy then fell upon Lancaster & killed twenty or thirty persons. Mr Whiting the minister of the town being one of them."

In Bicentennial Commemoration of the Burning of Medfield p. 14 is a Letter from Rev. Mr. Wilson of Ml. dated Feb. 24 1675. I Extract thes. "Captain Oakes coming from Marlborough to our towne this second day night, we understand by him (who lately came fro ye grizely sight of ye ruines of Lancaster) of ye imminent danger yt not only Marlborough was in wh^ch he left there but also of ye town of Medfield x x."

Butlers History of Groton, pp. 37 & 285. gives an account of John Prescott, the first of the name who came to America. He "came about the year 1640 & soon after settled at Nashua." He was a blacksmith by occupation and was also a builder of mills." His sons were John, Jonathan, & Jonas. "Jonas or his father for him built the mill in the South part of Lancaster now within the limits of Harvard." He also built mills at Forge Village now in Westford but then in Groton".

See p. 21 of History of Petersham

Page 10 & 11 of Petersham.

"In 1724 & 1725 Companies of forest rangers were sent out almost daily from the frontier towns to scan the country back of those towns & keep it as clear as possible of their wily enemies" "A considerable number of journals kept by the commanders of these scouting

parties during these marches are filed in the office of the Secretary of State. Some of them possess an interest for the curious". Captain White of Lancaster has a journal among these. White had served under Capt Lovell & went out to bury that brave man after his last fatal expedition against the Pequawkets."
"The petitioners for the grant of Petersham asked it in consideration of services rendered under Captains John Lovell and John White in the Indian Wars-"

Page 16- The first meeting of the Proprietors of Petersham was held May 10 1733 at the "Inn of Thomas Carter-" The following were of Lancaster. Jonas, Ephraim, James, Edward, Stephen and Daniel Houghton- Samuel Willard John Bennet, John White- Joseph & David Whitcomb, John, Ezra, & Samuel Sawyer. Fairbank Moor- John Wilder, Moses Chandler John Goss & others"-

Page 20. "
Sept 12 1734. The proprietors of Petersham voted to give Capt. Jonas Houghton both valuable privileges as a proprietor & a sum of money for making the road so feasible from Lancaster along the north side Wachusett to the meeting of the other path that goes from aforesaid Lancaster along on the South side Wachusett- as to carry comfortably with four oxen, four barrels of cider at once"

Incorporations &c in Lancaster.

1797 February 14. Aqueduct in Lancaster. Eli Stearns Joseph White, Jonas Lane, Samuel Jones, and Abijah Phelps incorporated as proprietors "for the Purpose of conducting Water from the Springs at and about Quassapoinkin Hill so called to Inhabitants in a Part of the Town called the Neck."

In December 1825 a meeting of the citizens in New Boston formed a company for the purpose of bringing water from George Hill in lead pipes - and the company was duly organized under the general act of Legislature, Statute of 1798, Chapter 59 on the 11th of March 1826. At the start there were sixty shares, $2000 Capital and nearly all the inhabitants of the village subscribed to the stock - The first lead pipe was made in lengths of 12 ft in Waltham. Some of this pipe remained in service until 1880 - There had been an aqueduct as early as 1798 in the same locality, the water being brought to its destination in logs bored for the purpose - but how many families it availed I have no means of knowing.

Incorporations of Companies &c in Lancaster.

1821. Feb. 12. Lancaster Cotton Co. David Prignard, Samuel Plant, Benjamin Rich, Isaac Bangs & Seth Knowles are named as proprietors in the act of incorporation.

1828. Feb 11 Solomon Strong, Nathaniel Thayer Ira M. S. Blanchard, Joseph B. Kendall, Joseph Willard, George Baker, Horatio Carter, Davis Whitman, Peter Osgood, Calvin Lincoln & Solon Whiting were incorporated into a body politic by the name of the Trustees of Lancaster Academy.

1847 April 7. Henry Swift, John G. Thurston Ezra Sawyer & associates were incorporated by the same name.

1836. April 9. Davis Whitman Jacob Fisher Jr Stephen P. Gardner & their associates & successors were made a corporation by the name of the President, Directors, & Company of the Lancaster Bank with an authorized capital of $100.000

1849 May 2. their Charter was renewed.

1847 $25.000 increase of capital authorized.

1851 May 21. 25.000 do. do.

1854 March 28. $50.000 do. do.

1876 Capital Stock reduced to $100000 -

1838 March 8. John Wright, Horatio N. Bigelow Israel Longley their associates & successors are made a manufacturing corporation by the name

of the Clinton Company, for the purpose of manufacturing cotton woolen & silk goods and machinery. Capital Stock authorized $100.000. & may hold real estate to amount of $50.000.

1845 Capital increased Jany 29. to $300.000. & real Estate to $100.000.

1848 March 13. $200.000 added to Capital.

Feb 5. 1844 E. B. Bigelow, Stephen Fairbanks, Henry Timmins & associates incorporated as "Lancaster Mills" Co. with Capital Stock of $500.000.

1847 March 15. Stock increased to $1.000.000

1849 May 2. " " $1.300.000.

1845 March 14. John M Washburn, Thomas B. Warren, Anthony Lane & their associates were made a Corporation by the name of Lancaster Savings Bank

1876. Closed by State examiners.

1846. April 16. Lancaster & Sterling Branch RR incorporated. Amory Holman Winthrop E. Faulkner Wm H Wood &c. Road to commence at F.R.R. in Acton thence running to Stow, thence through Bolton & Lancaster to a point in Sterling convenient to intersect the contemplated railroad from Fitchburg towards Worcester. or optional to begin at Concord & reach same terminus in Sterling.

or Lancaster

1848 Feby. 11 John Samson. Wm P. Barnard. George Cleaver & associates incorporated by name of the Lancaster Quilt Co. for purpose of manufacturing petticoat robes. toilet covers. & the various description of Counterpanes. quilts & bed covers - Capital authorized $200.000 -

1848 April 21 Horatio N Bigelow Joseph B. Parker. Jotham D. Otterson &c are made a corporation by the name of the Clintonville Machine Shop - for the purpose of manufacturing cotton woolen and other machinery in the town of Lancaster - Capital $100.000 -

1852 May 18 - Chas Wyman. Chas. Humphreys Caleb T. Symmes &c incorporated by the name of the Evangelical Society in Lancaster - to hold property to amount of $10 000 -

1857 - May 31 - The Trustees of the Charitable Fund in the town of Lancaster incorporated.

Section 1 - "The inhabitants of the town of Lancaster at any meeting duly called under a warrant having an article therein for that purpose may elect five persons who with their successors and the minister for the time being of the First Congregational Society in the said town duly settled over the same, and his successors in office shall thereafter be constituted a body corporate by the name of the Trustees of the

Charitable Fund in the town of Lancaster, and whenever a vacancy shall occur in the said board of trustees, by death, resignation, removal, or otherwise such vacancy shall be supplied by a new election by the inhabitants aforesaid at a meeting duly called in the manner above provided for that purpose

Section 2- Such trustees shall elect a clerk and treasurer who shall hold his office for the term of one year or until another shall be chosen in his stead. & at all meetings of the said trustees a majority of the whole number shall constitute a quorum. & it shall be the duty of such clerk & treasurer to keep a true account of all moneys paid or contributed towards the fund aforesaid, to hold, manage and disburse the same as the trustees shall direct, regard being had to the wishes of the donors when known, & faithfully to account for the same when thereto lawfully required"

1870 April 30- Solomon H. Howe, Jacob Fisher, George A. Parker &c. incorporated as the Lancaster Railroad Company-

May 17. 1871 Nathaniel Thayer. Francis. B. Fay. Lucius L. Farwell. their associates &c "associated as the Union Aqueduct Co. in Lancaster for the purpose of supplying the inhabitants of Lancaster with pure water." x "to lay no pipes south of road from George Hill School House." xx

Acts affecting bounds of towns once a part of Lancaster.

Whitney says "Boxborough took off the easterly angle of Harvard."

Feb. 15 1806 Act. straightening line between Berlin & Northboro. "Begun 24 rods from SW corner of Marlboro. on line between B. & Marlboro thence north 33° west. 226 rods to line between Northboro & Berlin. All north of line to go to Berlin, all south to Northboro."

Feby 11. 1829 "A certain tract of (about one acre from Marlborough annexed to Bolton, owned by Daniel Stratton. being a triangle 75 rods long by 5 rods at base."

April 13. 1838. A part of Notown was added to Leominster. bounded as follows. "N 50° 30' W 400 rods to Princeton, thence N. 14° E to Westminster 700 rods. thence S 78° 40' on South line of Fitchburg 325 rods. thence southerly by a line of many angles between Notown & Leominster. (N.B. The other area of L. was wholly taken from Lancaster.

March 16 1838. "The dividing line between Bolton & Marlborough from an established monument at Berlin Corner to an established monument on Cox's Hill shall be a straight line".

March 7. 1837. A small alteration made in line between Sterling & Lancaster on the farms of Silas Thurston Jr. Wm. Sears & James Wilder.

1868 March 20 - An Act to annex a part of Bolton to Hudson - The boundary line between Bolton & & Hudson & & is altered & established as follows: & Beginning at a stone monument on the present boundary line between the Counties of Worcester & Middlesex at the southerly corner of the town of Stow & at a corner of the town of Hudson thence running S 86° W 438 21/100 rods to a stone monument at an angle. thence S 66° 30' W 346 rods to present dividing line between Bolton & Berlin & then - S. 5 1/4° E. 447 rods along the dividing line between B. & B. to the present line of the town of Hudson - & all that portion of land with the inhabitants thereon easterly & southeasterly of the line hereby established is hereby set off from Bolton & to Hudson & - "

"The old Marlborough line was a straight line of seven miles in extent running through the northwest angle of this town" [Northboro] Page 151 2d vol Worcester Magazine. Allen's Northboro

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"The New Grant included Leominster as well as Sterling & a part of West Boylston with a small tract of Boylston" Hist. of Sterling in Worcester Magazine

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"About 1/3 of Leg was set off from Sterling in 1808 to West Boylston" do.

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from
Columbian Centinel July 4. 1812 — 48

"At a numerous meeting of the Freeholders & other Inhabitants of the town of Lancaster legally convened for the purpose of considering the alarming state of the Country — The following REPORT of their Committee was almost unanimously adopted."

The right of expressing our opinion of public men & measures, is a privilege guaranteed & secured to us by our National as well as State Constitutions And at this alarming crisis of national concerns when recent intelligence confirms the belief that we are now upon the eve of a British War it is impossible for good citizens anxious for their general welfare not to feel deeply interested in so great an event. And sensibly affected by that interest it is an indispensable duty to God & their country to give expression to their feelings and sentiments on a measure which involves every thing dear & valuable in society. But although such a course of proceedings may have no immediate influence on the plans & measures now adopting by the General Government, yet when combined with similar expressions of other towns & sections of the country, it will evince to Congress & the world, that the great mass of the people, especially in the Eastern States are utterly averse to a war, in the prosecution of which they are unable to discern anything but ruin to themselves & misery to their posterity — Were it probable in the view of government that this would have been the issue good policy it should seem, would have dictated a state of preparation adequate to the exigency of the case — Against such a day of darkness & of danger a wise and prudent administration would have laid up something in store to have softened and alleviated the afflictions & distresses incident to such a state. But it is a melancholy consideration & one that must sicken and damp the courage of even the stoutly brave, that we are now to be plunged headlong into a war with the most powerful maritime nation on the globe without any adequate means of attack or self defence

From this concise view of the subject & considering the defenceless state of the nation — the inadequacy of means to annoy the declared enemy — the want of resources to prosecute the War with effect. — the uncertainty of its duration —

and almost certainty of its terminating whether sooner or later in our own disgrace & ruin, a picture is presented, fraught with scenes the base imagination of which shock humanity & fill the soul with awful gloom. From these considerations connected with many others that naturally crowd upon our minds & in compliance with the views & wishes of the patriotic town of Boston your Committee are induced to recommend to the town for their discussion & adoption the following resolutions-

Resolved. as the sense of this town that although we deem it a duty to submit to the wise & wholesome laws of our government, still under existing circumstances we are constrained to declare that we consider a British War as neither founded in justice, necessity or good policy. & as calculated only to bring an endless train of evils upon ourselves, & involve our posterity in ruin & disgrace. That in the prosecution of a War against England we can discern nothing but a total destruction of the remnant of our maritime rights- a prostration of the agricultural & mechanic interests- an enormous increase of the public debt- unparalleled taxes, & a host of tax gatherers following in the rear. In the event of such a war, we also perceive in the back ground an alliance with France, whose embrace experience of the past fourteen years will be our political death-

Resolved. That we consider it the true interest of our nation to maintain a neutral position, & pursuing the Washington policy not to depart therefrom without the most urgent necessity- That to suffer the nation to be drawn into the vortex of European politics; & of course participate in their contests & Wars. will inevitably prove the downfall of our infant republic

Resolved. That if the interest or honor of the nation demanded a sacrifice of our lives & fortunes in carrying on an offensive War against either of the belligerents yet we can neither perceive the policy or justice in selecting England as the most suitable object of our resentment. That if the Decrees of France & the Orders in Council of England have operated an infringement of neutral rights, documents & facts abundantly show that England was not the first aggressor- And that it is an undeniable fact that England has uniformly declared her Orders in Council repealed whenever France should fully revoke her decrees-

Resolved. That we view the restrictive systems in all the forms it has assumed, as inconsistent with the genius & habits of the people, - as repugnant to the true spirit &

meaning of the Constitution — as tending to impoverish the nation, & eventually, if persisted in, to weaken and finally destroy the Government. That we deem it a solemn obligation imposed on every citizen by a true & genuine patriotism — to use all fair & honorable means in the exercise of his electoral franchise — to produce a speedy change in the Administration of our National Government, & thereby save us from the horrors and calamities of war, & ere it be too late reestablish our common Country in its wonted peace & happiness, its former rank, & dignity among the nations of the earth.

Lancaster June 24 1812

The afore going report being twice read & discussed voted to adopt the same

Joseph Hiller Moderator

Attest Josiah Flagg Town Clerk

In Daniel Neal's History of New England, London 1720. based largely upon Hubbard & other writers quoted before I find the following respecting Lancaster — 1675.

Page 391 — "On February the 10th they plundered the Town of Lancaster, burned several Houses, killed and carried into Captivity 42 Persons among whom was the Minister Mr. Rolandson's Wife and Children who was then at Boston soliciting Succours, but upon his Return found his House and Library in Ashes, and which was worse all his Family carried into Slavery by the Barbarians who had been compelled to quit the Place some Days before by Capt. Wadsworth."

1697 - p. 557. "While the army was thus employed in the East a Party of the Enemy plundered the Town of Lancaster, September 11 and killed 20 men among whom was Mr Whiting the Minister, and carried away five into Captivity, they likewise burnt several Houses with two or three ancient People in them and then retired: "—

Mather's Magnalia Vol. 2 p. 639.

"On September 11 a party of the enemy came upon the town of Lancaster then prepared for mischief by a wonderful security, and they did no little mischief unto it. Near twenty were killed and among the rest Mr John Whiting the pastor of the church there. Five were carried captives, two or three houses were burnt and several old people in them. Capt Brown with fifty men pursued them till the night stopped the pursuit, but it seems a strange dog or two unknown to the company did by their barking alarum the enemy to rise in the night, and strip and scalp an English captive woman and fly so far into the woods, that after two days bootless labour our men returned." — see also p. 35.

1677

Rev Thomas Cobbet of Ipswich in "A Narrative of New England's Deliverances" - contributes to Lancaster History as follows

× × × "May the 12th Goodwife Divens and Goodwife Kettle, upon ransom paid, came in to Concord, and upon like ransom presently after, John Mass of Groton and Lieutenant × Carter's daughter of Lancaster, were set at liberty, and nine more without ransom" × ×

"That Mr Rowlinson's daughter was brought to Seacunke, by a captive squa, that got away from the Indians, and got home after Mr Rowlinson's son and his sister Divers daughter, upon theyr ransoms paid, were brought to Major Wedarens - And about July 11th Goodwife Kettle's elder daughter, about 17 y old, got away from the Indians to Marlborough, bringing her little sister on her back almost starved."

No 76 of Mather Mss. in the Prince Library -
Printed by Drake in Vol. 7 of Genealogical Register -

× The name Divens seems plain in Mss. but must be the same as the "Sister Drew" p. 55. by unexplainable error for Divoll. "Carter's" is in Mss. of Cobbet - Carlero meaning Carley's. J. Z. Lieut. Henry Kerley's daughter.

Mather's Magnalia Vol. 2 p. 639.

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"That Mr Rou[illegible] about and a captive squ[illegible] their relief; got home afe[illegible] not get known; Dinens dangh[illegible] a great many brought to Mag[illegible] and the smoke Goodwife Kettle[illegible] d to him as he away from the [illegible] her little sister"

No 76 of Math[illegible]
Printed by Drake in Vol [illegible] Mar

× The name Dinen[illegible] plain in-
same as the "Sister Dre[illegible]
"Carters" is in Mss. of Cobbet – Carler[illegible]

From "A Less & Further Narrative of the state of New England"
printed in London 1676 "Boston July 22. 1676" x x

xx. "But upon this the Indians began to appear abroad again, as mischievous as ever; For the very next Week they set upon Lancaster Town, Killed several people and carried away many prisoners: Such Houses as were fortified, defended themselves, but the greatest Part of the Town they fired and plundered, and had destroyed the whole place, had not Capt. Wadsworth, upon hearing of the Guns come with great expedition from Sudbury with a Party to their Relief."
x x x

"Their next attempt (I mean of any considerable Body of Indians) was upon a Town called Naskaway, which they set Fire to, and burnt down to the Ground: There was little Resistance made here, People endeavouring rather to escape their Fury by Flight than Opposition: and yet they Killed many, burnt the Town down to the Ground and took no less than five and fifty Persons into their merciless Captivity. And that you may perceive the malicious Hatred these Infidels have to Religion and Piety, it may be observed, how they endeavoured to signalize their Cruelty, and gratifie their enraged Spleen, chiefly on the Promoters of it: For of these 55 Captives the Minister of the Towns Relations made up no lesse than Seventeen, viz: Mrs Rowlinson the Ministers Wife, and his three Children, and two sisters of her own, one with seven and the other with four children. As they were leading them away in this lamentable Condition, one of the sisters being big with Childe, going into the Woods to be privately delivered the Indians followed and in a jeering Manner, they would help her and be her Midwives, and therefore they barbarously rift up her body, and burnt the Child before her Face, and then in a merciful Cruelty, to put her out of her Pain, Knockt her o'th Head: There was a Report that they had forced Mrs Rowlandson to marry the one eyed Sachem, but it was soon contradicted: for being a very pious Woman and of great Faith, the Lord wonderfully supported her under this Affliction, so that she appeared and behaved herself amongst them with so much Courage and majestick Gravity, that none durst offer any Violence to her, but on the Contrary (in their rude Manner) seemed to show her great Respect: But who can expresse the Sorrows of her Husband, the Minister and his Brother, when returning from Boston presently after the Engagement, they found all their Goods destroyed, their Houses laid in Ashes, and their dear Wives and Children thus miserably Captivated: xx & Mr Rowlinson after much Pains & Trouble ransomed his Wife for Twenty Pounds and got her out of their Hands, but his Children and the Rest (of living remain still in that most wretched Slavery -" x x.

From "A True Account of the most Considerable Occurrences that have happened in the Warre between the English and the Indians in New England." London 1676. p.1 (251)

× × × the Enemy visited us, and assaulted Lancaster, a small Town, in which the Inhabitants having retired into some fortified Houses and deserted the Rest, the Indians burnt those, and assaulted the Garrisoned Houses, but were not able to carry any of them but one, wherein were 42 Persons 12 men, the Rest Women and Children of whom they slew several, and carried the Rest Prisoners: The House was the Ministers, one Mr Rowlandson, whose Wife and Children they carried Captive, (which are since returned to us) × × × × p.3 (258) On the 11th of May two of our Captives were returned by Ransom from the Indians who had been taken at the Destruction of the Town of Lancaster: the one of them the Sister of the Wife of Mr Rowlandson Minister of the Place: and another Woman taken out of the same House × × × p.5. (268) About the time of that Thanksgiving the Son and Daughter of that worthy Minister of Jesus Christ, Mr Rowlandson, who had been Captives since the Burning of Lancaster were returned by Ransom. She wandered with an Indian Woman from the Rest of the Indian Company (by whom she had been detained) three Days in the

Mrs Kettle & Mary Rowlandson Died

Woods. having Nothing to eat all that Time but green Huckleberries; with which she was sustained till she and the Woman arrived at one English Town of Providence, and so got Home."

"News from New England. being a True and last Account of the present Bloody Wars" &c &c ×× London 1676. printed (licensed) in August. [The other tracts "A true Account &c" & "A New & Further Narrative" were licensed in October of the same year. The three accounts do not much differ in details given of the Massacre] - p. 4 (304)

×× "The Desperate Heathens taking Advantage of the Dismission of three Disbanded Companies, studied Nothing but Massacres, Outrages, and treacherous Hostilities, which within two Days after those said Companies were dispers'd they found Opportunity to Commit, in a Town called Nashaway which they set Fire to, and burnt to the Ground, taking no less than 55 Persons into their Merciless Captivity, and because the Reader shall understand the Damnable Antipathy they have to Religion and Piety

Mr Rowlinson after much Pains & Trouble ransomed his Wife for Twenty Pounds and got her out of their Hands, but his Children and the Rest (if living) remain still in that most wretched Slavery." ××.

I would have him take Notice how they endeavour to Signallize their Cruelty and gratifie their enraged Spleen, chiefly on the Promoters of it; for of these 55 Captives, the Minister of the Town's Relations made no less than 17 of them: viz: Mrs Rowlandson, the Ministers Wife, and three of his Children, her Sister and Seaven Children, and her Sister Drew and four Children. The Minister himself with his Sisters Husbands returning from Boston a little after the Engagement, to their infinite Grief, found their Houses burnt to the Ground and their Wives and Children taken Captive, nor was this Cruelty committed as the Extent of Nepolus Ultra of their Vengeance, but rather as an Earnest of their Barbarity. For no longer than the next Day after, three men going out, with the Cart, were seized on by these Indians, one of them killed and the other two not to be found. x x x

Kerley

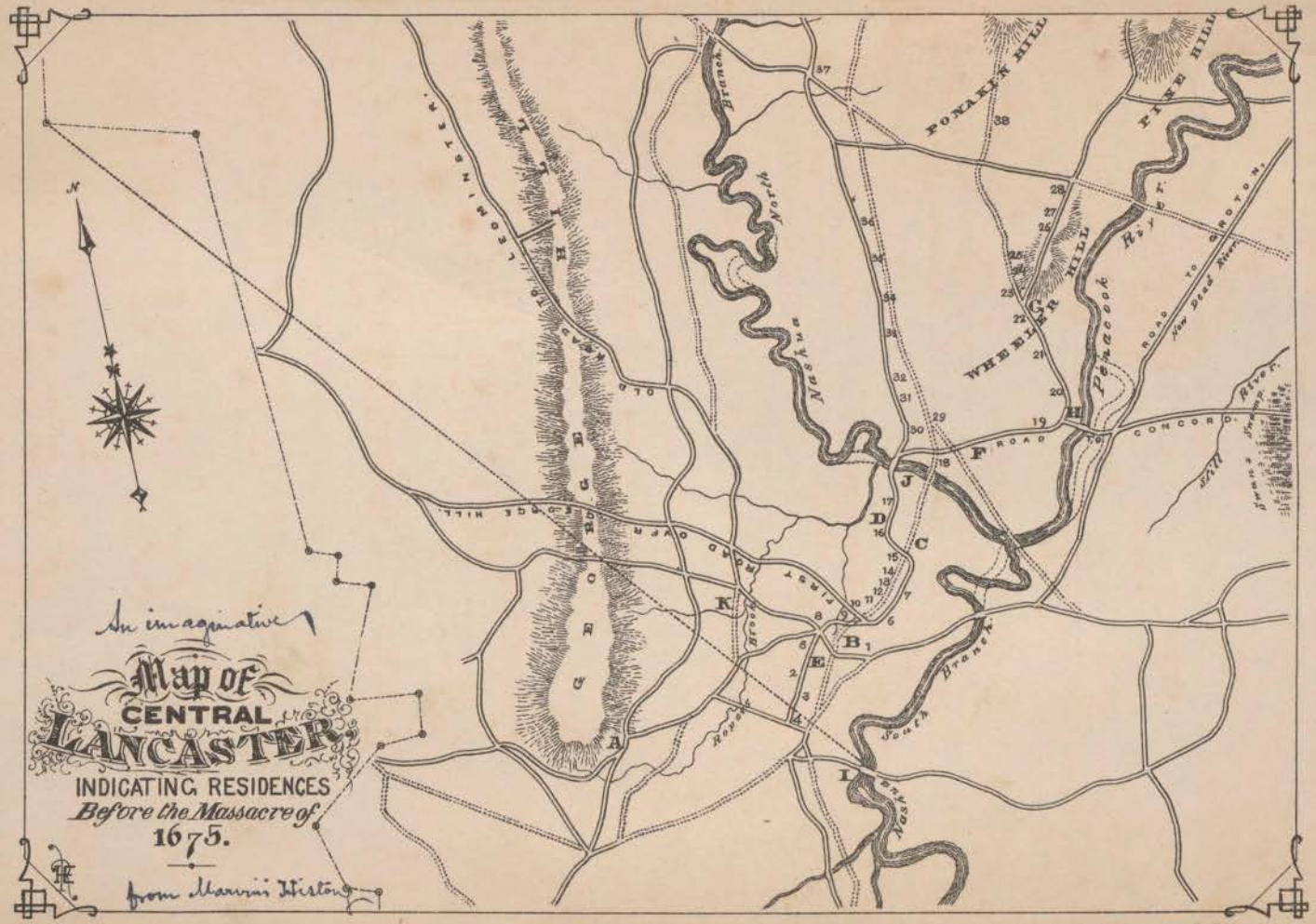
Dwell

Mr Rowlinson after much Pains & Trouble ransomed his Wife for Twenty Pounds and got her out of their Hands, but his Children and the Rest (if living remain still in that most wretched Slavery -" x x.

Additions to the Cabinet.

AN ANCIENT GUN.—Presented by PRESCOTT BRIGHAM. This gun was the property of John Prescott, and was brought by him from Lancashire, England, who went first to Barbadoes, and owned land there in 1638, and came to New England about 1640. In 1645, Sholan, the Indian proprietor of Nashawog, offered to him and other persons a tract of land ten miles in length, which was accepted, and the General Court subsequently confirmed the deed. The town was named Lancaster, in the present county of Worcester, Massachusetts. John Prescott had occasion to use this gun during King Phillip's Indian War of 1675. On one occasion, as tradition has it, a number of Indians made their appearance at Prescott's old mill, hoisted the water-gate, when Prescott took this gun, heavily loaded, and started towards the mill, when the Indians retired to the hills close by; Prescott having fixed the mill, thought it prudent to retrace his steps, but did so backwards, with his eye upon the foe, until he reached his house, when the Indians raised a whoop, when Prescott concluded to give them a specimen of his gunmanship; and as he shot, they scampered off. Afterwards visiting the spot where the Indians were when he shot at them, blood was found upon the ground. The Indians ever after kept clear of the Prescott neighborhood. Mr. Prescott had at least seven children; and among ~~them~~ his grandchildren was Hon. Benj. Prescott, the father of Col. Wm. Prescott, who commanded at Bunker Hill, and grandfather of Judge Wm. Prescott, of Boston, and great grandfather of Wm. H. Prescott, the historian. The old gun in question was given by the 3d John Prescott to his daughter Tabitha, wife of Silas Brigham, who in her old age gave it to her grandson Prescott Brigham, born in 1780, now a resident of Sauk county, Wisconsin, and by him presented to the Society. Prescott Brigham is the elder brother of the pioneer settler of Dane county, Col. Ebenezer Brigham, of Blue Mounds.

Roads & location of settlers in South Lancaster
Purely Conjectural or memory; there are much fair
Correct.
By N.P. Harris.



THE HELIOTYPE PRINTING CO. 220 DEVONSHIRE ST. BOSTON.

1 2 Feb 17. 1808

Wm Swift.

A

CENTURY

SERMON,

Preached at the FIRST-PARISH,

In Lancaster.

May 28*th* 1753.

By TIMOTHY HARRINGTON,
Paſtor of the Firſt Church in Lancaſter.

If it had not been the Lord, who was on our side, now may Israel say—If it had not been the Lord who was on our side when men rose up against us; then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us—Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their teeth. David.

I will remember the years of the right hand of the Most-High—*I will remember the works of the Lord: surely I will remember thy wonders of old.* Asaph.

LEOMINSTER:
PRINTED BY S. & J. WILDER,
For Mr. JOSHUA FLETCHER, *of Lancaster.*
—*July* 1806.—

To the *First-Parish* in LANCASTER

THE following discourse is Dedicated by theirs in the Gospel. T. HARRINGTON.

A

Century-SERMON.

PSALM cxxix. 1, 2.

Many a time have they afflicted me from my Youth, may Israel *now say:*
Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth; yet they have not prevailed against me.

A *Century* from the *Incorporation* of the *Town this day* expires—And altho' it was long a Frontier, and has often suffered the Fury of the Enemy; is yet fair, and flourishing.

The *Church* of GOD has been his peculiar care in all ages of the world—And therefore altho' the seed of the Serpent have often persecuted the seed of the Woman; yet they have never been able fully to accomplish their desires—The adversary hath often lifted up the Horn, and they that hate *Mount-Sion* have often bro't her low; yet they have been no more than a scourge in the hand of God, to chastise his people, to correct what was amiss, and to make them more humble and fervent in his service: Yet the enemy meant not so.

The Church in this world is in a militant state, and may well expect shocking assaults from those that hate her.—She hath been troubled on every side, and perplexed,

but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed; a bush burning, but not consumed.

It was frequently thus with *Israel*, while they continu'd the peculiar people of God—Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth up, may *Israel* now say, many a time have they afflicted me from my youth; yet they have not prevailed against me.

Interpreters agree that this Psalm was written, when some new and heavy calamity either pressed hard upon, or impended that people.—But whether when *Senacherib*, with the host of *Assyria* invaded *Judea*; or when *Sanballat*, and Confederates, after the return of the captivity, made interest against them in the Court of *Persia*; or at some other calamitous season; is neither easy, nor important to determine.

For whatever was the particular occasion of the writing; the design is manifestly to excite that people to a serious recollection of the numerous calamities bro't upon them by their Enemies, ever since their being taken into covenant with, and made the peculiar people of God—As also to acknowledge the merciful interpositions of God for them; who notwithstanding their frequent rebellions against him, had not suffered their Enemies so far to prevail, as to cut them off from being a People.

Yet they have not prevailed against me, is not to be understood in the strictest sense, as if they had never been overcome, or bro't into subjection by their Enemies—for in this sense it is not true, as appears from the Scripture-History of that Church and People.——

The meaning therefore is, they have never been able wholly to extirpate us, or to cut us off from being a Church and Nation.—

Our Text is well paraphras'd by a learned Prelate.†

"Our adversaries," may *Israel* now on this occasion say, "have very often, and very sorely distressed us, ever since we began to be a People; it is hard to tell how "often, or into how great straits they have reduc'd us, "since we began to be a Nation; and yet by the special

† Bp. *Patrick* in loc.

"favour of God, they have never been able to accom-
"plish their desire of our utter Extirpation."

From the Words let us consider,

I. The *Church* and *People* of GOD, as frequently afflicted by their Enemies, and yet preserved from utter ruin: And,

II. As ascribing the Glory of their Preservation unto GOD.

I. Then let us consider the *Church* and *People* of God, as frequently afflicted by their Enemies, and yet preserved from utter ruin.

The History of their affliction and Preservation, from their sojourning in *Egypt*, to the Reign of *Ahasuerus* King of *Persia*, you have on sacred Record, and is therefore unnecessary to be recited here.—

* After the return of the captivity from *Babylon*, the *Jews* were subject to the *Persians* till the destruction of their Empire—and had the privilege of being governed by their own laws, under the Administration of the *Tirshatha*, in conjunction with the High-Priest, and great *Sanhedrim*.

But when the Grecian Empire arose on the Ruins of the Persian, the Jews became subject to Alexander the Great—who being incensed by them, while at the siege of Tyre, immediately after the reduction of it, marched for Jerusalem, with a design of severe revenge.—In this distress, God directed Jaddua, the high priest, in his pontifical robes, with the Priests in their habits, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem in white garments to go forth in procession, to meet him.

This was exactly agreeable to a vision he had seen at *Dio* in Macedonia, encouraging him to march into Asia, and assuring him of the conquest. At the first sight therefore Alexander concluded him to be the priest of that God who conducted his arms; and embracing him with respect, went into the city, and offered sacrifice to the God of Israel, and at his departure granted large favours to them.

* *Vide Stackhouse, on the state of the Jews under the Persians, Grecians and Romans, to the coming of Christ — And Prideaux's Connect.*

After the death of Alexander, his Empire was divided among four of his Captains, the four Horns spoken of in the Prophet Daniel,—And Egypt fell to the share of Ptolemy Soter, who laid siege to Jerusalem; and making a general assault on the sabbath, when the Jews superstitously refused to defend themselves, he carried the City, and captivated an hundred thousand.—But on consideration of their fidelity to former Princes, to whom they had been subjected, he conferred on them many valuable privileges and immunities.

And the Jews continued subject to Egypt about an hundred years—but then a war arising between Ptolemy Epiphanes King of Egypt, and Antiochus the great King of Syria, and Antiochus being victorious in the war, the Jews submitted unto him.

Seleucus Philopater, succeeded Antiochus in the Throne of Syria, who being informed of immense treasures in the Temple of Jerusalem, sent Heliodorus to make the seizure of them; and he forcibly entering the Temple for that purpose, was struck speechless by a Vision, fell to the ground, and was carried off by his Servants, frustrated in his design.

Antiochus Epiphanes, a most cruel Persecutor of the Church and people of God, succeeded Seleucus—He assaulted Jerusalem, and took it, and slew forty thousand, and sold as many into slavery—He also forced himself into the Holy of Holies, he offered a swine on the Altar of Holocaust, defiled the Temple, and plundered both that, and the City.

† And as if this had been but a small thing, he afterwards sent one of his Generals with an Army and express order to destroy all the men remaining in Jerusalem, and to enslave the women and children; who fell on the City on the sabbath, when they were at their devotions, massacred the Men, and captivated the women and children.

After this came forth an Edict, for all nations [but chiefly levelled at the Jews] to forsake their own religion, and conform to that of the King.

And the officer to whom he had committed the exe-

†*Vide* 2 *Maccab.* 3, 4, 5, 6 & 7 *Chapters.*

cution of this unreasonable Decree, coming to Jerusalem, caused the daily sacrifice to cease, suppressed the rights of the Jewish worship, burnt the Law of Moses; consecrated the Temple to *Jupiter Olympius*, set up his Image on the Altar, and compelled the people on pain of death to offer sacrifice to it.

Such as were found assembled for divine worship in the Caves were burnt—And Eleazer, Solomona and her seven Sons, with numerous others, chose rather to submit to the most exquisite torments, than forsake their God.

And to this time it is supposed the Author of the *Epistle* to the *Hebrews* alludes; saying, 'Some were tor-'tured not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain 'a better resurrection—Others had trial of cruel mock-'ings, yea moreover of bonds and imprisonments. They 'were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were burned,* 'were slain with the sword—They wandered about in 'Sheepskins, and Goatskins, in the deserts & mountains, 'dens and caves of the earth, destitute, afflicted, tormen-'ted.

But altho' God at this time severely rebuked his People, yet He did not utterly forsake them; but excited Mattathias, and his valiant sons, to stand up in the cause of Israel; who raising armies, not only made a gallant stand, but obtained many signal victories over their oppressors.—And three years and a half after the pollution of the Temple, they purify'd it, and afresh dedicated it to the Lord; which was the original of the Feast *of Dedication* spoken of in the New-Testament.

The Maccabean Family are said to have held the Government of Judea for above an hundred years; and some part of the time as Sovereign Princes, until a difference arising between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, two Princes of that Blood; they refer'd it to Pompey the Great, a Roman General, then in *Cælosyria*—But he refusing fully to hear the matter before his arrival in Jerusalem; Aristobulus distrusting his cause, fled and shut up himself in the fortress of Alexandrion; but on the approach of Pompey,

* *See Whitby on the place.*

surrendered himself.—However, his party at Jerusalem seized the Mount of the Temple, and made preparation for a vigorous defence—On which Pompey marched his whole army to Jerusalem, besieged and took the place, and put twelve thousand to the sword.

After this, Rufus another Roman General, plundered the Temple.—And,

After this, Herod the great, the Son of Antipas, a noble Idumean, obtained the Kingdom of Judea, by a full vote of the Roman Senate.—In his time OUR BLESSED LORD was born and the infants murdered at Bethlehem.

But notwithstanding the afflictions of Israel, from the infancy of their nation, they continued the Church and peculiar people of God, until the appearance of the MESSIAS, to take down the wall of partition between *Jew and Gentile*, and until the Constitution they were under had stood its appointed time—And until by the greatest of all crimes, the Crucifixion of their MESSIAS, they had provoked God to deliver them to the power of their enemies.——

And the preservation of the Christian Church under her affliction and Adversity, hath been as remarkable as the preservation of the Jewish.

For altho' the people of the Jews combined against it; and altho' the Heathen rag'd, the Kings of the Earth set themselves, and the Rulers took Counsel together to overthrow it; yet their counsels were turned into foolishness, and they unable to accomplish their desire.—The methods they pursued were had in derision by the King of Zion, and overruled to the quicker spread, and establishment of the truth.

The holy lives of the primitive christians; the constancy and intrepidity of the martyrs in prisons, Flames, and Death, under the ten prosecutions of *Rome Heathen*, were more effectual to the promotion of christianity, than all the stratagem, and fury of the enemy to its supression.—For this reason the blood of the Martyrs is called the seed of the church.—And thus christianity triumphed over all its adversaries, until Constantine the great was fully seated on the imperial throne,—when it became the established religion of the Roman Empire—And for some

time the church was in prosperity and peace.

However,

Before the death of Constantine, the Arian Heresy appeared: and at last the asserters of it became so numerous, powerful and malevolent, as to persecute those who adhered to the Apostolic faith.

After this, came the Roman Apostacy, and Papal Tyranny; errors and superstition overwhelmed the whole western church——To which may be added,

The Mahometan Imposture in the Eastern; and the oppressing the churches of Asia, by the Saracen Power; under which they groan to this day.

But to return; altho' the western church suffered under Papal oppressions; yet even in the thickest darkness, there was a remnant, who did not bow the knee to Baal; the Vaudois, and Waldenses inhabiting the vallies of Piedmont. And,

Besides these, almost in every age God raised up witnesses to the truth, until the sixteenth century; when Luther, and a number of pious reformers arose in Germany, boldly contending for the truth, against the errors and usurpations of Rome.

And divers Princes of Germany embracing the reformed religion, boldly in a diet of the Empire, protested against a decree which was made against it; whereby they acquired the glorious name of Protestants.

From Germany, the reformation spread into England; way being made for it by the renouncing of the Popes supremacy, and by other transactions in the reign of King Henry the VIII.

And therefore on the accession of Edward the VI. to the Crown, Arch Bp. Cranmer, Bp. Latimer, Bp. Ridley, and other excellent persons, under the approbation and patronage of that pious Prince, carried it on to a very considerable length.

When God thus turned again the captivity of Sion, they were like those that dream; then their mouth was filled with laughter, and they said among their Enemies, The Lord had done great things for them, whereof they were glad.

However these pious reformers, by reason of the temper and circumstances of the times, and the premature

death of that good Prince, could not carry on the reformation so far as they earnestly desired.

And on the accession of the Princess Mary, a black and heavy cloud overspread the noble design; the Roman superstition was restored, and the professors of the reformed religion were persecuted to the Stake and Death.

But on the accession of the Princess Elizabeth, the reformed religion was re-established. However, neither that illustrious Princess, nor King James the I. her successor, nor their clergy, would suffer the reformation to be carried on further, than it had been in the reign of King Edward.

Moreover, in the reign of Q. Elizabeth, an act of Parliament was passed requiring *Uniformity* in Worship under very severe Penalties;—continued by K. James I. and more severely urged by K. Charles I.

Our Fathers therefore, earnestly desiring a greater reformation, and liberty to worship God according to their consciences, chose rather to expose themselves to almost any hardships, than violate them.

And having obtained liberty of King James the I. to remove, and set down within certain limits in America, with liberty of worshipping God according to that way which appeared to them most agreeable to Scripture.

They left their native Country and crossed the Atlantic, with their families, into this then howling wilderness—founding the colony of Plymouth in 1620.—— And the colony of the Massachusetts in the year 1630.

And after their arrival; for the trial of their faith and patience, God exercised them with grevious and mortal sicknesses, with scarcity & famine—Yet they soon spread abroad; and before the year 1636, had founded the colony of Connecticut, and had planted in other parts.

‖ But in the year 1636, the Pequots, the most fierce and warlike of all the Indian tribes in that part of the country, and formidable to all their neighbours; having committed many barbarous outrages on the Narragansetts, to the eastward, and on the Moheags to the northward of them; on the English & Dutch, as they occasionally came among them, and on the Planters on Connecticut river—The colonies unanimously raised their forces, and cut off

‖ See Hubbard's Narrative, Page 5.

seven hundred; and part of those that escaped the English sword, fled to the Mohawks, and were destroyed by them; and the other were by the English subjected to, and incorporated with the Narragansetts and Moheags.

After this, there was a general peace and prosperity for a considerable term.

Thus much in general: we now proceed to a particular consideration of the affairs of this Town.

In the year 1645, Sholan, alias Shaumauw, Proprietor of Nashawogg, and Sachem of the Nashawas, who lived at Waushacum, informed Mr. Thomas King of Watertown (with whom he traded and for whom he had a considerable friendship) of the said tract of land as well accommodated for a Plantation, desiring that the English would come and set down by him. 1643

Accordingly Mr. King, Mr. John Prescot, and others,* procured of said Sholan, a Deed of said Nashawogg, ten miles in length, and eight in breadth; with these restrictions, that the English should not molest the Indians in their hunting, fishing, or usual planting places—And the General Court confirmed the Deed.

On this, the Associates purchased of Mr. King all his Interest in the Premises; and entered into mutual obligation by a certain term to appear on the spot, to begin and carry on the Plantation, and contracted with a Preacher to go on with them.

Having thus concerted affairs, they sent up divers persons,† (to whom they had given Lots) to perform divers things, at the common expense of the Proprietors, before the time of their general appearance; and these were the first inhabitants.

But before the time for their general appearance; their Minister, to whom they had committed their mutual obligation, (whether by reason of his own aversion to the place, or by the instigation of such of the Proprietors as were unwilling to come up themselves, is uncertain) forsook them, carrying with him said mutual obligation. And in consequence of this all the associates, except Mr. Prescot, refused to fulfil their contract, but yet held their Interest. So that for the space of seven years, very little

*Hamon Garrett, Thomas Skidmore, Mr. Day, Mr. Symonds, &c.
†Richard Linton, Lawrence Waters, and John Ball.

was done to forward the plantation.—But at length some of the rest being willing to engage more heartily in the affair; on the eighteenth of May, 1653, there being *Nine Families* in the place, they petitioned the General Court for an Incorporation, and obtained it by the name of LANCASTER.

1652

From the year 1654, Mr. Rowlandson preached among them, until the 14th of April 1658; at which time they invited him to settle in the Work of the Ministry among them; and he accepted their Invitation, and probably was ordained the same year.

The town was in Peace and Prosperity for the space of twenty two years from its Incorporation.—And the Indians were very serviceable to the inhabitants, by supplying them with such Corn and wild meat as they stood in need of; and that on very moderate terms.

But on the twenty-fourth of June 1675, Philip, Sachem of Pocanoket, commonly called King Philip, rebelled against the English, and began a very bloody and destructive War.

And on the 22d of August following, eight persons, in different parts of the town were killed.*

And as the Sachems of the Narragansett country joined with Philip in his Rebellion; so after the destruction of Canonicus'-Fort, commonly called the Narragansett-Fort, by the forces of the united colonies, on the 19th of December 1675—The Indians leaving that part of the country, moved toward Wachusett, and, meeting with the Nipnets and Nashawas, in their march, persuaded them to take up arms against the English; and after this combination, part turned back towards Plymouth Colony, burning and destroying as they went along.‖

But Philip, with the rest, confessed by themselves after the peace to be 1500, marched for Lancaster, in which there were then above fifty families—And on the 10th of February 1676, assaulted in five distinct bodies & places, burning most of the unfortified houses, and killing several persons.†

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* Mr. George Bennett, William Flagg, Jacob Farrar, Joseph Wheeler, Mordecai Mc Load, and his wife, and two children.

‖ See Hubbard, Page 60.

† Mr. Jonas Fairbank, Joshua Fairbank, Richard Wheeler, at Wheeler's Garrison—Ephraim Sawyer at Prescott's Garrison. And in other places Henry Farrar—And—Ball & Wife.

Mrs Rowlandson specifies (unfortunately not by name) 9 persons including a servant ~~child~~: killed, & two children carried captive. Seven only here named.

However, they destroyed no Garrison, but that belonging to the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson; in which, there were soldiers and inhabitants to the number of forty-two. And

As there was no fortification on the back of the house, and the English being unable to ply their shot on that side; the enemy having loaded a Cart with combustible matter, pushed it flaming to the house; and thus being reduced to the sad necessity of either perishing in the flames, or resigning themselves to the Savages, they surrendered.

On this, the Men, except one who made his escape,* were slain,§ or reserved for torture—And about twenty of the Women and Children were carried into Captivity; among which, was the Consort of the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson; an account of whose Captivity, Sufferings and Return, written by her own hand, you have doubtless many of you seen in Print.

Mr. Rowlandson was then at Boston, soliciting the Governor and Council for more soldiers for the protection of the place—And on his return, met the heavy news, which he received with a becoming submission and magnanimity.

‖ One of the Women taken at this time being unable to travel by reason of her Pregnancy, and being also very discontented, the Indians made a large fire, formed a ring about her, and first knocked her on the head, stript her naked, and cast her into it. ——But

The women and children in general, suffered no other evils among the enemy than what were unavoidable from a state of captivity, and the wants the Indians themselves were in—And most of them were returned.

Capt. Wadsworth hearing of the assault of the town at Marlborough, where he then was, with forty brave men, marched immediately to its relief—And as there was then a very considerable flood, and the river of consequence every where unpassable but at the Bridge; the Indians had taken from thence the planks to prevent the

* Ephraim Roper.

§ Ensign Divol, Abraham Joslin, Daniel Gains, Thomas Rowlandson, William & Joseph Kerley, John Mc Load, John Kettle, and two Sons, Josiah Divol &c.

N. B. Capt. Kerley's Wife, and Ephraim Roper's Wife, were also killed in attempting to escape. ‖ Abraham Joslins wife.

Josiah in 1st edition

passing of Horsemen—And ambushed to prevent the passing of Footmen; but had left their ambushment before the arrival of Capt. Wadsworth, who therefore passed it unmolested, and entered the town undiscovered, and forced the enemy for the present to quit it.—He quartered his men in various parts of the town, and tarried some days; but before his departure, lost one of his men * by the Indians.

This is that famous Capt. Wadsworth, who afterwards with Capt. Brocklebank, and the much greater part of their men, gloriously fell in the cause of their country in a fight with the enemy at Sudbury. But to return—

About six weeks after the assault of the town, it being judged untenable under the then present circumstances, both of that and the country; the remainder of the inhabitants, except one † who was killed that very day by the enemy, drew off under a guard of Horse and Foot.—And immediately on this desertion of the place, every building that remained, save two, were reduced to ashes.

And in this state of Desolation the town continued for about four years.‡

During this dispersion of the Lancaster people, the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson, was invited to preach at Weathersfield in the colony of connecticut, and died before the re-settlement of the town.

After the re-settlement, divers gentlemen for the space of seven years supplied the pulpit. ‖

In Feb. 1688, Mr. John whiting was invited to preach on Probation; and continued preaching until Nov. 1690, when he was invited to settle in the Work of the Minist-

* George Harrington at Prescott's Mill.

† John Roper.—

‡ It may be proper to observe here, That Sholan, who conveyed this tract of land to the English, always behaved in a peaceable and friendly manner towards them. That Matthew, who was his nephew, and succeeded him as Sachem of the tribe, was always in good terms with the English.—But that Sagamore Sam, who was nephew to Matthew, and succeeded him, was of a different temper, and character; and joining with Philip in his rebellion, was taken by the English, and executed as a Rebel. Those of the tribe who survived the war, divided; one part moving to Albany, and the other to Penicook, with which tribe they incorporated.

‖ Mr. Carter, Mr. Wooddroffe, and Mr. Oakes.

also Mr Denison in first edition

ry; and he accepting the invitation, was probably soon after ordained.

In 1688, William, Prince of Orange, arrived in England, and King James the Second abdicated the Throne; whose cause the French King espousing, involved the Nation in a war with France, and New-England in a war with the Canadians, French and Indians—In the calamities of which this town had a large share.

For on the 18th of July, 1692, the Indians assaulted the house of Mr. Peter Joslin, * who was at his labour in the field—and knew nothing of it till entering the house, found his wife and three children, and a woman ‡ that lived in his family, barbarously butchered by their hatchets, and weltering in their gore.

His wife's sister, § with another of his children were carried into captivity—She returned: but that child was murdered in the wilderness—Thus was he stript naked, and called to bitter weeping and lamentation.

In 1695, on a Lord's Day Morning, Mr. Abraham Wheeler, going from Garrison to his own house, on some occasion, was there shot by an enemy, that had lain in ambush for him; but altho' mortally wounded, he rested the gun from him, and bro't it towards the Garrison, until met by his friends.

In 1697, a considerable body of the enemy, under five commanders, but one in chief, came and lurked in the woods for some time, sending in their scouts by night to observe the posture of the town.—And having done this, they determined to begin the attack on Mr. Thomas Sawyers Garrison; and the firing at that was to be a signal to all the rest, to fall on in their respective stations.

And accordingly on the eleventh of September, when the inhabitants, suspicious of no enemy, were gone out to their labour; they came in several companies into the town, and were very near surprizing said Sawyer's Garrison, both the gates being left open; but that Mr. Jabez Fairbank, who was at his own house half a mile's distance, and designing to bring his little son from said Garrison, mounted his horse which came running to him in a fright; and rode full speed into the gate, but yet noth-

* He still survives in the 88th year of his age.

‡ The Widow Whitcomb. § Elizabeth How.

ing suspicious of an enemy—However, this was a meane of saving the Garrison: for the enemy who were just ready to rush into it, supposing they were discovered, gave over that design; and fired at such as were out in the fields.

At that time, the Rev. Mr. John Whiting being on some occasion at a distance from his Garrison, they surprised and killed him.—They indeed offered him quarter; but he chose rather to fight to the last, than resign himself to those whose tender mercies are cruelty.—

At the same time they killed twenty others; wounded two, but not mortally; and captivated six, five of whom returned.‖

On this sorrowful occasion, the town set a-part a day for Prayer and Fasting.

From 1697 to 1700, several gentlemen supplied the Pulpit.†

In May 1701, Mr. Andrew Gardner was invited to preach and in September following was invited to settle in the Ministry.

In 1704, there came an army of seven hundred French and Indians from Canada—with two Tribes, under the command of Monsi. Boocore, designed for Northampton. —But a deserter came and gave notice of their numbers and approach.—And those western frontiers were seasonably strengthened.

Moreover, in their march there arose a mutiny among them about the division of the plunder; and the contention rose so high, that above two hundred of them returned—But the rest came on, and sent out their scouts, who reported, that the English were ready in great numbers to receive them.—On this they called a Council of War, in

‖ Killed. Rev. Mr. Whiting, Daniel Hudson and his Wife and two Daughters, Ephraim Roper and Wife and Daughter, John Skait and Wife, Joseph Rugg and wife and three Children, the widow Rugg, Jonathan Fairbank and two children, and two Children of Nathaniel Hudson.

Captivated, Jonathan Fairbank's Wife, the widow Wheeler, Ephraim Roper's Son, John Skait's Son, Joseph Rugg's Son, and Mary Glasier.

† Mr. Robinson, Mr. Jones, and Mr. Whitman. Mr. Jones was invited to settle, but difficulties arising, his Ordination was prevented, and he removed.

* This word is "Friars" in Penhallow - a misprint here?

* For Penhallow's words see pp 42-3 (in this Volume) of Willard's History of Lancaster.

which they concluded to lay aside the design on Northampton—and to beat up for Volunteers, for the assault of Lancaster; and a large number enlisted.*

And on the 30th of July they came within about two miles of the Town—and encamped, and by night sent in their spies to observe the Posture of the English.—And on the 31st they fell furiously upon the town early in the morning: and in their first onset killed Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder, near the gate of his own Garrison.—And the same day three others near the same Garrison. †

The enemy were uncommonly brave: and therefore altho' Capt. Tyng, who had the command of the Garrison soldiers; and Capt. How, who on the alarm, marched immediately from Marlborough with what men he could suddenly raise; and the inhabitants maintained a warm dispute with them for some time; yet being much inferior in number were obliged to retreat into Garrison.—On which they burnt the Meeting-House, and six other buildings, & destroyed much of the live stock of the town.

Note. What numbers of the enemy were killed, either in the field, or at the other Garrison is uncertain, but is thought to be considerable—among the rest a French officer of some distinction, was mortally wounded, which greatly exasperated their spirits.

Before night there came such numbers to the relief of the town, that the enemy retreated; and although pursued, yet were not overtaken. Had they like those in 1697 tarried till the inhabitants were dispersed to their labour, they might in all human probability, have done much greater mischief, if they had not entirely destroyed the town.—But God had mercy on his people.

On the 26th of October following, there having been a party of the enemy discovered at Still-River, the soldiers and inhabitants belonging to the Rev. Mr. Gardner's Garrison, with divers others, went in quest of them; who returning in the evening fatigued with the service of the day—Mr. Gardner, in compassion took the Watch that

* Some of the accounts which Mr. Penhallow hath given of the mischiefs done in this town by the enemy, are in divers cases not only imperfect, but very erroneous, which are doubtless owing to the wrong information he had.

† Abraham How, John Spaulding, and Benjamin Hutchins.

night upon himself; and coming out of the Box late at night, on some occasion, was heard by one between sleeping and waking in the house, who supposing him an enemy, seized the first gun which came to hand, and shot him through the body in the Parade.‖

But the fatal mistake immediately appeared; and he being carried into the house, forgave the person that shot him; and in an hour or two expired, to the great grief not only of his consort, but of his people, who had an exceeding value for him.†

In May 1705, Mr. John Prentice was preaching among them, and continued preaching, until Feb. 1707, when he was invited to settle in the Work of the Ministry, and accepted the invitation.

On the 15th of October 1705, Mr. Thomas Sawyer, with his son, ‡ and another was captivated.

On the 16th of July 1707, Mr. Jonathan White was killed by the Indians

And on the 18th of August following, twenty-four stout Indians, who according to their own account had all been Captains, came to Marlborough, and captivated Mr. Jonathan Wilder, a native of this town, and but lately removed from it.—The next day being pursued by about thirty of Marlborough and Lancaster; and overtaken—the front of our men came upon them before they had the least apprehension of a pursuit.

Their packs were all slung, and it being a misty day, their cases were on their guns.—And therefore had ours all run down upon them, they might easily have destroyed or taken all, and saved the life of the captive.—The enemy themselves at the first appearance of our men, had determined to resign themselves to their mercy.—But observing that but ten of the thirty came down upon them, they took courage, unslung their packs, and fought like men—having first dispatched their captive.

In this action, the enemy lost nine, and all their packs; and on our part two,* were killed, and two § wounded,

‖ Mr Samuel Prescott.
† Mr. Gardner was not ordained.
‡ Elias Sawyer and John Biglo.
* Mr. John Farrar, and——— Singleterry.
§ Mr. Ephraim Wilder, and Mr. Samuel Stevens.

but not mortally.

It ought to be observed, again, that but ten of our men were in the action.

On the 29 of March 1708, the Rev. Mr. John Prentice was ordained.

On August 5, 1710, a party of the enemy coming by the advantage of the bushes, very near to Mr Nathaniel, and Mr. Oliver Wilder, and an Indian servant, at labour in the field, fired upon them. The servant was killed but they escaped to the Garrison.—And this is the last mischief that hath been done by them in this town.

The Records of the church in Mr. Rowlandson's time, were in all probability consumed in his Garrison.—And the Records in Mr. Whiting's day not being to be found, we have no account of the number of Communicants, or of Baptisms, from the founding of this church to the ordination of the Rev. Mr. Prentice in 1708.

But during Mr. Prentice's Ministry, 331 were received to full communion, and 1593 baptized.

After a life of much service, faithfulness, and loved, on the 6th of January 1747,8, the Rev. Mr. Prentice deceased, greatly lamented.

From the last recorded by him, to the re-settlement of the Ministry on Nov. 16, 1748, were 38 baptisms.

And from the re-settlemet to this day, 70 Persons have been admitted to full communion, and 183 baptized.

So that from March 1708, to this day, 401 have been admitted to full communion, and 1814 baptized.

Of the Members in this church was formed a considerable part of the Church in Harvard in 1733.

The church in Bolton, in 1741.

In part, the church in Leominster, 1743.

The church in the second precinct, in 1744.

With Propriety therefore this Church may say; Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth, many a time have they afflicted me from my youth; yet they have not prevailed against me.

Proceed we now to a brief consideration of the

II. Thing, viz. The Church and People of GOD ascribing unto HIM the Glory of their Preservation.——

Yet they have not prevailed against me, is designed not only to assert their Preservation from utter Ruin, but also

to ascribe the glory of it unto God—Unto God, who in consequence of their peculiar relation to Him, and of his gracious promises to Them, had gloriously appeared for them in Egypt, and at the Red-Sea; and often afterwards, when endangered or oppressed by enemies, more numerous and powerful than themselves.

These Ascriptions are common in the sacred pages.—'We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have 'told us what work thou didst in their days, in the times 'of old ‖—'If it had not been the Lord who was on our 'side, now may Israel say—If it had not been the Lord, 'who was on our side, when men rose up against us; 'then they had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath 'was kindled against us—Then the waters had over-'whelmed us; then the proud waters had gone over our 'soul—Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey 'to their teeth—Our help is in the name of the Lord.†

These acknowledgements and ascriptions are not only founded on the reason and nature of things; but also enjoined by divine authority, to keep divine benefits in memory, to inspire succeeding generations with gratitude and to engage them effectually in the fear and service of the most high God—Accordingly we have the church of Israel assigning this as a reason of her practice.

'We will shew to the generation to come the praises 'of the Lord, and his strength and his wonderful works 'that he hath done—For he established a testimony in 'Jacob, and appointed a law in Israel, which he com-'manded our fathers that they should make them known 'to their children—That the generation to come might 'know them, even the children which should be born; 'who should arise and declare them to their children—'That they might set their hope in God, and not forget 'the works of God, but keep his commands, and be sted-'fast with him.§

The deliverance of Israel from oppression and bondage in Egypt, was to be celebrated with solemn festivity, & with the reason of it carefully to be transmitted by divine appointment to posterity—'And thou shalt shew thy son in that day, saying, This is done because of that which the Lord did unto me, when I came out of Egypt,—And

‖ Pſal. 44. 1. † Pſal. 124—145, 11——14. incluſi. Iſai. 63, 7,8.
§ Pſalm. 78. 4—7. incluſi.

it shall be for a sign unto thee, that the Lord's Law may be in thy mouth; thou therefore shalt keep this ordinance.*

And when Haman, who was of the blood royal of Amaleck, and therefore the natural enemy of Israel, plotted their destruction through the whole Persian Empire, and had procured of Ahasuerus a decree for that purpose; God by a very signal interposition cast him into the pit which he had digged, and bro't his devises upon his own head, but gave joy and gladness and a good day unto the Jews. —Wherefore Mordecai (no doubt by divine direction) appointed this Preservation to be celebrated annually with festivity and joy on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month Adar.—This was celebrated with thanksgiving and praise to God.†

And as the commemoration of God's appearing to the relief of his people under their distresses is of divine appointment; we accordingly find them ascribing the glory to Him.—Thus after the destruction of Pharaoh and his host in the Red-Sea, Moses and the people of Israel give God the praise—'The Lord hath triumphed gloriously: 'the horse and his rider he hath thrown into the sea.— 'The Lord is my strength and my salvation—Thy right 'hand, O Lord, is glorious in power—and hath dashed 'in pieces the enemy.'‡

When Deborah and Barak delivered Israel from the oppression of Jabin King of Hazor, they in their triumphal song give all the glory unto God.—'Praise ye the Lord 'for the avenging of Israel—Lord, when thou wentest 'out of Seir, when thou marchedst out of the field of Edom; 'the earth trembled, and the Heavens dropped; the 'mountains melted before the Lord God of Israel—They 'fought from Heaven, the Stars in their courses fought against Sisera, and the River Kisbon swept them away.‖

And when the Lord with thunder and lightning discomfitted the Philistines before his people, who pursued them to the confines of their own country; Samuel took a stone and set it up between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it *Ebenezer*, saying, Hitherto the Lord hath helped us. §

* Exod. 13. 8,9,10. † Esth. 9,20, &c. ‡ Exod. 15.
‖ Judges 5, § 1 Sam. 7. 12.

And what shall I more say? For the time would fail me to tell of David and of Asa, and of Jehosaphat, and of Hezekias, and of other worthies; who with the prophets and people of God, gave Him the glory of their preservation under affliction and in distress from enemies.

And as the reason of these ascriptions hath always been the same, and the same spirit of gratitude hath rested upon the saints of all succeeding ages; so the christian church hath always given to the same God the glory of her preservation, under the numerous evils which have been bro't upon her by her enemies—whether men or devils.

And well may the inhabitants of this country join with the church in all preceeding times, in giving glory to the God of salvation.

For when they were few in number, when they were far from human help, in a howling wilderness, and surrounded with numerous Barbarians who thirsted for their blood, and often plotted their destruction; God the God of Israel was their saviour—They trusted in him, and were not ashamed—And notwithstanding all the attempts of their enemies, whether American or European, are yet a growing people.

The habitations of cruelty are become a valley of vision—Where Satan was worshipped with horrid rites, the God of Heaven is now adored—The solitary places rejoice, the wilderness blossometh as the rose, and the glory of Sharon is given unto it.

Surely, it was God that bro't a vine from far, cast out the heathen before it, planted it, and caused it to take root, and fill the land; so that the hills are covered with the shadow, and the bows thereof are like the goodly cedars.

God grant, that the hedges may not be broken down, that it may never be plucked by those that pass by, that the Boar out of the wilderness may never waste it, nor the wild beasts devour it; but may the glory of the Lord be upon it from Generation to Generation.

But the present Assembly calls for a particular address.

Brethren, as through the good hand of our God upon us, we this day see the completion of a Century from the incorporation of the Town, and have recollected some

of the signal mercies of God to our fathers under their numerous afflictions by the enemy; we may with Propriety join with Israel of old, and say,

'If it had not been the Lord who was on our side; if 'it had not been the Lord who was on our side, when 'men rose up against us; then they had swallowed us 'upquick, when their wrath was kindled against us.— 'Blessed be the Lord who hath not given us a prey to 'their teeth—Our help is in the name of the Lord— Who reigns in Zion head over all things unto his church —And will reign, till all opposing rule, authority and power shall be put down, and the time come for delivering the kingdom of God, even the fathers, and for presenting his church without spot, and with exceeding joy before the presence of his glory.

As the church was purchased by his own blood, the Father hath in all ages committed the preservation of it to Him: and as Mediator vested him with all power in heaven and earth. In all the afflictions of his people, he was afflicted, in his love and in his pity he redeemed them, he bare them, and carried them all the days of old. He was the refuge of our fathers in their distresses. Let us therefore mention the loving kindnesses of the Lord, and the praises of the Lord, according to all that he hath bestowed upon us—And the great goodness towards the house of Israel, which he hath bestowed according to his mercy, and according to the multitude of his loving kindnesses.

Let the consideration of these things animate us.

1.) To a firm and unshaken confidence in Him under all adversity.

This is one important end for which the merciful appearance of God for our fathers in their distresses are to be recollected. He commanded our fathers that they should make them known to their children, that they might set their hope in God.

2.) Let these things excite us to a sincere compliance with all his precepts, whether relating to faith or practice.

This also is another important use to be made of them. That they might set their hope in God, and not forget his works, but keep his commandments.

And without a sincere regard to divine precepts, our

confidence will be presumption. For there is no promise of protection or blessing to such as persevere in disobedience and unbelief.

If ye forget the works of the Lord, and walk not in his ways, ye may well expect to be abandoned to all evil. This is evident from the history of Israel—For when Joshua and all that generation were gathered to their fathers; and there arose another generation, who knew not the works of the Lord, which he had done in Israel; They forsook the Lord God of their fathers, and followed after the Gods of the People that were round about them, and provoked the Lord to anger—And he delivered them into the hands of Spoilers, that spoiled them, and sold them into the hands of their enemies round about, so that they could not stand any longer before their enemies.

Whethersoever they went out, the hand of the Lord was against them for evil; as the Lord had said, and as the Lord had sworn unto them, and they were greatly distressed.

Muse therefore on his wonders of old, and on his works in the days of your fathers, until the fire shall burn within you—until sacred ardors shall rise in your souls, and animate you to the most cheerful trust and obedience.

Ye are the seed of the blessed of the Lord, and the children of the covenant which he made with them—Fulfil therefore the obligations, as ye expect the blessings of that Covenant.—Let your hearts be stedfast in it.

Be ambitious of imitating whatever was excellent in your ancestors—Consider from whence ye are fallen—Your works are not perfect before God: Remember therefore how ye have received and heard, & repent—and strengthen the things that remain and are ready to die.

Is not this the voice of your fathers, 'And ye our 'children, know ye the God of your fathers, and serve 'him with perfect hearts and willing minds; if ye seek 'him he will be found of you, but if you forsake him he 'will cast you off forever.'

Your fathers bear the heat and burden of the day, they submitted to many hardships and dangers; not only that they might leave unto you a fair temporal inheritance, as it is this day; but also, what they esteemed infinitely preferable, that they might leave you in the enjoyment of

of the Gospel in its purity—For the sake of this they ventured their lives in this wilderness—For this, they exposed themselves to perils by sea, to perils in the wilderness, to perils by the heathen, and to various evils.

And ye are risen up in your fathers stead; and prosperity shines in full orb upon you—Stand fast therefore in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free.

Give commandment to your household, and to your seed after you, to walk in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless, and to do mercy and judgment—That they also may give the same in charge to theirs—from generation to generation——

That the divine blessing may be upon them, and the Kingdom of God be advanced by them.

AMEN.

APPENDIX.

THE following narrative is added, to ſatisfy the curioſity of ſuch as feel a particular concern in the hiſtory of Lancaſter, and to perpetuate facts, which may be intereſting to future generations.

In the more advanced ſtages of their ancient ſettlement it has ſeen good days according to the days in which in its infancy it was afflicted. It has not ſuſtained the common interruption of union or proſperity. Few churches in New England have been favoured by Providence with ſo long enjoyment of their paſtors. With only an intermiſſion of about ten months; the miniſtry of Rev. Mr. PRENTICE, and Rev. Mr. HARRINGTON filled up a period of more than eighty years. Some of the ages ſtill living agree with thoſe who have retired from the ſcene in teſtifying to the fidelity, zeal, and profeſſional eminence of Rev. Mr. Prentice.

The Rev. Mr. Harrington has ever been venerated as a model of miniſterial excellence. With a good portion of ſcientific and theological attainments he united ſingular pertinency and fervour in the performance of devotional exerciſes. He was alſo a pattern of chriſtian cheerfulneſs and affability, of ſympathy with the ſick, and afflicted, and of compaſſion to the poor. The tribute of reſpect and affection ſtill heartily rendered by ſurvivors to his memory is a ſolid proof of his preeminent virtues.

After being unable from the infirmities of age for nearly four years to perform the duties of the miniſtry, he died Dec. 18, 1795.

During his miniſtry, 478 were admitted to the communion of the Church, and to 1531 the ordinance of baptiſm was adminiſtered.

It ſhould be recorded in honour of the people, whom he ſerved, that with unanimity and forwardneſs they paid his ſalary in full to the day of his death, and generouſly defrayed the expence of the funeral.

On the 9th of October 1793, the Rev. Nathaniel Thayer was ordained colleague Paſtor with the Rev. Timothy Harrington.

Since that time 166 perſons have made a publick profeſſion of religion and been received to the enjoyment of chriſtian ordinances; 413 have been baptized.

The union and flouriſhing ſtate of the Town form a ground of hope, that the preſent generation will prove worthy of the privileges and bleſſings ſecured for them by a race of virtuous and pious anceſtors.

JULY 10, 1806.

Heliotype of map of 1795.

Mr. *OSGOOD*'s

SERMON,

AT THE

ORDINATION

OF THE

Rev. Nathaniel Thayer.

ST. PAUL's EXAMPLE CONSIDERED AS A MODEL FOR CHRISTIAN MINISTERS.

A

SERMON,

DELIVERED AT THE

ORDINATION

OF THE

Rev. NATHANIEL THAYER;

AS

COLLEAGUE PASTOR

WITH THE

REVEREND AND AGED

TIMOTHY HARRINGTON;

TO THE

CHURCH AND CONGREGATION

IN *LANCASTER*,

ON THE 9th OF OCTOBER, 1793.

BY DAVID OSGOOD, A. M.

PASTOR OF THE CHURCH IN *MEDFORD*.

PRINTED AT THE Apollo Press, IN BOSTON,

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MDCCXCIII.

A N

ORDINATION SERMON.

ACTS XX. 27.

—I HAVE NOT SHUNNED TO DECLARE UNTO YOU ALL THE COUNSEL OF GOD.

THE diſcourſe with which theſe words are connected, is moſt pathetic and affecting. As addreſſed to chriſtian miniſters, it furniſhes directions highly ſuitable for them in fulfilling their miniſtry. What the apoſtles and firſt preachers of the goſpel were, excluſive of their ſupernatural call and qualifications, all who ſtill ſucceed them in teaching the religion of Jeſus, ought undoubtedly to be. In their example we have a model for the right diſcharge of the duties of the miniſtry. Their doctrines, manner of preaching, temper and conduct through the various ſcenes of their miniſtry, are recorded, as for the inſtruction of chriſtians in general, ſo for the imitation of miniſters in ſpecial. And as the labours of Paul abounded beyond thoſe of the other apoſtles, ſo his example is exhibited in ſcripture with a diſtinguiſhed luſtre. After the evangeliſts, his epiſtles and the hiſtory of his miniſtry, form the principal part

of the writings in the new teſtament. But in no other ſingle paſſage, have we ſo full an account of his miniſtry, and of the manner of his fulfilling it, as that which he himſelf gives, in the context, to the elders of Epheſus.

With unwearied pains, and amidſt many fears and dangers, he had planted the church of Chriſt in that city. And being now called away, and obliged to leave the work in other hands, he was anxious for its ſucceſs, and that it might ſtill flouriſh, under the foſtering care of thoſe to whom it was committed. He therefore called for their attendance, that he might, with his own lips, renew the ſolemn charge and ſay, "Take heed unto yourſelves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghoſt hath made you overſeers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchaſed with his own blood." To quicken them in keeping this charge, he ſets his own example before them in ſome of its more ſignal inſtances during his miniſtry among them; bringing to their recollection both his preaching and his practice. And having apprized them, that he was now taking his leave of them, and that they would ſee him no more; on this ſolemn occaſion, he teſtifies to them, that whatever the iſſue of his preaching might be with reſpect to ſome, whatever melancholy conſequences might enſue after his departure, if any of them, or of the people of their charge, ſhould finally miſcarry, yet for himſelf, he was clear from *the blood of all men*; having fully and faithfully delivered the goſpel meſſage. *For I have not ſhunned to declare unto you all the counſel of God.*

In holding up the apoſtle's example as a model for us, we may conſider both the ſubject and the manner of his preaching.

In the *firſt place*, the ſubject, viz. *the counſel of God*, or the goſpel of his grace, concerted by the divine wiſdom, and now, in its moſt full and complete diſpenſation, publiſhed to the world for the obedience of faith. The whole chriſtian ſyſtem is included in that counſel of God which Paul preached. To its peculiar and diſtinguiſhing doctrines, however, he did not, upon every occaſion, confine his diſcourſes. In addreſſing the idolatrous Gentiles, he began with aſſerting the great principles of natural religion,* the unity of God, his perfections and univerſal providence; our relation to him as his creatures, dependence upon him, and conſequent obligations to ſerve him with our mental faculties, in diſtinction from thoſe bodily exerciſes which cannot profit. Theſe primary truths of religion, together with thoſe equally obvious ones of morality, *of doing juſtly and loving mercy* in our dealings with one another, and *walking humbly* in the government of ourſelves, are that *good which God hath ſhewed unto men* in furniſhing them with the gift of reaſon. They are the great law of our nature, coeval with our exiſtence, written upon the hearts of all men, and binding at all times.

Yea, God has ſo conſtituted our nature and the frame of things around us, that while reaſon diſcerns theſe fundamentals of religion and morality, experience teaches us how eſſential to happineſs is our conformity to them. Our ſelf-love, the principle of ſelf-preſervation, ſo ſtrong in every one, is made to ſanction theſe dictates of reaſon, and to urge our compliance with them. And were our reaſon clear and

* See Acts xvii. 22.

perfect, unclouded by paſſion, unbiaſſed by prejudice, unimpaired by diſeaſe or intemperance; did it retain its original ſtrength and ſupremacy over the propenſities of nature, it might prove a ſufficient guide to virtue and happineſs. If it hath totally failed of theſe ends, the cauſe lies in its perverſion and abuſe through the ſtrength of prevailing corruption.

After the apoſtacy, men became vain in their imaginations; and while they retained ſome knowledge of God, yet glorified him not as God; but rebelling againſt reaſon, gave themſelves up to vile affections. Theſe darkened their underſtandings more and more, and gradually ſunk them into deplorable ignorance, ſuperſtition and idolatry. Under this maſs of rubbiſh, the light of reaſon was nearly extinguiſhed, and many ages elapſed, while the moral world lay buried in darkneſs, groſs and heavy, like that which overſpread this earth in its chaotic ſtate.

And when, at length, the divine mercy introduced the goſpel diſpenſation for the general benefit of the world, the firſt object of this revelation was, to recover reaſon from its degradation, and re-eſtabliſh the principles of natural religion. This voice from heaven confirms the dictates of reaſon, reſtores thoſe which had been loſt, enlightens thoſe which had been obſcured, ſtrengthens thoſe which had been weakened, and clothes them all with a divine authority; giving to the voice of reaſon and conſcience the commanding energy of the voice of God.

But, were this all that is effected by revelation, (ſo great is the change made in the condition of man

by ſin) this *which was ordained to life, would be found to be unto death*—ſerving only to ſhow us the extent of our miſery. It would be like the appearance of God to our firſt parents after their tranſgreſſion, arraigning, convicting and condemning, and then leaving them without the hope which he actually gave in his ſentence upon their ſeducer. By clarifying our reaſon, and ſetting before us in its purity and perfection the great law of our nature, revelation enables us to behold the number and aggravations of our ſins. "By the law is the knowledge of ſin."

Aſtoniſhed at the view of his guilt, and alarmed with the apprehenſion of the divine diſpleaſure, the awakened convinced ſinner is anxious to find ſome mercy to pardon, ſome kind power to ſave. He earneſtly inquires, by what ſacrifices and offerings, or in what way, he may appeaſe an offended Deity, and make ſatisfaction for the breach of his law. Reaſon cannot anſwer the inquiry. All nature is ſilent, and affords no certain ground of hope. The more we think and reaſon upon our condition, the more helpleſs and deſperate it appears.

Theſe are the real circumſtances of all men as under ſin and guilty before God. And thus circumſtanced, the goſpel, in its literal import, as *glad tidings of great joy*, comes in to our relief. Its glorious peculiarities, the ſcheme of mediation, the perſon, character and offices of the Mediator, his propitiation for the ſins of the world, and ability to ſave all who come to God through him, theſe are our only grounds of hope.

To the inquiry upon what terms this hope may be ours, St. Paul anſwers when he *teſtifies both to the Jews, and alſo to the Greeks, repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jeſus Chriſt* : A return from iniquity, and cordial ſubmiſſion to him who is made King in Zion, obedience to his precepts, and conformity to his example; theſe are the requiſitions of the goſpel; theſe form the diſtinguiſhing character of real chriſtians.

In attempting theſe things, however, we find a new difficulty ariſing. All our moral powers have been weakened in the ſervice of ſin, and evil habits have gained ſuch dominion over us, that it is no eaſy matter to turn the current of our affections from earthly to heavenly things, to mortify the deeds of the body, get free from the bondage of corruption, and recover the loſt rectitude of our nature. After ſome unſucceſsful efforts, we ſhould be in danger of giving over the attempt, were we not encouraged to expect aid from above. But ſo complete is the proviſion made in the divine counſels for our ſalvation, that the goſpel is the miniſtration of the holy ſpirit. This divine agent is tendered as the guide of our feeble ſteps in our return to virtue. We are directed to ſeek, and encouraged to hope for his aſſiſtance on our firſt honeſt attempts to reform. "Turn ye at my reproof: Behold, I will pour out my ſpirit unto you. Aſk, and it ſhall be given; ſeek and ye ſhall find; if ye being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children: How much more ſhall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that aſk him?"

And that nothing proper to quicken our exertions, may be wanting, the ſanctions with which the goſpel is enforced, are as full and perfect as can be imagined. Its promiſes and threatenings addreſſed to our hopes and fears, are ſo great, ſolemn and awful, that, when duly conſidered, they ſeem ſufficient, to overwhelm the mind, and ſeizing upon all our faculties, to bear us away by an irreſiſtible influence from all other objects of attachment and purſuit, to the great and momentous concerns of eternity.

Theſe things, in their connection with various other particulars in the inſpired writings, were thoſe divine counſels which Paul, with ſuch unremitting diligence, declared. Not this account of them however, but the ſcriptures themſelves are to be regarded as *the law and the teſtimony, the oracles of God*, in conformity to which every diſcourſe upon religion and chriſtian morality is to be compoſed. By the ſtudy of theſe inſpired writings, every chriſtian, and eſpecially every chriſtian miniſter is to ſatisfy himſelf what are indeed the counſels of God. The ſtudies of a miniſter principally conſiſt in ſearching the ſcriptures. From theſe he muſt derive the things *new* and *old* with which he is to entertain and edify his hearers. That he may "rightly divide the word of truth," and approve himſelf "a workman who needeth not to be aſhamed," it is neceſſary, that he have a thorough and intimate acquaintance with every part of divine revelation. Its doctrines and duties ſhould be ſo familiar to his thoughts, that on every occaſion *his lips may preſerve knowledge*, drop as the rain and diſtil as

the dew. As ſet for the defence of the goſpel, it is alſo neceſſary, that he be ſo verſed in the various and abundant evidence of its truth both internal and external, that he may be ready at all times, to remove the ſcruples of the yet wavering and unſettled inquirer, anſwer the objections of infidels, and ſtop the mouths of gainſayers.

In ſearching out the meaning of the ſcriptures, and determining what doctrines they really contain, a knowledge of ancient manners, cuſtoms and languages, eſpecially of thoſe languages in which the ſcriptures were originally written, is highly requiſite. Much uſeful information may be derived from thoſe profane authors who were cotemporary with the inſpired writers. With as many of theſe, as have reached modern times, the interpreter of ſcripture ſhould be acquainted. He ſhould know what allowance to make for the difference between ancient and modern languages; and for the peculiar phraſes, idioms and proverbial ſayings of the people for whoſe uſe the ſcriptures were at firſt deſigned. In conſtruing thoſe paſſages which are hard to be underſtood, he muſt keep in view the general aim and ſcope of the writer, and by comparing *ſpiritual things with ſpiritual*, make what is clear and plain to reflect light upon that which is doubtful and obſcure.

To the diſgrace of all Chriſtendom, it has been the too general practice, to adopt, with little or no inquiry, a ſet of doctrines as the ſtandard of orthodoxy from ſome celebrated Father, Reformer, eſtabliſhed Church, Synod or Council. And having thus em-

braced our ſcheme of divinity, all our ſtudies have been to weave theſe doctrines into our interpretations of ſcripture; and detached texts, ſentences and phraſes have been turned and twiſted in every direction to the ſupport and defence of pre-conceived opinions. "Inſtead of impartially examining the ſacred writings with a view of diſcovering the truth, in whatever ſhape it may appear, we enter on the inquiry with a ſyſtem already adopted, and have erected the edifice, even before the ground has been explored, on which it muſt be reared. It is from this cauſe, that the Greek and Latin churches have diſcovered in the new teſtament their different tenets, and that the moſt oppoſite parties, which have ariſen in the chriſtian world, have made the ſame divine oracles the baſis of their reſpective creeds. It is from this ſource that the church of Rome derives her ſeven ſacraments, the Divine of the church of England his thirty nine articles, the Lutheran his ſymbolic books, and the Calviniſt his confeſſion of faith."

To the honour of the preſent age, a more rational method of treating the ſcriptures ſeems to be gaining ground. Theſe ſhackles upon the minds of men are evidently looſened, and we may hope, will gradually fall off. It begins to be generally acknowledged that "as an hiſtorian ſhould be of no party, an interpreter of ſcripture ſhould be of no ſect. His only buſineſs is to inquire what the apoſtles and evangeliſts themſelves intended to expreſs; he muſt tranſplant himſelf, if poſſible, into their ſituation,

and in the inveſtigation of each controverted point, muſt examine, whether the ſacred writers, circumſtanced as they were, could entertain or deliver this or that particular doctrine. This is a piece of juſtice that we refuſe not to profane authors, and no reaſon can be aſſigned, why we ſhould refuſe it to thoſe who have a ſtill higher title to our regard."

Having, by diligent and impartial inquiry, ſettled in his mind what are the doctrines of ſcripture, the preacher, who would regard Paul as his model, will make theſe the conſtant theme of his diſcourſes: And his great concern and ſtudy will be, to teach them in their purity and ſimplicity, and with ſuch perſuaſive force and energy as if poſſible to impreſs a juſt ſenſe of them upon the minds of his hearers. This he will be moſt likely to effect, if in the diſcharge of his miniſtry, he ſets before him,

Secondly, the *manner* of the apoſtle; his faithfulneſs, earneſtneſs, conſtancy, and ſincerity in practiſing himſelf what he inculcated upon others. Theſe virtues are highly important, are indiſpenſably requiſite in the character of a goſpel miniſter, and they were all eminently illuſtrated in the example of Paul. Each of them is ſtrongly implied in what he ſays of himſelf to the Epheſian elders. His faithfulneſs is the direct import of the text. "I have not ſhunned to declare unto you *all* the counſel of God." Nor was it more obvious in the unreſervedneſs of his communications than in his manner of making them. As he kept back nothing that might be profitable, his conſtant ſtudy was, how to be

moſt profitable, and accompliſh the great end of his miniſtry in perſuading men. Every faithful miniſter will copy after him in this reſpect, and will propoſe to himſelf the ſame object as his grand and ultimate aim. To promote this end, all his ſtudies and endeavours will be ſteadily directed. In the choice of his ſubjects, and in his manner of handling them, he will be guided by what in his conſcience he thinks will be moſt uſeful to his hearers. Merely to amuſe and entertain them with the pomp of language, or the charms of eloquence; or to gain their applauſe by gratifying their curioſity, or feeding their paſſions and prejudices, he will always eſteem unbecoming the ſolemnity of a religious aſſembly, and below the dignity of a chriſtian miniſter. St. Paul preached *not himſelf, but Chriſt Jeſus the Lord.* That deſire of fame to himſelf, that ambition of being known and diſtinguiſhed, which fired the ancient orators of Greece and Rome, was far below the ſublime views by which the apoſtle was actuated. Had he been capable of ſeeking praiſe with men, his knowledge as an apoſtle might have been no impediment. The man who had been admitted within the veil, *caught up into heaven*, and initiated into the ſecrets of the inviſible world, had it undoubtedly in his power to have gratified human curioſity on a number of queſtions concerning which it eagerly inquires. Should not his ſilence upon ſuch queſtions, correct the vanity of thoſe preachers who are always ſtudying to ſurpriſe their hearers with ſome new diſcovery in divinity?

If ſuch pretended diſcoveries have no conceivable relation to practical godlineſs; if curious diſquiſitions upon ſubjects of little conſequence, uninteresting ſpeculations, or dry criticiſms even upon the ſcriptures themſelves, form the bulk of a preacher's diſcourſes; or if he confounds his hearers with controverſial divinity, and is always endeavouring to reſtabliſh ſome favourite ſyſtem of human conſtruction, and under the impreſſion of its peculiarties, gives to every diſcourſe, be the text what it may, the ſame general complexion; if his preaching be deſtitute of that variety of different views and illuſtrations which the rich treaſure of ſcripture affords; or if in treating on the important doctrines of the goſpel, he introduces a train of intricate and perplexed reaſoning; or if in teaching the moral virtues, he recommends them by no other arguments than a Plato or a Socrates would have uſed; if he forgets to aſſign them their proper place in the chriſtian ſyſtem, or to enforce them by thoſe peculiar motives which the goſpel furniſhes; if he adopts either of theſe defective modes of preaching, though he ſhould be ever ſo laborious in his ſtudies, yet muſt he not fall ſhort of that profit to his hearers which is eſſential to faithfulneſs?

As the arts of perſuaſion are the only ones by which ſucceſs in preaching is to be attempted, with what diligence ſhould they be ſtudied? How ſolicitous will the faithful miniſter be in acquainting himſelf with the moſt engaging methods of addreſs? How

careful and circumſpect, leſt in little things, he ſtir up prejudices which may leſſen his influence in matters of greater moment. In this reſpect, few of us, perhaps are ſufficiently wary. Some, indeed, when they have once ſettled in their own minds, what is right, ſeem to make it a point of conſcience, to pay no reſpect to the opinions or prejudices of others. Rigid and inflexible, they puſh their ſentiments with a zeal often ſubverſive both of peace and charity.

How very different was the conduct of the apoſtle? To gain upon unbelievers, to edify the faithful and ſtrengthen the weak in faith, with what eaſe did he accommodate himſelf to their known prepoſſeſſions? With what condeſcending tenderneſs, in matters not eſſential, did he become *all things to all men, that by all means he might ſave ſome.* With thoſe under the law, or who looked upon themſelves as bound by its ceremonial rites, he readily complied with thoſe rites, though he knew them to have been aboliſhed: Whilſt with thoſe who had obtained the ſame knowledge with himſelf, he as conſtantly uſed his chriſtian liberty. "To the weak he became, as weak, and would eat no meat, whilſt the world ſtandeth, rather than make the weakeſt brother to offend." Had the ſame temper continued univerſally to prevail in the church, the bonds of charity would never have been broken. From the beginning, all the different ſects and denominations of chriſtians would have dwelt together in unity like brethren.

The faithful miniſter will conſider, not only the prevailing prejudices of his people, but their capaci-

ties, characters and religious circumſtances; and to theſe adapt his diſcourſes, his method of reaſoning and addreſs. Thus he will diſtinguiſh *the precious from the vile*, warn the unruly, and comfort the feeble minded, and give to every one his portion in due ſeaſon. With admirable wiſdom and a nice diſcernment of circumſtances and characters, this was done by the apoſtle on every occaſion. To the heathen worſhiping dumb idols, he ſet forth the abſurdity of idolatry. Their objection againſt him was, his ſaying, *that, they be no Gods, which are made with hands.* To the Jews who had received by Moſes and the prophets the ſhadow of the goſpel, the hope of the Meſſiah, he immediately teſtified, that Jeſus was the Meſſiah whom they expected. To the awakened jailor inquiring, *What he ſhould do to be ſaved,* "he immediately anſwers, *believe on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt:* Whilſt with the hardened unprincipled Felix, he *reaſons of righteouſneſs, temperance and a judgment to come.* Knowing himſelf the terror of the Lord, he ſought to perſuade men, to alarm the vicious, and arouſe the thoughtleſs, by a faithful denunciation of that wrath, "which is revealed from heaven againſt all ungodlineſs, and unrighteouſneſs of men." Many there are in every congregation, to whom theſe warnings are ſtill neceſſary. *And whether they will hear, or

* It is matter of regret, that any ſhould object to this part of miniſterial faithfulneſs. No excuſe indeed is to be offered for thoſe preachers who endeavour to ſupply the want of ſenſible compoſition and of a ſerious and rational method of addreſs by overbearing noiſe and terrour: Cenſure upon them is juſt. Yet it is a melancholy fact, that the refinement of modern times has produced ſome occaſional hearers, (for they are not in general,

whether they will forbear, the watchman cannot, with ſafety, ſhun to declare them. For he is himſelf warned, "If thou ſpeak not to warn the wicked from his way, he ſhall die in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at thine hand. Yet if thou warn the wicked and he turn not, he ſhall die in his iniquity; but thou haſt delivered thy ſoul."

In diſpenſing theſe warnings, and indeed all the other truths of the goſpel, the fervour and earneſtneſs of

very conſtant in attending public worſhip) whoſe delicacy ſeems to be ſhocked at the leaſt mention of the threatenings in ſcripture. "Let us, ſay they, be drawn by the beauties of virtue and the hopes of heaven, and not driven by the terrours of hell. We chuſe not to be frightened into our duty." Upon this principle, they openly avow their diſapprobation of all diſcourſes upon the terrours of the world to come and the doom of the ungodly at the *laſt day*. They affect to deſpiſe the preacher, who, by theſe motives would perſuade men to holineſs. In their opinion he not only expoſes his ignorance of human nature, but his want of ſenſibility and benevolence of heart, by thus endeavouring to alarm his hearers. Pronouncing him to be both ignorant and unfeeling, they glory in their contempt of all his admonitions. But, before men ſuffer themſelves to receive the prejudice which ſuch ſentiments and language are adapted to convey, they ought ſeriouſly to conſider, whether the danger of which they are warned, be *real* or not. From ignorance or ill deſign falſe alarms do indeed proceed. With theſe we are juſtly diſpleaſed. But no man is offended at being apprized of a danger which he believes to be real, eſpecially when the warning tends to facilitate his eſcape, and is given ſolely for this purpoſe. Were you walking in the dark till your feet approached an unſuſpected precipice? Were you ſitting ſecure in your houſe, or ſleeping in your bed, while your habitation was kindling into flames? Or in any other circumſtance of real danger to your perſon, family or intereſt; previous warning of it would be ſo far from being deemed unkind, that he would be accounted a wretch indeed unfit to live in ſociety, who ſhould wilfully withhold it from his neighbour or friend. The only reaſon why men are offended at being warned of the danger to which their ſouls are expoſed, is becauſe they believe not this danger to be real. *Lot ſeemed as one that mocked unto his ſons in law.* In the ſame light every monitor appears whoſe warnings are not believed. And hence it will come to paſs, that, *as it was in the days of Lot; even thus will it be in the day when the ſon of man is revealed.*

the apoſtle, as well as his faithfulneſs, are to be our model. Upon his mind the goſpel took full hold, and knowing its truth, he felt its importance "counting all things to be loſs for the excellency of the knowledge of Chriſt," he felt no other intereſt or concern here below but in its ſpread and ſucceſs. Of courſe his preaching, was not with *the enticing words of man's wiſdom*, or the ſtudied forms of human eloquence, but in the words of truth and ſoberneſs warm from his heart. With an air of deep and awful concern he perſuaded men. In his addreſſes to them, his ſoul melted, (if we may ſo ſpeak) and like his divine Maſter weeping over Jeruſalem, flowed forth in ſtreams of tenderneſs and compaſſion. To thoſe addreſſed in the text he ſays, *remember that by the ſpace of three years I ceaſed not to warn every one night and day with tears.*

This appearance of earneſtneſs cannot be tolerably imitated without the reality. The affectation of it in feigned tears and a melancholy tone, or by vociferation and unuſual geſtures, ſucceeds with a very few only of the moſt ignorant and undiſcerning: To a judicious audience theſe hypocritical arts are always diſguſting. A degree of St. Paul's faith, charity and piety is eſſential to that earneſtneſs which he expreſſed. If the great principles of religion warm the heart of the preacher, they will influence him in the compoſition as well as in the delivery of his diſcourſes. Deſpiſing frivolous oſtentatious harangues, he will ſtudy to place divine truth in a light the

moſt advantageous for conviction and perſuaſion, that it may at once enlighten the underſtanding and touch the heart. In order to this it is neceſſary, that the compoſition be ſolid, cogent and animated, free from dull explanations of what is already ſufficiently obvious, and unintereſting paraphraſes on paſſages of ſcripture needing no illuſtration. The plain ſimple language of the bible is always more lively and ſtriking, than the circumlocution of a paraphraſe.*

When due care has been taken in the compoſition of a diſcourſe to render it worthy of attention, the conſciouſneſs of this in the preacher will animate his delivery. And if he enters into the ſpirit of his ſubject, and feels it upon his own heart; his earneſtneſs being real, will prove affecting to the hearers: The piety which glows in his boſom will be in a meaſure communicated to their's.

With this earneſtneſs is to be united the moſt perſevering diligence in fulfilling the private as well public duties of the miniſtry. In the example of Paul we behold an unremitting attention to his work.

* "By a multiplicity of words the ſentiment is not ſet off and accomodated; but like David equipt in Saul's armour, it is encumbered and oppreſſed. Yet this is not the only, or perhaps the worſt conſequence reſulting from this manner of treating ſacred writ. We are told of the *Torpedo*, that it has the wonderful quality of numbing every thing it touches. A paraphraſe is a *Torpedo*. By its influence the moſt vivid ſentiments become lifeleſs, the moſt ſublime are flattened, the moſt fervid chilled, the moſt vigorous enervated. In the very beſt compoſitions of this kind that can be expected, the goſpel may be compared to a rich wine of a high flavour, diluted in ſuch a quantity of water as renders it extremely vapid."

CAMPBELL.

He taught not in public only, but *from houſe to houſe*, and by *night* as well as by day. And he charges Timothy to be *inſtant in ſeaſon* and *out of ſeaſon*, "watching for ſouls as one that muſt give an account." The chriſtian miniſter ſhould be always ready to *deliver thoſe who are drawn unto death; pulling them out of the fire*, giving to every one that aſketh a reaſon for the goſpel hope, reproving, rebuking, exhorting families and individuals as there may be occaſion from day to day. In the courſe of providence favourable opportunities frequently occur for rendering, in a private way, important ſervices to the ſouls of men. Among the ſons and daughters of affliction, in the chambers of ſickneſs and houſes of mourning the viſits of a ſympathizing miniſter are always welcome, and his counſels and exhortations are heard with more than ordinary attention. In this way it is expected of him, that he go *about doing good*.

Yea, it is expected, not only in thoſe kind offices which belong immediately to his profeſſion, but in his whole converſation and deportment, that he exhibit the benevolent ſpirit of the goſpel and exemplify its precepts. It is eſſential to the right diſcharge of their office, that miniſters conſider themſelves, "not as Lords over God's heritage, but as enſamples to the flock; in a word, in converſation, in charity, in faith, in purity." Having the ſame intereſt with their hearers in the goſpel which they preach, it will not be believed, that they are earneſt in pointing out the way of ſalvation to others, unleſs they themſelves viſibly walk in this way. Their exemplary deportment as chriſtians will add weight to their inſtructions

as miniſters of Chriſt; and have an happy influence in recommending his religion. No arguments have a more perſuaſive force with the world in general to the practice of religion, than the beholding of it illuſtrated and ſhining in the lives of its teachers. Every miniſter ſhould ſo live, as to be able thus to addreſs his people, *Be ye followers of me as I alſo am of Chriſt.*

In Paul we behold a diſintereſtedneſs, fortitude and ſincerity in practiſing himſelf what he inculcated upon others, worthy of univerſal imitation. To the Epheſian elders he appeals as having witneſſed the diſplay of theſe virtues through the whole period of his continuance among them. "Ye know, from the firſt day that I came into Aſia, after what manner I have been with you at all ſeaſons, ſerving the Lord with all humility of mind, and with many tears and temptations; ſhewing you all things, how that ſo labouring ye ought to ſupport the weak; coveting no man's ſilver, or gold or apparel. Yourſelves know, that theſe hands have miniſtered to my neceſſities, and to them that were with me." While he ſtrongly aſſerted the right of thoſe who preach the goſpel, to live of the goſpel; for ſpecial reaſons he waved this right in his own caſe. Straits and difficulties he frequently experienced, and in every city had the certain proſpect of bonds and afflictions; yet no diſtreſſes, however heavy, no dangers, however formidable, did in the leaſt diſhearten him, or ſhake his reſolution. "None of theſe things move me, ſays he, neither count I my life dear unto myſelf, ſo that I might finiſh my courſe with joy, and the miniſtry, which I

have received." And ſo well did he finiſh, ſo complete was his fulfilment of this miniſtry among the Epheſians, that he adds, "I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men." Happy Paul! who had managed ſo high a truſt with ſuch fidelity as to enjoy the comfort of this reflection.

To us, my fathers and brethren, the ſame truſt, though in an inferiour ſenſe, is committed. With the office of declaring the counſels of God for the ſalvation of men we are honoured. To ourſelves, as well as to our reſpective charges, it is of no ſmall moment, that we form ourſelves after the model of Paul and the other apoſtles; that the principles and views from which they acted, have a governing influence over us, that like them we approve our fidelity by keeping back nothing that may be profitable, and enforcing the whole by our own example. Moderate deſires with reſpect to the good things of this life, and patience and fortitude in bearing its evil things, are highly becoming the miniſters of a crucified Saviour. Some evil things are to be expected. From men of corrupt minds oppoſition is ſcarcely avoidable. Faithfulneſs, when it fails of reclaiming them, often provokes their angry paſſions and draws upon itſelf a torrent of abuſe. Let none of theſe things move us from the ſteady diſcharge of our duty. Knowing that it is but *a ſmall thing to be judged of man's judgment*, let our great concern be to ſtand approved at an higher tribunal. *Behold*, our *witneſs is in heaven* our *record is on high*. *Stewards of the myſteries of God* let it ſatisfy us, if our faithfulneſs be known to him. The period will ſoon arrive when his judgment will be

manifeſted. Let the ſerious thought of this, under every diſcouragement, animate our diligence and fidelity. The expected ſummons, *give an account of thy ſtewardſhip; for thou mayeſt be no longer ſteward*, may well arouſe our utmoſt exertions.

In the mean while, changes are continually taking place. Paul is conſtrained to bid adieu to his Epheſian friends: The period of ſeparation arrives, and they can *ſee his face no more*. Thus all earthly friendſhips, relations and connections are diſſolved. While we ourſelves are ſuffered to continue, the flight of time, of days, months and years bears away from under our care the ſouls at firſt committed to our charge, and tranſmits them into that ſtate where they try the reality of thoſe diſcoveries which we announce to them from the word of God. How many who once ſat under our miniſtry, are gone already! What their condition is in the world on which they have entered, we know not. But to ourſelves it may be of importance, ſeriouſly to inquire, whether if any of them have miſcarried, it has been in no degree owing to our negligence? Are we indeed *pure from the blood of all men?*

Under a conſciouſneſs of our defects, it becomes us to humble our ſouls before God, and while we implore his pardon for the paſt, to renew our reſolutions, by his grace aſſiſting, of greater diligence for the future. And may his mercy grant, that when *our* day ſhall end, we may be able to look back upon its labours with comfort, and forward to their reward in the world of glory with hope and joyful expectation!

To you, my brother, in particular, at the close of that scene of labour on which you are now entering, I most ardently wish this felicity. To point out the way leading to it, has been the design of the preceding discourse. From my acquaintance with you I have just grounds to believe that your heart is steadily inclined towards what has been now recommended, and that you wish to excel in all the qualifications of an able and faithful minister of Christ. Descended from one of this character,* an ornament to his profession, and trained up with every advantage from his instruction and example; you now come forward with the raised hopes of your friends, and the good wishes of all your acquaintance. Providence is casting your lot in a pleasant part of the vineyard, and many circumstances concur in rendering the prospect before you agreeable and pleasing.

But you are not insensible of the arduous nature of the work in which you are engaging, nor of the trials to be expected in its prosecution. Oft have you contemplated the charge which you are now to receive, and under the apprehension of its weight and solemnity, have breathed forth the sigh, *who is sufficient for these things!* Had your father's life been still spared, what a tide of paternal affection would have swollen his bosom in addressing you on this solemn occasion! How would he have poured forth his soul in tenderness for you; in soothing your spirit; in encouraging, directing and animating you! A love-

* The Rev. Ebenezer Thayer, late of Hampton, in New-Hampshire, who died Sept. 6, 1792, Æt. 59.

reign God has ordered it otherwiſe, and one ſtands in his place who can only ſay, "Look to thy Father in heaven whoſe *grace is ſufficient for thee.*" A lively ſpirit of devotion, my brother, is not more ſuitable to the character of a chriſtian miniſter, than neceſſary to fit him for the right diſcharge of every part of his duty. It raiſes the mind to an elevation proper either for ſtudying the great myſteries of godlineſs, or performing its ſacred offices. It invigorates all the faculties, and renders that a pleaſure which would otherwiſe be gone through as a burden. It even leads to the hope of communication and aſſiſtance from above. If under a ſenſe of our lack of wiſdom, we humbly aſk it of God, we are encouraged to expect, that he will give liberally.

Of every advantage from devotion, reading, converſation and ſtudy you will endeavour to avail yourſelf. With your aged and venerable colleague you will frequently conſult, and by a reſpectful tenderneſs and ſympathy with him under his growing infirmities, conſole the evening of his life. From his experience and knowledge of the ſtate of this people you may receive much uſeful information. By adapting your diſcourſes to their ſpiritual circumſtances and giving to every one their portion in due ſeaſon, you will, in the courſe of your miniſtry, *declare all the counſel of God.* May he prolong your life, give eminence to your character, ſucceſs to your labours, and in the end, accept you with a *well done, good and faithful ſervant!*

It is with pleaſure, my brethren of this church and ſociety, that we witneſs your zeal for the inſtitutions of the goſpel, and deſire of hearing thoſe divine counſels which concern the common ſalvation. The decays of nature having withdrawn your aged paſtor from thoſe labours, which, through the courſe of many years, he performed with honour to himſelf and profit to his people; you early ſought, and this day happily obtain another to be ſet over you in the Lord. We rejoice in your peace and unanimity; and honour you for the wiſdom and judgment, which, in our eſteem, you have ſhown in this election. We are perſuaded of the good abilities and good diſpoſitions of our friend, who is now to be inducted into office.

With you it remains, to give an hearty welcome to him who thus *cometh in the name of the Lord. Know him* in his office as a miniſter of Chriſt. *Eſteem him highly in love for his work's ſake.* Aſſiſt him with your prayers, and encourage him by a regular and general attendance on his miniſtrations. Look with candour on his public performances and private conduct. Forbear to notice thoſe failings which are inſeparable from human weakneſs. Guard his reputation with the vigilance of true friendſhip, and protect it from every rude aſſault. Clear his way before him of all difficulties and obſtacles ſo far as you are able. Study to extend his influence, and promote his uſefulneſs to the utmoſt. And let him ſee, that you profit by his labours; that you improve in knowledge and virtue, and in a *converſation becoming the goſpel of Chriſt.*

Thus he will prove an *helper of your joys*, and you will become *his* in the day of the Lord Jesus.

My respected hearers of this great assembly, we find ourselves lately brought into existence, and rapidly hurrying through life. We are anxious to know what is to be done with us hereafter, and what are the intentions of our Creator concerning us. But *who hath known the mind of the Lord?* or who can penetrate the secrets of his will? *The things of God knoweth no man*; but the spirit of God searcheth all the depths of his counsels, and is conscious of all his designs; and by his spirit they are revealed unto us in the gospel of his son. This divine revelation removes the veil, and lays open to human view his eternal counsels with respect to the present and future destinations of men. On these subjects your ministers from time to time address you. They declare to you *the counsels of God*—the gospel of his grace. Your recovery from sin and ruin, and final salvation are the object of this high dispensation. For the obtaining of this end, it makes the most ample provision, and furnishes every necessary mean. Suffer it to have its due effect upon your hearts and lives, and it will guide you to life eternal. Let me entreat you, therefore, not *to receive the grace of God in vain. For how shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation? To day if ye will hear his voice, harden not your hearts. The wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord*; to whom be glory for ever,

A M E N.

The *RIGHT HAND* of *FELLOWSHIP*,

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM EMERSON

OF *HARVARD*.

THE benevolence of God is the principle of his works. It reared the pillars of the univerſe; it gave to all material and intellectual ſyſtems their being; and unleſs this divine influx had been the motive of creation, neither men nor angels would have ever exiſted.

To imagine the Deity, therefore, to be deficient in love towards any of his creatures is criminally to miſtake his true character. It is, without doubt, leſs wrong to deny the exiſtence of a God, than to ſuppoſe the God, whom we adore, is not infinitely good.

Hence chriſtianity ſeems principally concerned to diſplay the benignity of the divine nature. Chriſt has, indeed, taught us truths, which we could not have known, except by preternatural revelation. It is, however, a diſtinguiſhing excellence in his religion, that it ripens the hope, which nature, from the firſt, produced, that the original of all things is full of placability and good will. I ſay, it is the glory of the goſpel to confirm to us the truth, which, ſince time began, was imprinted, as with a ſunbeam, on the face of the world, that God is love.

It is remarkable, as this divine diſpenſation had its origin in love, and is the moſt illuſtrious inſtance of love, that the hiſtory of man can furniſh, ſo it muſt be perfected by the ſame heavenly quality.

Accordingly, its profeſſors and teachers are happy to embrace every fit opportunity ſenſibly to manifeſt to each other and to mankind, that they are in truth governed by the ſpirit of their religion.

Wherefore, reverend and dear Sir, perceiving the grace that is given to you, and ardent to love you, not in word only and in tongue, we thus expreſs to you the joy we derive from the late ſolemn tranſaction.

In obſerving, on the preſent occaſion, this ſignificant and apoſtolic cuſtom, the elders and meſſengers from many branches of the chriſtian church, now convened, acknowledge you a diſciple of Jeſus Chriſt, and duly commiſſioned to preach his religion. We hereby welcome you to a place in our fellowſhip and affections. We rejoice, that God has qualified you for the office of a chriſtian miniſter, and that he has inclined your heart to devote yourſelf to ſo uſeful and pleaſurable an employment. It alſo gladdens us, that the bounds of your habitation are fixed in this part of Chriſtendom. that the lines have fallen to you ſo pleaſantly, and that you have ſo goodly an heritage. As long, as you continue to feed this heritage with knowledge, and to ſuſtain the function, you have aſſumed, with true dignity, it will form one of our moſt exalted pleaſures to be auxiliary and kindly affectioned towards you, as well in the private ſcenes, as in the public labours of your life.

At the ſame moment, Sir, we are filled with the joyful perſuaſion, that you will ever readily meet us in the exerciſe of the friendly diſpoſitions. Yes, my friend, this hand, which I have long been uſed to receive as the faithful repreſentative of a ſound heart, is to me, and, I preſume, to my reverend fathers and brethren, a ſure evidence of your purpoſe to live with us in the charity of our holy faith, and in the cordial reciprocation of benevolent offices.

Now fare thou well, brother, whom I love in the truth! May the God of thy fathers bleſs thee, and make thee happy through the courſe of a long and ſucceſsful miniſtry. Let the dictates of an enlightened underſtanding, the love of humanity, the ſhade of a pious parent, the honour of Chriſt, and the deſire

of God's approbation uniformly incite thee to fidelity in thy ſacred character, and to deeds of honeſt glory in the various relations, thou mayeſt hold, in the brotherhood of man. And, at the laſt, mayeſt thou be crowned with conſummate and eternal felicity!

We gratulate you, brethren of this religious ſociety, on the joyous ſolemnities of this day. Surely this is the day, which the Lord hath made. Well may your hearts rejoice and be glad in it. For it is the day, to which ye have long anxiouſly looked, and which confers upon you the miniſter of your early choice, whom ye juſtly conſider as an Iſraelite indeed, in whom there is no guile. Behold, now, the man! Bleſſed be he, that cometh to you in the name of the Lord! Be entreated to own him as a gift of our aſcended Redeemer, and to know him in his ſtation. Yea, beloved in the Lord, we beſeech you, by miniſtering to his neceſſities, by fair conſtruction of his conduct, courteous behaviour to his perſon, and, chiefly, by giving heed to the words of his mouth, confirm your love towards this our brother.

Amid the important concernments of the hour, your aged and worthy paſtor has a dear intereſt in our memory and feelings. We have bleſſed him this day out of the houſe of the Lord. We truſt, ye will ſolace the evening of his days by the continuance of thoſe amiable kindneſſes, which have ſo long endeared you to his heart, and whoſe commendation gives ſuch an unction to the precepts of our Lord and yours.

Finally, brethren, ſeeing that ye walk in the truth, and in love one with another, we do recognize you, as the church of God and of Chriſt. So, then, ye are the temple of the living God. As God hath ſaid, I will dwell in them, and will walk in them; and I will be their God, and they ſhall be my people.

Ariſe now, therefore, O Lord God, into thy reſting place, thou and the ark of thy ſtrength! Let thy prieſts be clothed with ſalvation, cauſe thy ſaints to rejoice in goodneſs, and let all the people ſay —Amen.

"The above Plan represents the town of Lancaster, surveyed in obedience to an order of the general Court. dated June 26, 1794 - xxxxx This above plan is platted by a scale of 40 rods to an inch - Completed surveying and platting May 29. 1795 xxx

Mathias Mosman "
Caleb Wilder Jr.

A

SERMON,

DELIVERED AT

LANCASTER,

DEC. 29, 1816,

THE LAST LORD'S DAY IN WHICH THERE WAS RELIGIOUS WORSHIP

IN THE

Old Meeting-House.

BY NATHANIEL THAYER,

MINISTER OF LANCASTER.

WORCESTER:

PRINTED BY WILLIAM MANNING.

February, 1817.

To the CHRISTIAN SOCIETY in LANCASTER.

.....

THE following SERMONS, published at their desire, are dedicated to them, with the best wishes for their happiness, by

Their affectionate Friend and Minister,

NATHANIEL THAYER.

139

SERMON.

PSALM cii. 14.

THY SERVANTS TAKE PLEASURE IN HER STONES, AND FAVOUR THE DUST THEREOF.

IT was a token of goodness and piety in Jewish worshippers, to cherish veneration for the ancient temple, and to weep over its ruins. With that consecrated building were connected the most interesting circumstances in their national and religious history. When reflecting upon it, there would be excited a respectful remembrance of the pious David, who projected, and of the renowned Solomon, who faithfully executed that great work.—There would be presented to the mind the peculiar exhibitions of "the glory of the Lord, which had often filled that house of the Lord." There would be called up to view the priests, who had there presented the offerings of the people of God. There

would be a mournful recollection of the successive generations of men, who had prostrated themselves before that sacred altar, and "who were not suffered to continue by reason of death." There would likewise be revived the providential and spiritual deliverances and blessings, which had, from the erection of that temple, been dispensed for the relief and happiness of the family of Israel. Well might one, who, with these things in view, was pondering over the ruins of that splendid edifice, feelingly exclaim, "Thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof."

A train of reflections and remembrances, very similar to this, will occupy the mind of every Christian community, when called in providence to witness the destruction or desertion of the temple in which they have worshipped. It would be proof of extreme inconsiderateness and ingratitude, and, constituted as men are, it would lead to the grossest impiety, to feel an indifference for a building which had been thus solemnly appropriated. It should be remembered as the place where God "recorded his name," and where, we hope, he has often "commanded the blessing." It should be revered as the house in which the pious of many generations have mingled their prayers and vows, and been fitted for celestial glory. It should be contemplated as the place which has given rise to the moral sentiments and feelings, which, when displaying their influence on the publick stage, have originated much of the Christian glory and happiness of a people. I am persuaded that arguments

need not be multiplied, to awaken your sensibility, or to induce you to think correctly of the house from which, as a worshipping assembly, we are this day forever to retire.

Had not my venerable predecessor recorded with minuteness and impartiality the early history of this Church and Town,* I should have considered the present a very suitable season for presenting it to your view. The recent impression of his Century Sermon, which you have in your families, would render such a recital from me only a recapitulation of facts which are familiar to you. There are, however, some thoughts, which the circumstances of our present meeting naturally suggest, which may conduce to our mutual edification and improvement.

Nearly seventy-five years have elapsed since this house was erected for religious worship. A very small number survive who retain a knowledge of the event. It will be a just tribute to departed worth, and will, I hope, excite a laudable emulation in the generation now upon the stage, if I assist you in reviewing the moral and religious history of this Town, since this temple was consecrated to religious worship. I have no intention to bestow an unqualified commendation. We cannot boast

* On May 28th, 1753, the day which completed a century from the settlement of Lancaster, the Rev. Mr. HARRINGTON delivered a Sermon, commemorative of that event, which was published. It was reprinted, with Notes, in 1806. It contains a very minute detail of facts relating to the settlement of the Town, to the formation and growth of the Church, and to the sufferings and ravages experienced by the first settlers from the natives.

that we are inhabitants of a town which has, during this long period, been disgraced with no examples of religious indifference, and which has shown no symptoms of moral and spiritual decay. "If we should presume in this way to justify our fathers, our own mouth would condemn us: should we say they were perfect, this would prove us perverse." My only purpose is to state facts which may be received as a delineation of their general character.

It has been the privilege of this Town to contain a race of inhabitants, who have united the virtues, which are essential to internal prosperity and peace. There appears to have prevailed amongst them the liberality of feeling and sentiment, which induced a cheerful sacrifice of personal prejudice, interest and convenience for the common good. A very honourable testimonial of this fact is collected from our publick records. No less than eight legal meetings were held, before the then inhabitants of Lancaster* completed their preparations for the erection of this house. Nearly seven years elapsed from the time the subject was first considered, before the final decision of the question. Where is the corporation that can from its history adduce the circumstance, that a question of this nature had so often been agitated and decided in publick town-

* Lancaster and Sterling were then one corporation. A vote was passed at the same time to build in that Town the house for worship which preceded their present meeting-house. The separation took place by mutual agreement in 1781. The present inhabitants are happy to recognize the former union of the Towns, and to cultivate the ancient friendship.

meeting, without going very far towards effecting the destruction of its order, harmony and prosperity? We this day glory in the recollection of ancestors, who closed this scene of trial and danger, without leaving a stain upon their history, or suffering a diversity of judgment to produce alienation of affection or lasting division. May the generations who shall here live, show, in all their deliberations, decisions and subsequent conduct, the magnanimity and condescension which will prove them worthy of a descent from such progenitors.

The period we contemplate cannot be reviewed without finding cause devoutly to acknowledge the privileged state of this Town, with reference to the men of honour and affluence who have been its inhabitants. Individuals of these classes may justly be accounted a blessing to the people amongst whom they live, when their influence and wealth are applied to the accomplishment of liberal designs. Inspect on this day our catalogue. Scarcely a name can be found whose energies were not employed on the side of the publick good and of religion. Were it not that in the detail I might in one or more instances fail of doing justice to departed excellence, I could recount many worthies, who were the friends of the ministers of Christ; who were the unfailing observers of religious institutions; and whose example, talents and riches were consecrated to the interests of virtue, and to advance the prosperity and quiet of this Church and Town. "Blessed are these dead, for they rest

from their labours, and their works do follow them."

In a summary review of this portion of the community for more than threescore years and ten, I should be justly charged with a criminal omission, was I to pass in silence the propriety, the order, the union, and dispatch, which have commonly attended the customary transactions and elections within these walls.* Illiberal competitions, jealousies and rivalships have not disgraced our history. It has been with common consent, and has evinced an enlightened and enlarged spirit, that the privileges, distinctions and burdens of the Town should be bestowed and shared without reluctance and without envy. We may this day indulge in self-gratulation, that our predecessors have enrolled on our records lists of officers, who were not distinguished on account of local or invidious considerations, but who were worthy of trust, and who sacredly pursued the interests committed to their management. May it never be the reproach of this favoured place, that the unprincipled, the immoral, the irreligious shall receive publick patronage, or be advanced to an elevation where their example shall have an increased influence in contaminating the manners and morals of the people.

* It deserves to be recorded as a reform in the customs of New-England, and a token of their increased reverence for places of religious worship, that, when building a meeting-house, so general provision is elsewhere made to hold meetings for the transaction of ordinary business, and for elections. The temple of God should never be exposed to profanation from the interfering interests, and the discordant feelings and passions, which on such occasions are too frequently known to triumph.

In the present delineation, a leading trait in the moral character of our ancestors would be overlooked, did we omit the distinction they obtained by their hospitality and charity. Here was always found an asylum for the stranger. Here, also, liberal provision was made for the subsistence and comfort of the poor. When reduced to poverty by incapacity or inevitable misfortune, the compassionate and charitable were ever ready to distribute of their good things to the necessitous. Poverty and misfortune were considered a sufficient trial of the Christian virtues, without the cruel addition of ridicule or neglect.

So far as can be collected of the moral state of this Town, in the days of our fathers, it proves them to have been a sober and virtuous race. Practisers of industry, temperance, and frugality, a comparatively small number were found, who by idleness and profligacy brought disgrace upon themselves, ruin upon their families, or reproach upon the place of their residence. And it is a circumstance highly important, that the enlightened and influential of every corporation should evince, by their habits of diligence, their aversion to scenes of riot and dissipation, and by their open and exemplary practice of the Christian virtues, the deep interest which they feel in the reputation and welfare of their own and of succeeding generations. For the fair and unblemished moral character, which the first settlers of this Town gained and preserved, and for the foundation which they thus laid for its lasting welfare and hon-

our, we their descendants and successors do this day "arise up and call them blessed."

From the religious equally as from the moral history, many things may be collected, which, on an occasion like the present, are worthy of being recorded. The Christians who here took up their early residence, or received their first views of religion, appear to have been men extraordinarily enlightened, and whose hearts were full of the charity of the gospel. A scene which is usually denominated a religious frenzy has never interrupted the order or quiet of this Church. It has been ready for communion with the regular members of all protestant churches. It has enjoyed the inestimable felicity of never having assembled within its limits an Ecclesiastical Council, except for the purpose of assisting in the ordination of a minister. There have been uniformly entertained rational and correct ideas of religious liberty. Whenever individuals imbibed a sectarian spirit, they were allowed, without persecution, and without any infringement of their rights of judgment and conscience, to worship the God of their fathers in the mode which to them seemed right; and were cordially recommended by their Christian brethren to the grace of God. To this spirit of toleration and charity is to be ascribed a great portion of the prosperity and peace which here prevailed. Cast an eye on the internal state of churches and towns, in which the catholicism of the gospel has not been cultivated; in which a spirit of religious controversy and uncharitableness has been predominant. Sectarians have multiplied;

disputes and divisions have ensued; the church has been rent; a period has been put to their growth and happiness.

Innumerable are the evils and dangers, which flow from churches being without the regular dispensation of the word and ordinances. In view of these evils and dangers, we notice the extraordinary goodness of Divine Providence in the longevity and usefulness of my two immediate predecessors, who ministered in this house. It is indeed a memorable fact in our history, that in one hundred and eight years past there have been only ten months, the time which elapsed between the death of Rev. Mr. PRENTICE* and the ordination of Rev. Mr. HARRINGTON,† in which this Church has been without a settled minister. It is no less worthy of being mentioned with gratitude, that our records are not defaced with any instance of a controversy between this Church and either of their pastors. I have ever contemplated those two holy men as remarkably displaying a model of the ministerial character, at the time in which they respectively lived. In the Rev. Mr. PRENTICE were united the commanding dignity, the severity of manners, the pointedness in his publick preaching, which were thought by the generation he served to be indispensable characteristics of a Christian minister. "The young men saw him and hid themselves; and the aged arose and stood up." The Rev. Mr. HARRINGTON exhib-

* Rev. JOHN PRENTICE was ordained March 29, 1708. He died January 6, 1747-8, aged 66.

† Rev. TIMOTHY HARRINGTON was ordained Nov. 16, 1748. He died December 18, 1795, aged 80.

ited the urbanity, the condescension, the cheerfulness, the candour for youthful errours and frailties, which are congenial with the spirit of more modern times, and a nearer imitation of the temper of his Great Master. While classical learning shall be viewed an honourable attainment; while charity and the general practice of the ministerial and Christian virtues shall enhance personal worth, or be esteemed an ornament to society and to the church, the name of HARRINGTON will be in precious remembrance.

In the performance of this valedictory service, you will indulge me with making a few remarks more immediately relating to myself. Standing for the last time to address you from this sacred desk, there is awakened an impressive recollection of the solemn charge which I here received. Neither can I forbear to say that this temple is endeared to me by the remembrance, that since my ministry commenced, seven hundred and ten have received baptism, the initiating seal of the gospel. I do also derive consolation from the reflection, that two hundred and thirty-eight have, during this term, been received to the communion of this Church. I do at the same time join with you in indulging a melancholy pleasure, while I review the names of a vast multitude, with whom we once delighted to associate in this house, but who, we trust, are advanced before us to the higher honours aud the more edifying service of the temple which is above.

The occasion loudly calls upon me for a publick expression of my gratitude for every instance of favourable interpretation of my motives and conduct;

for your candour in judging of my ministerial services; and for the many instances of respect, kindness, and liberality which I have experienced. "Out of the abundance of my heart" I am constrained to speak of the goodness of a kind Providence toward me, when I compare my own situation with that of many of my fathers and brethren in the ministry. I see them deserted by their former supporters and friends; who, without concern for the feelings and happiness of those who have faithfully broken to them the bread of life, are "heaping to themselves teachers, having itching ears." I behold these ministers "weeping between the porch and the altar," because "the wolves in sheep's clothing" have pillaged their flocks. I then lift up my heart in gratitude to God, that he has appointed me to minister to a Society, who have a laudable pride in preserving its reputation unstained, its order and harmony unbroken. I add a devout prayer, that so long as he shall see meet to continue me in the Christian vineyard, he will save me from the mortifying, the heart-rending trial, of seeing the flock committed to my charge "scattered upon the mountains."

We have now come to what facts have often proved to be an interesting and critical stage in the history of a Christian society. How many churches and towns have dated the termination of their union and prosperity from the change of their place of worship. In view of this scene, and during the preparations for it, I assure you a solicitude for the result has caused me to tremble. Had you the feelings of a minister, who respects and esteems the people of his charge, you could better imagine, than

I describe, the happiness I derive from a hope of your continued union and peace.

Now, therefore, treasure in your memory the moral and religious history of our ancestors, which I have this afternoon sketched. Does it not enkindle in your bosoms a flame of gratitude to Heaven, that you have descended from, and entered into, the labours of such men? Does it not fire you with a holy ambition to become like them? Would you not make any sacrifices, endure any efforts or privations, that it may be recorded concerning you when you are dead, as of your predecessors, that you have served your God and your generation according to his will? Nothing remains for you to secure this honour, but to "stand in the ways and see; and to ask for the old paths, where is the good way in which our fathers walked?" Walk ye in it, and you and your families shall find honour and rest. Let no circumstance efface from your mind the persuasion, that you have a large share of accountability for the moral and religious state, for the welfare and happiness of this Society, while the building you have now finished shall stand.

When we think of the frowns of Providence the past season, and the ill success of our agricultural labours, it may appear to each of us an arduous adventure to take an interest in, and to engage to defray a proportional part of the expense of the temple we have erected; which will be the appropriate duty of the morrow.* I am convinced, and I hope

* The Town at a late meeting had voted, that there should be a publick vendue for the sale of the pews in the new Meeting-House, on Monday, December 30th.

to confirm you in the belief, that there is no sufficient cause for hesitation or distressing anxiety. Let me call to your remembrance the motives, which may well encourage you to apply a part of your substance to this object. I do not believe that house has been built from mercenary views. Had this been the case, you might be told that you calculated correctly when you judged that it would give an increased value to your other possessions. You may also be told of the additional pleasure you shall receive, when you go up to that house of the Lord. You may there hope to meet your neighbours and friends, who have with apparent sincerity lamented that they could not find an accommodation for themselves and their families in this ancient house. They will there find "room enough and to spare;" and we shall bid them a hearty welcome to our religious services and pleasures. You may consider yourselves as contributing to a building, which is viewed by the discerning and pious as an honourable proof of the publick spirit, of the moral and Christian character of this people, and of their "zeal for the Lord of Hosts." You may believe, that in the expenditure of tomorrow you are purchasing for yourselves and for your posterity for many generations a precious bond of union. You may, moreover, and what is most highly to be valued, perform this act with the belief, that if you are influenced by a regard to the glory of God, his blessing will attend you, and carry you to the full accomplishment of the work you have in hand.

We do now bid these walls adieu, which are remembrancers of the worth of our fathers, and of

the ancient moral glory of this town. We bid them adieu, as precious memorials of many religious privileges, blessings, and consolations we have ourselves shared. We bid them adieu; and we appeal to Him, in whom is "all our sufficiency," to aid us in executing this solemn purpose; that we will, by our example, our publick spirit, our condescension, consecrate every power he has given us to preserve the reputation, to advance the prosperity, and to promote the peace of this Church and Town.

If it can be any addition to the happiness of inhabitants of the upper world, to contemplate the scenes through which mortals are passing, we may believe that the ministers and other perfected spirits, who here once preached and worshipped, are now beholding with extacy us, their children and successors. They look with delight, while they see us as a band of brothers casting a wishful eye toward, and hoping soon to be peaceful worshippers in the house which we have built as "a habitation for the mighty God of Jacob." We may go forward to the duties of the week, and bend our course to that temple; hoping that we may each apply to himself the animating and consoling promise of the God whom we worship—"My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest."

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A

SERMON,

DELIVERED TO

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIETY

IN

LANCASTER,

JANUARY 1, 1817,

AT THE

Dedication

OF THEIR

NEW HOUSE

FOR

PUBLICK WORSHIP.

BY NATHANIEL THAYER,

MINISTER OF LANCASTER.

WORCESTER:

PRINTED BY WILLIAM MANNING.

February, 1817.

3

SERMON.

EPHESIANS ii. 19, 20, 21, 22.

NOW, THEREFORE, YE ARE NO MORE STRANGERS AND FOREIGNERS, BUT FELLOW-CITIZENS WITH THE SAINTS, AND OF THE HOUSEHOLD OF GOD; AND ARE BUILT UPON THE FOUNDATION OF THE APOSTLES AND PROPHETS, JESUS CHRIST HIMSELF BEING THE CHIEF CORNER-STONE; IN WHOM ALL THE BUILDING FITLY FRAMED TOGETHER, GROWETH UNTO AN HOLY TEMPLE IN THE LORD. IN WHOM YE ALSO ARE BUILDED TOGETHER FOR AN HABITATION OF GOD THROUGH THE SPIRIT.

IF we except the allusion to their former state as heathen, which appears in the phrase, "ye are no more strangers and foreigners," the sentiment of the apostle will admit an equally pertinent application to all Christians, as to the members of the Church at Ephesus. By the metaphors of a "city" and a "house" or temple, our attention is directed to the Church of Christ. With reference to a city, the newly initiated disciples are affirmed to have a clear title to all the rights, immunities and privileges of citizenship. "Ye are fellow-citizens with the saints."

In a variety of instances a "house" and "temple" have the same application. Of each I will recite one example. "To whom coming as unto a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God and precious, ye also as lively stones are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ." "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy; for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are." It is not a solitary instance in which the Saviour, who is the unchangeable foundation and support of the Church, is described as "a corner-stone." "Behold, I lay in Zion a chief corner-stone, elect, precious; and he that believeth on him shall not be confounded." "Unto you, therefore, who believe, he is precious; but unto them who are disobedient, the stone which the builders disallowed, the same is made the head of the corner." We are carried forward to contemplate the edifice which stands upon this broad and immoveable basis, rising in all its comeliness, majesty, order, harmony and beauty. "In whom all the building fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord." The representation closes with the idea that this splendid and finished building, through the sustaining influence of divine grace, becomes a fit residence for the Eternal God. "In whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God, through the Spirit."

We are assembled, my Christian friends, to dedicate this house to the worship of God, and to wit-

ness a building designed as an accommodation for the Church of Christ. The scene has collected members from many branches of the Redeemer's family. I have therefore thought it an appropriate employment of the present hour, if I invite you to accompany me in a consideration of the *equality* of Christian Churches; of their *common foundation;* and of the *means* by which they may be made to appear as a well-proportioned and perfect spiritual structure.

I. We are to meditate upon the equality of Christian Churches.

It was a standing ordinance under the Jewish dispensation, that the respective tribes should three times every year make a publick appearance in the temple. They there beheld peculiar exhibitions of the divine glory. This assembly formed the ancient Church.

Under the Christian dispensation are no exclusively local provisions. Jesus saith to the woman of Samaria, "Believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. The hour cometh and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship him." In entire correspondence with this liberal and delightful view of religious worship are the instructions relating to the Christian Church. It is described as a vast community, composed of believers in Jesus Christ, of all nations, kindreds and tongues.

In the execution of their commission, the first planters of Christianity, wherever success attended their labours, organized a church. They did this, that individual disciples might with greater ease and convenience maintain the offices of religion. They had also in view the advantage derived from mutual aid, counsel, encouragement and consolation. By this arrangement the union of the disciples was cemented, the common edification advanced, and the Church universal "grew and multiplied."

It was the ordinary usage to ordain over each church an Elder or Bishop as its instructer or governour. Deacons were likewise appointed to distribute the charities of the brethren, and to perform other appropriate and necessary services. These limited communities, when thus organized, as bodies politick had discretionary power to form and adopt rules of government; to decide questions of an indifferent nature; and to manage all concerns which did not infringe the rights of other Christians and churches, prevent the progress of "pure and undefiled religion," or interfere with the commands and authority of Him "who is Head over all things to the Church."

Every precautionary instruction and measure were published, to prevent particular branches of the family from usurping or imagining they possessed pre-eminent authority. Said its Great Head, in view of the ambition which is a predominant frailty of the human heart, and that his followers might clearly perceive the grounds of that equality which is a ruling principle in his kingdom—"One

is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren." The evidence that his most distinguished minister understood this principle, appears in his affectionate and catholic salutation to the Corinthian Church. "Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints, with all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both their's and our's."

Various and weighty reasons may be pleaded in favour of reminding all who have lived since the apostolic age, of the spirit and extent of Christian equality. Houses are built for the accommodation of disciples of a particular class. Christians are denominated Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Anabaptists, Congregationalists; or are known by some other discriminating title. Through the influence of natural temper, parentage, education, or means of investigating truth, they are liable to a diversity of ideas, to various scriptural interpretations. They are tempted to attach to their own sect or denomination an exclusive sanctity, and to imagine that they alone are entrusted with "the keys of the kingdom." They are in danger also of connecting with particular forms an unauthorized solemnity; of believing that the mode of administering the seal of the gospel is essential to its validity; that a particular attitude in prayer is necessary to its acceptableness; that uniformity of sentiment may consistently be established as a term of communion; and that "the words which man's wisdom teacheth," may with safety be the basis of Christian intercourse. These circumstances and views are not

irreconcileable with sincerity, and may be the natural result of frailties and prepossessions, which are inseparable from human weakness and fallibility. They notwithstanding point it out as a duty, that we make an urgent appeal to the Christian community to be influenced by a correct sense of their equal standing in the family of Christ. They lead us to infer the instruction to be important, that while "there are many members, there is one body;" that although there are many branches of the family, scattered amongst the nations of the earth, and each is known by a distinct appellation, they have one Head. They give weight to the sentiment, and render its enforcement at all times important, that the Church is the depositary of the scriptures, and that each individual may independently consult and interpret them as the inalienable charter of his religious privileges and rights. They prove that it is profitable in its design and tendency for the minister of Jesus "to affirm constantly," that all who love him in sincerity, and walk in his commandments and ordinances, are worthy members of his family; that he is an universal Redeemer, being "the Author of eternal salvation to all them that obey him." They moreover plead the necessity of "stirring up the pure minds of believers by way of remembrance;" that when He, who is now Head of the Church, "shall come in his own glory, and in the glory of his Father and of the holy angels," to execute his authority as "Judge of the quick and dead," the following will be circumstances in this splendid, all-important and final scene. The distinctions of churches, of sect

and denomination will be unknown. Their several leaders, who on the earth were worshipped and honoured, "will cast their crowns" at the feet of the Judge. One rule shall measure the decisions of "the Great Day." Sincerity will be the test of character. "Every man shall be rewarded according to his works."

II. From a consideration of the *equality* of the Churches, we proceed to a survey of their *common foundation*. "Ye are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone."

Evangelical history brings to our view two classes of prophets. They who lived under the ancient dispensation had premonition of, and were enabled to foretel events relating to the Messiah, and to the general interests of the Church. The superior Christian prophets, from personal knowledge, aided by supernatural light, were capable of interpreting the ancient prophecies, and of applying them to their own times and to passing scenes. Being mentioned after the apostles, it has led some to the conclusion that the latter only were intended. The apostles and both classes of prophets had for their great object to display the evidence and to publish an impartial history of the instructions and mediation of Christ. It cannot therefore be a licentious construction, if the fruits of their several labours be respected as important parts of the Christian foundation. With singular pertinency is Jesus Christ called "the chief corner-stone," being

essential both to unite and complete the foundation, and to support the superstructure.

This pre-eminence is assigned to "the Author and Finisher of our faith" for two very important reasons.

1. That portion of the Christian revelation which contains his particular instructions and history, is, so far as relates to doctrines and moral rules, to be relied on as a key to the whole. Is evidence necessary that the inspired writers had this conviction, and that their preaching was only an amplification and enforcement of that of their Master? It may be found in what the great apostle declares was the ruling purpose of his ministry. "I determined not to know any thing amongst you, save Jesus Christ and him crucified." If at any time in the epistles expressions occur "which are hard to be understood," or doctrines apparently irreconcileable with the general spirit of the instructions of Christ, we are not hastily to decide their meaning. On a more critical examination, we shall find them relate to existing controversies in the churches which were addressed, and to contain no principle which their author did not find expressed or implied in what was taught by our Divine Master. It may be received in the most unqualified sense, that all essential faith, all general rules relating to the government of the church, or to the direction of life; the sublime and consistent doctrines of the mediation of Christ, and of divine influences; the certainty of a resurrection and future life; and the conditions of final salvation and happiness, are all to be found in

the Sermon on the Mount, or in the occasional lessons of Him who "spake as never man spake."

2. A still more important reason may be given for the place which the Redeemer occupies in the foundation of the spiritual building. Common perplexity has embarrassed the reflections and inquiries of the wise and good in all former ages and in Gentile nations, who had faith in the being and government of God. Considering in connexion with these the impotence and corruption of man; the dangers which beset a virtuous and religious course; the temptations to vice and impiety; and the high moral elevation which was conceived to be a reasonable term of happiness; they were enveloped by a cloud, but could find no adequate means for dispersing it. Curiosity sometimes perplexes itself to devise reasons for the provisions of the gospel, to learn the full extent of the benefits which it proffers, and the precise measure of moral goodness necessary to their attainment. To what purpose, in reference to the religious progress of individuals, or to the edification of the spiritual body of Christ, can be the searching after reasons and views which God in wisdom hath not seen fit to reveal? Having knowledge of "the new and living way" through a Redeemer to pardon and salvation, let this check all needless perplexities. Let it satisfy the inquiring believer, that the mercy of God in the mediation of Christ, by which he understands every article of his instruction, his life, sufferings, death, resurrection, ascension and intercession, forms the ground of his hope. This it is, which makes the Son of God "the corner-stone"

in the spiritual foundation. It may well be the theme of continual praise, that "God is in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation."

III. It remains that we review the *means*, by which the Churches may be made to appear as a well-proportioned and perfect spiritual structure. This opens a wide field for discussion. Time will only allow me to enter it.

Preparatory to the recapitulation, I would call your attention to one natural conclusion of reason and revelation of the gospel. It is, that all our temporal and spiritual labours depend for prosperity and success on the concurring agency and blessing of Heaven. "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it." "Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." We are, at the same time, indebted to the heavenly Messenger for communications, which evince this doctrine to have the support of the highest reason. We have him for our authority, that in its operation it has no necessary influence over the natural or moral powers of any order of intelligencies. With equal clearness does he teach us, that this rich blessing may be secured by every humble and importunate applicant. He has instructed us, and given us as a pledge the essential goodness of our Father in heaven, that the common and evangelical blessings which are needed, shall be freely bestowed upon those who perseveringly use the appointed means for obtaining them. "If ye then,

being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father, who is in heaven, give the Holy Spirit to them who ask it."

It is not less necessary, that to the proper selection of these means, the cautionary lesson, so forcibly expressed by the apostle, receive an universal and obedient attention. "According to the grace of God, which is given unto me as a wise master-builder, I have laid the foundation, and another buildeth thereon. But let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon. For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ. Now if any man build upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble, every man's work shall be made manifest." The primary purpose of this monition probably was, to influence religious teachers in the first Christian age, in their selection of persons to serve as materials of the spiritual edifice they were rearing. Without a forced construction it may be read as a monitory address to all Christians, in reference to the establishment of their theory of religion. "Gold, silver, precious stones," do in this case impressively represent the divine principles which Jesus inculcated, producing their genuine fruits.—"Wood, hay, stubble," with no less emphasis describe the imaginations and delusions, which spring from superficial inquiry, ungoverned fancy, and ardent feelings or passions. May I not with pertinency admonish all disciples of the danger of building on a mistaken foundation! May I not apprize them of the hazard, lest they contemplate what are

only ornamental parts of the edifice as the foundation! Is it an uncandid reflection on their understanding and judgment, to exhort them to take heed lest they admit, as inestimable and sacred in a Christian view, what are no parts either of the basis or the superstructure! If we submit our understanding and conscience to human authority, to traditionary lessons, to misguided zeal, to sudden and transient impressions, or, indeed, to any thing short of the express laws and instructions of Christ, we are in danger of building upon the sand. We may bend our energies to demolish, rather than to rear, the spiritual fabrick.

In the judgment of Protestants, one of the most effectual means of advancing the glory of the Christian Church is a strict adherence to the great principles of the Reformation. We can be at no loss to determine what these principles are, if we listen to a concise description of the character of that eminent reformer, LUTHER, as we find it recorded by an ecclesiastical historian* in high estimation. "As a philosopher, he embraced the doctrine of the Nominalists, which was the system adopted by his order; while in divinity he chiefly followed the sentiments of AUGUSTINE; but in both, he preferred the decisions of scripture, and the dictates of right reason, before the authority and opinions of fallible men." Reason being "the candle of the Lord," and scripture his infallible and perfect work, these can never with consistency be held in subordination to any inferior means of light and knowledge.

* MOSHEIM.

Christian communion, on the declared terms of the gospel, is indispensable to cause the building we contemplate to be "fitly framed together."—"A house divided against itself cannot stand." It is true we have the promise of the Redeemer for the ground of our faith in the final security and prosperity of his Church. Our humble part in the bringing forward this glorious scene is, to be united in the love and service of God, and in the love of each other. In view of the diversities of temper, education and associations, there is no ground upon which Christians may reasonably hope to meet and enjoy communion, but upon the terms which Christ has appointed. Some fathers in the Church have engaged in bitter dissensions with others. Human formularies of faith are expressed in the favourite terms of their promulgators, and too often tend to enchain the understanding and bind the conscience of the humble and inquiring disciple. Let it not be thought to result from indifference to the truth, or from want of conviction of the need and all-sufficiency of the Saviour, if a hope is expressed that the time will come, when he who adopts the Christian revelation as his universal rule, acknowledges Jesus Christ as his Lord and Master, and displays the spirit of his gospel, shall be believed by all to possess every qualification for the offices of Christian fellowship. Each individual of the family of Jesus, who is under the influence of this hope, will be ready to address men of this description in the following affectionate language of an eminent servant* of Christ. "Blessed of me be ye all, who

*ZOLLIKOFFER.

love God and man, truth and virtue; who love the grand restorer and promoter of them, Jesus Christ. Be ye blessed of me as brethren, as members of the same family. Your names and distinctive marks affect me not. Here is the hand of love and friendship. My heart accords with your's; our sentiments and affections are the same; our object is the same; and if at times we part in the road to it, we shall hereafter come together again, and felicitate ourselves on the attainment of it. In the mean time let us, as often as we meet, hold out the hand to each other, encourage each other to proceed, and never forget, that we all, on our road to that object, experience many vicissitudes of light and darkness, and that even none of us arrive at it without stumbling, without sometimes striking into crooked paths, or even into devious turnings and insidious mazes."

It is no less essential to the comely proportions and perfection of the spiritual edifice, that the moral system of Christianity have its full influence and operation upon all, who profess their faith in its divine Author.

Equally necessary it is, that the ordinances instituted by Christ, and that every inferior means of religion, should command the cordial, the decided support of all who desire the advancement of his Church. In compassion to the frailties of men, and to the control which visible objects and external means are fitted to have over their understanding and life, were these means divinely appointed.

It cannot be doubted that a decent and liberal attention to the building and decoration of houses

of worship will have a favourable influence on the social and moral state of a community, and happily aid the object we have contemplated. If this object be constantly in view, and the divine glory be the ultimate purpose, every encouragement is held out in the scriptures to expect a blessing.

So far as liberality and solicitude in finishing a house for divine worship are evidence of a desire for the prosperity and growth of the Church of Christ, the members of this Religious Society may hope, that when weighed in an impartial balance, they shall not be found wanting. They have escaped the reproach of living in ceiled houses, while the house of the Lord was suffered to lie waste. The reflecting will perceive, from a view of the durability and value of the materials, that selfishness and avarice had no control over these arrangements. They will see and applaud the concern which is manifest for the continued prosperity and welfare of the present, and for the union and happiness of succeeding generations.

I am happy in giving publick assurance that this temple has been erected partly with a view to the general good of our churches. If it shall stimulate them to a still more effectual method to save the churches from being rent by divisions, we shall not envy their wisdom or success. We shall accompany their efforts with a devout prayer, that the sheep and lambs of the flock may not be led astray by those who "come not in at the door, but by some other way."

Our fellow-townsmen who had an arduous agency in this laudable undertaking assigned them, will find an inestimable reward in the approbation of their own minds, and in the universal acknowledgment, that, for systematic, rapid and thorough execution, this great work has been seldom if ever surpassed in our country. It is an interesting fact, and will remain a memorable proof of their fidelity and enterprize, that on the ninth day of July last the corner-stone was laid of what we now behold a finished temple.

We ascribe it, under Providence, to the prudence and skill which directed the immediate superintendence of this house, that the artificers and labourers have escaped all disaster and injury, and that they have lived as an harmonious and happy family. I should withhold the tribute which is due, did I not bear open testimony to the circumspection, sobriety, diligence, and faithfulness of those who have been here employed. I have beheld them as men who had a prevailing sense that the house they were erecting was for the worship of that God, who filleth all worlds with his presence, and to whom all are accountable.

We gratefully remember the friends of publick enterprize and Christian institutions, who have wished us success, or whose liberality has animated our courage, and aided us in carrying to so high perfection the work we had in hand. At this usual season for the interchange of friendly wishes, we express our desire, and add our united supplication, that they may inherit the best temporal and spiritual blessings.

My Christian friends, who hope to be stated worshippers in this temple—you will permit me to remind you of the importance which is universally attached to consistency of character. By the erection of this superb edifice for divine worship, you have given to the Christian community a pledge of religious zeal, which can never be redeemed but by sincerity and constancy in worship, by a practical respect for all the institutions of the gospel, and by attaining to high distinction in social and moral life. A more glaring instance of desecration can with difficulty be conceived, nor a greater contradiction imagined, than that religious sacrifices should be here presented by the immoral and unholy. On this first day of the first month, God is permitting you to realize the desire you have cherished, to be "placed in this house of the Lord." May you "flourish in the courts of our God." The alacrity and spirit of love with which you have taken an interest in this temple, and provided for yourselves and your families an accommodation for religious worship, afford a cheering presage of the uninterrupted harmony and concord, which have been the honour and happiness of this Church from its earliest establishment. Your minister so highly estimates the eligibility of his pastoral connexions, that in this respect he cannot wish for his successors to the latest period a greater blessing, than that this may be the heritage of men who are disposed to all the candour and friendship which he has experienced. May your virtues and attainments correspond with this spirit; and may your

earthly and spiritual prosperity be "precious in the sight of the Lord."

I may be allowed, without justly incurring the charge of ostentatious boasting, to state it as an honourable trait in our religious history, that the former ministers and the professing Christians have, from the infancy of this Society, understood, and in their practice respected, the equality of Christian Churches. In what was probably the first covenant, for I find it to have been renewed more than a century since, an article is recorded, which proves that those who subscribed it had imbibed the true spirit of the Reformation. They adopted for their direction the following principle, which is the only effectual safeguard of Christian liberty and equality. "We further promise to keep close to the truth of Christ; endeavouring, with lively affection towards it in our hearts, to defend it against all opposers thereof, as God shall call us at any time thereunto. Which that we may do, we resolve to use the holy scriptures as our platform, whereby we may discern the mind of Christ, and not the new-found inventions of men."*

From the time this covenant was renewed to the present day, this holy volume has been sacredly respected as the basis of Christian communion, leaving the interpretation to the judgment and conscience of each individual. In pursuance of existing regulations, I am authorized to extend the hand of fellowship to all in every place, and of every

* The covenant containing the above article was subscribed by the Rev. JOHN PRENTICE and thirty-two male members of the Church, on March 29, 1708, previous to his ordination.

church, who give scriptural evidence of sincerity in "calling on the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both their's and our's." My heart's desire and prayer to God is, that to the latest generations this temple may be thronged by worshippers, who shall cherish and strive to disseminate this apostolick spirit.

My Christian friends of this assembly will, in the conclusion, "suffer the word of exhortation." We are willing to interpret your readiness to come and rejoice in our joy, and this expression of your desire for Christian union with us, as an auspicious commencement of this new year. In return for all your friendly desires and devout prayers for our prosperity, we do now beseech the God of all grace, that the churches to which you respectively belong may "be built up in the faith and order of the gospel." "Holding the head, from which all the body, by joints and bands having nourishment ministered, and knit together, may you increase with the increase of God."

Means which are in our hands, and which, as Christians, we are under a sacred obligation to use, may, with a divine blessing, aid the accomplishment of this prayer. What can I better recommend, than that in your individual character you stedfastly maintain purity and rectitude. Bear also in mind, that you have the high responsibility resting on stewards of the divine bounty. You cannot render a more important service to your Redeemer and to the interest of his Church, than to contribute of your substance to the building, or

keeping in decent repair houses of publick worship where they are needed, and generously to support the ordinances of his gospel. For "this world's goods" which you thus appropriate, you may hope to reap an abundant moral and spiritual harvest; "some thirty fold, some sixty fold, and some an hundred fold." Cultivate a liberal inquiry after Christian truth. Unloose the fetters of prejudice and delusion, which may at any time threaten to obstruct your progress in learning the mind of Christ. "Call no man your master upon the earth." Cherish a profound respect for sincerity, wherever it may be found. When tempted to multiply the terms of admission to your charity, be ready to suspect their genuineness, till you have found in the Sermon on the Mount, or in some other instruction of Jesus, authority for proclaiming, "thus saith the Lord." In the exercise of this spirit, and in the prosecution of this course, may each Christian whom I address "be kept from falling."

What can I better recommend, than that in your associated capacity you strive to maintain the order of God's house. "Love as brethren; be pitiful; be courteous." With vice and impurity you may never hold communion. Take heed, lest, presuming beyond this, and exercising what is at best a doubtful authority over the judgment and conscience of men, you set at nought those whom God hath received. By cultivating a fellowship which rests on the broad foundation of Christian charity, may you be instrumental of breaking down the wall of parti-

tion which now separates those, who with equal sincerity "contend for" what they believe to be "the faith which was once delivered to the saints." You may then expect to be honoured as fellow-workers with God and with Christ, in building up "a kingdom, consisting of righteousness, peace, and joy." Having fulfilled the terms of our probation, whatever may have been the class to which we have belonged in the church militant, we may hope, and will a merciful God grant us the blessedness, through the mediation of his well-beloved Son, to come hereafter to "the Zion which is above; to the city of the living God; to the heavenly Jerusalem; to an innumerable company of angels; to the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven; and to God, the Judge of all; and to the spirits of just men made perfect; and to Jesus, the Mediator of the new covenant."

[*Extract from the* COLUMBIAN CENTINEL, *Jan.* 4, 1817.]

Dedication.

THE new Meeting-House, in Lancaster, was dedicated on Wednesday, the 1st inst. The services commenced with an Introductory Prayer, by the Rev. Mr. CAPEN, of Sterling, who also read the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the Temple. The Dedicatory Prayer was made by the Rev. Dr. BANCROFT, of Worcester. Sermon by the Rev. Mr. THAYER, of Lancaster, from Ephesians ii. 19, 20, 21, 22. Concluding Prayer by the Rev. Mr. ALLEN, of Bolton. The services were accompanied with good vocal and instrumental musick. A very numerous assembly of people, convened on the occasion, testified by their profound silence and solemnity their approbation of the services. This edifice, which is of brick, and from a design of CHARLES BULFINCH, Esq. of Boston, unites in an uncommon degree, simplicity with beauty. The body of the building is 74 by 66 feet, with a Porch, Portico, Tower and Cupola or Steeple. The Portico is 48 by 17 feet, and is composed of square brick columns arched, with pilasters, entablature and pediment, of the Dorick order; the Vestibule, or Porch, is 48 by 19 feet, and contains the gallery stairs; the Tower is 21 feet square; the Cupola is circular and of singular beauty;—it is surrounded with a colonnade of twelve fluted pillars, with entablature and cornice of the Ionick order; above which is an Attick, encircled with a festoon drapery, the whole surmounted by a Dome, Balls and Vane. The height from the ground is about 120 feet. The inside of the house is neat and handsome: the front of the gallery is of ballustrade work, and is supported by ten fluted pillars of the Dorick order, and has a handsome clock in front, opposite the Pulpit, presented by a gentleman of the Society. The Pulpit rests on eight fluted columns and four pilasters of the Ionick order; the upper section is supported by six Corinthian columns, also fluted, and is lighted by a circular headed window, ornamented with double pilasters fluted, entablature and cornice of the Corinthian order; this is decorated wi a curtain and drapery, from a Parisian model, which, with the beautiful materials, were presented by a friend;—they are of rich green figured satin and velvet, trimmed with ball fringe, roping and tassels, and put up in a style of neat and simple elegance by Mr. WILLIAM LEMON, Upholsterer, of Boston. A handsome Pulpit Bible was presented also by a friend, and a Bell from the foundry of the Messrs. REVERES, of Boston, weighing 1300 lb. was given by gentlemen of the town.

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The Rowlandson "Scandalous Libell"

"Gentlemen I beseech you looke heere and tell me truly have I not discharged my duty very well. I pray bee pleased to be informed further in a long tale of enemie pull me not downe I pray til all ye people have seene mee and then turne mee."

"O God from heaven looke thou downe
Doe not thy servants wonder
To see thy honour so abused
Thy truth so troden under

"The fiete of proud malegnant ones
That love to give despight
And of those that are innocent
To turne aside the right

"What could not enmie stopped bee
Before it had thus gained
Over the truth and what may bee
By right of lawe maynteyned?

"What were not Rulers able to
It totally expell
Or had not they some might at least
Its strength somewhat to quell?

"O blessed God why didest thou
Thy rulers all restraine
From seeing enmie fully but
Its will for to maynteyne?

"O ennie hast thou thus prevayld
And is thy hand so high
That now Gods ordinance must bee
Proclaimd a nullity?
"Did ever ennie thus prevayle
In any generation
Was ever such an act as this
Heard of in any nation?
"Were ever those that God made one
Denided thus in sunder
Did ever ennie thus proceede
Good hearers stand and wonder?
"What men doe joyne it graunted is
Men may againe dissever
But what the Lord conjoynes in one
Disjoyned may bee never
"Whence comes it Ennie that that thou
Dost this day triumph make
And in the publick eares of all
This fundamentall stake?
"Tartarian sulphur had expelld
Or totally obscured
The light that long time half was quelld
In her conscience so imperiled
"And hence I ennie got the day
Her conscience so to seare
Til I at length had found a way
To put her out of feare.
"And so did I cause her to say
Even what it was I lyst
Nor care being had unto the truth
Whether it hit or mist.

"If ennie hath thus deceiv'd thee O woman, and the allurements of thy pretended friends conspiring therewith, so brought thee to belye thy conscience as it is credibly reported here in this towne wt I live that am so indifferent in the thing as indeed cannot bee otherwise being so remote from wr you live: then I doe profess that ye Court did well to free the poore man of his burthen and if I knew him I would certainly tell him so. Moreover me thinks I would tell him that he hath indeed done very ill to keep her so long from performing her promise to that same young man so long agoe: which if I had knowledge of I could inform him punctually concerning. I pray you therefore that reade this writing inform him of my name and direct him to the towne where I live and I hope I may give him a little something for his further ease since I feare the Court hath proceeded so farre in that way already. In the meane time I have made bold to send this writing which least it should miscarry his hands I did desire the bearer to set it up in publicke, that so he might not bee altogether vninformed of our judgment here in this towne.

"By me Justice Pearce in the Towne of Conscience [in America in New England where I saw her triumph in a greene Chariot ye lady Alterea riding in ye right boote]" or in another copy [3000 miles distant from any place well neere in Newe-England]"

The preceding was one one side of the sheet on the other the following-

11 "If I were as the man that is to cast I would indeede
have appealed to yt Court that only by the Lawes of
America hath to doe in such cases, namely ye Court
of assistants who have ye sole power to determine
an undeterminable matter herein by those that are
meere parties but seeing it is past, I would
earnestly appeale to the Court where God himself
is judge, and all the saints, men and angels are
assistants: whose throne is ye heaven of heavens:
there the innocent shall be acquitted and those
that now sing their enemies Trophe shall be lyable
to answer for the horrible abuse of yr Consciences in
misinforming and deluding those honored Judges
that he hath upon earth substituted
"Gentlemen, If any seeme to be offended at my
verdict, let it be given mee under his hand and
I will doe the best satisfaction that the law requires
if that serves not upon liberty of consideration for
the space ~ a quarter of an hour (the law aforeding
twelve) for an appeale, I will rather lie downe
under an unjust censure than be troublesome
especially if all my judges be atturnyes of the
opposite party: In the meane time I pray give
the Man whom this paper concerns the same
liberty and I hope all will do well.
Remember mee I pray to the Marshall of Ipswich
and tell him that I heare he may be an honest
man in the judgment of Charity. I pray send
me word if he be not a Stashall as well as
Marshall for I heare he is very busie in
other bodies matters."

"I am a peaceable Soune in Israell and can only some wt. moved beyound my wont or wt I Command in myself or others by ye only remote hearsay of this present business a matter I dare believe the like whereof never was heard in any nation all this duely weighed.

"God save the Governor and all the honored assistants and give them long to rule this people with the civil Sword and that they may use the same in all here administration themselves along. (turning out all Associatis which are able to corrupt justice be ye Cause never so good and that so they may do as they will answer the great Judge another day!

"Good people honour your Governor and Magistrates who are the ministers of God for good and I hope as this mans experience proves more sanctified hee will say they ministered good unto him in taking away such a brother that the Lord perhaps saw unsupportable for him.

"I heare there is one whom I think they Call Dan Ross in that towne Ile assure you if it be he that I know he is a very sneaking Sycophant and I fear one whom God will deale severely with shortly: When he lived in our Country a wet Eyes teyle and his word were something worth ye taking hold of" —

Essex County Court Records

"Joseph Rowlison appearing before me upon this day (Maior Denyson being present) to answer to a deep suspicion for being the Author or to

"have ~~hanged~~ had a hand in a pretious libell against Authority.

"The said Joseph Rolandson Confessed himself to be the Author of ye same. Whereupon the said Joseph is bound to this government in the Sume of 50l to appeare at Ipswich Court next to answere the same & Thomas Rolandson Senr as his Surety is bound in the same Sume

17th 5th 1651 "

The Court at Ipswich Sept 30-1651 - Govr John Endicott Simon Bradstreet, Daniel Symonds, Daniel Denison and Nathan Nathaniel being the judges - sentenced him for "his great misdemenor" to be whipt unless he pay 5lb by Wednesday come 3 weeks or be whipt the next Thursdaye and 5lb more when the Court shall call for it, and to pay all charges 30s for the marshally going with atachment for him to Cambridge & Boston and fees of Court."

Rowlandson's Repetion

"Still preserved in his handwriting, in the office of the Clerk of the Essex Courts at Salem." Sibly

"Forasmuch as I Joseph Rowlandson through the suggestion of Satan, and the evil of my own heart, by that being strongly attempted by the depravation of this too facilly inclined to the perpetration of a fact whose nature was anomie, and circumstances enormities, had being not onely justly suspected, but having both an inward coguisance of and an external call (by virtue of Lawful authority before wch I was convented) to speake the truth or at least not to utter the contrary, yet notwithstanding to the Dishonour of God and discredit of his truth, Yand to the greife of the Godly and in fine the wounding of my owne conscience: did not hearken thereunto but rather to the aequivocal delusions with which Satan did then beset mee, not onely to the waiving but also abnegation of the same. In all which Respects it seemed good to the foresayd Authority, before whom the foresayd Convention was made to bind me over to this Present Honored Court to be Respondal for the same, and being accordingly Now called vnto the same by yor Honored worships! I humbly crave your fauorable Leave to declare as follows the viz. That as concerning the writing which I so Rashly affixed vnto the Meeting house I doe desire to abhorre my selfe for my extreme folly in so doing and I hope the Lord hath opened my eyes to See that in my selfe thereby that otherwise I might too Late have Lamented but not timously Repented of: But in particular"

I doe acknowledge that I did very sinfully in Condemning that sentence judicially passed by Your worships and putting contempt upon the Coassessors which it pleased this government to honour with power in a sentence with the Honored Assistants and likewise using certain scurrilous words of the Marshal. in all wch particulars I doe acknowledge & Confesse that I did miserably abuse My selfe & that weake measure of Knowledge which the Lord hath beene pleased to Bestow upon me, and that I did wt I ought not to have done in yt. Respect, On which that which I very much Lament is that I have wronged your Honored worships & those offices for this Commonwealths good which are here Constituted: But that which I much more Lament & the Dishonour that hath thereby redounded to God as well by the writing it selfe as by that which most of all hath beene a continual greife namely the abnegation of the same: For all which sinful offences I humbly crave pardon so farre as they concerne your Honoured worships, and a Due Consideration of wt vehement temptation I was under, which though I cannot Relate yet I question not but your worships will Consider: However I Confide upon your worships pity & continued prayers that this fall may be everlasting gaine.

Signed with my hand, attested unto wth my heart.

"Joseph: Rowlandson

"At the Court held at Ipswich the 25 of March 1656.(?) Joseph Rowlandson upon his petition the Court remitted the remainder of his fine."

"At the Court Hall at Ghuznee the 30 of March 1839" Joseph Fontanelle upon his petition the Court assembled the memorialist of his grief

Topographical and Historical Sketches of the Town of Lancaster in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts

Furnished for the Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal

By Joseph Willard

Worcester
Printed for the proprietors, by Charles Griffin
1826.

Extract from a Letter written September 25. 1847 to Rev. G. M. Bartol of Lancaster by Joseph Willard. and now in Lancaster Library -

" I have never felt satisfied with the work. [Sketches of the town of Lancaster]. It was written against time & all the collections were made in the course of a few months. for the gratification of Messrs Lincoln & Baldwin, my late lamented friends of Worcester. who wished it for their magazine, consequently it is marred with errors of the press if nothing worse. I have made divers corrections in my interleaved copy, and if I have leisure, health & eyes. hope to be able in a few years to publish something more authoritative - "

It was not the first volume that disappeared but the second probably. We have as the author says below, the records to 1671.

Scale 2½ miles = 1 inch

Black lines show town boundaries 1880

Blue lines show Noyes' survey 1659

Red lines show "New Grant" of 1711.

Yellow lines show "Shrewsbury Leg" 1768.

Green lines show "the Mile".

▲ Wading places.

Drawn by H. S. Howe 1880

Plate 32 Scale 1 mile = 1 inch

Black lines show town bounds, 1880
Blue lines show Norfolk, 1889
Red lines show Middlesex, 1889
Yellow lines show "Middlesex" c. 1831
Green lines show "Worcester" c. 1831

Map 7 Nashoba Bounds.

HISTORY OF LANCASTER.

In giving a sketch of the history of Lancaster, I labor under serious disadvantages. Those valuable sources of information, the records, are quite imperfect: the records of the Church till the time of Rev. Mr. Prentice in 1708, are lost; while those of the town extend no further back, than 1725; the first volume having unaccountably disappeared, more than forty years since. After much exertion, I have been able, only in part, to supply these deficiencies, from various and distant quarters; and from the books of the proprietors, in which are preserved some valuable materials: but even here there is a lamentable hiatus from 1671, to 1717, including King Williams' war, of eight, and Queen Ann's war, of eleven years.

After giving the topography, present state &c. of the town, I shall touch upon its civil and ecclesiastical history.

The town of Lancaster is situated in the north part of the County of Worcester, about 33 miles west from Boston,* and 15 miles nearly north from Worcester.

Boundaries.—The general boundaries of the town are as follows, viz. north by Shirley and Lunenburgh, west by Leominster and Sterling, south by Boylston and Berlin, and east by Berlin, Bolton and Harvard. The general direction of the town, in length, is northeast and southwest. The average length, is nine and eleven sixteenth miles; the greatest length nine and fifteen sixteenths, de-

* The distance was till the last year, 35 miles. The great alterations in the road, especially through Stow, and the new road from Watertown to Cambridge, make a difference of two miles.

duced from an accurate map.* It was originally laid out for ten miles, and this slight variation of one sixteenth of a mile, was probably owing to an error, in the original survey, which will be mentioned in the sequel; a less error it is supposed than was usual in such ancient measurements. The breadth, is very irregular; it varies from $4\frac{3}{4}$ to $2\frac{7}{8}$ miles.

Roads, Mails, &c.—The public roads extend over 600 acres of land. The principal road, is the one leading from Boston, through Leominster, to Greenfield and Brattleborough: and another branch of it through Sterling, to Barre, Greenfield, &c. The mail arrives and departs daily, excepting on Sunday: thirty two mails are opened and closed, and the various stage coaches pass and repass the same number of times, in the course of each week. There is a short turnpike road which begins in Bolton, and terminates in Lancaster, a mile north of the church.

Soil, Productions, &c.—The town contains twenty thousand two hundred and eight acres of land. Of this three thousand acres, no inconsiderable part of the whole, are intervale, and about seventeen hundred, by estimate, are covered with water. Much of the soil is deep and rich. The light lands, produce large quantities of rye, barley, oats, &c. while the better part of the upland, and all the intervales, are well adapted to Indian corn, the potatoe, grass, and indeed to every kind of cultivation, with but comparatively little labor. The intervale, in particular, yields largely, and rewards the husbandman, many fold, for the little care he is obliged to take of it.

Its fertility, is owing to the annual overflowings of the river, when the ice and snow melt in the spring. The waters become turbid by the rapidity of the current, and the earth, that is washed into its bosom, is deposited on the land, and serves all the good purposes of every kind of manure. These freshes, undoubtedly, sometimes occasion much immediate injury: for by reason of the elevation of the country in which the river has its sources, and through which it passes, the stream rises rapidly, and is borne along to the valley of the Nashaway,† by an accelerated and furious cur-

* Made by order of the General Court in 1794. I have followed the advice of a valued friend, and have omitted the boundaries, by degrees, rods, stakes, stones, &c.

† It will be observed that I spell the word Nashaway; it is a better word than Nashua, the modern alteration, or refinement, as some may think it. The former, is the ancient reading, the true orthography; for which, I have the authority of Winthrop, Colony Records, Middlesex Records, proprietor's books, &c. from 1643, to a late period. The innovation should be rejected at once, as a corruption.

rent, filled with large cakes of ice, destroying mill dams, and sweeping away bridges, in its destructive course.* In the spring of 1818, it was very busy in the work of ruin: most of the bridges were dashed in pieces by the ice, and none, I believe, escaped uninjured. Since that time, only two bridges have suffered; one in the spring of 1823, called the Centre Bridge, just below the confluence of the two branches of the river, and the other, during the last spring, (1826,) on the south branch, between the first mentioned bridge, and the late Dr. Atherton's residence. But, notwithstanding the numerous losses that have been sustained of old and of late years, they are far outweighed by the annual benefits, which the Nashaway, bestows upon the land.† The principal trees on the uplands, are the ever-green, and oak of the different kinds, the chesnut, maple, &c. on the intervales, the elm in all its beautiful variety and the walnut.‡ More attention is now paid to the cultivation of fruit trees, than formerly; but it is chiefly confined to the apple, and in part, to the pear. A strange neglect has ever prevailed, with regard to the delicious summer fruits, as the cherry, peach, plum, apricot, nectarine, garden strawberry, &c. that might be cultivated with but little expense of time or money. No place, within my knowledge, in this state, is better adapted to these fruits, both as it respects the soil, exposure to the sun, and gardens ready made. Some few individuals are beginning to think of these things, and to set out trees: and probably in a few years, these articles of luxury that may be so cheaply obtained, will be more generally attended to. At present, excepting a few tolerable, and some intolerable cherries, and a few wild strawberries, &c. we have nothing, deserving the name of summer fruit. A few sorry peaches, the growth of other places, perhaps I should mention, are occasionally sold in town.

Surface of the Country, &c.—The general surface is undulating, with no very high or steep ascents. The principal eminence,

* The damage to bridges in 1818, amounted to $1639 71.

† Whitney says that "the river overflows the whole interval twice in a year, in the spring, and in autumn." However, this may have been in his day, it is not so in this nineteenth century.

‡ Of the Shagbark kind. Much attention was paid by some of the principal inhabitants, some seventy years since, in ornamenting different spots, with the elm, and we, of the present day, enjoy the beauty, and the shade. The present age is less considerate in this respect. Dumbiedikes' advice to his son is disregarded—"Jock, when ye hae naething else to do, ye may be aye sticking in a tree; it will be growing, Jock, when ye're sleeping. My father tauld me sae forty years sin', but I ne'er fand time to mind him."

is called George hill;* a fertile and delightful ridge, extending about two miles from southwest to northeast, on the west side of the town. Nearly parallel with this and rising gently from the river which skirts it on all sides but the north, is what is frequently termed the Neck. Not far from its extremity, towards the south west, is the centre of the town. The prospect to the east, is confined by the range of hills in Harvard and Bolton, beyond the intervale. To the west, beyond the intervale on that side, appears the whole length of George hill, and as the eye passes over its fine outlines, and gentle ascent, it rests upon the Wachusett as the back ground of the picture. The walnut tree, and the majestic elm† are scattered in pleasing irregularity over the wide spreading intervale. The variety of foliage, of light and shade, and the frequent changes of tints, shadow out a landscape, that never fails to charm all who are alive to natural beauties. The prospect is equally inviting from George hill, and from the hill on the road to Sterling.

George Adams a white man.

George Tahanto }?

* The southern part of this hill, is the highest and in some points of view, may pass for a distinct hill. Tradition says, it took its name from an Indian, called by the English, George; who once had his wigwam there. The name I first find in the proprietor's records, ~~Feb. 1671.~~ Dec. 1664

† There is a number of different species of the elm in Lancaster. One kind is very tall, the branches high and spread but little. In another the branches shoot out lower upon the trunk, and extend over a much larger space. A third kind resembles in some measure the first, in form, excepting that the trunk is entirely covered with twigs thickly set with leaves, and forming a rich green covering to the rough bark, from the ground to the large branches. Many of these elms are of great size: The following are the dimensions of a few of them, measured by Mr. George Carter and myself, in July, 1826.

(1)* One on the Boston road, between the house of the late Dr. Atherton and the last bridge on the south branch of the Nashaway, measured in circumference twenty six feet at the roots. (2) Another on the old common, so called, and near the burying ground, twenty five feet five inches at the roots; eighteen feet at two feet from the ground, and fourteen feet ten inches, at four feet from the ground; the diameter of the circular area of its branches, measured ninety eight feet. A third, southeast from centre bridge, and near what was formerly called the neck bridge, was twenty six feet six inches at the roots, and twenty feet, at four feet from the ground. (3) A fourth, a little to the south west of the entrance to centre road, and some fifty rods south of the church, twenty four feet at the roots, and fifteen feet, at four feet from the ground. This tree, when very small was taken up and transplanted between ninety and one hundred years ago by the late Col. Abijah Willard. We also measured a sycamore tree, a little to the southwest of centre bridge and found its circumference at the ground, twenty five feet, and at four feet from the ground, eighteen feet. The height of this tree, must be about one hundred feet. There are also some large and beautiful elms in front and on one side of the Rev. Dr. Thayer's house. They were all set out by his immediate predecessor the Rev. Mr. Harrington. The two largest measure fifteen and fourteen feet at the ground. (4) On the farm of Mr. Jonathan Wilder, on the old common so called, there is a beach tree which measures eleven feet. It is upwards of a century old. A tree of this kind, and size, is very rare in this part of the country.

1 * Destroyed in a tornado July 1878
2 " by wind & ice several years earlier
3 " do. earlier still
4 " do.
5 " do.

There is an appearance, occasionally on a summer evening that struck me forcibly the first time I beheld it. When the vapours are condensed and the moon is up, the whole expanse of the valley, appears like one broad sheet of water just below you, and extending as far as the eye can reach, in distinct vision. The tops of the tall trees, as they appear above the mists, look like little islands, dotting the broad bay. The illusion is perfect, without borrowing largely from the imagination.

MINERALS, &c.—More than seventy years ago, a large slate quarry was discovered, by a Mr. Flagg, near Cumberry pond, in the north part of the town. The slates were in use, as early as 1752 or 1753, and, after the revolutionary war, were sent in great numbers to Boston, and to the atlantic states,* and formed quite an article of commerce. For many years past, however, the quarry has not been worked. The slates, I believe, though always considered as of an excellent quality, could not at last come in successful competition with those imported from Wales, &c, on account of the expense of transportation. The water is now quite deep in the quarry.

The minerals, according to Dr. Robinson, are the following.—viz. *Andalusite*, reddish brown, in a rolled mass of white quartz, and on George hill in transition mica slate. *Macle*, abundant on George hill and elsewhere. *Earthy Marl*, an extensive bed, in New Boston, so called. *Pinite*, in clay slate: also, green and purple *pinite*, fine specimens on George hill in granite. *Spodumene*, fine specimens, in various parts of the town. *Fibrolite*, abundant in mica slate. *Phosphate of lime*, on George hill, in small hexahedral prisms in a spodumene rock, of about two tons in weight. Peat in the swamps and low lands, in the south west part of the town.†

STREAMS AND OTHER BODIES OF WATER.—The largest stream that flows through the town, and indeed the largest, and most important

* Whitney says, "great numbers of them are used in Boston every year." This was in 1793.

† A Catalogue of American minerals, with their localities &c. by Samuel Robinson, M. D. Boston, 1825. The marl, mentioned above, is found in great abundance. It extends in strata, from the neighborhood, of Messrs. Poignand & Plant, through New Boston, almost to the middle of the town. Though very valuable as a manure it is but little used. Probably individuals are not fully sensible of its enriching qualities. Mr. John Low, who has made use of it for some years, on light soils, has assured me that it increases the product nearly one half. The few others who have tried it, are abundantly satisfied of its great service.

× The State House in Boston is roofed with these slate.
× Quarry worked in a slovenly & intermittent way at times & 1877 + 1878 more systematically, but failed wholly after a

in the County, is the river Nashaway, formed by the junction of two branches.* The north branch rises from the springs in Ashburnham, and from Wachusett pond in Westminster, and passing through Fitchburg and Leominster, enters the town on the west. The south branch has two sources, one from Rocky pond on the east side of the Wachusett, the other from Quinepoxet pond, in Holden. These unite in West Boylston, and enter the town on the south. The two main branches, after pursuing a devious course for many miles, unite near the centre of the town, south east from the church. There are a few small streams that issue from Oak hill, Mossy, and Sandy ponds, all of which find their way to the river. The streams fed by the two latter ponds unite, and between their junction and the river, are situated the works of the Lancaster Cotton Manufacturing Company.

Besides the rivers, there are ten ponds in Lancaster, viz:

	Acres.		*Acres.*
Turner's pond	30	Oak hill pond	15
Fort do.	100	Cumberry do.	13
Part of White's do.	80	Clamshell do.	50
Great Spectacle do.	115	Sandy do.	55
Little do. do.	13 in 1878	Mossy do.	55

Whitney relates, that the "water in Cumberry pond is observed to rise as much as two feet, just before a storm," and that "Sandy pond, rises in a dry time." However pleasing it may be to believe these things true, and to have some phenomena of natural philosophy in one's own neighborhood, I cannot venture to confirm them, but contrarywise, must set them down, after inquiry, as fabulous. There are various springs in town; from three of them on George hill, the village situated a mile south west from the church, is bountifully supplied with water, by means of an aqueduct consisting of leaden pipes that extend in different directions and branches, more than two miles.†

Bridges.—There are no less than seven bridges over the Nashaway supported by the town, besides one half of the bridge leading to Harvard. A bridge over the turnpike road, supported by the cor-

* The first Inhabitants early gave to the north branch, the name of north river, the south branch they called Nashaway, and the main river, after the junction of the two streams, which is now properly the Nashaway, they named Penecook. I find Penecook used in the town records as late as 1736, and north river, in a deed dated 1744.

† A company was organized last winter by virtue of Stat. 1798, chap. 59. The whole expense of the work, was not far from $2000.

poration, and one or more private bridges, complete the number. Great expenses, as will readily be supposed, have been hitherto incurred in maintaining so many bridges—greater, indeed, than were necessary. It has, till lately, been usual to build them with piers resting upon mud sills, inviting ruin in their very construction; for the ice freezing closely round the piers, the water upon the breaking up of the river in spring, works its way underneath the ice, which forms a compact body under the bridge, raises the whole fabric, which thus loosened from its foundations, is swept away by the accumulated force of the large cakes of ice that become irresistible by the power of a very rapid current. A better and by far more secure style of building has lately been adopted, and from its great superiority, will doubtless gain general favor and supersede the old method. Two bridges on the improved plan, each consisting of a single arch, have been constructed; one in June, 1823, near "the meeting of the waters," and the other in June, 1826, just above, on the south branch of the river.* They are entirely out of the reach of the spring tide fury, and though more expensive at first, their durability will prove their true economy. "Experientia docet" the contrary. They only lasted 10 years each.

Mills, Trades, Manufactures, &c.—Lancaster contains five saw mills, three grist mills, two fulling and dressing mills, one carding machine, one nailfactory, two lathes, turned by water, and two brick yards. There are also four wheelwrights, two tanners, ten shoemakers, one saddle and harness maker, two cabinet makers, one clock and watch maker, six blacksmiths, three white smiths, one gunsmith, one baker, one bookseller, one apothecary, one stone cutter, one cooper and one hatter. The business of printing maps, is very extensively carried on by Messrs. Horatio and George Carter. About 250,000 are annually struck off, and supply a great number of the schools in every part of the United States. In the various departments of this business, viz. printing, coloring, binding &c. fifteen persons are usually employed. There are fifteen or sixteen establishments for making combs, in which fifty persons, at least, are employed. The annual sales of this article are from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars. In consequence of the great im-

* The bridges vary in length from seventy to one hundred feet. The arched bridges were constructed on a plan furnished by Mr. Farnham Plummer, an ingenious mechanic of this town. The chords of the arches are ninety eight feet six inches and seventy feet respectively.

provement in machinery,* within a few years, double the quantity of this article is now manufactured, with a considerable deduction in price.

The foundation of the Lancaster Cotton Factory, was begun in the fall of 1809, on a small stream, which empties into the south branch of the Nashaway. There are two large buildings, one for carding and spinning, with eight hundred and ninety six spindles; the other for weaving, with thirty two looms, which are equal to delivering two hundred thousand yards of four fourths sheeting of two qualities, viz. No. 18 and 25, in a year. The stream on which the buildings are erected, is fed from swamps and powerful and never failing springs, which are supposed to have their sources in Mossy and Sandy ponds. From the situation of the factories the fall in the bed of the stream is secured, upwards of a mile. This fall in the whole is about sixty two feet. The present improved mode of spinning, by means of circular spindle boxes, was first put in operation in this establishment: and one of the managers was the inventor of the picker for cleaning cotton, with two beaters, now in general use in all well conducted establishments of the kind. The resident managers are Messrs. Poignand and Plant, who are assiduous in their business. Probably no establishment of the same kind and extent, is under better regulations, or is managed to greater advantage.

Pot and Pearlash.—The manufacture of pot and pearlashes was undertaken in Lancaster, at an earlier period than in any other part of America. I cannot state the precise time; but as early as 1755, these works were in operation.

In that year, Joseph Wilder, Jr. Esq. and Col. Caleb Wilder, sent in a petition to the General Court, that they "have acquired the art of making pot and pearlashes, and that they cannot ship them, because no assay master has been appointed." The business was carried on quite extensively, for many years. Col. Wilder was chiefly interested, and the quality of the article made by him was so good, that after other similar works were established, his manufacture, was the most valued.

* The improved machine was an invention of Mr. Farnham Plummer of this town. It will cut one hundred and twenty dozen side combs, in a day. It cuts out two combs, from a square piece of horn, at the same time. The circular saw which was previously used, cuts but one tooth at a time. Capt. Asahel Harris, an intelligent man, who deals largely in this business, assures me that the new machine, is a saving of nearly one half in point of time, that it saves also a third part of the stock, besides much hard labor. It can be so constructed as to cut combs of any size.

Samuel Plant - mounted double beater protector

At one time the quantity sold annually, was as high as one hundred and fifty tons of pearlash, and eighty of potash. After his death his son Levi Wilder conducted the business, nearly to the time of his own decease, in 1793. Other individuals,* have at various times paid attention to this business, subsequent to Col. Wilder; but now it is only a matter of history in this place.

Stores, &c.—There are in Lancaster five public houses, six stores, containing English and fancy goods, &c. and in five of them the usual supply of West India goods.

Libraries.—The private libraries in this town are not very numerous. There are, in all of them, about three thousand volumes. The books in general, are well selected, there being but little trashy matter.

A social library now containing nearly four hundred volumes, most of them valuable, was established in the year 1790.

To supply a want that was felt by many, a number of subscribers joined together in the autumn of 1821, and established a Reading Room. The principal and primary object was, to procure the most valuable periodical publications, and such miscellaneous works of the day, as possessed a good reputation. It was supposed that in this way, a taste for reading might increase, and that whatever should be done to extend and elevate the love of letters, would equally tend to raise the tone of society. The original plan has of late been somewhat enlarged, as the establishment gained favor and began to promise to be permanent. Besides the class of works contemplated at first, books are now admitted from time to time, whose fame survives the day, books that have already a standard character. The success of the undertaking has probably surpassed general expectation. The annual increase of the library† of the Reading Room is not far from one hundred volumes. The whole number, at present, is about three hundred: and the increase has been greater during the last and present year, than at any earlier period, during the same length of time.

Schools and Academy.—For a few years subsequent to the Revolutionary war and occasionally, before, the Grammar School was kept the whole year, in the centre of the town.‡ This arrange-

* Dr. Wm. Dunsmoor, Dr. James Carter, Mr. Oliver Carter and others.

† It consists of Reviews, works of fiction, poetry, history, voyages, travels, biography, &c.

‡ A few historical data, relating to schools, may not be without interest. In 1729, there were three schools, viz. on the Neck, (near the present town

ment did not last long: it was supposed that the requisitions of the law could be answered in a way that would bring a fractional part of this school, almost to every man's door. It was therefore soon

Wattaquadoc always spelled Bare

house) at Wattaquaduck, (now in Bolton,) and at Bear hill, (now in Harvard.) In 1731, these schools were kept as follows, viz. Bear hill 82 days, Wattaquaduck, 104, Neck, 177. 1736, on petition of Ebenezer Beman and others, it was voted, that the school should be kept at divers houses in the north part of the town: so also in the southwest part of the town. In 1742, three new school houses were built: this was after the incorporation of Harvard and Bolton. One of them was in Chocksett (Sterling) and the other two in Lancaster proper. The old school house on the Neck, above mentioned, was given to Rev. Mr. Prentice for a stable!! 1757, voted, that the grammar school be kept in each precinct, (Lancaster and Sterling) "according to what they pay." The reading and writing schools to be kept in the extreme parts of the town, five months in the winter. 1762, voted to give leave to Col. Abijah Willard and others, to build a school house on the town land, below the Meeting house in the first parish. 1764, on petition of Levi Willard, Esq. and others, voted, that the grammar school for the year ensuing be kept in the middle of the town, provided they build a school house, and support the school for the year, after the amount of their taxes has been appropriated for that purpose.

In 1767, the grammar school was kept seven months in the first, and five months, in the second precinct: in 1771–72–73–78, one half of the year in each. In 1789, the grammar school was kept on nearly the same plan as in 1764; so in 1789. In 1790 voted, to build a school house opposite to Gen. Greenleaf's. Wm. Stedman, Esq. now occupies the Greenleaf house.

The following are some of the school masters. 1724, Edward Broughton, 1725, do. 1726 Mr. Flagg, afterwards Rev. Ebenezer Flagg, of Chester, N. H. graduated 1725; 1727, Henry Houghton, Jonathan Moore, Samuel Carter; 1729, Samuel Willard, Esq. (Judge C. C. Pleas,) Thomas Prentice, (who graduated 1726, afterwards minister in Charlestown,) Mr. Bryant and Jabez Fox. Josiah Swan was a veteran schoolmaster: I find him as early as 1733, and through many intermediate years, beginning with 1751, to 1767 inclusive. Mr. Swan was of Lancaster, and graduated at Cambridge, in 1733. In May 1735, he was admitted a member of Rev. Mr. Prentice's church, and it may be, pursued his theological studies under the direction of Mr. P. He was settled in Dunstable, N. H. 1739, dismissed in 1746, in consequence of a division of the town, by running the line between New Hampshire and Massachusetts. He remained there a few years, then returned to this town; afterwards went to Walpole, N. H. where he died. 2 Mass. Hist. Col. 55. 1736, Josiah Brown and Thomas Prentice.

Mr. Brown was probably a graduate at Harvard University that year or 1735. He kept school for a number of subsequent years, and as late as 1765. 1744, Brown and Stephen Frost. There was a Stephen Frost, of the class of 1739, at Cambridge. 1746, Edward Bass of the class of 1744: afterwards the first bishop of Massachusetts. 1747, Bass and Joseph Palmer, who was afterwards a clergyman, graduated at Cambridge, 1747. 1749–50, Edward Phelps. 1752, Abel Willard, Esq. of the class of 1752, at Cambridge. Samuel Locke, Jr. afterwards Rev. Samuel Locke, S. T. D. &c. President of Harvard University. He graduated at Cambridge, in 1755. The late President Adams graduated the same year. 1756, Hezekiah Gates, an inhabitant of Lancaster and a useful citizen. 1757–8–9 Moses Hemenway, afterwards Rev. Moses Hemenway, S. T. D. class of 1755, and minister of Wells, in Maine. 1758, Mr. Warren, the celebrated General, who was killed at Bunker's Hill. He graduated in 1759. 1762, Mr. Parker, a graduate at Cambridge. 1762, Israel Atherton, of the class of that year, M. M. S. Soc. for many years after a distinguished physician in Lancaster, and the first physician of liberal

Earlier

voted, that it should be kept in different parts of the town, in the course of each year, for the convenience of those who lived in remote places. Both the spirit and the letter of the law, were misunderstood, and the most important advantages intended to be secured by it, were lost. The Latin Grammar School, after lingering some years in a doubtful state of existence, was discontinued a few years previous to the modification of the law. As much attention, however, it is believed, is paid here to education as in most other places, and we have caught something of the excitement, that is becoming prevalent on this subject. The school law of the last winter, of such manifest importance and usefulness, has already been productive of benefit, and has increased the interest, which every good citizen should take in education. There are twelve school districts in town. The following, is taken from the return of the school committee, to the General Court, in May last.

Amount paid for public instruction,	$1005
Amount paid for private instruction,	50
Tuition fees at the Academy,	600

Time of keeping school in the year, six months in each district.

Males of the various ages specified in the law,	351
Females do.	349
Total,	700

In this number the pupils at the Academy are not included.

Number of persons over 14 unable to read and write—None.

Number prevented by expenses of school books, None.

education in the County of Worcester. 1762, Joseph Willard, afterwards Rev. Joseph Willard, S. T. D. L. L. D. &c. and late President of Harvard University; graduated at Cambridge, 1765. 1764–65–66, Ensign Mank, a graduate at Cambridge, in 1764. 1765, Brown, probably a graduate at Cambridge, Joseph Willard, Frederick Albert, Mr. Hutchinson, probably of the class of 1762, and Peter Green, now living in Concord, N. H. aged 81, and still active in his profession as a physician, class of 1766, M. M. S. Hon. 1766, John Warner, Robert Fletcher. 1767, Josiah Wilder, probably Dr. Wilder of Lancaster. Josiah 81

It seems that a large proportion of the instructors I have mentioned, received a public education. At the present day, it is far otherwise in this place.

I will close this long note, with the mention of the amount of money raised for schools for a number of years. 1726 to 30, £50. 1739, (after Harvard and Bolton were incorporated) to 1742, £80. 1755, £50 lawful money. 1764, and to 1769, £100. 1769, £104. 1778, and 9, £200 depreciated currency. 1781, £8000, old emission. 1782 and 3, £80. 1784, £100. 1804 and 1805, $400, for Latin and Grammar school the year through, in the centre of the town, $600, for English. 1810, $1056 in all. 1815, $1000, and for a number of years past, $1005. Regular school committees have been chosen annually since 1794.

Some years since, many of the inhabitants felt desirous of affording their children more abundant opportunities of instruction, than could be obtained at the public schools, which, it cannot be expected, will ever be kept the year through in the various districts. In order to secure a permanent school, a number of gentlemen from this and the neighboring towns, associated together, and established an Academy early in the summer of 1815. Few institutions of the kind have probably ever done more good. Many have already been taught there,* who, but for its establishment, would have been much less favored, in their opportunities for learning. The building used for the school being inconveniently situated, at some distance from the centre of the town, an effort was made in April last, to obtain a subscription to erect a new building, in the centre of the town. A large and ample sum was obtained in town for this purpose, with but little difficulty. The land just south of the church was given by Messrs. Horatio and George Carter, who, with their brothers, have also subscribed most liberally, to the undertaking. A new and very tasteful building of brick, two stories in height, with a cupola and bell, is nearly completed. The situation is well chosen: a fine common in front is thrown open, and a beautiful view of the valley and rising grounds, particularly to the west, renders the spot delightful. It is intended to add to the present school, a distinct and permanent school for females, in the second story of the building. This indeed is a highly important part of the new plan; for it is believed, that if society is to make great advances in future, it must be by improving the means of female education; and that the progress of society in learning, refinement and virtue, is in proportion to the cultivation of the female mind. An act of incorporation has been applied for; a bill for that purpose passed the Senate at the last session of the General Court, and, without much question, will pass the House, next winter. The Academy thus far has had the advantage of able instructors: the following are their names, viz.

Silas Holman—M. D. Cambridge, 1816, now a physician in Gardiner, Maine. He kept but a few months in the summer of 1815.

* Mr. Frederick Wilder a graduate at Cambridge, in 1825, and son of Mr. Jonathan Wilder of this town, was educated at this academy. He died at Northampton, in the winter of 1826. He was full of promise; he possessed a mind of a high order and a heart filled with every good feeling and virtue. No one was ever more generally beloved; the highest rank seemed to await him, whatever path of study he might incline to pursue. Death has destroyed bright prospects and deprived the world of the good influences that a leading and pure mind ever exercise in society.

JARED SPARKS, Tutor Harvard University, 1817 to 1819, afterwards clergyman in Baltimore. Now editor of the North American Review, in Boston. Graduated at Harvard University, 1815. He was the preceptor from the summer of 1815, one year.

JOHN W. PROCTOR, Preceptor from summer of 1816, one year; graduated at Harvard University, 1816; now Attorney and Counsellor at Law, in Danvers.

GEORGE B. EMERSON, From summer of 1817, two years; graduated at Harvard University, 1817, and Tutor from 1819 to 1821; for some time Preceptor of the English Classical school, and now of a private school, in Boston.

SOLOMON P. MILES, from 1819 to 1821, August two years; graduated at Harvard University, 1819, and Tutor 1821 to 1823, now preceptor of the high (English Classical) school, in Boston.

NATHANIEL WOOD, from 1821 to 1823, two years; graduated at Harvard University 1821, Tutor 1823 to 1824, now a student at law, in Boston.

LEVI FLETCHER, from August 1823, to the fall of 1824; graduated at Harvard University, 1823, now Chaplain on board the United States frigate Macedonian.

NATHANIEL KINGSBURY, from the fall of 1824, of the class of 1821; left college during the third year and went to the island of Cuba. He is the preceptor at this time.

Under the present preceptor, the Academy sustains a high character for discipline and instruction. By the new arrangement, the inconveniences that are too apt to occur by the frequent change of teachers will be avoided. The situation of principal of the Academy, is to be a permanent one, as far as is practicable.

POOR.—The support of the poor, formed for some years no inconsiderable part of the annual tax. They were dispersed in different families, in various parts of the town, among those who would support them at the least expense to the town. Too often, and as a natural effect of this wretched system, the lot of these unfortunate persons was cast among individuals, themselves but little removed from absolute poverty. The system too, if such it could be called, was clumsy extravagance; the highest price was paid for the support of the poor, and the treatment of poverty appeared like the punishment of crime.* In view of these things,

*Various attempts, from the year 1763, to the present century, have been made, to establish a work-house, but without success, till the late effort.

the town purchased two years since, a large farm, as an establishment for all whose circumstances compelled them to seek public support. It is under the care of an attentive overseer. Each individual able to work has his appropriate duties suited to his age and capacity. Comfort, economy, and humanity are there united. Religious services are performed at stated times, and the children who never before received any instruction, are now regularly sent to school. In a moral point of view, this establishment is a public blessing—it prevents much immediate suffering, and much prospective ignorance and vice.* The actual expense for the support of the poor, which formerly was as high as $1200, will not, in future, exceed $500.

Population.—What little I can gather of the number of Inhabitants, at certain periods, in the seventeenth century, will be mentioned, subsequently, in the civil history of this plantation. Excepting this, there is no way of ascertaining the population earlier than 1764.

Census.—1764—~~1862~~ 1999 Inhabitants, 328 families. This was after Harvard and Bolton were incorporated.

1790—1460 Inhabitants, 214 houses. This was after Sterling was incorporated; which contained by the census of the same year 1428 inhabitants, making the population of both places 2888, an increase of 1062, in 26 years, viz. from 1764 to 1790.

1830 ~ 2014	1800	1584 Inhabitants.		1860 - 1732
1840 ~ 2,019	1810	1694	do.	1865 1752 / 1870 - 1845
1850 - 1,688 (Class Chart)	1820	1862	do.	1875 - 1957
1855 - 1728				1880 - 2008

During the period of commercial restrictions, and the last war, and for a few years subsequent, the population it appears increased but little. Many persons emigrated to the state of New York, to the west of the Alleghany mountains, and to other parts of the country, in search of the promised land. The business of the town, much affected by this state of things, has of late, materially increased, and is now greater than at any former period. The population at the present time, may be estimated at 2100. The number of rata-

* It is chiefly to the exertions of the Rev. Mr. Packard, that the town is indebted for this establishment. He first suggested the plan in this place, and labored diligently to have it adopted. It is no slight praise, to have served with effect the cause of humanity.

In 1736, the selectmen were ordered to bind out poor children, to the end, that the rising generation, may not be brought up in idleness, ignorance, and vice.

ble poles, at this time, is 422. The militia is composed of three companies, viz. the standing company, one of Light Infantry, raised at large, and one of Artillery. There is besides a part of a company of Cavalry within the limits of the town. The whole number of soldiers, is somewhat over two hundred.

Births and Deaths.—The progress of population, compared with the losses might be very satisfactorily ascertained by accurate lists of births and deaths, for any given period. Some negligence prevails here, as well as elsewhere, in furnishing the Town Clerk with information on the subject. The following list, however, may be considered as nearly correct.

BIRTHS.		BIRTHS.		DEATHS.		DEATHS.	
1810	38	1817	39	1810	31	1817	26
1811	42	1818	42	1811	17	1818	26
1812	40	1819	34	1812	31	1819	20
1813	40	1820	29	1813	25	1820	21
1814	36	1821	29	1814	29	1821	15
1815	49	1822	31	1815	26	1822	28
1816	39	*Total*	488	1816	22	*Total*	317*

Deaths in the Congregational Society since the settlement of Rev. Dr. Thayer, October 9, 1793, to August 1, 1826, six hundred and fifty six. Of this number one hundred forty were over seventy; and sixty six of the one hundred and forty four, over eighty years of age. The family of Osgoods, shows remarkable ages.

Joseph Osgood died, aged	77
his wife	92
Jerusha	96
Martha	92
Joel	75
	432

Making an average, each, of eighty six years and nearly five months.

The following is a list of the ages of Deacon Josiah White and his family.

Josiah the father, 90. His wife, 84.

Their Children.

Mary, 86 Martha, 94

* The statement of deaths is taken from a comparison of the Church and town records, and is perhaps quite correct. The births are only in the town records, and making a reasonable addition, for names omitted, the number may be estimated at more than five hundred.

Jonathan,	80	Joseph,	60
Hannah,	77	Joanna,	75
Abigail,	86	Jotham,	87
Josiah,	94	Silence,	75
Ruth,	40	John,	91
		Elisha,	90

Making an average of eighty years, seven months and six days.

A few other remarkable ages may gratify the curious.

	DIED.			DIED.	
Adams Sarah	1802	81	Phelps Edward	1784	90
Atherton Israel Dr.	1822	82	Priest Elizabeth	1798	84
his wife, Rebecca	1823	86	" Joseph	1798	83
Baldwin Keziah	1815	91	Pollard John	1814	85
Divoll Manass&h	1797	82	Rugg John	1799	85
" Ephraim	1798	84	" Jane	1805	93
Divoll Elizabeth July 16	1813	93	Robbins Bathsheba	1805	85
Fletcher Mary	1813	86	Rugg Zeruiah	1807	86
Fletcher Joshua Nov 14	1814	90	" Lydia	1807	91
Fletcher Rebecca Mar 6	1820	92	Sawyer Josiah	1801	82
Fuller Edward	1802	85	Simmons Micah	1817	83
Houghton Elij. Capt.	1810	82	Stone Isaac Sep 14	1816	93
" Alice	1808	83	Tenny Rebecca	1802	81
Joslyn Mary	1825	88	Thurston Priscilla	1811	83
" Samuel	1826	88	White John Capt.	1797	83
Jones Mary	1805	85	Wheelock Martha	1802	94
Leach Mary	1818	86	Wilder Martha	1811	94
Nichols Joseph	1826	82	Wilder Samuel	1824	81
Phelps Asahel	1812	86	Willard Simon	1825	97
Priest John	1797	88	Wilder Ephm. Capt.	1769	94
Phelps Joshua	1784	84			

Civil History.—The first settlement of Lancaster goes far back in the early history of Massachusetts. It was the tenth town, incorporated in the County of Middlesex, and precedes, by many years, every town now within the limits of the County of Worcester. Indeed, no town, so far from the sea coast, was incorporated so early, excepting Springfield; Northampton was in 1654: Chelmsford, Billerica and Groton, in 1655, Marlborough, in 1660, and Mendon, in 1667.

According to Winthrop, an incontrovertible authority in these things, the plantation at Nashaway was undertaken sometime in

1643.* The whole territory around, was in subjection to Sholan, or Shaumaw, Sachem of the Nashaways, whose residence was at Waushacum,† now Sterling. Sholan occasionally visited Watertown, for the purpose of trading with Mr. Thomas King, who resided there. He recommended Nashawogg to King, as a place well suited for a plantation, and invited the English to come and dwell near him.

From this representation, or from personal observation, that nature had been bountiful to the place, King united with a number of others,‡ and purchased the land of Sholan, viz. ten miles in length, and eight in breadth; stipulating not to molest the Indians in their

* Gov. Winthrop's history of New England, date, 3d month, (May) 1644, and relating events that preceded that time. I have cited the passage, see post—Rev. Mr. Harrington states the purchase to have been made in 1645: but the authority of Winthrop is not to be questioned. Rev. Dr. Holmes gives the same year as Gov. Winthrop.

† The orthography of this word is very various. Harrington spells it as in the text; in other parts of Worcester Magazine, it is different: Gookin in his historical collections of the Indians, writes "Weshakim." 1 Mass. Hist. Col. I Vol. "Wechecum" says Roger Williams, is the Indian for sea. Key to Indian languages, Chap. 18.

A. D. 1643.4 Winthrop says that "Nashacowam and Wassamagoin two Sachems, near the great hill to the west called Warehasset, (Wachusett,) came into the court, and according to their former tender to the Governor, desired to be received under our protection and government, &c. so we causing them to understand the ten commandments of God and they freely assenting to all, they were solemnly received and then presented the court with twenty fathoms more of Wampum, and the court gave each of them a coat of two yards of cloth, and their dinner; and to them and their men, every of them a cup of sack at their departure, so they took their leave and went away very joyful." Coats and dinners and sack, were wonderful persuasives with the Indians. Was not "Nashacowam," the same with Sholan?

‡ John Prescott, Harmon Garrett, Thomas Skidmore, Mr. Stephen Day, Mr. Symonds, &c. Here Mr. Harrington in his century sermon stops. Who are meant by &c. it is impossible to ascertain; perhaps, they may be Gill, Davies and others, mentioned subsequently in the text. Of those first mentioned, a few gleanings may not be without interest. Prescott came from Watertown: Garrett probably from Charlestown. He never moved to Lancaster. Two thousand acres of land, were mortgaged to him by Jethro the christian Indian, and laid out to Garrett, near Assabeth river, in 1651. There were two or more of the name of Garrett at this time in New England. Where Harmon lived, I do not discover. An Indian of the same name, lived in Rhode Island. 3 Mass. Hist. Col. I. 221. Skidmore is mentioned in Boston Records, as of Cambridge, in 1643. Day was of Cambridge, and the first Printer in America. In 1639, he set up a printing press at Cambridge, at the charge of Rev. Joseph Glover, who died on his passage to this country. The press was soon after, under the management of Samuel Greene. Day occasionally visited the plantation at Nashaway. He was of Cambridge in 1652-'53, and in '57. In the last, year the General Court, on his complaint that he had not been compensated for his printing press, granted him three hundred acres of land. Also, in 1667, they allowed him to procure of the Sagamore of Nashaway, one hundred and fifty acres of upland, and twenty of meadow. If he ever lived at Nashaway, he probably came in 1665. The

Hill.

hunting, fishing, or planting places. This deed was sanctioned by the General Court.* It was probably not a common thing for towns to be settled under such favorable circumstances; not only was there a fair contract made, satisfactory on all sides; but a previous invitation, in the feeling of friendship, was given to induce the English, to extend their population, to the valley of the Nashaway. The precise time of the removal to Lancaster, cannot be ascertained. The first building was a trucking house, erected by Symonds and King, about a mile southwest of the church, and a little to the north west of the house of the late Samuel Ward, Esq. King never moved up, but sold his interest to the other proprietors, who covenanted with each other, to begin the plantation at a certain time. To secure their purchase, they directed certain individuals,† to whom lots were given, to commence the settlement immediately, and make preparations for the general coming of the proprietors. Winthrop gives the following marked account of the first settlement. "3d mo. (May) 1644. Many of Watertown, and other towns, joined in the plantation at Nashaway; and having called a young man, a *universal* scholar, one Mr. Nocroff (quere Norcross?‡) to be their minister, seven§ of them, who were no members of any churches, were desirous to gather into a church estate; but the magistrates and elders, advised them first to go and build them habitations, &c. (for there was yet no house there,) and then to take some that were members of other churches, with the consent of such churches, as had formerly been done, and so proceed orderly. But the persons interested in this plantation, being most of them poor men, and some of them corrupt in judgment, and others profane; it went on very

town, in Feb. 1664, O. S.—1665, N. S. granted "Master Day" one hundred acres of upland, twenty of it for a house lot. Symonds never resided here. He was, perhaps, Mr. Samuel Symonds, for some years an assistant; the title "Mr." not then universal, but confined to particular persons, somewhat strengthens this suggestion. King was a proprietor of Marlborough, in 1660.

* This deed, I believe is not, in rebus existentibus. I have diligently searched in Middlesex, and Suffolk records, and in the office of the Secretary of State, without success.

† Richard Linton, Lawrence Waters and John Ball.

‡ This spelling is taken from the old edition of Winthrop; the new edition with its corrected text, and learned notes, by Mr. Savage, does not extend so far. The second volume, however, which will be published in a few months, will reach nearly to the time of Gov. Winthrop's death. Norcross, is an early name in Watertown. "Nocroff," I have never met with.

Mr. Savage says the conjecture is right; he also says, that in the same paragraph of Winthrop; "Universal scholar" should be "University scholar."

§ This number was necessary, according to Johnson's wonder working providence, to constitute a church, in the colony. 2 Mass. Hist. Col. II. 71.

* More probably Henry Symonds of Boston died 1643. Isaac Walker married his widow
Not our Thomas King, for he died Dec 3. 1644. and
James Cutler married his widow -

slowly, so that in two years, they had not three houses built there, and he whom they had called to be their minister, left them for their delays."*

It appears further by the records of the General Court 1. 8. 45 (Oct. 1645,) that "upon the petition of the undertakers for the plantation at Nashaway, the Court is willing, that John Gill, Sergeant John Davies,† John Chandler, Isaiah Walker and Matthew Barnes, or any three of them shall have power to set out lots to all the planters belonging to the said plantation, provided that they set not their houses too far asunder; and the great lots to be proportionable to men's estates and charges; and that no man shall have his lot confirmed to him before he has taken the oath of fidelity." These men, however, did nothing to forward the plantation. The General Court felt still unwilling to give up all effort to advance the growth of the place, as appears by the record of a subsequent session: I will recite it, trusting that I shall not be thought too minute in the early, and most interesting portion of the history of the town. It is as follows, viz:

"27, 8, 1647" (Nov. 7, 1647, N. S.‡) "Whereas the Court hath formerly granted a plantation at Nashaway unto Jonathan Chandler, &c. and that Gill is dead, Chandler, Walker, and Davies§ have signified unto the Court, that since the same grant, they have acted nothing as undertakers there, nor laid out any lands, and further have made request to the Court to take in the said grant, manifesting their utter unwillingness to be engaged therein, the Court doth not think fit to destroy the said plantation, but rather to encourage it; only in regard the persons now upon it are so few, and unmeet for such a work, and are to be taken to procure others, and in the

* This does away the imputation in Rev. Mr. Harrington's century sermon, that the minister left them by the instigation of such of the proprietors as disliked removing, or else by his own aversion to the place. Winthrop noted down events day by day, as they occurred. He is distinguished for his accuracy. Mr. Harrington's relation probably was derived from tradition in town. Winthrop's Journal remained in manuscript, till 1790, I believe; of course Mr. Harrington had not access to a correct account of the matter, as his discourse was preached in 1753.

† The same probably who distinguished himself in the Pequot war, 1637. 2. Mass. Hist. Col. VIII. 147; and went against the Nianticks, Hubbard 465, and was sent as one of the commissioners to the Dutch in New York. Ibid, 547.

‡ To speak with more accuracy, the present difference between the Julian and Gregorian year, is twelve days. Before the year 1800, it was eleven days. That year by the calendar of Gregory XIII, the intercalary day was omitted, making the difference twelve days as above stated. Before the calendar was reformed, the year began on the 25th of March, Lady Day, or Annunciation.

§ These names I have not met with, excepting in the above extract from

mean time to remain in the Court's power to dispose of the planting and ordering of it."

It appears, by what has been related, that many circumstances combined to retard the growth of the plantation. All the associates, excepting Prescott, refused to fulfil their contract, though they chose to retain their interest. Linton and Waters* returned to Watertown, where I trace them in 1646, and again to Lancaster in the spring of 1647. Prescott preceded them, and must be recorded as the first permanent inhabitant in Lancaster. This is a clear inference from Mr. Harrington, (p. 11.) John Cowdall of Boston, in his deed, 5. 8 mo. 1647, of a house and twenty acres of land, at Nashaway, made to Jonathan Prescott, calls him late of Watertown. Others soon followed, viz. Sawyer, Atherton, Linton, Waters, &c.

This is as full a sketch of the history of the plantation, previous to 1653, as can be obtained after employing no little diligence.

At that time, the number of families had increased to nine, and on the eighteenth of May of the same year, the town was incorporated by the name of Lancaster.† As this was the first town in the County, in the order of time, it may not be improper to recite some of the provisions of the act of the General Court. They say, "In answer to the petition of the inhabitants of Nashaway, the Court find, according to a former order of the General Court, in 1647, that the ordering of the plantation at Nashaway is wholly in the Court's power."

"Considering that there are already at Nashaway, about nine families; and that several, both freemen and others, intend to go and settle there, some whereof are named in this petition,‡ the Court doth grant them the liberty of a township, and order that henceforth, it shall be called Lancaster, and shall be in the County of Middlesex."

The next provision is to "fix the bounds of the town according

the records of the General Court. I do not feel sure that they belong to Lancaster, and on the other hand, have no evidence that they belong to any other plantation. James Savage, Esq. the learned editor of Winthrop, informs me, that this notice in the records is claimed for Weston.

* Lawrence Waters dwelt in Watertown, as far back as 1635.

† At this early period there were no formal acts of incorporation: the course was as in this instance to grant a plantation the liberty of a township, on certain conditions; as making suitable provision for public worship,&c. and when these conditions were complied with, "full liberty of a township according to law," was granted. It is sufficiently correct, for common purposes, to say, that Lancaster was incorporated May 18, 1653, O. S.

‡ This petition, and the names, are, probably, not in existence.

to Sholan's deed, beginning at the wading place, Nashaway river, at the passing over to be the centre; thence running five miles north, five miles south, five miles east, and three miles west, to be surveyed and marked by commissioners. Six of the inhabitants, viz. Edward Breck, Nathaniel Hadlock, William Kerley, Thomas Sawyer, John Prescott, and Ralph Houghton, or any four of them whereof the major part are freemen, to be prudential managers of said town, both to see to the allotments of land for planters, in proportion to their estates, and to manage their prudential affairs, till the General Court are satisfied that they have able men, sufficient to conduct the affairs of the plantation; then, to have full liberty of a township according to law." And further, it was permitted all the old possessors, to remain, provided they took the oath of fidelity.

The inhabitants were ordered to take care, that a Godly minister be maintained amongst them, that no evil persons, enemies to the laws of this Commonwealth, in judgment or practice, be admitted as inhabitants, and none to have lots confirmed to them, but such as take the oath of fidelity.

A similar provision to this last, was common in the incorporation of other towns, and shows the great importance that was placed upon religion, and habits of order; that these were conceived to lie at the foundation of all good government, that they reached the highest, mingled with the humblest, and exercised a controlling influence over the whole character of society. The effect of these things in past and present times, is a fruitful subject of discussion,—the effect upon remote generations, permits wide speculation; not however to be indulged in, on the present occasion.

The act of incorporation concludes, with ordering, that the inhabitants remunerate such of the first undertakers, as had been at any expense in the plantation, "provided they make demand in twelve months; and that the interest of Harmon Garrett, and such others of them, who had been at great charge, should be made good in allotments of lands; provided they improve the same, by building and planting within three years after their land is laid out to them. Also that the bounds of the town be laid out, in proportion to eight miles square." In the fall of 1653, (Nov. 30, O. S.) the Committee or selectmen, as they may be called, proceeded in their duties of laying out land, and managing the affairs of the town. The first division of lands, was between the two branches of the Nashaway to the west; and to the east, on what is called the Neck, lying between the north branch of the river, and the principal stream. To

the north branch, they gave the name of North river; the south branch only, they called the Nashaway; and the main river, after the confluence of the two streams, which is now the Nashaway, they named the Penecook. Each portion contained twenty acres of upland, besides intervale. On the west, the first lot by which all the others on that side were bounded, was laid out to John Prescott, at the place I have before mentioned, where Simonds and King some years before, built the trucking or trading house; about a mile a little to the west of south of the present church. Then in regular order towards the north, followed John Moore, John Johnson, Henry Kerley, William Kerley, (his own, and one purchased of Richard Smith,) and John Smith. Next, south of Prescott, was the land of Thomas Sawyer. The land on the Neck was divided as follows—first, Edward Breck, on the south east corner of the neck, and very near the house of Mr. Davis Whitman. Then followed in order, towards the north, on the same side of the way, Richard Linton, Ralph Houghton, (his own and one purchased of Prescott,) James Atherton, John White, William Lewis, John Lewis, son of William, Thomas James, and Edmund Parker. Richard Smith's land was a triangular piece, apart from the rest, between the present church and Sprague bridge. Robert Breck's* land was on the west side of the Neck, and from the description, must have been in the middle of the town, by the church.

As soon as the first division of lands was completed, the Inhabitants and others entered into a covenant for themselves, their heirs, executors, and assigns, in substance as follows, viz: after sundry orders touching the ministry, &c. which will be mentioned in the context, they agreed that such of them as were not inhabitants, and who were yet to come up, "to build, improve, and inhabit, would by the will of God, come up, to build, plant, and inhabit," within a year, otherwise to forfeit all they had expended, forfeit also their land and pay five pounds for the use of the plantation.

To keep out all heresies, and discourage the spirit of litigation, they inserted the following article, which I will recite, viz: "For the better preserving of the purity of religion and ourselves from infection of error, we covenant not to distribute allotments, or receive into the plantation, as inhabitants any *Excommunicant*, or otherwise profane and scandalous, (known so to be) nor any one notoriously erring against the doctrine and discipline of the churches, and the state and Government of this Commonwealth. And for

* Edward Breck dwelt in Lancaster awhile. Robert never moved up.

the better preserving of peace and love, and yet to keep the rules of justice and equity, amongst ourselves, we covenant not to go to law* one with another, in actions of debt, or damage, one towards another, in name or estate; but to end all such controversies, amongst ourselves, by arbitration, or otherwise, except in cases capital or criminal, that some may not go unpunished; or that the matter be above our ability to judge of, and that it be with the consent of the Plantation, or selectmen thereof."

Each subscriber engaged to pay ten shillings towards the purchase money, due to the Indians, &c. That the population might not be too much scattered, the first division of land was made on the principle of equality to rich and poor: but the second, and subsequent divisions, were according to the value of each man's property. Every person was put down at ten pounds, and his estate estimated according to its value. They reserved to the plantation the right of conferring gifts of land on such individuals as they might see fit, as occasion might offer. These covenants were subscribed at different times during the few first years, as follows, viz:

Edward Breck,(*a*) } "I subscribe to this for myself, and for my son Robert,
Robert Breck, } save that it is agreed, we are not bound to come up to inhabit within a years time, in our own persons."

John Prescott,
William Kerley,(*b*)
Thomas Sawyer,(*c*)
Ralph Houghton,(*d*) } Subscribed first.

not exact copy –

John Whitcomb (*e*)
Jno. Whitcomb, Jr. } 20, 9 mo. 1652.

Richard Linton,(*f*)
John Johnson,(*g*)
Jeremiah Rogers, } 4, 9 mo. 1654.

John Moore,(*h*) 11, 1 mo. 1653.

* Thomas Lechford, the earliest Lawyer in New England, came to Boston, and resided there from 1637 to 1641. Though he wrote himself of "Clement's Inn, in the County of Middlesex, Gentleman," he had but little professional business. He seemed to be looked upon as rather a useless appendage to society, under the Theocracy. In his "Plain dealing," a rare, and curious pamphlet, he observes, that he had but little to do for a livelihood except "to write petty things." He fell under some censure, returned to England, irritated with the colonists, and published his pamphlet, containing, I sincerely believe, many truths. Certainly it is far from deserving the bad character, that was attributed to it by our ancestors. There were some of the profession in N. E. when this town was incorporated, but they were probably not men of much talent or acquirements; else, their names, at least, would have reached this day. In 1654, a law was passed, prohibiting any usual or common attorney, in any inferior court, from sitting as a deputy, in the general court.

William Lewis,(*i*)
John Lewis, } 1, 31 mo. 1653.

Thomas James, 21, 3 mo. 1653.

Edmund Parker,
Benjamin Twitchell,
Anthony Newton,(*j*) } 1, 8 mo. 1652.

STEPHEN DAY,(*k*)
James Atherton,(*l*)
Henry Kerley,(*m*)
Richard Smith,(*n*)
William Kerley,Jr.(*o*)
John Smith,(*p*) } 15, 1 mo. 1653.

not an Exact copy

Lawrence Waters,(*q*) } Between March and May, 1653, probably.

John White,(*r*) 1 May 1653.

John Farrar,
Jacob Farrar, (*s*) } 24 Sept. 1653.

John Houghton,
Samuel Dean, } Sept. 24, 1653.

James Draper,
Stephen Gates, sen'r. } April 3, 1654.

James Whiting or Witton, April 7, 1654.

Kibie ?

Jno. Moore,
Edward ~~Rigby,~~
John Mansfield, } April 13, 1654.

John Towers,
Richard Dwelley,
Henry Ward, } April 18, 1654.

John Pierce,
William Billings, } 4, 7 mo. 1654.

Richard Sutton, April, 1653.

Thomas Joslin,
Nathaniel Joslin,(*t*) } 12, 9 mo. 1654.

John Rugg, 12, 12 mo. 1654.

JOSEPH ROWLANDSON,(*u*) 12, 12 mo. 1654.—And it is agreed by the town, that he shall have 20 acres of upland, and 40 acres of intervale, in the Knight Pasture.

"Right"

John Rigby, 12, 12 mo. 1654.
John Roper, (*v*) 22, 1 mo. 1656.
John Tinker, (*w*) Feb. 1, 1657.
Mordecai McLoad, (*x*) March 1, 1658.
Jonas Fairbanks,(*y*) March 7, 1659.
Roger Sumner, (*z*) April 11, 1659.
Gamaliel Beman, May 31, 1659.
Thomas Wilder, (*aa*) July 1, 1659.
Daniel Gaines,(*bb*) March 10, 1660.

Prescott.

Appendix A. to Ticknor's Life of Mrs Hickling Prescott. says of J.P. —

"John the first emigrant, was a large, able bodied man, who, after living some time in Watertown, established himself in Lancaster, then on the frontiers of Civilization. There he acquired a good estate and defended it bravely from the incursions of the Indians, to whom he made himself formidable by occasionally appearing before them in a helmet & Cuirass which he had brought with him from England, where he was said to have served under Cromwell. His death is placed in 1683 -

Of him are recorded by Mr William Prescott father of the historian the following traditionary anecdotes - given him by Dr Oliver Prescott, which may serve, at least, to mark the condition of the times when he lived.

"He brought over" says Mr Prescott, "a coat of mail armor and habiliments, such as were used by field officers of that time. An aged lady informed Mr Oliver Prescott (O.P. was born 1731 & 1804) that she had seen him dressed in this armor. Lancaster (when Mr Prescott established himself was a frontier town, much exposed to the incursions of the Indians - John was a sturdy strong man with a stern countenance, and, whenever he had a difficulty with the Indians, clothed himself with his coat of armor - helmet, cuirass and gorget - which gave him a fierce and frightful appearance - It is related, that when on one occasion they stole a valuable horse from him, he put on his armor and pursued them, and after some time overtook the party that had his horse. They were surprised to see him alone, and one of the chiefs approached him with his tomahawk uplifted. John told him to strike, which he did and, finding the blow made no impression on his Cap - he was astonished and asked John to let him put it on, and then to strike on his head as he had done on John's. The helmet was too small for the Indian's head, and the weight of the blow settled it down to his ears scraping off the skin on both sides. They gave him his horse and let him go thinking him a supernatural being.

At another time the Indians set fire to his barn. Old John put on his armor and rushed out upon them. They retreated before him, and he let his horses and cattle out of the burning stable. At another time they set fire to his saw mill. The old man armed cap-a-pied, went out, drove them off, and extinguished the fire."

Genealogy of John Prescott. Came from Lancashire

1640 – ~~Jonathan~~ son of Ralph & Ellen of Shevington } John (1) Prescott died 1683? m Jan 21 1629 Mary Platt of Wigan (Married in Halifax Registry)

- Mary Baptized in England ~~Feb~~ 7 1630 Married Simon Sawyer
- Sarah Baptized in England 1637 Married Richard Wheeler
- Martha Born in England 1632 Married John Knight & died 1655
- John (2) wife Sarah had (3) Mary, John born 1672 & Ebenezer
  - John (3) by wife Dorothy Howe had a son John (4) born 1712
    - John (4) had by wife Mary a son John (5) born 1749.
      - John born 1635 Baptized in England
        - had 2d wife Widow Mary Howe of Marlboro
- Lydia Born in Watertown 1644 Married James Fairbank 1658 1st & 2d Ellis Barron.
- Jonathan Dorothy 1st wf. died 1674 2d wf. Elizabeth 3d wife Rebecca & Had son John born 1683
  - Jonathan there is some good reason to think may have been born in Lancaster 1646/7. Died Dec. 5 1721. He had 12 children
- Jonas Born in Lancaster 1648 Died Groton 1723 Had 12 children Married ~~Dorothy Allison~~ Mary Lakin of Sudbury
  - also a daughter Hannah baptized 1639 probably born in Barbados, married John Rugg as 2d wife 1660

1654. By the following spring, there were twenty families in the place; and the inhabitants feeling competent to manage their own affairs, presented a petition to the General Court, that

NOTES TO THE FOREGOING LIST OF NAMES.

(*a*) The Brecks were probably of Dorchester. The Rev. Robert Breck of Marlborough, a distinguished clergymen, who died Jan. 7, 1731, may have been of this race. There were Brecks, early in Boston. John Dunton in his "Life and errors" 1686, speaks of Madam Brick (Breck) as the "flower of Boston," for beauty. 2 Mass. Hist. Col. II. 103.

(*b*) William Kerley, senior, was from Sudbury; I find him there, in Nov. 1652. After the death of his wife, Ann, in March, 1658, he married Bridget Rowlandson, the mother, I think, of the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson, 14 May, 1659. She died ~~in~~ June, 16 1662. ~~He or~~ his son William, ~~probably the former~~, married Rebecca Joslin, widow of Thomas Joslin, May, 1664. He died in July, 1670. He was one of the proprietors of Marlboro' in 1660. I find many years after, this name spelt Carley.

(*c*) Thomas and Mary Sawyer, had divers children, viz:—Thomas born July, 1649, and was married to Sarah, his wife, Oct. 11 1670.—Mary, their daughter, born Jan. 7, 1672 (N.S.)—Ephraim, born Jan. 7, 1651, (N.S.) killed by the Indians, at Prescotts' garrison, Feb. 1676.—Mary, born Jan. 7, 1653, (N.S.)—Elizabeth, born Jan. 7, 1654, (N.S.)—Joshua, born March, 1655, (N.S.)—James, born March, 1657, (N.S.)—Caleb, born April, 1659, (N.S.)—John, born April, 1661, (N.S.)—Nathaniel, born Nov. 17 1670, (N.S.) Thomas, I think the father, was again married Nov. 1672.

From this stock there are numerous descendants in Lancaster, Sterling, Bolton, &c.

(*d*) Ralph Houghton came to this country not long before the town was incorporated, in company with his cousin, John Houghton, father of John Houghton Esq. usually called Justice Houghton, who will be mentioned more particularly by and by. Ralph, and John, senior, first lived in Watertown; Ralph early moved to Lancaster. John probably came up at the same time. When the town was destroyed, in 1676, they went to Woburn, where they lived till the town was rebuilt. Ralph was clerk or recorder as early as 1656 and for many years, and was quite a skillful penman. A single leaf of the original volume of Records in his hand writing, is in existence. It was found amongst the papers of the late Hezekiah Gates.

(*e*) Died, Sept. 24 1662.

(*f*) Linton was of Watertown in 1646. He died, March, 1665. George Bennett, who was killed by the Indians, Aug. 22, 1675, was his grandson.

(*g*) One of the same name is mentioned as one of the proprietors of Marlborough, 1657.

(*h*) John Moore was of Sudbury in 1649. Married John Smith's daughter, Anna, Nov. 1654, and left a son, John, born April, 1662, and other children.

(*i*) Wm. Lewis, was probably of Cambridge. He died, Dec. 1671.

(*j*) One of that name, and I suppose the same person, was a member of Dorchester Church, in April, 1678, and was dismissed with others, to form a church in Milton. This was while Lancaster remained uninhabited, after its destruction, by the Indians. 1 Mass. Hist. Col. IX. 194.

(*k*) An account of Day will be found in a preceding note.

(*l*) Of his children, were James, born 13 May, 1654.—Joshua, 13 May, 1656.—His wife's name was Hannah.

(*m*) Henry Kerley must have been the son of William Kerley, senior. He married Elizabeth White, sister to Mrs. Rowlandson, Nov. 1654. His children were, Henry, born Jan. 1658, (N.S.)—William, Jan. 1659, (N.S.) and killed by the Indians at the destruction of the town.—Hannah, July,

the power, which was given to the six individuals, the year before, to manage the affairs of the town, might be transferred to the town, and the inhabitants in general; one of the six being dead, another having removed, and some of the remainder being desirous to re-

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1663—Mary, Oct. 1666.—Joseph, March, 1669, and killed with William.—Martha, ~~Dec.~~ June 10 1672.—Henry, the son, married Elizabeth How, in Charlestown, April, 1676, where they probably retreated, after the town was laid waste.—The Kerleys did not return after the re-settlement, it would seem; but went to Marlborough where Capt. Kerley owned land. In the pamphlet entitled "Revolution in New England justified," printed 1691, he gives his deposition relating to Sir Edmund Andross' passing through that town in 1688, who demanded of Kerley "by what order they garrisoned and fortified their houses." Kerley was then 57 years old. The one mentioned by Rev. Mr. Allen, in his sketch of Northborough, (ante p. 154) was probably Henry, the son.—There is a tradition of Capt. Kerley, who married Mrs. Rowlandson's sister; that he had sundry little passages with a damsel, in the way of differences. On one of these occasions, after they were published, he pulled up the post, on which the publishment, as it is called, was placed, and cast it into the river; but, like all true lovers, they soon healed up their quarrels, and were married.

(*n*) The name of Smith was early, so common that I cannot trace individuals of the name.

(*o*) A son, I think, of Wm. Kerley, Senr. He was of Sudbury, in 1652. One of the same name was of Sudbury, in 1672, and of Cambridge, in 1683.

(*p*) John Smith died, July, 1669.

(*q*) Waters was of Watertown, 1635–1638–1646, married Anna, daughter of Richard Linton. His children were, Joseph, Jacob, Rachel and Ephraim.

(*r*) There were some three or four of this name, early in New England. This one probably came from Weymouth. In March, 1658, at a meeting of the town, all the orders of the Selectmen passed, except that of Goodman White, which was rejected "because he feared not to speak in his own cause." x "abeared"

(*s*) Killed by the Indians, August 22, 1675. His grandchildren, Jacob, George, John and Henry, lived in Concord. They sold all their grandfather's land in Lancaster, to their uncle, John Houghton, Esq. Oct. 1697.

(*t*) He had a son Nathaniel, born June, 1658.

(*u*) What is known of Rev. Mr. Rowlandson and family, will be related in the sequel.

(*v*) Roper was killed by the Indians, six weeks after the attack of Feb. 1676, and the very day that the inhabitants withdrew from town.

(*w*) I find master John Tinker's name in Boston records, in 1652. He was Clerk and Selectman for sometime, and his chirography was very neat. In 1659, he moved to "Pequid."

(*x*) He was killed, with his wife, and two children, Aug. 22, 1675, by the Indians.

(*y*) Jonas Fairbanks was killed by the Indians, when they destroyed the the town, in Feb. 1676. His son Joshua, born April, 1661, was killed at the same time.

(*z*) "1660, Aug. 26. Roger Sumner was dismissed, that with other christians, at Lancaster, a Church might be begun there." Church records of Dorchester, 1 Mass. Hist. Col. IX. 192. He married a daughter of Thomas Joslin; as I find he is called son-in-law to the widow Rebecca Joslin, who was wife to Thomas.

(*aa*) He spelt his name, "Wyelder:" further accounts of this family, will be found in the sequel.

(*bb*) Killed by the Indians, Feb. 1676.

linquish their power.* They further requested, that the Court would appoint some one or more to lay out the bounds of the town. They say, they shall be well satisfied, if the Court will grant seven men out of ten, whose names they mention, to order their municipal concerns; and that afterwards, it shall be lawful to make their own elections, &c. This petition was signed by the townsmen, to whom the General Court on the 10th of May, 1654, returned a favourable answer, granting them the full liberties of a township, and appointed Lieut. Goodnough,† and Thomas Danforth, a committee to lay out the bounds. I cannot find that any survey was made in pursuance of this order, nor, at any time, till 1659, as will be mentioned below.

The first town meeting on record, was held, in the summer of 1654, probably soon after the petition, I have just mentioned, was granted. The doings of the Committee were then confirmed and at a subsequent meeting, which is not dated, but must have been early in 1655, it was voted not to take into the town above thirty five families: and the names of twenty five individuals are signed, who are to be considered as townsmen. They are as follows, viz. Edward Breck, Master Joseph Rowlandson, John Prescott, William Kerley, senior, Ralph Houghton, Thomas Sawyer, John Whitcomb, and John Whitcomb, Jr. Richard Linton, John Johnson, John Moore, William, and John Lewis, Thomas James, Edmund Parker, James Atherton, Henry Kerley, Richard Smith, William Kerley, Jr. John Smith, Lawrence Waters, John White, John, and Jacob Farrar, John Rugg. Many of these names still abound in Lancaster and the vicinity.

The first highway, out of town, was probably laid out in 1653, according to the direction of the General Court, from Lancaster to Sudbury; and for many years this was the principal route to Boston.

A highway to Concord, was laid out in the spring of 1656. It commenced near Prescotts', in what is now called New Boston, thence by the then parsonage, which was a little N. E. of Rev. Dr. Thayer's, and over the river some 15 or 20 rods above the present bridge, then passing over the south end of the neck, and crossing Penecook river,‡ in the general direction of the travelled road, till

* Nathaniel Hadlock and Edward Breck. Hadlock was the one that died.

† Goodinow, as Johnson spells it, was of Sudbury. 2. Mass. Hist. Col. VII. 55. For Danforth, see note, post.

‡ It crossed at the wading place of the Penecook, to the east of what was afterwards called the Neck bridge.

within a few years, and extending over Wataquodoc hill in Bolton. This road, I find afterwards in the proprietor's books as beginning at Wataquodoc hill, passing the Penecook, and North Rivers, by "Master Rowlandson's house, and fenced, marked, and staked up to Goodman Prescotts' rye field; and so between John Moore's lot and across the brook, &c.—and so beyond all the lots into the woods." The present roads on the east and west side of the neck, were probably laid out as early as 1654. The latter extended as far to the N. W. as Quassaponiken.

In 1657, the good people of Nashaway, found that they were unable to manage their town affairs satisfactorily to themselves, in public town meetings, "by reason," they say, "of many inconveniences, and incumbrances, which we find that way; nor by select men by reason of the scarcity of freemen,* being but three in number." It therefore repented them of the former petition, which I have mentioned, and they besought the General Court, to appoint a committee, (to use the language of the request) "to put us into such a way of order, as we are capable of, or any other way which the Honored Court may judge safest and best, &c. till the committee make return that the town is able to manage its own affairs." This request was granted, May 6th, of the same year, and Messrs. Simon Willard,† Edward Johnson,‡ and Thomas Danforth§ were appointed commissioners.

* At the first session of the General Court, in the colony of Massachusetts, May, 1631, it was ordered "that no man should be admitted to the freedom of this Commonwealth, but such as are members of some of the churches, within the limits of this jurisdiction." And this was the law till 1664. None but freemen were allowed to hold any office.

† Major Willard came to this country from the County of Kent, as early as 1634 at the same time, I think, with the Rev. Peter Bulkley, a distinguished clergyman of Concord. He was one of the original purchasers from the Indians of Musketaquid, afterwards called Concord. He resided there many years. The town was incorporated, Sept. 1635, and he was the deputy or Representative from the spring following, till 1654, with the omission only of one year. In 1654, he was chosen one of the Court of Assistants, and was annually re-chosen till the time of his death. He died in Charlestown, April 24, (O. S.) 1676. This Court was the upper branch of the General Court, the Court of Probate, a Court for Capital and other trials of importance; and with power to hear petitions, decree divorces, &c. The members, were magistrates throughout the Colony, and held the County Courts, the powers of which extended to all civil causes, and criminal, excepting life, member, banishment and divorces.

‡ Johnson was of Woburn, and came from the County of Kent. He was the author of "Wonder working Providence of Zion's Savior, in New England;" a very singular, curious, and enthusiastic work.

§ Danforth lived in Cambridge. He was distinguished in the early history of Massachusetts; some time one of the assistants, and Deputy Governor.

These Commissioners were instructed to hear and determine the several differences and grievances which "obstruct the present and future good of the town" &c. and were to continue in office till they could report the town to be of sufficient ability to manage its own affairs.

The Commissioners appointed in September of the same year, were, master John Tinker, Wm. Kerley, sen'r, Jno. Prescott, Ralph Houghton, and Thomas Sawyer, to superintend the municipal concerns with power to make all necessary rates and levies, to erect "a meeting house, pound and stocks," three things that were then as necessary to constitute a village, as, according to Knickerbocker, a "meeting house, tavern and blacksmith's shop" are, at the present day. None were to be permitted to take up their residence in town, or be entertained therein, unless by consent of the selectmen, and any coming without such consent, on record, and persons entertaining them, were each subject to a penalty of twenty shillings per month. However much we may be inclined to smile at the last regulation, something of the kind probably was necessary in the early state of society, and especially in so remote a plantation as that of Nashaway, to exclude the idle and unprincipled; not only strong hands but stout hearts, sobriety of character, and patriotism, properly so called, were needed to sustain and advance the interest of the town. Vicious persons would be disorderly; the situation was critical, the danger of giving provocation to the Indians would be increased, and it would require but a slight matter to destroy the settlement. The commissioners directed further, that lands should be reserved for "the accommodation and encouragement of five or six able men, to take up their residence in the town."

Early attention was paid by the town to its water privileges. In Nov. 1653, John Prescott received a grant of land of the inhabitants, on condition that he would build a "corn mill." By a memorandum in Middlesex Records, it appears, that he finished the mill and began to grind corn, the following spring, 23. 3 mo. 1654. A saw mill followed in a few years, according to the records of the proprietaries; where I find that "in November 1658, at a training, a motion was made by Goodman Prescott, about setting up a saw

He was one of the few who dared to oppose openly, the witchcraft delusion. Gov. Bradstreet, President Increase Mather, and Sumuel Willard, son of Major W. minister in Boston, and afterwards V. Pres. of the College, were almost the only leading men who withstood the mighty torrent.

mill; and the town voted that if he should erect one, he should have the grant of certain priveleges, and a large tract of land lying near his mill for him and his posterity forever; and to be more exactly recorded, when exactly known."

In consideration of these provisions, Goodman Prescott forthwith erected his mill. This was on the spot, where the Lancaster Cotton Manufacturing Company have extensive and profitable works under the superintendence of Messrs. Poignand & Plant. I mention these mills, the more particularly, as they were many years before any of the kind in the present County of Worcester. People came from Sudbury to Prescotts' grist mill. The stone of this mill was brought from England, and is now in the vicinity of the Factory*, in fragments.

There were no bridges in town till 1659. In January of that year (3. 11 mo. 1658) it is recorded that "the Selectmen ordered for the bridges over Nashaway and North river, that they that are on the neck of land do make a cart bridge over the north river† by Goodman Water's, and they on the south end, do make a cart bridge over Nashaway about the wading place‡ at their own expense."

These two bridges were supported in this way, eleven years. In February 1670, it was voted, that the two bridges should be a town charge from the second day of that month, (1669, O. S.) only, it was ordered, that if the town should think it "for the safety of north bridge, that the cages be put down, that then they shall be set down upon the Neck's charge, the first convenient opportunity." There is reason to believe that no bridge was built over the Penecook, or Main river, till after the re-settlement of the town in 1679 and 80.§ The "Great bridge by the Knight pasture," (the same as the Neck bridge,) a little to the east of the present centre bridge is spoken of in 1729, and a vote was passed in 1736, to repair this bridge. The road that I have before mentioned from Bolton, across the Penecook, and "staked up to Goodman Prescott's rye field," was laid out in the spring of 1656. But I assert with confidence, that no bridge was there as early as 1671. From 1671 to 1675, it is by no means probable that the inhabitants were in a situation to

* This rests on information received from Mr. Jonathan Wilder, of this town, a high authority in traditionary lore. Mrs. Wilder is a descendant, in direct line from John Prescott.

† This was near the residence of the late Judge Sprague.

‡ This was on the south branch, near the present mill bridge.

§ The remark, relative to the bridge in the first volume of Worcester Magazine, p. 284, in note, is incorrect.

support three bridges,* and after that time, Metacomet's war left neither opportunity nor means, to pay attention to any thing but self-defence.†

1658. The Selectmen met in January following their appointment, and ordered the inhabitants to bring in a perfect list of their lands—the quality, quantity, bounds, &c. that they might be recorded, to prevent future differences, by reason of mistake or forgetfulness. In the course of the year, finding their authority insufficient to manage the municipal concerns of the town, they presented a petition to the commissioners, in which they say "the Lord has succeeded our endeavors to the "settling," we hope, of Master Rowlandson amongst us, and the town is, in some sort, at least, in a good preparative to after peace; yet it is hard to repel the "boilings and breakings forth" of some persons, difficult to please, and some petty differences will arise amongst us, provide what we can to the contrary," and that unless they have further power given them, what they possess is a "sword tool, and no edge."

The Commissioners, then in Boston, explained to the Selectmen the extent of their powers, and authorized them to impose penalties in certain cases, for breach of orders, to make divisions of land, to appoint persons to hear and end small causes, under forty shillings, and present them to the County Court for allowance, &c. This increase of power, probably answered the purpose, so long as the management of affairs pertained to the Commissioners, and till it returned to the inhabitants of the town, at their general meetings.

As was before observed, although a committee had been appointed for that purpose some years before, it does not appear that the boundaries of the town were surveyed and marked before 1659. At that time, Thomas Noyes was appointed to that service, by the General Court, and the selectmen voted that when "Ensign Noyes comes to lay out the bounds, Goodman Prescott do go with him to mark the bounds, and Job Whitcomb, and young Jacob Farrar, to carry the chain," &c. provided "that a bargain be first made between him and the selectmen, in behalf of the town, for his art and pains." Noyes made his return 7th April, of that year

* There was a wading place over the Penecook.—See note ante.

† Since the above was written, I have ascertained satisfactorily, that the Neck bridge was built, 1718. The vote to build, was March 10, 1718—and to be finished by the first of August following. In the vote, it was ordered, "that the bridge have five trussells, and to be a foot higher than before." It would seem then, that this was not the first bridge over the principal stream.

as follows, viz.: beginning at the wading place of Nashaway* river, thence running a line three miles in length, N. W. one degree West, and from that point drawing a perpendicular line five miles, N. N. East, one degree North, and another S. S. West, one degree South. At the end of the ten miles, making ~~eight~~ right angles, and running at the north end, a line of eight miles, and at the south, six miles and a half, in the direction E. S. East, one degree East, then connecting the extremes of these two lines, finished the fourth side, making in shape a trapezoid. Four miles of the S. East part of the line, bounded on Whipsufferage† plantation, that was granted to Sudbury, now included in Berlin, Bolton and Marlborough. The return of Mr. Noyes was accepted by the Court, provided a farm of six hundred and forty acres be laid out within the bounds, for the Country's use, in some place not already appropriated.‡

mistake. a pentagon? See map after till page

The town, which for a number of years, had labored under the many disadvantages incident to new plantations, increased, perhaps, by being quite remote from other settlements, now began to acquire somewhat of municipal weight and importance. It was becoming a place, to which the enterprising colonists were attracted by its natural beauties, its uncommon facility of cultivation, and by the mild and friendly character of the natives in the vicinity. The selectmen, therefore, in July, 1659, found it necessary to repeal the foolish order of 1654, by which the number of families was limited to 35. Their eyes being opened, they conceived it to be most for the good of the town, "that so many Inhabitants be admitted, as may be meetly accommodated, provided they are such, as are acceptable; and that admittance be granted to so many, as shall stand with the description of the selectmen, and are worthy of acceptance according to the Commissionary acceptance."

1663, the town also began to feel sufficient strength to regulate the affairs of the Corporation by regular town meetings. The selectmen were willing, and in a letter expressed to the town "that there was not such a loving concurrence as they could desire," in their proceedings, and go on to observe, that if their labors in endeavoring to procure the town liberty to choose its own officers be

* This it will be recollected was the South branch, and near the present mill bridge by Samuel Carter's mills. The main stream was invariably called Penecook.

† This is the English name. Rev. Mr. Allen, in his sketch of Northborough, in which he discovers the true spirit of the antiquary, says, that the Indian word is Whippsuppenike. See Worcester Magazine for July, 1826, p. 134.

‡ The tradition is, that it was laid out in the south part of the town, and included a very poor tract of land.

Tracings of autographs of Early Lancastrians.

John Prescott

Edwen Day Ralph Houghton

William Barker

Thomas Rowlandson

Jonas Fairbanks Richard Smith

Lawrence Waters

John Prescott Junior Jonath Prescott

Joseph Rowlandson

Alice Whiting Mary Gardner

John more John Rugg

Sam: Carter John Moore Ensigne

Jacob Farrar John Wyman

Cyprian Stileeverns

Daniell gains Roger Sumner

John Prentice

John Lewis William Kerley Junior

Henry Kerley

Jno Minor

Thomas Wylder Josiah Whiting

Simon Willard.

John Houghton senr Clerk.

H. S. Nourse 1883.
del.

of use they desire to bless God for it; but if not, they desire not to create trouble to themselves, and grief for their loving brethren and neighbors," &c. &c. The town confirmed the doings of the selectmen, and petitioned the Commissioners early in the year 1665, to restore the full privileges to the town. The answer of the Commissioners is, in part, as follows—

"*Gentlemen and loving friends.*

"We do with much thankfulness to the Lord acknowledge his favor to yourselves, and not only to you, but to all that delight in the prosperity of God's people, and children, in your loving compliance together; that this may be continued is our earnest desire, and shall be our prayer to God. And wherein we may in our capacity, contribute thereto, we do account it our duty to the Lord, and to you, and for that end, do fully concur, and consent to your proposals, for the ratifying of what is, and for liberty among yourselves, observing the laws and the directions of the General Court, for the election of your selectmen for the future."

SIMON WILLARD,
THOMAS DANFORTH,
EDWARD JOHNSON.

Dated, 8th 1 mo. 1664."

The town was soon after relieved from the inconveniences and embarrassments of having its affairs directed by gentlemen residing at a distance, and, in future, sustained its new duties, without further assistance from the General Court.

A highway was soon after laid out to Groton, passing over the intervale to Still river hill, in Harvard, thence to Groton in a very circuitous course.

In 1669 an order was passed establishing the first Monday in February, at ten o'clock A. M. for the annual town meetings, and obliging every inhabitant, to attend, under penalty of two shillings unless having a good excuse. The limited population, rendered necessary the sanction of all qualified persons, to the municipal proceedings.

The affairs of the town seem to have proceeded with tolerable quiet for more than twenty years from the first settlement, till 1674. The population had increased quite rapidly and was spread over a large part of the township. The Indians were inclined to peace, and, in various ways, were of service to the Inhabitants. But this happy state of things was not destined to continue. The day of deep and long continued distress was at hand. The natives with

whom they had lived on terms of mutual good will, were soon to become their bitter enemies: desolation was to spread over the fair inheritance: fire and the tomahawk, torture and death, were soon to be busy in annihilating all the comforts of domestic life.

The tribe of the Nashaways, when the country was first settled, was under the chief Sachem of the Massachusetts. Gookin, who wrote in 1674, says, "they have been a great people in former times; but of late years have been consumed by the Maquas* wars, and other ways, and are now not above fifteen or sixteen families.†" He probably referred to the setttlement at Washacum alone.—There were Indians in various parts of the town at that time; in fact so large a part of the tribe, as would, perhaps, swell the whole number to twenty five or thirty families, or from one hundred and fifty, to one hundred and eighty persons. This miserable remnant, that was rapidly wasting way by intemperance, which, at this day, destroys its thousands, was under the influence of the master spirit, Philip. Whilst Gookin, with Wattasacompanum, ruler of the Nipmucks, was at Pakachoog, in Sept. 1674, he sent Jethro‡ of Natick, one of the most distinguished of the converted Indians, who, in general, made but sorry christians, to Nashaway, to preach to his countrymen, whom Eliot had ~~never~~ visited. One of the tribe happened to be present at the Court, and declared "that he was desirously willing as well as some other of his people to pray to God: but that there were sundry of that people very wicked, and much addicted to drunkenness, and thereby many disorders were committed amongst them;" and he intreated Gookin to put forth his power, to suppress this vice. He was asked, "whether he would take upon him the office of constable, and receive power to apprehend drunkards, and take away their strength from them, and bring the delinquents before the court to receive punishment." Probably apprehending some difficulty from his brethren, if he should accept the appointment at the time, he answered, "that he would first speak with his friends, and if they chose him, and strengthened his hand in the work, he would come for a black staff and power."

It is not known that Jethro's exhortations produced any effect.

* A fierce tribe residing about fifty miles beyond Albany and towards the lakes.

† 1 Mass. Hist. Col. I. 193.

‡ Gookin gave Jethro a letter directed to the Indians, exhorting them to keep the sabbath and to abstain from drunkenness, powowing, &c. At this time and for many years after Gookin was superintendant of all the Indians under the government of Massachusetts.

A short time before the destruction of Lancaster the Colonial authorities sent out two spies to ascertain the position numbers & intentions of Philips forces. These scouts were the Praying Indians James Quanapeg & Job Kattenanit of the Natick tribe. Arrived at Menemesseg they found the Indian camp, but were ill received, Philip shrewdly suspecting their character. Their lives would doubtless have become forfeit for their daring, had they not had a powerful friend at hand. James by strategem soon escaped, returned to the Bay of 24th 11mo 1675, told the Council what he had undergone & learned. Had his information been heeded as its importance demanded - the history of Lancaster might have missed its most tragic episode, for he faithfully warned them of the coming massacre, even to the detail of its exact date. For not acting with speedy energy upon "James Quanapeg's Information" the Governor & Council are justly chargeable with Criminal Carelessness - as the following extracts will show. After relating the threatening disposition of the Indians towards him at his arrival, he continues "Next morning I went to One-Eyed-John's Wigwam. He said he was glad to see me; I had been his friend many years, and had helped him kill Mahangs; and said

nobody should meddle with me. I told him what was said of me. He said if any body hurt me they should die. x x x I lay in the Sagamores wigwam: and he charged his gun and threatened any man that should offer me hurt:" x x "The Frenchmen that went up from Boston to Norwottock were with the Indians, and showed them some letters, and burned some papers there, and bid them they should not burn Mills nor Meeting houses for there God was worshipped" x x x "And this Indian told me they would fall upon Lancaster, Groton, Marlborough, Sudbury and Medfield and that the first thing they would do should be to cut down Lancaster bridge so to hinder their flight and assistance coming to them, and that they intended to fall upon them in about twenty days time from Wednesday last"

Several times

This alarming news fell apparently upon deaf ears. The second Spy Job Kattenanit finally got away. Feby 9 about 10 O clock at night aroused Major Gookin from his slumbers, at his house in Cambridge. "He brought tidings that before he came from the enemy at Menemesse a party of the Indians about four hundred, were marched forth to attack and burn Lancaster, and on the morrow which was February 10th, they would attempt it. This time exactly suited with James, his information before

hinted, which was not then credited as it should have been; and consequently not so good means used to prevent it, or at least to have lain in ambushments for the enemy." — The rumour of these coming dangers had, it seems, reached Lancaster & some of its chief men had just come to the Bay to rouse the ruling powers from their lethargy if possible, & carry back help. They were too late. "As soon as Major Gookin understood these tidings by Job. he rose out of his bed and advising with Mr Danforth one of the Council that lived near him they despatched away post in the night to Marlborough, Concord & Lancaster ordering forces to surround Lancaster with all speed. The posts were at Marlborough by break of day, & Capt. Wadsworth with about forty soldiers marched away as speedily as he could possibly to Lancaster (which was ten miles distant) But before he got there the enemy had set fire to the bridge; but Captain Wadsworth got over and beat off the enemy, recovered a garrison house that stood near another bridge belonging to Cyprian Stevens, and so through God's favor prevented the enemy from cutting off the Garrison. God strangely preserving that handful with Captain Wadsworth, for the enemy were numerous; about four hundred, and lay in

ambushment for him on the common road, but his guides conducted him in a private way and so they got safe to Cyprian Stevens, his garison as above mentioned - But the enemy had taken and burnt another garison-house very near the other, only a bridge and a little ground parting them. This house burnt was the minister's house named Mr Rolandson, wherein were slain and taken Captive about forty persons the ministers wife and Children amongst them -" + + +

See Gookin's "History of the Praying Indians"
+ "James Quanapang's Information"

The conspiracy that in the following summer lighted up the flames of war, was secretly spreading, and but little opportunity existed, to improve the condition of the Nashaways. At this time, Sagamore Shoshanim* was at the head of the tribe. He possessed, it appears, a hostile feeling, and a vindictive spirit against the English. He joined heart and hand in the measures of Philip. He probably engaged early in the war, and took an active part in the attack upon his former friends. James Quanapaug, who was sent out by the English, as a spy, in Jan. 1676, (N. S.) relates that Shoshanim was out with the hostile Indians in the neighborhood of Mennimesseg, about 20 miles north of the Connecticut path. Robert Pepper was his prisoner. Philip was in the neighborhood of Fort Aurania, (Albany) and was probably on his return to Mennimesseg. This circumstance, taken in connection with the positive declaration of Rev. Mr. Harrington, in his Century Sermon, and the frequent mention made of him by Mrs. Rowlandson, shows pretty conclusively that he ~~was~~ had the powerful force that overwhelmed Lancaster. I find in a scarce pamphlet, entitled a "Brief and true Narrative of the late wars risen in New England," printed late in 1675, that the report was current, that Philip had "fled to the French at Canada for succor." And Cotton Mather says, that the French from Canada sent recruits to aid in the war. Philip probably returned early in the winter with the recruits. Whilst Quanapaug was at Mennimesseg, one eyed John,† (an Indian every whit,) told him that in about twenty days from the Wednesday preceding, "they were to fall upon Lancaster, Groton, Marlborough, Sudbury, and Medfield, and that the first thing they would do, would be to cut down Lancaster bridge, so as to hinder the flight of the Inhabitants, and prevent assistance from coming to them."‡ The war broke out in June, 1675, by an attack upon Swansey, as I should have stated before. On the 22nd day of August, the same summer, eight persons were killed in Lancaster.§ On the 10th (O. S.) of February following, early in the morning, the Wamponoags, led by Philip, accompanied by the Narrhagansetts, his allies, and also by the Nip-

No! he did not return until later

No! Mrs R. did not see him until she crossed the Connecticut

? No!

* Sam was his name in the vernacular. He succeeded Matthew, who, as Mr. Harrington relates, always conducted himself well towards the English, as did his predecessor, Sholan. Shoshamin, after the war, was executed at Boston. See post.

† Or John Monoco.

‡ I. Mass. Hist. Col. I. 206, 207 and 208.

§ George Bennett, a grandson of Richard Linton; William Flagg; Jacob Farrar; Joseph Wheeler; Mordecai McLoad, his wife, and two children.

mucs and Nashaways, whom his artful eloquence had persuaded to join with him, made a desperate attack upon Lancaster. His forces consisted of 1500* men, who invested the town "in five distinct bodies and places."† There were at that time more than fifty families in Lancaster. After killing a number of persons in different parts of the town, they directed their course to the house‡ of Mr. Rowlandson, the clergyman of the place. The house was pleasantly situated on the brow of a small hill, commanding a fine view of the valley of the north branch of the river, and the ampitheatre of hills to the west, north and east. It was filled with soldiers and inhabitants to the number of forty two, and was guarded only in front, not like the other garrisons, with flankers at the opposite angles.§— "Quickly" says Mrs. Rowlandson "it was the dolefullest day that ever mine eyes saw." The house was defended with determined bravery upwards of two hours. The enemy, after several unsuccessful attempts to set fire to the building, filled a cart with combustible matter, and approached in the rear, where there was no fortification. In this way, the house was soon enveloped in flames. The inhabitants finding further resistance useless were compelled at length to surrender, to avoid perishing in the ruins of the building.‖ No other garrison was destroyed but that of Mr. Rowlandson. One man only escaped.⁂ The rest twelve in number,‡† were either put to death on the spot, or were reserved for torture. Of

* Hutchinson says several hundred. I have taken the number given by Mr. Harrington, who says it was confessed by the Indians themselves after the peace.

† I can ascertain but three of these places, viz. Wheeler's garrison, at Wataquodoc hill, now S. West part of Bolton. Here they killed Jonas and Joshua Fairbanks and Richard Wheeler. Wheeler had been in town about 15 years. The second was Prescott's garrison, near Poignard & Plant's Manufactory. Ephraim Sawyer was killed here; and Henry Farrar and (John?) Ball and his wife in other places. The third was Mr. Rowlandson's.

I think this is wrong - & that Mr's garrison was on So. Lan. towards Sherburne perhaps.

‡ This house was about one third of a mile south west of the Church.— The cellar was filled up only a few years since. Where the garden was, are a number of very aged trees, more or less decayed. These, I doubt not, date back to the time of Mr. Rowlandson.

§ So says Harrington. But Hubbard relates that the "fortification was on the back side of the building, but covered up with fire wood, and the Indians got near and burnt a leanto." Edition 1677.

‖ On the authority of Hubbard, I state, that the Indians destroyed about one half of the buildings.

⁂ Ephraim Roper.

‡† Ensign Divoll, Abraham Joslin, Daniel Gains, Thomas Rowlandson, William and Joseph Kerley, John McLoad, John Kettle and two sons, Josiah Divoll. Instead of giving the twelfth name, Mr. Harrington puts down "&c." The name therefore must rest, in nubibus.

Willard seems to have overlooked the fact that Harrington says nothing about "12" men or any number - also that four or five of the names he gives are of children, two or three almost infants. There were other men unnamed, perhaps soldiers from Sherburne, probably of the statement about 12 men (which is taken from a contemporary pamphlet) is accurate.

the slain, Thomas Rowlandson was brother to the clergyman; Mrs. Kerley was wife of Capt. Henry Kerley, and sister to Mrs. Rowlandson;* Wm. Kerley, Jr. I think, may have been Henry's brother, and Joseph his child: I do not venture, however, to give this as a historical fact. Mrs. ~~Drew~~ Diwell,† another sister, was of the captives. Mrs. Kerley, and Ephraim Roper's wife were killed in attempting to escape.

Different accounts vary in the number of the slain, and the captives. At least there were fifty persons, and one writer says, fifty five.‡ Nearly half of these suffered death.§ No less than seventeen of the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson's family, and connexions, were put to death or taken prisoners. He, at that time, with Capt. Kerley, ~~and Mr. Drew,~~ was at Boston soliciting military aid from Gov. Leverett and the council. The anguish they felt on their return, is not to be described. Their dwellings had been destroyed: the wife of one was buried in the ruins, the wives of the two others, were in the power of the savages, threading their way, through the trackless forest in the midst of winter; with no comforts to supply their necessities, no friends to cheer them, and nothing but the unmingled dread of a hopeless captivity in prospect. Mrs. Rowlandson was taken by a Narrhagansett Indian, and sold to Quannopin, a Sagamore, and connected with Philip by marriage; their squaws being sisters. Mrs. Rowlandson's sister, was taken, it would seem by Shoshanim.‖

* Mrs. Rowlandson was Mary, daughter of Mr. White, probably John White, who was the richest man in town in 1653. Henry Kerley married Elizabeth. Ensign John Diwell married Hannah White - 1663.

† This name is inserted on the authority of "News from New-England:" a pamphlet relating to Philip's war, published in 1676. I have not met with the name elsewhere. Undoubtedly should be Diwell.

‡ "News from New England." So also in another London tract of the time "A New & Further Narrative of the State of New England."

§ Abraham Joslin's wife was a captive. In the neighborhood of Paxquaoge (Miller's river,) being near the time of her confinement, the Indians became enraged at her frequent solicitations for liberty to return home, and cast her into the flames with a young child in her arms, two years old. Of those of the Nashaway tribe of Indians who survived the war, a part moved to Albany, and the rest to Penecook, one of the New Hampshire tribes; with this tribe they incorporated. There have been Indians residing in town, within the memory of some of the present inhabitants; they were wanderers from other places, and not descendents of the Nashaways.

‖ Mrs. Rowlandson during her captivity was separated from her sister.—At one time when they were near, the Indian, Mrs. Drew's master, would not suffer her to visit Mrs. Rowlandson, and the latter in her "removes" remarks with much apparent comfort, that "the Lord requited many of their ill doings, for this Indian was hanged afterwards at Boston." This was Sept. 26, 1676. The Sagamore of Quoboag, and old Jethro, were executed at the same time, at the town's end. Hubbard, Edition 1677.

X It has been generally so believed, but if genealogists are correct. This brother Thomas died 1682 in Salisbury - He had a son Thomas - & the one Killed was probably this Thomas nephew of the minister - The "brother in law" Mrs Rowlandson speaks of as first commited Thomas Kelly must have been Ensign Diwell -

The Indians made great plunder in various parts of the town. They were forced, however, to retreat on the appearance of Capt. Wadsworth,* who, hearing of the distressed situation of the town, immediately marched from Marlborough, where he was stationed, with forty men. The Indians had removed the planks from the bridge to prevent the passage of horsemen, the river at the time being much swollen, and had prepared an ambush for the foot soldiers, but fortunately withdrew from that spot, before the arrival of the soldiers. Wadsworth stationed his men in different parts of the town, and remained there for some days. Before his departure, he lost one of his men, George Harrington, by the Indians.

But the alarm of the Inhabitants was so great, and such was the general insecurity of the border towns, in the then unsettled state of the Country, that when the troops withdrew, about six weeks afterwards, the rest of the inhabitants left under their protection, after destroying all the houses, but two.† The return of peace on the death of Philip, in August, 1676, did not restore their courage and confidence. For more than three years, Lancaster remained without an inhabitant. In Oct. 1679, a committee was appointed by the County Court, under a law then in force, to rebuild the town.‡ It is probable that the resettlement took place in the spring of 1680.§ No record exists by which the precise time or mode can be discovered. Some interest naturally attaches to this era, as the whole work of building up the town was to be again undertaken. Some of the first planters, or their children, who were still living, returned accompanied by others. Of the former, were the Prescotts, Houghtons, Sawyers, Wilders, &c. The Carters, a name now

* Capt. Samuel Wadsworth of Milton, a brave soldier and valuable man. He was killed on the 18th of April following, in a severe battle with the Indians at Sudbury. A monument over his grave, on the spot where he fell, was erected by his son, Rev. President Wadsworth of Harvard College.

† The house of public worship, was not destroyed by the Indians at this time. The French, according to James Quanapaug, before the commencement of the winter campaign "bid them that they should not destroy meeting houses, for there, God was worshipped." John Roper was killed the very day that the Inhabitants withdrew.

‡ Oct. 7, 1679. The committee consisted of Capt. Thomas Prentice, Deacon John Stone, and William Bond. Prentice, was a distinguished cavalry officer in Philip's war. – Mass. Hist. Col. Vol. V. p. 270, I. about Prentice

§ To avoid the charge of plagiarism, perhaps it should be stated, that the account of the destruction of Lancaster, excepting what was taken from Mr. Harrington, was extracted principally from an anonymous article, written by the compiler, and published in the New Hampshire Historical and Miscellaneous Collections for April and May, 1824; and another, in the Worcester Magazine, for Feb. 1826. Harrington took most of his account from Hubbard.

× The house of worship probably was destroyed at this time or very soon after - Mr Willard gives no authority for his statement in note. + Jno. Houghton testified, 1706 that the meeting-house on the first site was "twice destroyed by the Enemy."

quite prevalent, came in soon after the restoration. A number of brothers of that family, came from Woburn,* and took up their residence on George hill, where, and in other parts of the town, many of their descendants still live.

Under the numerous inconveniences, hardships and dangers of a new settlement, it is not to be supposed that the wealth or population of the town, for some years, increased with much rapidity. In 1681 and 1682, in consequence of these things, and of the exposed situation of the town, on the confines of civilization, an exemption was granted from the County rates. In 1694, 20 pounds of the public taxes were allowed to the town, in consideration of its "frontier situation."

The civil history of Lancaster from 1680 to 1724, excepting what is preserved by Mr. Harrington, is, I fear, irretrievably lost. I regret this the more, from the circumstance stated above; and in common with others, have to lament, that Mr. Harrington, who preserved so much, did not preserve much more. Private documents of various kinds, and important in this respect, which were then doubtless numerous, have since been lost by lapse of time, or destroyed through ignorance of their value. Tradition was then fresh and distinct; and, more than all, the original volume of records containing a complete *sequence of events* from the first settlement in the valley of the Nashaway to the year 1724, was then in existence. What progress therefore the town made in popula

* Thomas Carter, first minister of Woburn, came to this country in 1635. I find also one of that name, the same person, there is reason to suppose, who took the freeman's oath on the 2nd 3 mo. 1638. In 1642, Woburn was taken from Charlestown, and made a distinct town. There were no officers or members of the Church, capable of ordaining Mr. Carter, and they feared to invite the elders of the other churches to perform the service, as it might savour of dependency, and Presbytery; so that at last it was performed by two of their own members. "We ordain thee, Thomas Carter, to be pastor unto this church and people." Hubbard says "it was not to the satisfaction of the magistrates, and ministers present."

In consequence, it soon became common to invite the neighboring elders to perform the services of ordination. Hubbard, 408.

Johnson remarks that the people of Woburn, "after some search, met with a young man named Mr. Thomas Carter, then belonging to the church of Christ at Watertown; a reverend, godly man, apt to teach the sound and wholesome truths of Christ." &c. 2 Mass. Hist. Col. VII. 40-42.

Mr. Carter was one of those mentioned by Cotton Mather, "young scholars whose education for their designed ministry, not being finished, yet came over from England with their friends, and had their education perfected in this country, before the College was come unto maturity enough to bestow its laurels." Magnalia, B. III.

This Thomas Carter was the ancestor of all of the name of Carter now in Lancaster. They propably migrated to Nashaway soon after the town was rebuilt.

tion and wealth for thirty years after its resettlement is unknown. For the remainder of the seventeenth century, however, it is fair to suppose, from the assistance afforded by the General Court, and from the long continuance of the Indian wars, that its progress was slow and interrupted. In the mean time the measure of the sufferings of Lancaster was not yet full. The war that was rekindled between France and England on the accession of William, of Orange, to the throne, extended to his transatlantic provinces. In the 18th (O. S.) July, 1692, a party of the Indians attacked the house of Peter Joslin, and murdered his wife, three children, and a widow by the name of Whitcomb, who resided in the family. Joslin himself, at the time, was at work in the field, and knew nothing of the terrible calamity that had befallen him, till his return home. Elizabeth How his wife's sister was taken captive, but was afterwards returned. Another child of his was put to death by the enemy in the wilderness. In 1695, on a Sunday morning, Abraham Wheeler returning from garrison to his own house, was shot by the enemy lying in ambush. No further injury was done till 1697, when they entered the town under five leaders, with an intention, after ascertaining the situation of affairs, to commence their attack on Thomas Sawyer's* garrison. It was by the merest accident, that they were deterred from their plan. The gates of Sawyer's garrison were open. A Mr. Jabez Fairbanks, who lived at some distance, mounted his horse, that came running towards him much frightened, rode rapidly to the garrison, though without suspicion, for the purpose of carrying away his son, who was there.—— The enemy supposing they were discovered, being just ready to rush into the garrison, relinquished their design, and on retreating, fired upon the inhabitants at work in the fields. At no time, however, excepting when the town was destroyed, was ever so much injury perpetrated, or so many lives lost. They met with the minister, the Rev. Mr. John Whiting,† at a distance from his garrison, and offered him quarter, which he rejected with boldness, and fought to the last against the cruel foe. After this they killed twenty others ;‡ wounded two more, who afterwards recovered, and took

* This was the first planter, or his eldest son ; probably the latter.

† A more particular notice will be taken of Mr. Whiting, in the Ecclesiastical sketches.

‡ Daniel Hudson, his wife and two daughters. Hudson, first moved to Lancaster, in 1664. He was originally of Watertown. Ephraim Roper, his wife and daughter, John Skait, and wife, Joseph Rugg, wife and three children, Widow Rugg, Jonathan Fairbanks and two children, and two children of Nathaniel Hudson. Harrington's Sermon.

Penhallow's Indian Wars. pp. 33 & c Edition of 1859.

"The French in Canada were now forming another design on North Hampton; of which we had seasonable advice." + + + + "Their whole body were seven hundred with two Friars (Harrington says "tribes"), under the command of Monsieur Boucore who in their march began to mutiny about the plunder they had in view, and expected to be master of; forgetting the proverb about dividing the skin before the bear was killed. Their dissentions at last was so great, that upwards of two hundred returned in discontent whereon the rest came on, + sent scouts before to observe the posture of the English, who reported that they were as thick as the trees in the woods. Upon which their spirits failed, and more of their number deserted. They then called a council of war, who resolved to desist from the enterprise. Yet some staid, and afterwards fell upon Lancaster and Groton, where they did some spoil, but not what they expected, for that these towns were seasonably strengthened.

Capt Tyng and Capt. How entertained a warm dispute with them for some time, but being much inferior in number, were forced to retreat with some loss: yet those that were slain of the enemy, were more than those of ours. One of them was an officer of some distinction, which so exasperated their spirits that in revenge, they fired the Meeting House, killed several cattle, and burnt many out houses. + + + + And yet a little while after they fell on Groton and Nashua where they killed Lieut Wyler and several more. It was not then known how many of the enemy were slain, it being customary among them to carry off their dead: however, it was afterwards affirmed, that they lost sixteen, besides several that were wounded. + + + + + + +

I now return to the westward, where, on the 25th of October the enemy did some mischief. Lancaster was alarmed, and the alarm was the means of the untimely death of the Rev. Mr Gardiner their worthy pastor. Several of the inhabitants who belonged to the garrison, were wearied by hard travelling the day before, in pursuit of the enemy. This caused this good man out of pity and compassion to watch that night himself: accordingly

he went into the box which lay over the flanken, where he staid till late in the night: but being cold (as was supposed) he was coming down to warm himself, when one between sleeping and waking, or surprised through excess of fear fired upon him, as he was coming out of the watch-house where no man could rationally expect the coming of an enemy.

Mr Gardiner, although he was shot through the back, came to the door and bid them open it, for he was wounded. No sooner did he enter, but he fainted away: As he came to himself, he asked who it was that shot him, and when they told him, he prayed God to forgive him, and forgave him, himself, believing that he did it not on purpose: and with a composed frame of spirit, desired them that buried him not to weep, but pray for him and his flock He comforted his sorrowful spouse, and expired within an hour."

From the Journal of Rev John Pike.

July 30 1704. Sab. morning or Monday morning Indians invaded Lancaster. Killd 2 or 3 persons burnt ye Meeting house & some other houses.

Oct 25 1704 Mr Andrew Gardner minister of Lancaster, coming down from ye watchbox in ye night wth a darkish Coloured gown was mistaken for an Indian & solemnly slain by a sorry Souldier belonging to ye Garrison nomine Prescott — —

See Indian letter about Prisoners + c appendix pp 50-1

six captives,* five of whom in the end, returned to Lancaster. This sad calamity sweeping off so large a part of their population called for some religious observance, and a day of fasting and prayer was set apart for the purpose. The restoration of peace, in Europe, brought a season of repose, to the afflicted inhabitants of Lancaster. In 1702, the war between England and France was renewed. With slow, but steady progress, it reached the Colonies. In July 1704, seven hundred French and Indians proceeded against Northampton. Finding that the inhabitants were prepared for an attack, they turned their course towards Lancaster, excepting two hundred of them, who returned home, in consequence of a quarrel with their fellow soldiers about the division of spoil. On the thirty first of July, they commenced a violent and sudden attack early in the morning, in the west part of the town, and killed Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder, near the gate of his own garrison.† Near the same place, during the day, they killed three other persons.‡ Nor was this the only injury committed by them on that day. The inhabitants were much inferior to the French and Indians in number. Capt. Tyng happened, at this time, to be in Lancaster with a party of soldiers, and Capt. How gathered in haste what men he was able, and marched with them, from Marlborough, to the relief of the town. They fought with great bravery, but the great number of the enemy forced the inhabitants to retreat into garrison. This gave the enemy opportunity of doing further mischief. They burnt the Church, besides six other buildings, and destroyed no small part of the live stock of the town.

What losses the Indians sustained in their various encounters was never known. They were always quite careful to remove and conceal their slain. In this last conflict, Mr. Harrington observes, it was thought that their loss was considerable, and that a "French officer of some distinction, was mortally wounded," which excited them probably to prolong the battle. Towards evening, many flocked in to the relief of the town, and the enemy made good their retreat, with such success, that they were not overtaken by our soldiers. On the 26th of October following, a party of

* Jonathan Fairbanks' wife, widow Wheeler and Mary Glazer, and sons of Ephraim Roper, John Skait and of Joseph Rugg.

† This Nathaniel Wilder was youngest son of Thomas, the first inhabitant of the name of Wilder. The garrison was on the farm now owned by Mr. Coombes, and from the early settlement, till lately, owned by the Wilders.

‡ Abraham How, John Spaulding, and Benjamin Hutchins. How and Hutchins were Marlborough men. Worcester Magazine, II. 156.

the enemy was discovered at Still river, (Harvard.) Some of the soldiers and inhabitants went in pursuit of them: returning much fatigued, Rev. Mr. Gardner the minister, took upon himself the watch for the night. In the course of the night, coming out of the sentry's box, the noise was heard by one in the house, a Mr. Samuel Prescott. As Indians were in the neighborhood, Prescott fired upon Mr. Gardner, supposing him to be an enemy, and shot him through the body. Mr. Gardner freely forgave the innocent, but unfortunate, cause of his death, and breathed his last, in an hour or two after. This closed hostilities for the melancholy year of 1704. On the 15th October, 1705, Thomas Sawyer, his son Elias Sawyer, and John Biglo, were taken captive and carried to Canada. Thomas Sawyer was a man of great bravery. On the arrival of the party at Montreal, says Whitney, Sawyer offered to erect a saw mill on the Chamblee provided the French Governor would obtain a release of all the captives. This he promised, if possible, to do. The son and Biglo were easily ransomed, but the father the Indians determined to put to death, by lingering torture. His deliverance was effected by the sudden appearance of a Friar, who told them that he held the key of Purgatory in his hand, and, unless they immediately released their prisoner, he would unlock the gates and cast them in headlong. Their superstitious fears, which the Catholics could so easily excite in the breast of the savage, prevailed. They unbound Sawyer from the stake, and delivered him to the Governor. He finished the mill* in a year, and was sent home with Biglo. His son Elias, was detained a while to instruct the Canadians in the art of "sawing and keeping the mill in order, and then was dismissed with rich presents."† The town suffered no further violence from the Indians till July 16, 1707, when Jonathan White was killed. On the 18th of August following, Jonathan Wilder,‡ a native of Lancaster, was taken captive. The party consisting of twenty four men was pursued, the next day, by about thirty of the inhabitants of the two towns, and was overtaken in a remote part of the town, now included in Sterling,

* Whitney from whom the above relation is taken, says, that this was "the first saw mill in Canada, and that there was no artificer there capable of building one." pp. 43, 44.

† A grandson of Elias (Jotham Sawyer) is now living in Templeton, aged eighty six. He recollects riding horseback, behind his mother, to church, to hear Mr. Harrington's century sermon, May 28, 1753.

‡ He was son to Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder, who was killed in 1704, as mentioned above. Jonathan was born April 20, 1682.

* Prescott was the Sentinel walking his beat outside the house. according to verdict at inquest.

and known by the name of the "Indian fight." The day being quite damp, and having cases on their guns, and their packs secured from the weather, the Indians were wholly unprepared for combat. However, as only ten of the English rushed upon them and engaged in the action, they determined not to surrender.—Having killed their captive, they fought bravely till they lost nine of their number. On the other side two* were killed and two† wounded. After a lapse of three years, on the 5th of August 1710, a number of the enemy fired upon Nathaniel and Oliver Wilder, who, with an Indian servant, were at work in the fields.‡ The Indian boy was killed, but the others made their escape and reached the garrison. From this time till peace was concluded at Utrecht in 1713, the inhabitants were doubtless in a continual state of alarm, from expectations of secret and sudden attacks, to which they had been trained by long and bitter experience.

But this was the last hostile measure of the Indians, against Nashaway, and it may be considered, as worthy of remark, that the last person killed by the Indians, in this place, was himself an Indian.

The following is a list of the houses fortified, at various times from the year, 1670, to 1710, &c.

Rev. Mr. Rowlandson's Garrison, before described.

Wheeler's Garrison.—Now in the south part of Bolton, where Asa Houghton lives.

Fortified House.—Now the farm house of Mr. Richard J. Cleveland. This is where the first Judge Wilder lived.

White's Garrison.—On the spot where Mrs. White now lives, on the east side of the Neck—and opposite to the house of Major Jonathan Locke.

Joslin's Garrison.—West side of the Neck, one fourth of a mile north of the church, and near the house successively occupied by Peter Green, Dr. Manning and Dr. Peabody.

James Wilder's Garrison.—A large house, twenty rods back of the house of late Thomas Safford. This was the chief garrison. The house is not now standing.

* John Farrar, and Richard Singleterry.

† Capt. Ephraim Wilder and Mr. Samuel Stevens. Ephraim was son to Lieut. Nathaniel Wilder, and died Dec. 13, 1769, aged 94.

‡ Their guns were resting against a fence at some distance, and the Indians succeeded in getting between the men and their guns before firing. Nathaniel was son of Lieut. Nathaniel, Oliver another son afterwards Colonel, appointed Justice Peace, January 28, 1762.

Minister's Garrison.—Nearly opposite the house of Samuel Ward, Esq. It was erected in 1688, and successively occupied by Rev. Messrs. Whiting, Gardner and Prentice.*

Thomas Sawyer's Garrison.—To the west of the last, and probably a little north of the house of Samuel Flagg, Esq.

Nathaniel Wilder's Garrison.—North of the last, on Mr. Toomb's farm, between his house and the house of Samuel Wilder.

John Prescott's Garrison.—About thirty rods southeast of Messrs. Poignand and Plant's Factory.

Cyprian Steven's House.—A little to the south of the church, and near the house of William Stedman, Esq. on the Boston road, was probably a garrison.

There were Indian settlements, besides the one at Washacum, at the following places, viz. near the house of Samuel Jones, not far from the road to Leominster; one on a neck of land running into Fort pond; a third, east of Clam Shell pond, and north of John Larkin's, near Berlin; a fourth, above Pitt's mills in the south part of the town.

Hannah Woonsamug, an Indian woman, owned the covenant, and was baptised October, 1710.

In November, 1702, on the petition of Lancaster for leave to purchase of George Tahanto, an Indian Sagamore, and nephew of Sholan, a tract of land adjoining the west end of the township towards the Wachusett, a committee was chosen by the General Court to examine the land.

The purchase was in 1701,† but was not confirmed by the General Court, owing to the distressed situation of the country, till some years after.‡ The committee made their return in 1711. The whole of this grant is now included in other towns; and it will be sufficient, on this matter, to refer to the first vol. of Worcester Mag-

* Soon after the death of Mr. Prentice, the proprietors voted to sell the Church lands in Lancaster.

† June 26, 1701, as appears by a copy in my possession in the hand writing of John Houghton, Esq. who was proprietors clerk.

‡ It is proper here to correct an inaccuracy in the sermon of Rev. Mr. Conant of Leominster, delivered Oct. 12, 1823. He says that "the Lancaster New, or additional grant," was made to induce the return of the inhabitants, (of Lancaster, after its destruction by the Indians,) and that consequently the first grant of Leominster must have been prior to the year 1680." This grant included what is now Leominster and was not made till the eighteenth century, (1713,) as stated in the text. The purchase was made by the inhabitants of Lancaster, the confirmation was by the General Court. See I. Worcester Magazine, 272-3-4-5.

azine, p. 272-3-4. It was settled as early as 1720, especially the part which is now included in Sterling. Gamaliel Beman, Samuel Sawyer, Benjamin Houghton, David Osgood, and Jonathan Osgood, removed to that place, from other parts of Lancaster.*

From the close of the last Indian war the population began to increase rapidly. The descendants of the original planters, and the new comers, were spread over a broad surface in every part of the town. Uninterrupted industry produced an improved state of the social system, and the character of the place at this time, and for many succeeding years, ranked high for general intelligence, good habits, union and prosperity.†

In 1730, sundry people living on the east side of the Penecook petitioned for a new town. Afterwards, in the same year, the inhabitants were willing to give their consent, if the "General Court should see cause." An act of incorporation was granted, June, 1732, by the name of Harvard; at which time, there were fifty families in the place.‡

Stimulated by this success of their neighbors, and subjected to great inconveniences by their distance from church, the inhabitants living south of Harvard, and within the limits of Lancaster, in 1733, petitioned for a new town. This was refused at the time, but was granted, as far as was in the power of Lancaster, in 1736, and in June, 1738, was incorporated by the name of Bolton. Gamaliel Beman and others in Chocksett,§ stating the same grievances as the Bolton men, urged the same suit in 1733, in their own behalf. This petition was rejected for a number of years, till, in 1741, a conditional permission to form a separate town, was granted to

* A minute and valuable history of Sterling having been published by Isaac Goodwin, Esq. it will not be expected, that I shall touch upon the same subject, any further than, as incidentally, it becomes necessary, in describing Lancaster.

† In May, 1721, Gershom and Jonas Rice, two inhabitants of Worcester, sent a letter to John Houghton, Esq. of this town; and Peter Rice of Marlborough, requesting them to present a certain petition to the General Court, in behalf of Worcester, and closed with saying; "so craving your serious thoughtfulness for the poor, distressed town of Worcester, we subscribe ourselves," &c.

‡ Feb. 5th, 1732. The proprietors of Lancaster granted to the town of Harvard thirty acres of land, where the inhabitants of Harvard "have built a house for public worship—also for a training field, and for a burying place, and other public uses." Feb. 1734. They gave Mr. Secomb, the first minister of Harvard, the two islands in Bear (or Bare) hill pond.

§ This word is a corruption of Woonksechauxit, or Woonksechauckset, now Sterling.

them. To these conditions, they did not assent. They, however, were made a separate precinct.

Next came forward those of the northwest, in 1737. They were incorporated June, 1740, by the name of Leominster. Notwithstanding these successive diminutions in territory, which included a part of Harvard and Bolton, and the whole of Leominster, the population and wealth of the town still ranked high, and went on increasing by the accession of new inhabitants, in the east and west precincts.

The town, however, suffered in proportion to its means, all the evils that attended the state of the currency at that period. The general evil extended as far back, as the seventeenth century; when, to meet the expenses attending the expedition against Canada in 1690, bills of credit were issued anticipating the taxes of the year. This system was continued for some years, and till 1704, the bills were in good credit and answered the purpose of specie. But draughts, beyond the means of the province to bear, being made to defray the heavy expenses incurred in subsequent expeditions, the evil at length became intolerable, and, after the peace of 1713, the public mind was turned towards finding a remedy. There was not sufficient silver and gold in the country to redeem the bills, and the very currency caused these metals to disappear. A public bank, loaning bills on land security, was, after much debate, established in 1714. The few, who at that day seemed to understand what are now deemed first principles in banking, were out voted. These bills, from the operation of the cause I have mentioned above, sunk continually in value, and to an equal extent occasioned a loss to the community. The system was continued many years, and produced a continual sacrifice of property to artificial and imaginary wealth. The bills were loaned by trustees, in every part of the province, on mortgage, with interest and one fifth of the principal payable annually. And when the time of payment arrived, the paper having sunk much below its nominal value, the debtors would be obliged to pay a much larger amount in this trash, or sacrifice their estates in payment of the mortgages. To avoid this, laws were passed from time to time, extending the limit of payment, but prolonging only a lingering state of affairs, that must, in the nature of things, have its crisis, and shake the province to the centre. So infatuated were the people, that they supposed paper emissions would one day work out their redemption from distress and poverty.

Lancaster, I find, instructed her Representative in 1731, "to pay such a regard to his majesty's Governor, as becomes the Rep-

resentative of a loyal people, and that he also use his utmost vigilance that no infringements be made on the royal prerogative, nor on any of the privileges of the people; and especially by supplying the treasury, without appropriations, unless of some small quantities that may be necessary to defray unforeseen charges that may require prompt payment." This probably related to the Governor's salary. Hutchinson observes that "the major part of the house were very desirous of giving satisfaction to the Governor, and to their constituents both." Lancaster had its proportion of the various issues of paper from time to time, and appointed trustees among the inhabitants to distribute it upon mortgage.* The land bank company of 1741, established for the same purposes as the bank of 1714, loaned bills of credit on security of real estate, but possessed no funds for redeeming them. The evil at length, after long and indiscribable distress was removed in a great measure, in 1749, by the introduction of specie, from England, in payment of the provincial expenses of the expedition against Cape Breton.

At this time, and for many years previous, Lancaster was in the County of Worcester. In 1728, a petition by Capt. William Jennison, for a new County, was forwarded to Lancaster; and the town instructed its Representative,† "that in case the Superior Court be holden at Marlborough, and two inferior Courts at Lancaster, annually, then to accede to the proposal. But in case the Courts cannot be so stated, then to offer such objections as the selectmen shall furnish him with." At a subsequent meeting, Feb. 1729, this vote was reconsidered, "as the westerly part of the County of Middlesex will be broken in pieces, in case that the towns petitioned for by Capt. Jennison, be joined with Suffolk." It was also voted to "petition for a new County in the westerly part of Middlesex."‡

This was afterwards granted and an act of incorporation was obtained in 1731.

In the wars subsequent to this period many of the inhabitants were called into service. War was declared against Spain, in October, 1739, and some of the soldiers from Lancaster perished at

* In 1728, the proportion of the £60,000 issued in bills of credit, to which Lancaster was entitled, was £471 05.

† Josiah White.

‡ James Wilder and Jonathan Houghton were chosen agents. Judge Joseph Wilder, a man of extensive influence in the *depths of his wisdom*, prevented Lancaster from being made a half shire town, lest it should be the means of corrupting the morals of the inhabitants. In 1743, an attempt, it seems was made to divide the County. Lancaster chose Wm. Richardson, Joseph Wilder and David Wilder, to oppose a division, before the General Court.

Jamaica in the sickly season of the year.* At the siege of Louisbourg there were present 3250 soldiers from Massachusetts, not including commissioned officers. In this number, there were many from Lancaster, both officers and men. The treaty of Aix la Chapelle in 1748, by which Cape Breton was restored to the French, was not of long continuance. The contest was renewed in 1755, under a much wider range of operations, and continued with mighty efforts, and unabated zeal, till the French were finally driven from the American continent in 1762. During this war a large proportion of the able bodied men, both cavalry and infantry, in town, were actively engaged in the service.† These troops were not merely "food for powder" men, but the substantial yeomanry of the country. New England poured forth her best blood freely, like water, and gained the military experience that afterwards proved so useful in the war of '75.

The year previous to the French war, an effort was made to unite the colonies for all measures of common protection and safety. But the plan that was projected, was far from satisfactory, either to the King or the colonies, though for opposite reasons. In reference to this scheme, the representative of the town was instructed "to oppose all plans of a general or partial union, that shall anywise encroach upon the rights and liberties of the people."

An addition was made to the town in February, 1768, by taking from Shrewsbury a strip of land belonging to that town, and usually called the Leg. Those who lived at this place, sought to be united to Lancaster as early as 1748, but did not obtain permission from the General Court.

The minds of men were now generally intent upon the great question of right, that was at this time in full discussion. The whole bias of this town was towards liberty. The attempts of Parliament to bind us in all cases were received with indignation. Here, as well as elsewhere, though the stamp act was disliked, it was thought that reparation should be made to those who suffered by the mobs that law occasioned. "The cause of liberty" it was believed, "was a cause of too much dignity, to be sullied by turbulence and tumult.‡

* Jacob Wilder in a letter written at Jamaica, Dec. 1740, after mentioning a number of his acquaintance who had died, says, "through the providence of God, I am in nomination for an Ensign, *and I hope that I may be fitted for it*." There were eighteen or nineteen in this expedition, who belonged to Lancaster; none of them lived to return.

† The whole company of cavalry, excepting five privates, was out during the war.

‡ See the whole of the fine passage in Farmer Dickinson's third letter.

Story of the ransoming the Captives taken at the Massacre.
arranged from several authorities.

"Mr Rowlandson minister of Lancaster (a pious and good man having his wife, children and several friends in Captivity among the enemy being surprised at Lancaster as is before touched: himself & several other ministers in his behalf had some time since petitioned the Council to use what means they could for the redemption of his wife &c. Which the Council consented to and in pursuance thereof ordered Major Gookin to endeavour to procure at Deer Island one or two Indians that for a reward might adventure to go with a message to the enemy to offer for the redemption of our Captives particularly Mrs Rowlandson. But although the Major went to the Island and did his utmost endeavours to procure an Indian to adventure upon this service at that time yet could not prevail with any: So the matter lay dormant a good space of time. But on the 23d of March some friends advised Mr Rowlandson to make another petition to revive the former motion, which he did that day. The Council declared themselves ready to promote it, and send a messenger if any could be procured. Major Gookin who stirred up Mr Rowlandson hereunto, was informed that one of the Indians lately brought down from Concord named Tom Dublet alias Nepponit had some inclination to run that adventure: of which the Major informing the Council, the ordered Capt. Hinchman to treat and agree with him, which he accordingly did and brought him up from Deer Island some four days after; and he was sent to Major Gookins at Cambridge where he was according to order fitted and furnished for this enterprise: & had a letter from the Council to the enemy concerning the redemption of the Captives, and upon Monday April 3d he was sent away from Cambridge upon his journey, and he did effect it with care and prudence and returned again with this answer in writing from the enemy" Gookins History.

Before giving this answer, I insert the letter of the council which Nepanet carried. See Drakes History of the Indians.

"For the Indians Sagamores

not completed. See for proof
Early Records of Lancaster pp 110 &c

No event of much local importance occurred in town for many years preceding the revolution. The whole current of thought was turned into this one channel, the arbitrary exactions of parliament. All men were looking forward beyond their immediate anxiety, to the darker prospect that clouded the future. The principle of resistance was at work in every village. It is quite important to dwell somewhat at large upon the transactions of the town at this period, and till the termination of the war. Possibly all are not aware how much was accomplished by towns, as such; how many sacrifices were made in every way, to help on the cherished undertaking. New England contributed more, both in men and money, to the success of the great struggle, than all the other provinces; and those miniature republics, the towns, so singular a feature in the body politic, gave to New England, weight and importance.

At a town meeting, in January, 1773, "The dangerous condition of public affairs, in particular the independency of the Superior Judges, came into discussion, as a subject of great interest. The representative received particular instructions, herein, and also as to the right claimed by the mother country, to transport persons to England for trial. He was directed to use his utmost endeavours to obtain a radical redress of grievances.

A committee* was chosen, and reported the following resolves:

"That this and every other town in the Province, has an undoubted right to meet together and consult upon all matters interesting to them, when, and so often, as they shall judge fit. And it is more especially their duty so to do, when any infringement is made upon their civil or religious liberties.

"That the raising a revenue in the colonies, without their consent, either by themselves or their representatives, is an infringement of that right, which every freeman has to dispose of his own property.

"That the granting a salary to His Excellency the Governor of this province, out of the revenue unconstitutionally raised from us, is an innovation of a very alarming tendency.

"That it is of the highest importance to the security of liberty, life an property, that the public administration of justice, should be pure and impartial, and that the Judges should be free from every bias, either in favour of the crown or the subject.

"That the absolute dependence of the Judges of the superior

* Dr. William Dunsmoor, Messrs. John Prescott, Aaron Sawyer, Josiah Kendall, Joseph White, Nathaniel Wyman and Ebenezer Allen.

Court of this province upon the crown for their support, would if it should ever take place, have the strongest tendency to bias the minds of the Judges, and would weaken our confidence in them.

"That the extension of the power of the Court of Vice Admiralty to its present enormous degree, is a great grievance and deprives the subject, in many instances, of the noble privilege of Englishmen, trial by jury.*

In Sept. 1774, William Dunsmoor, David Wilder,† Aaron Sawyer, Asa Whitcomb, Hezekiah Gates, John Prescott and Ephraim Sawyer, were chosen as a committee of correspondence.‡ £50 were voted to buy ammunition; two field pieces were purchased, and one hundred men were raised as volunteers, to be ready, at a minute's warning, to turn out upon any emergency; to be formed into two companies and choose their own officers."

Committees were also chosen to draw up "a covenant and for non-consumption of certain articles, and to be signed by the inhabitants." Also, "to post up such persons as continue to buy, sell or consume any *East India Teas*, in some public place in town;" and, in January, 1775, to "receive subscriptions for the suffering poor of the town of Boston," cruelly oppressed by the port bill.

On the alarm of the commencement of hostilities, on the 19th of April, 1775, the company of minute men marched directly to Lexington, and the company of Cavalry§ under the command of Capt. Thomas Gates, proceeded to Cambridge, to aid in driving the British troops to Boston. The cavalry remained in Cambridge while their aid was considered necessary. Ten of their number enlisted into the service of their country in the Massachusetts line.

I have no data at hand, by which to ascertain the number of men from this town, who joined the army during the war. The demands from head quarters for soldiers were numerous and were

* In 1774, the town instructed the representative, Col. Asa Whitcomb, "not to vote for compensation to the owners of the tea destroyed, neither by tax nor by assessment on the people."

† Mr. Wilder was foreman of the grand jury that voted, April, 1774, "that should Peter Oliver, Esq. appear and act as Judge at this present Court, (Supreme Court at Worcester,) they would not proceed to business, but would utterly refuse."

‡ The committe of correspondence and safety in 1777, consisted of Col. Asa Whitcomb, Capt. Thomas Gates, Joshua Fletcher, Elisha Allen and Jabez Fairbanks.

§ Of this company James Goodwin, the oldest man in Lancaster, Moses Burpee, Samuel Sawyer, John Hawkes, Phineas Fletcher and Joseph Blood, are living. The company of minute men was commanded by Capt. Benjamin Houghton. In June following, Andrew Haskell was the Captain.

all answered by the town with great cheerfulness. Indeed, I have no reason to doubt, that at different periods of the long conflict, all the able bodied inhabitants either in person or by substitute, were in the field, in defence of their country.* Large sums of money were voted at various times, to encourage those who were drafted. Clothing for the troops and great quantities of provision were often purchased; committees were chosen to furnish the families of those who had enlisted with the necessaries and conveniences of life, and in short, great and unwearied efforts were made by the town to help on the struggle to a successful termination.† In one instance only was there any hesitation. In June, 1780, an order came from Government for a draft of forty men, for six months. When the subject was brought before the town, Josiah Kendall, a leading and flaming patriot, addressed himself to the question, and declared that the town could not furnish the supply, being exhausted by repeated efforts. Samuel Ward, Esq.‡ seeing the course that was likely to be taken, urged a compliance with the order, and was persuaded that a course which he suggested, might be adopted, that would satisfy the men to be drafted. On his motion, a Committee§ was im-

* About forty were engaged in the service over nine months; the rest were out for less terms of time, from one to nine months. Messrs. Jonathan Wilder, Silas Thurston and Jacob Zwheares were at the taking of Burgoyne, Zwheares

† Prices were annually set to every article of life. In the summer of 1777, farming labor was 3*s* per day, wheat 6*s* 8*d*. rye 4*s* 6*d*. per bushel—Physician fees—emetic 1*s*, cathartic 1*s*, travel 8*d*. per mile, vist 8*d*, pulling tooth do.

‡ This gentleman died August 14, 1826, aged 87. He was born in Worcester. At the age of sixteen, he entered the army, early in the French war. He was first out as a private in 1756, and rose before 1760 to be Adjutant in Col. Abijah Willard's regiment. He was at the taking of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, by Gen. Amherst, in 1759, and of Isle aux Noix and Montreal, in 1760. Towards the close of the war, he commenced business in Groton, and moved to Lancaster, in 1767. He represented the town in the General Court in 1800 and 1801, and for a great number of years served in various offices in the town.

Few individuals, who have not been extensively engaged in public life, have been so widely known. His acquaintance was sought by all. No one who ever knew him, though but slightly, could forget him. His powers of entertainment were never exhausted: his hospitality was inexhaustible. His knowledge was eminently practical, and had he enjoyed the advantages of a public education, he would have been distinguished as a Statesman. A mind of uncommon acuteness, a quick and keen perception of character, wide views of men and things, belonged to Mr. Ward, and enabled him to be highly useful as a citizen. In the daily charities of life, in giving aid to objects of public benevolence and usefulness, in distributions to the poor, he was ever active and ready. The indigent in this town have lost a valuable friend; one who for many years, week by week, ministered to their necessities, and whose good deeds will cause him to be long remembered in future years.

§ Nathaniel Balch, so celebrated for his powers of entertainment, so "merry and facete," the life of Gov. Hancock, and the great wit of his day,

mediately chosen of which he was chairman, and they proceeded to take measures to pay the men. The bounty in addition to the wages, was sometimes paid in continental money, and, at others, in corn, beef, live stock, land, &c. At this time, the old emission compared with gold and silver, was as 68 to 1,* and as compared with the new emission, as 40 to 1. The men received their bounties, in different ways. One of them, named Dunsmoor, was asked in what he would receive his bounty. He answered that Deacon Moore, (one of the committee,) had a piece of land adjoining his own farm, and he wished to own it. "Take it," cried Moore, "take it; I'd rather part with that land, which is the best I have, than loose the whole by my neglect in aiding the cause of my country." The effort succeeded: the forty men were drafted, paid off, and commenced their march within twelve days.

In June, 1777, in pursuance of a resolve of the General Assembly, Col. Asa Whitcomb was chosen "to collect evidence against such persons as shall be deemed internal enemies to the state." Soon after, the names of a number of citizens† were placed on the list in town meeting, as being included in the above description. Most of them were afterwards stricken off. It is related of Rev. Mr. Harrington, one of the number, that when his name was added to the list, on the foolish motion of some individual, the venerable and truly excellent man, bared his breast before his people and exclaimed, "strike, strike here, with your daggers; I am a true friend to my country." The passion for proscribing innocent persons, soon subsided in a measure, and a new mode of managing the

was one of the committee. He was quite a whig, without a persecuting spirit; but not liking "guns and drums," he left Boston and resided in Lancaster, during the war. Here he was of much service in moderating the violence, oftentimes so unnecessary, but to which the feelings of patriotism frequently urged the patriots. He lived a little to the north of the church, on the Wrifford place.

* That is, on 16th June, 1780, one Spanish milled dollar was equal to sixty eight dollars of the old emission. On the first of April previous, the proportion was 40 to 1.

† Moses Gerrish, Daniel Allen, Ezra Houghton, Joseph Moore, Solomon Houghton, James Carter and Rev. Timothy Harrington. At the commencement of hostilities, Col. Abijah Willard, a mandamus counsellor, and his brother, Abel Willard, Esq. went to Boston, and remained there during the siege. They left the country before the war terminated. They were both very much beloved, particularly the latter, and their departure was a cause of regret to the inhabitants. Indeed, they might have remained without being molested. Like many others, believing that the contest was hopeless, and that inevitable defeat would place the country in a state of servitude, they left their homes, and when convinced that their course was not well chosen, it was too late to remedy the error.

business was devised. The examinations of the suspected were afterwards conducted by the committee of safety, where less excitement prevailed, and somewhat of a calm and dispassionate way of proceeding was introduced. No great violence however, no mobs, no riotous conduct disturbed the general state of the town. The spirit of liberty was deeply rooted and widely extended; indeed, so general was it, that it did not demand the *moral refreshing* of a mob to impart an active principle.

A number of the citizens who joined the army, were killed in battle, or died of their wounds. Of these, David Robbins was killed at Bunker Hill. Robert Phelps, wounded there, died in August, 1775: John Ballard, Abel Wyman and John Bennett, died in 1776: Jonathan Sawyer, killed in 1777: Joseph Phelps died of his wounds in 1778: he was on board an armed vessel: Joseph Wilder died on board the same vessel. There were but few officers from this town in the continental service. Col. Henry Haskell, was a native of this town, lived here most of his life and died here. The other officers were Capt. Andrew Haskell, Lieuts. John Hewitt, Winslow Phelps, Philip Corey, and Jeremiah Haskell. Andrew Haskell was a brave soldier, and deserves a passing notice. When the appeal was made to arms, he marched to Lexington as Lieutenant of the company of minute men. He joined the army soon after. He was subsequently promoted to be a Captain in the Massachusetts line, and afterwards in the continental army. He possessed but little education, and of course but little refinement, and though a candidate for higher rank, was kept from promotion by his want of proper dignity and self respect. Irritated with this treatment, he suddenly left the service. But his love of country was too powerful, to suffer him to remain idle. In the course of a few weeks, he again enlisted, and served as a common soldier in the continental Sergeant? army, till the peace of 1783. After this period, he lived in Lancaster till 1791, when he joined the army led by the unfortunate Major Gen. Arthur St. Clair, against the Indians northwest of the Ohio, and was killed in the memorable battle near the Miamies' villages, Nov. 3, 1791, when the American forces suffered a sad overthrow. Nov. 4

In Feb. 1778, the "articles of confederation and perpetual union between the colonies, were accepted on the part of the town. The various temporary constitutions for a state government, were agreed to, and the Constitution of this Commonwealth as it stood till 1821, received the assent of the town by a vote of one hundred and three, to seven, in May, 1780. In the choice of Governor the

first year, the votes were sixty nine for John Hancock, and nine for James Bowdoin.*

In April, 1781, the second precinct, formerly called Chocksett,† was incorporated into a town, by the name of Sterling. This measure was, at first, not well pleasing to the inhabitants of the old parish, because the former were unwilling to aid in the support of the French neutrals, the bridges, and poor, to which the whole town was liable. However, they of Woonkseckaukset, at last, obtained the majority, turned out the town officers in the old parish, and held the town meetings in their own precinct. This was in 1780. This state of things not being a very agreeable one, and the town records having suffered somewhat in *chirography* and *orthography* by the change of clerk, the "Pharaohs" were willing after one year's experience, "to let the people go."‡ All former causes of difference, having been done away, the inhabitants of both towns indulged towards each other, feelings of good will and kindness.

The war, as is well known, left the country in an impoverished and exhausted condition. Industry had been abandoned; the old sources of trade were for a time closed; the pursuits of peace, were in strong contrast to the excitement of a protracted contest. A disbanded army, with victory for its portion, spread its influence on every side; an influence in no degree favorable to habits of peace, and the restraints of virtuous principle. Poverty was every where. A sound circulating medium, which industry alone could restore, was still wanting.

In this state of things, the town chose John Sprague, Timothy Whiting, sen'r,§ and Samuel Ward, a committee to petition for a lottery, to enable the town to repair the numerous and expensive bridges it was obliged to support. Permission for a lottery was accordingly obtained, in 1782. There were, it appears, fourteen classes drawn between that time and 1790. In the few first classes, the town was in debt to the managers; afterwards some money was obtained for the repair of bridges. No scheme of taxation could

* The highest number of votes in this town, was A. D. 1809, two hundred and ninety five. In the year 1814, two hundred and ninety four, viz: Caleb Strong had two hundred and twenty six, and Samuel Dexter had sixty eight. In 1815, two hundred and ninety two, viz: two hundred thirty nine and fifty three. The present number of voters, is more than three hundred.

† Woonksechaukset.

‡ See Worcester Magazine, vol. II. p. 44.

§ Father of the late Timothy Whiting, Esq. and General John Whiting, of this town.

have been devised more injurious and extravagant. It was paying under a fascinating prospect of gain, a much larger sum, than the citizens would have been obliged to contribute by regular rates. Nor was this all. Many will recollect the time consumed in drawing the numerous classes of this lottery, the idleness and consequent dissipation it induced, to say nothing of its natural tendency to beget a love of gaming.

1786. During the rebellion of Shays, the town was quite loyal to government, and a number of the citizens joined General Lincoln's army and continued with him till the rebels were dispersed. A delegate was sent to the county convention at Leicester, in August, 1786; and some of the proceedings of that body were accepted by the town: the articles relating to a change of the Constitution and to an issue of paper money were rejected without hesitation.

From 1790, to 1794, a hospital was kept open in town, under the direction of Dr. Israel Atherton, for the purpose of inoculating for the small pox; and in 1801, he was directed to ascertain the efficacy of the kine pock.

In 1798. a proposition to divide the County, was negatived, but three votes being cast in favor and one hundred and seven against it.

On the death of Washington, an Eulogy was delivered by Rev. Dr. Thayer; the pulpit was shrowded in black, and the audience wore emblems of mourning.

One family of the society of Shakers, a branch of the society in Shirley, resides in this town. Their reputation for good order, and industry, and consequent thrift, makes them useful citizens. With the peculiarities of their religious worship the public must be well acquainted. With due credit for their sincerity, their diligence renders them a good example in the neighborhood in which they live.

During the violence of party conflict, a greater degree of union and good fellowship was preserved here, than in many other places, and did not give rise, as, in some instances elsewhere to religious dissensions and lasting bitterness. Quiet and harmony now reign in the midst of us; the population and wealth of the town are increasing more rapidly than at any period, within the memory of our aged people. The local situation combines advantages, as a place of retirement for the man of leisure and fortune, whilst an abundance of highly productive soil renders it favorable for the pursuits of agriculture.

In 1823, the old meeting house was taken down, and a neat building, with a portico in front, was erected in its place. In this, the meetings of the town are held for all municipal purposes.

Ecclesiastical History.—In the act of incorporation of the town, the General Court ordered the inhabitants "to take care that a Godly minister be maintained among them." In the fall of the same year, (Nov. 1653,) when the allotments of land were completed, the planters entered into mutual covenants for themselves, their heirs, &c. and set apart "thirty acres of upland, forty of intervale, and twelve of meadow, forever as church lands for the use of, and towards the maintenance of the minister, pastor or teacher for the time being, or whomsoever may be stated to preach the word of God;" permitting the minister "to improve* the lands himself if he should so choose." They further covenanted "to build a meeting house for the public assembly of the church and people of God, to worship God according to his holy ordinances;" the building to be erected "as near to the church lands and to the neck of land as can be without any notable inconvenience." Also "to build a house for the minister on the church lands." Each one agreed to pay ten shillings annually for his home lot towards the support of the minister, and to make up the deficiency, if any, in the salary, by an equal rate. To exclude heresy, as we have before seen, "and for the better preserving of the purity of religion, and themselves from infection of error," they agreed "not to distribute allotments of land, nor to receive into the plantation as inhabitants, any excommunicante, or otherwise profane and scandalous, ~~none~~ known so to be; nor any notoriously erring against the doctrine† and discipline of the churches, and the state and government of the Commonwealth."

* The word in this sense, (occupy) was in use in New England soon after the first settlemet of the country. I have met with it earlier than 1658, in a number of instances. Dr. Franklin is in error, in supposing that this corruption was not till the eighteenth century.

† Toleration was considered a high crime, both by the clergy and laity, in the seventeenth century. Our early writers discover great indignation and bitterness when they touch upon the subject. Ward, in his simple Cobler of Agawam, says, "The state that will give liberty of conscience in matters of religion, must give liberty of conscience and conversation in their moral laws, or else *the fiddle will be out of tune, and some of the strings crack.*" "It is likewise said that men ought to have liberty of their conscience, and that it is persecution to debar them of it. I can rather stand amazed than reply to this; it is an astonishment to think that the brains of men should be parboiled in such wilful ignorance. Let all the wits under the heavens, lay their heads together and find an assertion worse than this,(one excepted,)and I will petition to be chosen the *universal idiot of the world.*" pp. 8, 12, Ed. 1647.

Lancaster's action in Shays' Rebellion. 1787

See Hist. Lan. Vol 2, p 321

"For the Worcester Magazine" – "Mr Editor – The following are the Instructions of the Town of Lancaster to their Representative Jany 22 1787 –"

"To Capt. Ephraim Carter Junr"

Sir, The law is the will of the state, and those laws seem most perfect, which are the most equitable and convenient adjustments of the sentiments and interests of the whole people: it is therefore the duty, as well as the right of Constituents to furnish their Representatives with their essential ingredients of legislation: and no one will doubt that the General Court are the only body to make the adjustments we now express. Your town have paid due attention to the late address to the people: the submission of our publick affairs, and the doings of the General Court to the inspection and examination of the people, we think a laudable and truly republican measure, and is an evidence of the integrity as well as ability of the members of that honourable body – and could they have complied with some instructions to their members, which they have not yet done, we conceive they would have still further served the interest of the commonwealth. Your Constituents are of opinion that in the ensuing Session, it will be indispensably necessary to attend to the enacting of such laws as may alleviate the present distresses of the people, reconcile their jarring opinions, and restore tranquillity to the state: we therefore instruct you to attend particularly to the following articles.

(1st) – The present mode of taxations, has become so burthensome to the farming interest, that if continued in the same degree, will as we think, not only totally discourage the industrious husbandman (on whom this commonwealth will probably ever depend for its greatest strength) but fail of affording so large a revenue as the state of our publick affairs may require. If the abilities of the people of this Commonwealth could be placed in a fair point of view, we presume good policy would dictate, that the greatest part of our revenues should be raised by duties: – such a mode, in our opinion would divide the burden more equally, and better answer the requirements of government. Import + excise, we suppose, might be much further extended, to the ease of the people in general, and wish the legislature to consider if the following articles &c. &c. may not be proper subjects for such an extension! – Clocks, timepieces, watches, silver plate, Spermaceti

Candles, tallow consumed in every family above a certain number of pounds, Cyder, painted sleighs, glass windows beyond a certain number of squares in each house, Commissions for a justice of the peace - and dogs.

2d. That you endeavour the total abolition of the Courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace: and that their jurisdiction be transferred to the Supreme judicial Courts, and that all processes originate there, excepting some part of the business of the sessions, may be transacted by their Justices of the peace quorum unos: this indeed will make it necessary to increase the judges of the Supreme Judicial Court and instead of their clerks office being kept in Boston, it must be kept in the several Courts: Such a change in that office we conceive, would be highly beneficial to the people: nor will the increase of the number of judges, be a great increase of expense if two judges be made a quorum on the circuit: and compared with the present expense of the Courts of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace will be a saving worthy our attention: and by a power of reviewing or granting a new trial, in certain cases no great failure of justice can be feared: to make every necessary change in the above transfer of jurisdiction, would be to furnish a bill, rather than instructions, and improper here.

3d While we are burthened with so large a debt, we think the abilities of the people of this Commonwealth will not admit of supporting that costly dignity, which in more affluent circumstances might be thought necessary - Would it not therefore become us to consider our chief magistrate, as a state officer, under no further obligations of expense than what arises from the discharge of his official duties: If our opinion in this respect is admissible you will use your endeavours to have the Governour's and all other salaries set as low as justice will admit of.

4th The demands against the commonwealth for services are generally made with avidity - You are therefore particularly instructed against grants which heretofore have been too often made without due caution, have exceeded the value of the service done, and have been a matter of offence and a burden to the people.

5 It has been suggested by some, that government ought to call in their securities, at their present depreciated value: we think such an attempt would be inconsistent with justice and good policy: - nevertheless we presume that if such as have loaned monies to government, would realize the present burden - the difficulties of collecting monies by taxation - the importance of supporting our credit with foreign nations, and the necessity of supporting our federal government, they would

not complain if government should delay even the payment of their interest for the present, especially when they reflect that what they have thus loaned them has been, and probably will be, free from taxation — and we cannot think that any one who has become a creditor to government by purchasing its securities, could complain of such a measure with a good grace, if he calls to mind the amazing disproportion there is between the property he parted with, and the claims he has on government. If necessity ever had a right to claim indulgence, we think considering the circumstances of the people, government are entitled to it; therefore we expect you will oppose the appropriating any part of our revenue to the discharge of either the principal or interest of the domestic dept, excepting the necessitous circumstances of some of the original creditors of government shall require it.

6th You are to endeavour that many fines which have heretofore been otherwise appropriated, be paid into the state treasury.

7th Although we are persuaded that great advantages may be derived from a well regulated Commerce; yet we think the Commercial interest of this Commonwealth ought never to engross so much of the attention of the legislature, as to prevent their giving every due encouragement to our own manufactures

8th The proportion of the taxes now laid on the polls is a burden that the poorer part of the people can very illy support. You are therefore directed to endeavour a change in that proportion, and that it be made much lighter.

9th The setting of the General Court in the town of Boston is a matter which the citizens of this Commonwealth are not generally satisfied with — we therefore wish further attention may be paid to that subject, and that the Court may be removed to some other town, until the propriety of that question may be determined from experience

10th The late outrageous and treasonable opposition to government, demands the most serious attention, and greatest wisdom of the legislature. The late pardon to the insurgents was truly humane and benevolent; and although the conduct of those people thenceforth was a high aggravation of their former offences, yet, considering them as a part of the whole with us, we wish a further extension of mercy: but we assure the legislature that we are ready to support our government according to our constitution; and while

government is suppressing the insurrections of a wicked and deluded party, we wish that the right of the subject may be attended to, in all their exertions - and if any of the servants or forces of government have or shall unlawfully invade the person or property of any citizen, whatever may be his description. let such invader be punished with the same justice that ought to overtake the vilest traitor -

By order of the Committee

Samuel Ward Chairman

Lancaster Jany 22. 1787.

Copy from Worcester Magazine Vol 2 pp. 532 533 - 534 -

"Master Joseph Rowlandson," the first minister of Lancaster, commenced bachelor at Cambridge in 1652, with all the honors of his class, as he appears to have constituted the whole of the class of that year. Of his ancestry* or the time or place of his birth, I know nothing. Cotton Mather calls him an author of "lesser composures."† What these were, I venture to say, after diligent inquiry, is not to be discovered. Mr. Rowlandson began to preach in Lancaster as early as the summer or fall of 1654. In February following, (12, 12 mo. 1654,) he subscribed the town covenant, which I have before mentioned, and received his allotment of land. The commissioners, at their meeting, April 25, 1656, directed the town to pay Mr. Rowlandson "fifty pounds by the year," taking "wheat at six pence per bushel," under the usual price, "and as God shall enlarge their estates, so shall they enlarge therein answerably," &c. In September, 1657, the Commissioners ordered the selectmen "to take care for the due encouragement of Master Rowlandson, and also for the erecting a meeting house," &c. In compliance with these orders, a house for worship was erected soon after. A town meeting was held in it in June, 1658. It was situated on the north east side of what is now the new burying ground, on the brow of the hill, opposite to Mr. Rowlandson's house, and about one third of a mile a little to the west of south of the present church. In August, 1657, the town conveyed to Mr. Rowlandson "by deed of gift," the house and land that had been set apart for the use of the ministry. After preaching in town nearly four years, he probably became discouraged as to the prospect of being invited to settle, and gave out his intention of removing from town. Whether this was done in sober earnest, or was merely to bring the town to terms, is only a matter of conjecture at this late day. The following extract from the records has some point, and perhaps will bear being quoted.

"Monday 3, 3 mo. 1658. On the certain intelligence of Master

* I may qualify this remark in a measure. Thomas Rowlandson, who, I think, was his father, died in Lancaster, Nov. 17, 1657. At the County Court in Middlesex, April, 1658, "Mr. Joseph Rowlandson brought into Court the inventory of his father's estate, and had Administration granted to him." By another entry in April Term, 1659, it appears that "the return of Mr. Rowlandson and his brethren concerning their father's estate, was accepted." His brother Thomas was killed, as we have seen, when the town was destroyed.

he was

No, his nephew

† "Not only have we had a Danforth, a Nathaniel Mather, a Hoar, a Rowlandson, &c. the authors of lesser composures out of their modest studies, even as with a Cæsarean section, forced into light; but also we have had an Hubbard, an Isaac Chauncey, a Willard, a Stoddard, the authors of larger composures." Magnalia, book 4, part I.

* Probably born in England. His father took the freeman's oath May 2d 1638.

Rowlandson's removing from us, the selectmen treated with him to know what his mind was, and his answer was, his apprehensions were clearer for his going than for staying. They replied they feared his apprehensions were not well grounded, but desired to know his resolution. He said his resolutions were according to his apprehensions, for ought he knew. Then the selectmen, considering it was a case of necessity for the town to look out for other supply, told Master Rowlandson, that now they did look upon themselves as destitute of a minister, and should be forced to endeavor after some other ; so discharging him.

"Friday 14, 3 mo. 1658.* A messenger came from Billerica to fetch Master Rowlandson away ;† upon which, the town having notice given them, came together with intent to desire him to stay and settle amongst us : and, after some debate, it was voted as follows :

"1. Whether it were the mind of the town to invite Master Rowlandson to abide and settle amongst them in the work of the ministry. The vote was affirmative by the hands of all held up.

"2. Whether it was their mind to allow him for maintenance fifty pounds a year, one half in wheat, six pence in the bushel under the current prices at Boston and Charlestown, and the rest in other good current pay, in like proportions ; or, otherwise, fifty five pounds a year taking his pay at such rates as the prices of corn are set every year by the Court. The vote was affirmative by the hands of all held up.

"3. Whether they were willing that Master Rowlandson should have the dwelling house which he lived in as his own proper right according to the deed made by the town and confirmed by the committee ; with the point of land westward, and some land west, and some north, of his house, for an orchard, garden, yards, pasture and the like.

"This was put to the vote and granted by the major part, (and opposed by none but old Goodman Kerley,‡ only there was a *neuter*

* Mr. Harrington says this was April 14, 1658. This is a mistake : the original record, in Ralph Houghton's hand writing, is distinct, 14, 3 mo. (May) 1658.

† The meaning is, that he was invited to preach in Billerica. Afterwards, in the same year, Rev. Samuel Whiting began to preach there, and was ordained in April, 1663. "Hist. Memoir of Billerica," by John Farmer Esq. pp. 8—9.

‡ Goodman Kerley (William Kerley, senior,) seems to have continued in a wrathful state of mind for some time ; for though one of the number appointed to manage the municipal concerns of the town, he did not attend the meetings of his brethren ; it being a usual entry in the records that the Selectmen met at such a time and place, all excepting Goodman Kerley.

or two) with this proviso, that it hindered not the burying place, the highway, convenient space to pass to the river, and the land* intended to be for the next minister, &c.

"And upon this, Master Rowlandson accepted of the towns invitation, and gave them thanks for their grant, and agreed to the motion, concerning his maintenance, and promised to abide with us in the best manner the Lord should enable him to improve his gifts in the work of the ministry."

Mr. Rowlandson was, there is reason to believe, a man of good talents and a faithful minister.† Cotton Mather and all traditions are in his favor. I can gather no particulars relative to his ministry: the early records of the town being lost, and those of the church probably consumed, when the town was destroyed. Nothing can be found relative to his ordination.

Mr. Harrington supposes that Mr. Rowlandson was ordained the same year that he accepted the invitation of the town. But there is reason to believe that this did not take place till September, 1660, more than two years after. The church, it seems, was not organized till that time. This is a fair inference from the entry in the records of Dorchester, that on the "26th August, 1660, Roger Sumner was dismissed" from the church in Dorchester, "that with other christians, at Lancaster, a church might be formed there."‡ Church is here spoken of as distinct from congregation. At that period, the law of 1641 was in force, which first established the right to gather churches, vesting in them the power of electing the pastor, &c.—and according to the Cambridge platform, chap. ix. s. 3, 4, 5, Ordination, which was by imposition of hands, was to be performed by the elders of the church; and if there were no elders, then by some of the brethren selected for that purpose, or, if *the church desire it*, by the elders of other churches.

No instance under the law of 1641 occurs to me, in which a minister was ordained without the intervention of the church; the strictness that was then introduced continued many years, and was kept in full vigor by an explanatory statute in 1668. It is then a reasonable supposition in the absence of all opposing testimony,

* This probably was the land opposite to the residence of the late Samuel Ward Esq. and extending towards the north east, and next to John Prescott's estate.

† Mary Gates, daughter of Stephen Gates, of Lancaster, "for bold and unbecoming speeches used in the public assemblies, and especially against Mr. Rowlandson, the minister of God's word there," upon evidence of John Prescott and others, was convicted. She acknowledged the offence and was discharged on paying for the attendance of the witnesses. Middlesex County Court Records, 1658

‡ 1 Mass. Hist. Col. ix. 192

that the ordination did not take place earlier than September, 1660.

Mr. Rowlandson was the minister of the town till it was destroyed in Philip's war, as has been already related. His wife, after being a prisoner eleven weeks and five days, was ransomed early in May, 1676, and lived in Charlestown and Boston, with her husband about a year. Probably in May, 1677, they moved to Weathersfield, in Connecticut. Mr. Rowlandson preached there a while, and died before Lancaster was resettled.* The name of Rowlandson is not common; and I am not able to say whether there are any descendents of the worthy minister living.†

as early as Sept. 1676

After the town was re-settled, and for seven years, the pulpit was supplied by Mr. Carter (probably Samuel Carter, Harvard University, 1660) William Woodrop,‡ and Mr. Oakes.§ Mr. Woodrop was one of the two thousand ministers turned out of their benefices under the act of conformity, on St. Bartholemew's day, 1662. He came over to New England, says Cotton Mather, "after the persecution which then hurricanoed such as were non-conformists." He was never settled in this town, although from Mather and Neal, it would seem otherwise.

In Feb. 1688, Mr. John Whiting was invited to preach as a candidate; he continued to supply the pulpit till Nov. 1690, when he was invited to settle, and undoubtedly was ordained soon after.‖

* The following is a list of his children, as far as I can ascertain. I cannot assert that it is complete.

Mary, born 15, 11, 1657, (Jan. 1658) died 20, 11, 1660, (Jan. 1661.)

Mary born 12, 6 mo. (August) 1665. She was taken captive, at the same time with her mother, and made her escape in May, 1676.

Joseph, born 7, 1, (March) 1661. In a deed of his, July 1, 1686, to John Wilder, ancestor of the present Mr. Jonathan Wilder, he calls himself "of Lancaster yeoman." This proves nothing. He is not mentioned in any of the rates at that period, and I doubt whether he resided here, after the restoration in the spring of 1680. It appears by Whitney that he was one of the original purchasers of Rutland, 22d December, 1686. That town, however, was not settled till thirty years, or more, afterwards.

Sarah, born Sept. 15, 1669. Wounded by the Indians when her mother was taken captive, she died at New Braintree, on the ninth day afterwards.

† One of the name *bit off a man's ear* last June in Belfast, Maine. I trust, however, that no one from the stock of Master Joseph Rowlandson, could be so mordacious.

‡ Magnalia B. III. Neal's New England, Chap. VIII. Harrington spells the name, Wooddroffe.

§ This may have been Edward Oakes, Harvard University, 1679.

‖ It was not usual during the first age of the New England Church, or indeed through the seventeenth century, to have a discourse preached at ordination. And when the practice was introduced, the minister elect preached it himself.

He was settled as ~~colleague~~ successor of Rev Gershom Bulkley. He died Nov. 24 1678 - & must have been left for his widow was very generously treated by the town - 30 £ a year being allowed her -

The town voted, in Feb. 1688, to build a house for their minister, payment to be made "one eighth in money; the rest, one half in work, and one half in corn, viz. Indian, one third, and English two thirds, at country price, or other merchantable pay." When the building was finished, the town gave Mr. Whiting possession in this way, viz. "at a town meeting Jan 3, 1690, agreed to make conveyance to Mr. Whiting of the house and land formerly granted by the town. And the town the same time went out of the house, and gave Mr. John Whiting possession thereof in behalf of the whole above written, formerly granted by the town."* After serving faithfully more than nine years, he was killed as has been before related, by the Indians, Sept. 11, 1697, aged thirty three. I can give no particulars touching his ministry; the records of town, church and propriety, being wanting during this period.†

Mr. Whiting was the second son of Rev. Samuel Whiting, of Billerica, and was born in that town, August or Sept. 1, 1664, and graduated at Harvard University, 1685. He probably received his name from that of his grandmother, Elizabeth St. John, wife of Rev. Samuel Whiting of Lynn. It was necessary to sink the St. lest it should seem an acknowledgment of the authority of the Pope and his power of canonization. Our fathers even when they spake of the Apostles, and the holy fathers of the early church, did not use the adition of "Saint."‡

On the death of Mr. Whiting, the pulpit was supplied by Messrs. Robinson, Jones and Whitman, till the year 1701. The first of these, Mr. John Robinson, was afterwards settled at Duxbury, in Nov. 1702, and continued there till his death, in 1731.§ "Mr. Jones," says Mr. Harrington, "was invited to settle,‖ but, difficulties arising, his ordination was prevented and he removed." Mr. Samuel Whitman was of the class of 1696, Harvard University, and

* This house was pleasantly situated opposite to the house of the late Samuel Ward, Esq. It was taken down a few years ago. Those who paid the highest rates towards this building, were John Moore, Jr. John Houghton, Henry Kerley, Thomas Wilder, Deac. Roger Sumner, Josiah Whitcomb, Ephraim Roper, &c. Sold by widow Alice Whiting to Thomas Sawyer for & John Houghton.

† Oliver Whiting, Esq. his brother, in January, 1717, petitioned the proprietors to have a record made of Rev. Mr. Whiting's land at Rock Meadow, and, also, to do what further was necessary for ratifying the bargain between his sister Alice and the town. A committee was chosen who gave him a deed in February following.

‡ Hutchinson, and J. Farmer.

§ 1. Mass. Hist. Col. IX. 183.

‖ May not this have been John Jones, Harvard University, 1690? What the difficulties were, is not known.

in 1699, was a school master in Salem. He was afterwards settled in the ministry.

In May, 1701, Mr. Andrew Gardner was invited to preach, and in the following September received an invitation to be the minister of the town. He preached in town, to great acceptance, for a number of years. Mr. Gardner was unfortunately killed by one of his society, Oct. 26, 1704, as has been already mentioned. He was soon to be ordained when this unfortunate occurrence brought sorrow upon the town. Why his ordination was so long deferred does not appear. It was indeed not customary to have this ceremony follow so soon after the invitation, as at the present day: but the delay was unusual even for that period. Tradition speaks in praise of Mr. Gardner; and Mr. Harrington remarks that he died, "to the great grief not only of his consort, but of his people, who had an exceeding value for him."* The late Wm. Winthrop, in his manuscript catalogue, says that Mr. Gardner "was the son of Capt. Andrew Gardner who was killed in Canada."†

Mr. Hancock also, in his sermon preached at the installation of Mr. Harrington, speaks of him as "son of the worthy Capt. Andrew Gardner, who miscarried in an expedition to Canada, under Sir William Phips." Mr. Gardner was but thirty years of age when he died. He was born, I have reason to believe, in that part of Cambridge, which is now Brighton,‡ and graduated at Harvard University, 1696, in the same class with Samuel Whitman. He is not in *italicks* in the catalogue of the University, because he never received ordination.

On the 31st July, 1704, a short time before Mr Gardner's death, the meeting house was burnt by the Indians. This as I have already mentioned, escaped destruction in Philip's war and was the first house of public worship in town.

? 2d

See p. 40

From the records of the General Court, it appears that some difficulty attended the erection of a second building. For, on the 28th December, 1704, the Court voted to allow the town forty pounds towards a new building, as soon as the inhabitants should erect a frame. And on petition of sundry of the inhabitants, referring to the place of setting the building, a committee was chosen "to hear

* See also Mr. Hancock's sermon, mentioned below.

† Letter of James Savage, Esq. Aug. 1826. The first Judge Joseph Wilder and his brother, Col. James Wilder, married sisters of Rev. Mr. Gardner. Ten acres of land, in town, were set off by the proprietors to his heirs in 1747.

‡ Letter from Rev. Mr. Homer of Newton.

the parties, and report." In May, 1706, John Houghton, Esq. the Representative of the town for that year, petitioned that "the restriction might be taken off against the said town's proceeding in the finishing of their meeting house in the place where they had raised a frame for that use." The request was granted, and the building was probably completed that year. It was situated on the Old Common, so called, opposite to the second burying ground.*

In May following Mr. Gardner's death, Mr. John Prentice commenced preaching in Lancaster. He continued to supply the pulpit until February, 1707, when he was invited to become the minister of the town. The invitation he accepted, and was ordained March 29, 1708. On the same day, previous to the ordination, a covenant was signed by the members of the church, general in its nature, binding those who professed it, to holy lives, with watchfulness of each other's conduct, acknowledging the equality of the churches, and the sufficiency of holy scripture, and refraining from the injunction of particular doctrines as necessary to enable one to participate in the ordinances. It is reasonable to suppose that the earlier covenants were not more technical and precise, and that, while due regard was paid to Orthodox faith,† christian liberty was regarded as a sacred right.‡

In 1726 and 1727, motions to build a new house of worship were negatived. Another attempt for a new building where the first meeting house stood, or on School House hill, where the town house now stands, was made without success, in 1733, and 1737. A motion for one on the west side of the Neck, and another on the east side of the river, was negatived in 1734. A new petition in 1741, for two buildings, one for the accommodation of the mile and the south part of the town, and another for the remaining inhabi-

* This burying field was given by Capt. Thomas Wilder, who died in 1717. He was the eldest son of Thomas Wilder, the first settler of the name. The old burying ground, was probably separated for that use as early as 1653. The third, was purchased of Rev. Dr. Thayer and Hon. John Sprague, in 1793.

1716 on his tomb stone

† March, 1731—Town voted to buy Rev. Pres. Samuel Willard's "Body of Divinity, to be kept in the meeting house for the town's use, so that any person may come there and read therein as often as they shall see cause, and said book is not to be carried out of the meeting house, at any time, except by order of the selectmen or the town." This divine was son of Major Willard before named, one of the original purchasers of Concord, and great grand father of the late President Willard, of Harvard University.

‡ Nov. 1734—voted, that any desirous of admission to full communion, and declining to make a relation of his or her experiences, may be admitted by making a written confession of their faith. Church Records.

* Probably the same covenant "renewed" as used in the Revolutionary day — It was not changed until Dr. Thayer's Ordination

tants, met with the same fate. However, in January, 1742, at a town meeting called by a magistrate, it was voted, to build two houses, according to the petition of 1741, viz. one of them for the new precinct near Ridge hill in Woonksechauckset, and the other, on School House hill.

March 8, 1742, the old or first parish formed itself into a precinct, and chose officers. The new building in the first parish was completed in 1743.* It contained thirty three pews on the lower floor, with many long seats, as was usual at that day.

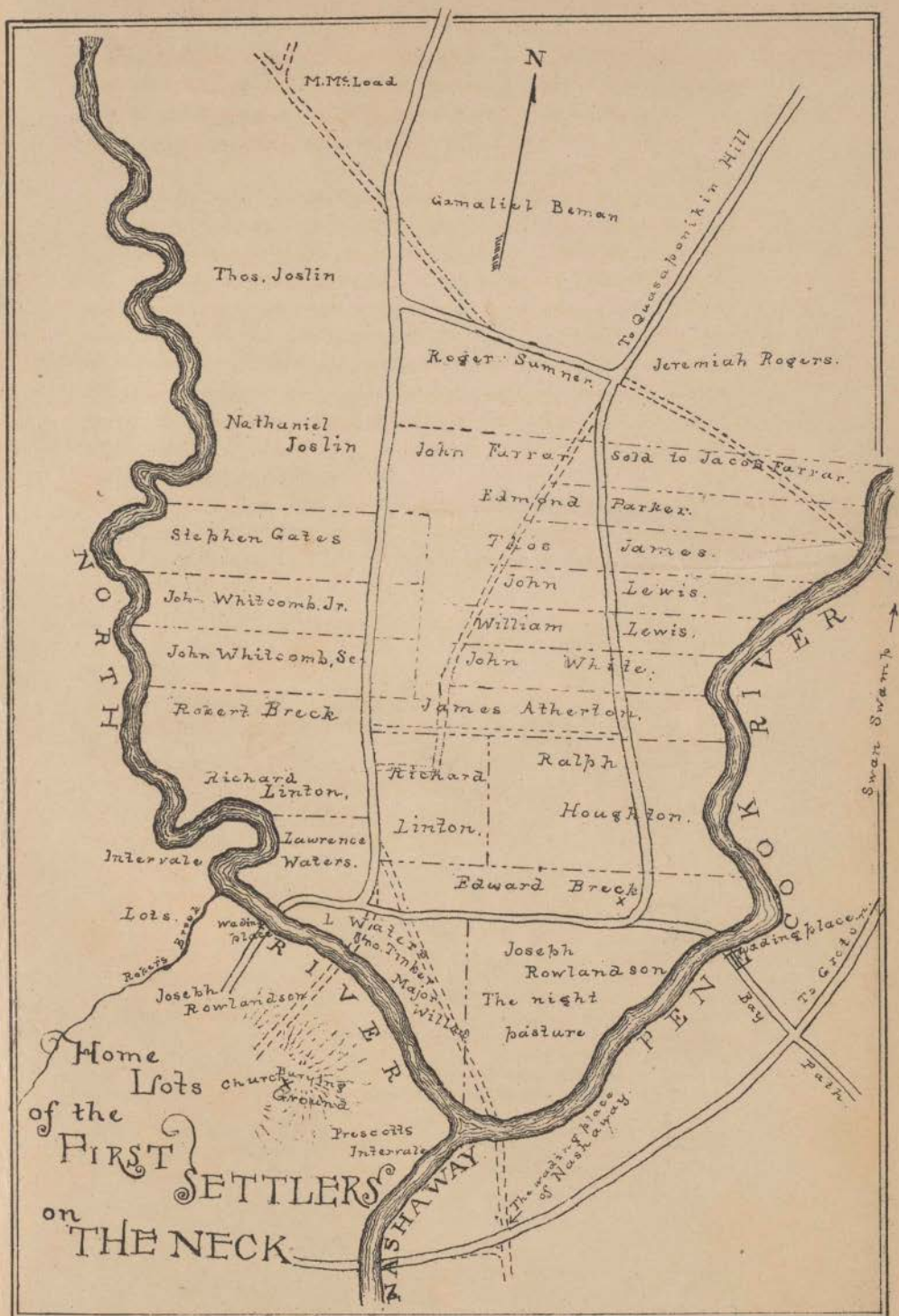
The church and town were in great harmony during the ministry of Mr. Prentice. In 1746, his health began to fail, and, from that period to the time of his death, his pulpit was supplied by Messrs. Benjamin Stevens, William Lawrence, Cotton Brown, and Stephen Frost.† He died much lamented, January 6, 1746, aged 66, "after a life of much service and faithfulness."‡ He is said to have possessed great dignity and severity of manners, and to have been bold, direct, and pointed in his style of preaching.§ "God gave him the tongue of the learned" said Mr. Hancock, "so he knew how to speak a word unto him that was weary; the God of the spirits of all flesh fitted him for his work, and taught him how

* The committee consisted of Joseph Wilder, Samuel Willard, Josiah White, Oliver Wilder and William Richardson. The parish granted £1045, 5*s.* 8*d.* old tenor, to build the church; the actual cost was £863, 3*s.* 7*d.*

† Benjamin Stevens, S. T. D. was a native of Charlestown, and minister of Kittery, in Maine. Graduated Harvard University, 1740. Mr. Lawrence Harvard University, 1743. Mr. Brown, Harvard University, 1743, born in Haverhill, and minister in Brookline. Mr. Frost, Harvard University, 1739. The same who is mentioned ante in note p. He was a member of Mr. Prentice's church.

‡ Mr. Prentice was twice married. His first wife was Mrs. Mary Gardner, widow of his predecessor. Their sons were Stanton, Thomas and John. Mary, the eldest daughter, married Rev. Job Cushing, minister of Shrewsbury, March, 1727; Elizabeth, Mr. Daniel Robbins, of the west parish, and after his death, Capt. Curtis, of Worcester; Sarah, Dr. Smith, and afterwards Col. Brigham of Southborough. The second wife was Mrs. Prudence Swan, mother of Rev. Josiah Swan, before mentioned. She was born in Charlestown, and her maiden name was Foster. Prudence, a daughter, married Josiah Brown, of the west parish, a graduate at Cambridge. Relief, married Rev. John Rogers, minister of Leominster, March, 1750. Rebecca, married Rev. John Mellen, of the west parish.

§ He preached a number of occasional sermons, viz. an Election sermon, May 28, 1735, from 2 Chron. III. 4,5 and part of 6th verses, which was printed. A sermon at the opening of the first Court in the County of Worcester, Aug. 10, 1731, from 2 Chron. XIX. 6, 7. A sermon at the ordination of Rev. Ebenezer Parkman, Oct. 28, 1724, from 2 Cor. XII. 15. A funeral discourse, at Marlborough, on occasion of the death of Rev. Robert Breck, Jan. 1731.



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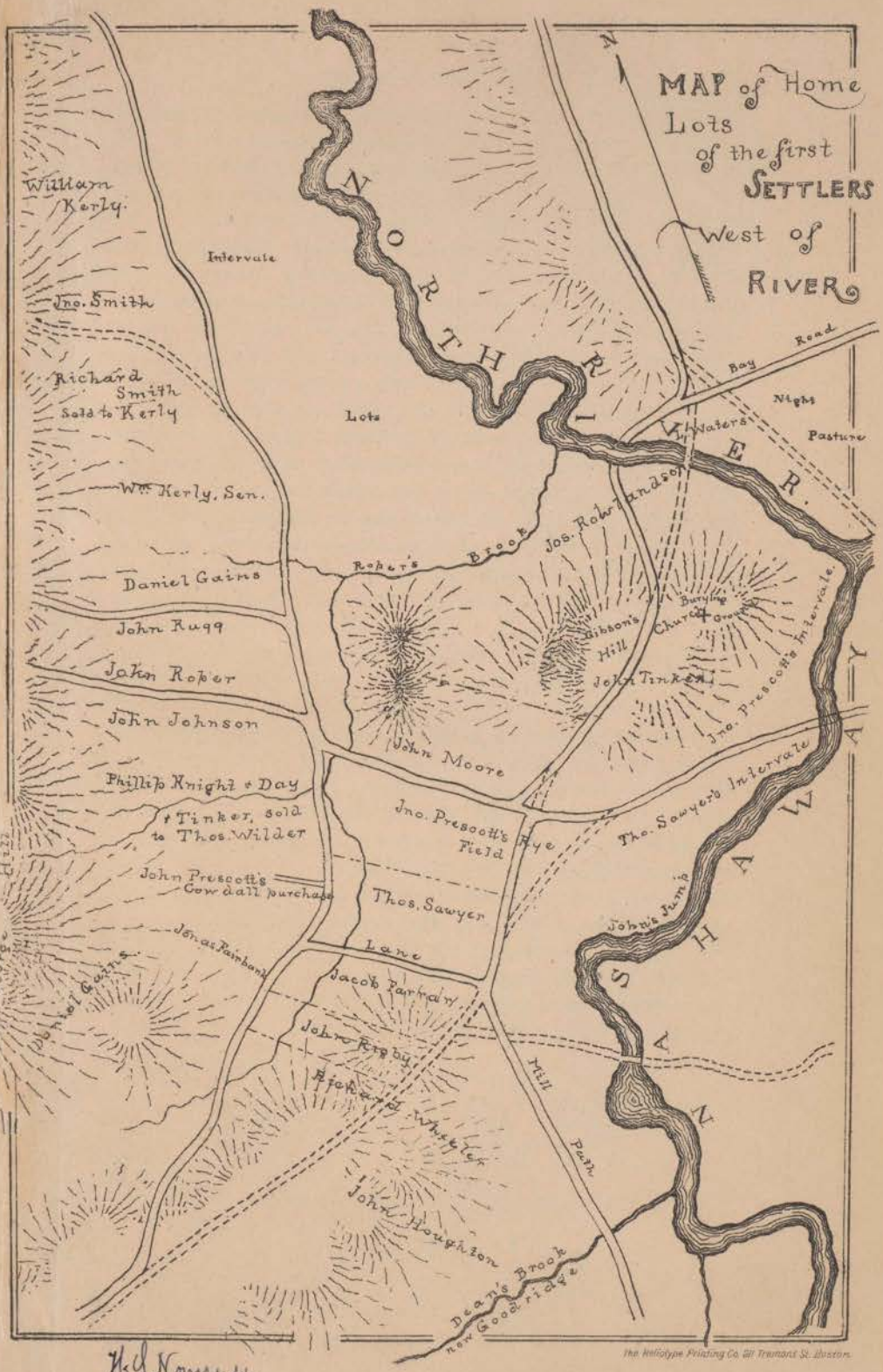

H. G. Nourse del 1883

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he ought to behave himself in the house of God. They that knew him esteemed him for his piety, his probity, his peaceableness, and gentleness, and for his commendable steadiness in these uncertain times. He was a practical, scriptural, profitable preacher. As to his secular affairs, with the help of that PRUDENCE,* God gave him, he managed them with discretion." Mr. Prentice was a native of Newton. He graduated at Cambridge in the class of 1700, which contains the names of Winthrop, Bradstreet, Hooker, Whiting, Robert Breck, &c. His father was Mr. Thomas Prentice of Newton, who married Mary Staunton. Thomas Prentice, a brave and distinguished commander of a corps of cavalry in Philip's war, was a relation. Thomas, the father, died Nov. 6th, 1722, aged 93. He had been, according to tradition, together with Captain Prentice and another relation of the same name, one of Oliver Cromwell's Body Guard. By an ancient manuscript, in the possession of Rev. Mr. Homer of Newton, it appears that Mr. Prentice (without doubt Rev. John Prentice) was admitted to the church in Newton, March 14, 1708, and taken out the same day. His relation was then, I presume, transferred to the church in Lancaster, over which he was ordained Monday, March 29, 1708.†

On the fourth of January, 1748, a few days before the death of Mr. Prentice, it was voted to settle a colleague "if God should spare their minister's life." Thursday the 21st was set apart for a day of fasting and prayer, and the neighboring ministers, Messrs. Gardner, Secomb, Rogers, Goss, and Mellen, were desired to assist on the occasion. Feb. 28, 1748, the society united with the church in inviting Mr. Cotton Brown to be their minister; and voted to give him £2000 old tenor, to enable him to purchase a parsonage, and £480 old tenor for his annual salary. Mr. Brown probably declined the offer;‡ for, on the 8th August following, they voted to hear no more candidates till they came to a choice, and desired the church to select one from those who had already preached. Accordingly, on the same day, the church made choice of the Rev. Timothy Harrington, with but two dissenting votes, and the society immediately concurred in the choice. They offered him £1000,

* His second wife. She died, July, 1765.

† For what relates to the parentage of Mr. Prentice, I am indebted to Rev. Mr. Homer of Newton, and John Mellen Esq. of Cambridge.

Mr. Prentice's salary in 1717, was £70: 1718, £85: 1726, £100: 1731, £130: 1737, £210, old tenor: the same in 1744, 5 and 6, "in the present currency."

‡ He was ordained at Brookline, Oct. 6, 1748, died, April 13, 1751.

old tenor, as a settlement, or £2000 for the purchase of a parsonage, and the same salary* that was offered to Mr. Brown. Mr. Harrington accepted the invitation, and was installed Nov. 16, 1748. The sermon was preached by Rev. John Hancock, of Lexington.† Thirteen churches were represented by their "Elders and delegates, viz: Mr. Loring's of Sudbury, Mr. Gardner's of Stow, Mr. Stone's of Southborough, Mr. Parkman's of Westborough, Mr. Secomb's of Harvard, Mr. Goss' of Bolton, Mr. Rogers' of Leominster, Mr. Mellen's of the west parish, (Sterling,) Rev. Dr. Appleton's of Cambridge, Mr. Hancock's of Lexington, Mr. Williams' of Waltham, Mr. Storer's of Watertown, and Mr. Stearn's of Lunenburg."

Mr. Harrington had been the minister at Lower Ashuelot or Swansey, in New Hampshire. That town was destroyed, April 2, 1747, and the inhabitants were scattered. Monday, Oct. 4, 1748, his church met at Rutland, Mass. and gave their former pastor a dismission and warm recommendation to the first church in Lancaster. The letter was signed by Nathaniel Hammond, Timothy Brown, and Jonathan Hammond, and was highly acceptable to the church in this town.

During the ministry of Mr. Harrington, great changes took place in the state of society in New England. No period of our history is fraught with greater interest and instruction. Ancient simplicity was yielding to the alterations, if not the refinements, in manners, induced by a widening intercourse with the world, the increase of general intelligence, and the number of well educated men. The profession of law had acquired weight and influence, and its members were taking the lead in all that related to the political existence and improvement of the provinces. An inquisitive spirit began to stir in the church, which is still active and busy, under a change of the points of discussion.

I do not find that the introduction of instrumental music as a part of public worship, or the change in the mode of singing, gave rise to any uneasiness in the parish.‡ Not so however with the intro-

* The salary was annually settled by the price of the principal articles of life, £480 old tenor, equal to £64 lawful money, or $213 33. For a few years the salary was as high as $300.

† This sermon was printed. The text was from 1. Cor. IX. 19. Mr. Hancock was father of Rev. John Hancock of Braintree, and Grandfather of Gov. Hancock.

‡ Except Mr. Wheelock used to shake his head, when the pitch pipe was sounded, and Thomas Holt would leave the house at the sound of the pitch pipe, or when "funeral thought" was sung.

duction of the "New Version." Many were grieved because of the change, and two individuals proceeded further. The version of Sternhold and Hopkins,* the first metrical version of the Psalms, in English, was never used in this town. This was not in high repute; Eliot, Welde, and Richard Mather, in 1639, attempted a translation, but their labors were not valued; and President Dunster, the following year, was called upon to revise the collection. His improved version was the one in use in most of the New England Churches for many years—and, in Lancaster, till the time of Mr. Harrington. Probably about the year 1763, the collection by Tate and Brady was introduced. Early in 1665, a complaint was made that one of the members of the church, Moses Osgood, with his wife, Martha, had been absent from the communion service more than a year. On being inquired of by the church, why they absented themselves from the Supper, they sent a written reply, in which they say that the reason is, "the bringing in of the New Version, as we think, not in a prudent and regular way. Also we find, in said Version, such words and expressions as are unknown by us, so that we cannot sing with the understanding also. The composers of the said version, we find, have taken too great a liberty to themselves, as we think, to depart from the scriptures. And as for the hymns taken from the other parts of the bible, we know of no warrent in the bible for them, and shall humbly wait on such as are the maintainers of them to produce and demonstrate the warrantableness for them from the word of God. We are therefore waiting the removing or in some way or other the satisfying the above said doubts; for they are a matter of grievance to us, and we think we are wronged in our highest interest, &c." Further complaint was made against them, that they had declared "the church had broken ~~their~~ covenant with them, in bringing in the New Version of the Psalms, which they affirmed to be made for *Papists and Arminians, to be full of heresy, and in an unknown tongue.*" Also, that "Mr. Harrington asserted at the conference meeting, that he was one half the church, and that he would disannul the meeting."

Bay Psalm Book printed 1640. Dunster's revision 1650 ? x

1765

For this second charge, the offenders made satisfaction; but on the first, the evidence that was adduced to exculpate, being consid-

*Thomas Sternhold, a Court poet, translated 51 psalms. John Hopkins, a clergyman, 58. The other contributors were, principally, William Whyttingham, Dean of Durham, and Thomas Norton, a Barrister. See 2 Ellis' specimens of the early English Poets, p. 116.

+ More probably a later revision. perhaps that of a Committee of ministers 1691

ered insufficient, and no excuse being offered, the church voted an admonition and "suspension." The wife afterwards (1780, May,) came forward, made explanations that were deemed satisfactory, and was restored. The husband probably continued steadfast in adhering to the old version by President Dunster. I do not find that he forsook his first love, or that his suspension was ~~broken~~ taken off.*

Many of the clergy, of Mr. Harrington's time, had departed from the standard of faith professed by the churches in general, from the first settlement of New England. The prevailing doctrines from the beginning were those of Calvin, and it required no ordinary moral courage, seventy years ago, for any one to break asunder the skackles of religious dogmas that had encompassed all, and come out in the independent and conscientious avowal of a new system of doctrine. The people were not prepared for a sudden change of the faith which had been handed down from parent to child, for many generations, and which had collected veneration in its progress and by its long continuance. Most of the clergy, in this vicinity, who embraced the tenets of Arminius, soon found that the age was not arrived that would tolerate a departure from the metaphysical speculations of the old school. They were obliged, therefore, as honest men, to avow their sentiments, at whatever hazard, and in consequence, to relinquish their pastoral relations to their persuasion of the truth. Mr. Harrington however, who was of this class of believers, was regarded with singular affection by his people, and in that way probably, escaped the fate of his brethren.†

A history of this period in our Ecclesiastical affaris, impartially and faithfully written, would be a work of great interest to exhibit the spirit of inquiry and speculation, then just starting into existence, tracing it from its beginning, and shewing how the excitement of political discussion that was preparing the way for national independence, opened the mind to general inquiry in other subjects, especially to those relating to the true interests of man.

* He died, March 10, 1776. Rev. Zabdiel Adams of Lunenburg, in 1771, delivered a discourse in Lancaster, "on the nature, pleasures and advantages of Church Music." This was probably about the time of the change introduced in the mode of singing, &c. See page 87, Note. The discourse was printed. ~~Watt's~~ superseded Tate and Brady, ~~and Belknap, Watts~~ in Lancaster. Belknap

† In justice however, it should be stated, that his conduct at this time was not decided and manly. Although fully an Arminian, he displeased many, at the time, by the temporising course he adopted. He was of the council assembled to decide upon the difficulties at Leominster, and voted for the dismission of Mr. Rogers, a theologian of the same persuasion.

The difficulties in Bolton resulted in the dismission of Rev. Mr. Goss, the minister, by a majority of the church in that place. To this they seem to have been driven by the course pursued by the Ecclesiastical council, which acquitted Mr. Goss of the charges brought against him—charges which, it seems, were true—at least sufficiently so to disqualify him for the duties of his holy office. The Council, besides, passed a censure on those who had dismissed Mr. Goss, and attempted to exclude them from partaking of christian privileges in other churches. The ground work of the whole difficulty was an effort, on the part of the clergy, to assume an arbitrary and irresponsible power over the laity, which led to a proper resistance on the part of the latter. In June, 1772, Samuel Baker, Ephraim Fairbanks, and Nathaniel Longley, a Committee in behalf of the Church in Bolton, sent a letter to the first Church in Lancaster, containing a clear and satisfactory defence of their proceedings, as "not being a usurped authority, but as being the practice of the primitive churches—as being allowed by their own platform,—but still, a power they were unwilling to exercise, unless reduced to real necessity." They then inquire whether they are to be excluded from communion with other churches, and to be condemned without being heard. This letter was laid by Mr. Harrington, before his church, and the following is a copy of the proceedings. "At a meeting of the first Church in Lancaster, by adjournment, on July 21, 1772, voted as follows—Whether this church be so far in charity with the brethren of Bolton, whose letter is before them, as to be willing to receive them to communion with them in special ordinances occasionally."

Passed in the affirmative. Which vote was nonconcurred by the Pastor as follows:—"Brethren, I think myself bound in duty to God, to the Congregational churches in general, to this church, in particular and to my own conscience, to declare, which I now do before you, that I cannot concur with this vote.

"This vote shall be recorded, but my nonconcurrence must be recorded with it. And as the brethren from Bolton now see your charitable sentiments towards them, I hope they will be so far satisfied. But as the church act in their favor is not *perfected*, I hope they will not offer themselves to communion with us, till their society is in a more regular state."

Mr. Harrington continued to live in harmony with his people, during a long and useful ministry: no lasting disturbance injured his good influence; no root of bitterness sprang up between him

and his people. He is represented as having possessed respectable powers of mind, with great mildness and simplicity of character. Liberal in his feelings, he practised charity in its extended, as well as its narrow sense. True piety and an habitual exercise of the moral and social virtues, rendered him highly useful in his sacred office, and an interesting and instructive companion in the common walks of life.

In 1787, Mr. Harrington, being quite advanced in life, received some aid from the town, in the discharge of his duties. From March, 1791, till the following spring, the gentlemen, who, in part, supplied the pulpit, were Messrs. Alden Bradford, H. U. 1786, afterwards settled at Wiscasset—now residing in Boston, and late Secretary of State; Thaddeus M. Harris, H. U. 1787, S. T. D. now a minister in Dorchester; Daniel C. Saunders, H. U. 1788, President of Burlington College, now minister in Medfield; and Rev. Joseph Davis.

In March, 1792, it was voted to settle a colleague with Rev. Mr. Harrington, and a committee was appointed to wait upon Mr. Harrington, touching his inclination respecting a colleague, &c. and to supply the desk for twelve weeks.* In July, 1792, "voted that the town will hear Mr. Thayer† a further time. June 3, 1793 the town voted unanimously to concur with the church, in giving him an invitation to be their minister, with a settlement of £200, and a salary of £90, during Mr. Harrington's life time, and £120 ($400‡) after his decease. The invitation was accepted in a letter dated Cambridge, July 11, 1793. The ordination was Oct. 9, 1793.§ The sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Osgood, of Medford, from Acts xx. 27. The other services were as follows, viz: Introductory prayer by Rev. Dr. Belknap; consecrating prayer, by Rev. Mr. Whitney; Charge, by Rev. Mr. Jackson; Right hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Emerson; Concluding prayer, by Rev. Dr. Clarke. The following were the churches present: Leominster,

*The other gentlemen who preached here before the invitation given to the present minister, were Rev. Thomas Gray, D. D. of Roxbury, Rev. Hezekiah Packard, D. D. of Wiscassett, Maine, Rev. Aaron Green, of Malden, Rev. Hezekiah Goodrich, of Rutland, Rev. Thomas C. Thatcher, formerly of Lynn.

† H. U. 1789. Tutor, S. T. D.

‡ In 1804, $510; 1805, $400; 1811, raised permanently to $525.

§ Messrs. Joseph Wales, Oliver Carter, and Eli Stearns, were thanked by the town "for their timely and useful exertions in preparing suitable provision, &c. for the ordaining council, and for the polite manner in which they conducted the business of attending upon them, and it was voted, that their freely rendering this service be recorded in grateful remembrance of their generosity."

Rev. Francis Gardner; Lunenburg, Rev. Zabdiel Adams; Shirley, Rev. Phinehas Whitney; Harvard, Rev. William Emerson; Bolton, Rev. Phinehas Wright; Berlin, Rev. Reuben Puffer, D. D.; Sterling, Rev. Reuben Holcomb; Worcester, Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D. D.; Brookline, Rev. Joseph Jackson; Newburyport, Rev. Thomas Cary, Rev. John Andrews, D. D.; Medford, Rev. David Osgood, D. D.; Cambridge, Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D.; Boston, First Church, Rev. John Clarke, D. D.; Federal Street, Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D. D.; New North Church, Rev. John Eliot, D. D.

Mr. Harrington, preached but little during the last five years of his life. After being in an infirm state of health for some time, he died, December 18, 1795, in the 80th year of his age. A sermon was preached by his colleague and successor, at the funeral, Dec. 23, from 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8, and was afterwards printed.*

Mr. Harrington was born in Waltham, Feb. 10, 1716, and graduated, Harvard University, 1737, in a distinguished class. He was first ordained, as we have already seen, at Swansey, in New Hampshire. After leaving Swansey, he preached in this town and other places as a candidate, till his settlement here, in Nov. 1648.

The building that had been used as a house for public worship from 1743, being old, and inconvenient, the town voted, Dec. 4, 1815, to erect a new building of brick. A farm a little to the northeast of the old house was purchased of Benjamin Lee, Esq. by a number of individuals, and two acres were conveyed by them to the town for the sum of $633 33, as apprised by Messrs. James Wilder, Moses Thomas and Thomas H. Blood, of Sterling. Messrs. Eli Stearns, Jacob Fisher, and William Cleaveland, were chosen a

* Further, as to his character, see the above sermon, also two others from the same hand, printed Feb. 1817. Mr. Harrington's printed discourses, besides his Century Sermon, May 28, 1753, Psalm CXIX. 1, 2, were, "Prevailing wickedness, and distressing judgments, ill-boding symptoms on a stupid people." Hosea, vii. 9. Also, one at Princeton, Dec. 23, 1759, from 1 Cor. vii. 15.

Mr. Harrington was twice married. His first wife was Anna Harrington, of Lexington, a cousin, born June 2, 1716, and died, May 19, 1778. Their children were Henrietta, born at Lexington, 1744, and married John Locke, of Templeton, brother to President Locke, of the University; Arethusa born at Lexington, 1747. Eusebia, born at Lancaster, May 1751—married Paul Richardson, sometime of this place; afterwards of Winchester, N. H. Timothy, born Sept. 1753. H. U. 1776, a physician in Chelmsford, died, Feb. 26, 1804. His only son, Rufus, died in Boston, eighteen or nineteen years since. Dea. Thomas Harrington, born Nov. 1755, now living in Heath. Anna, born July, 1758, married Dr. Bridge, a physician in Petersham, son of Rev. Mr. Bridge of Framingham. After his death, she was married to Joshua Fisher, M. D. M. M. S. &c. of Beverly. They are both living. Mr. Harrington had other children who died in infancy. His second wife was widow of Rev. Mr. Bridge, of Framingham.

building committee. In January, 1816, it was voted, that the new church should contain not more than 4,400, nor less than 4,200 square feet, and that there should be a porch and portico, of such size as the committee should approve.

After the spot for the new church was selected, difficulties occurred in deciding whether the front of the building should be towards the west, or south. After much discussion, and various votes on the subject, at a number of different meetings, the parties agreed to abide by the decision of certain gentlemen from other towns mutually selected for the purpose.

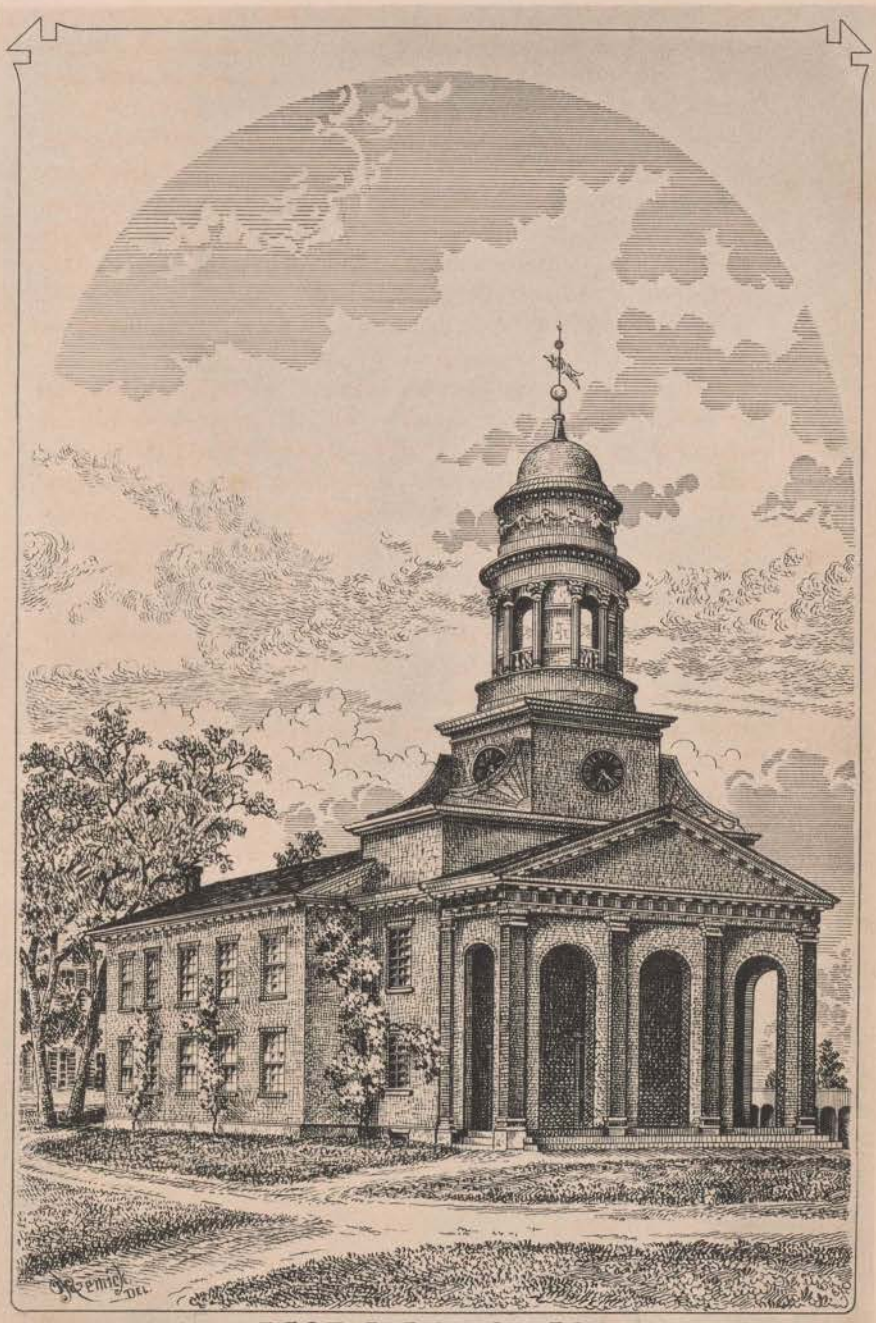
The opinion of these gentlemen was in favor of a south entrance, and their decision being final, was acquiesced in after a short time.

The corner stone was laid July 9, 1816. A silver plate with this inscription was deposited beneath—"Fourth house built in Lancaster for the worship of God. Corner stone laid, July 9, 1816. May God make our ways prosperous, and give us good success. Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, pastor of our Church." A previous address was made by the pastor: 87th psalm, Belknap's collection, was sung, and prayer by the pastor concluded the exercises. The building was dedicated on the first day of January, A. D. 1817. Introductory prayer by Rev. Mr. Capen, of Sterling, "who also read the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the temple." Dedicatory prayer, by Rev. Dr. Bancroft, of Worcester. Sermon, by the pastor of the Society, from Ephesians, ii. 19, 20, 21, 22. Concluding prayer, by Rev. Mr. Allen, of Bolton.

From a description of the building published at the time, I extract the following:—

The design of the edifice was by Charles Bulfinch, Esq.* of Boston. The body of the building is 74 by 66 feet, with a porch, portico, tower and cupola. The portico is 48 by 17 feet, of square brick columns, arched with pilasters, entablature, and pediment of the Doric order; the vestibule, or porch, is 48 by 19 feet and contains the gallery stairs; the tower is 21 feet square; the cupola is circular, and of singular beauty;—it is surrounded with a colonade of 12 fluted pillars, with entablature, and cornice, of the Ionic order; above which is an Attic encircled with a festoon drapery, the whole surmounted by a dome, balls, and vane. The height from the ground is about 120 feet. Inside, the front of the gallery is of ballustrade work, and is supported by ten fluted pillars of the Doric order, and has a clock in front, presented by a gentle-

* Now National Architect at Washington.



FIRST PARISH CHURCH.

1879

man of the society.* The pulpit rests on eight fluted columns, and four pilasters of the Ionic order: the upper section is supported by six Corinthian columns also fluted. and is lighted by a circular headed window, ornamented with double pilasters fluted; entablature and cornice of the Corinthian order; this is decorated with a curtain and drapery from a Parisian model, which, with the materials, were presented by a friend;† they are of rich green figured satin. A handsome Pulpit Bible was presented also by a friend,‡ and a bell, weighing 1300 lbs. was given by gentlemen of the town.

The following is a complete list of baptisms and admissions to full communion from March 29, 1708, to the present time.

Baptisms during Rev. Mr. Prentice's ministry,	1593
From his death, Jan. 1748, to settlement of Rev. Mr. Harrington, Nov. 16, 1748.	38
During Rev. Mr. Harrington's ministry,	1531
From the ordination of Rev. Dr. Thayer, to the present time, – Summer of 1826.	862
Total,	4024

Admissions during Rev. Mr. Prentice's ministry,	331
" " Rev. Mr. Harrington's, "	478
" " Rev. Dr. Thayer's " to 1826	307
Total,	1116

The town of Lancaster has ever enjoyed singular peace and harmony in its religious affairs. No Ecclesiastical council, so often the cause of bitterness at the present day, has ever been held within our limits, except for the purpose of assisting at ordinations. Within the present bounds of the town, there is, and never has been but one regular and incorporated religious society, and that of the Congregational denomination.

Individuals here, as well as in other towns, make use of the facilities which the law affords them and join themselves to other persuasions. In many instances, it is not to be doubted, this is done from conscientious motives—in others, a *certificate* proves a cheap and expeditious riddance of the expense of supporting the institutions of our holy faith, and a general indifference to their prosperity may be concealed under the appearance of scruples of conscience.

* Jacob Fisher, Esq.

† S. V. S. Wilder, Esq.

‡ Mr. Abel Wrifford.

By Wm Stedman Esq

MEMOIR OF JUDGE SPRAGUE.

28 The Hon. John Sprague was a citizen of Lancaster from Sept. 1, 1770, to the 21st of Sept. 1800, the time of his death. The town was much indebted to him for the correctness of their municipal proceedings, and the unanimity with which their affairs were conducted. He was born at Rochester, in the county of Plymouth, then Province of the Massachusetts Bay, on the 21st of June A. D. 1740, O. S. corresponding to the 2d of July, N. S. He was the son of Noah Sprague, Esq. by Sarah, his wife, who was a lineal descendant of Elizabeth Penn, the sister of Sir William Penn, who was an Admiral under Cromwell, and the father of William Penn, the proprietor of Pennsylvania; her husband was William Hammond, of London. Benjamin Hammond, their son, removed from London to Sandwich, in the colony of Plymouth, married there in 1650, and thence removed to Rochester. John Hammond the second son by this marriage, married Mary Arnold, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Arnold, the first minister of Rochester, and Sarah, a daughter, by this marriage was Mr. Sprague's mother. Judge Sprague began to prepare for College in Dec. 1760, and entered therein at Cambridge at the end of the summer vacation after, viz. A. D. 1761. Having pursued his collegiate studies with reputation, he graduated in 1765, and soon after took charge of the grammar school in Roxbury; commenced the study of physic there, and pursued it under the instruction of the late Doct. Thomas Williams for a short time, viz. until May, 1766. In that month he removed to Worcester, abandoned the study of physic, and entered as a clerk in the office of Col. James Putnam, an eminent Barrister at Law, and kept a private grammar school there. At the May term of the Court of Common Pleas, 1768, he was admitted an Attorney of that Court, removed from thence to Rhode Island, and in the following Sept. was admitted an Attorney in the Superior Court in the county of Providence, colony of Rhode Island, &c. and opened his office in Newport; there he remained without the prospect of much business, in the diligent pursuit of his professional studies, until May, 1769, when he removed to Keene, in the county of Cheshire, then province of New Hampshire, where he pursued the practice of Law until Sept. 1, 1770, made himself acquainted with the people, and the business of the Courts there, and by his talents, industry and fidelity, acquired a reputation which long afterward afforded him extensive professional employment in the interior counties of that province. Inclined to take up his permanent abode in his na-

tive province, he then removed from Keene to Lancaster, in the county of Worcester, and opened an office in partnership with Abel Willard, Esq. a respectable Counsellor at Law, for the term of ten years, beginning the 21st of the same month. This partnership was interrupted by the war with Great Britain. Mr. Willard adhering to the King, left Lancaster in March, 1775, and never returned. In April, 1772, he was admitted an Attorney of the Superior Court at Worcester. In Dec. 1772, he married Catherine Foster, of Charlestown, the twelfth child and ninth daughter of Richard Foster, Esq. Sheriff of Middlesex; by this marriage, he had one son and two daughters. He was occupied in extensive professional employment, till arms silenced the laws; then he shared in the burdens and privations common to his neighbors and fellow citizens in the eventful period of the revolution. Having purchased a small farm in the centre of the town, he labored upon it as a farmer; dismantled himself of his linen and ruffles and other appropriate habiliments, and assumed the garments of labor, which were then the checkered shirt and trowsers. He was resorted to for counsel in all cases of difficulty which occurred, and toward the close of the revolution, when our government was formed, and business revived, he was one of the principal counsellors and advocates in our Courts of Justice. His legal learning was so well combined with and aided by common sense, and a sound discretion, that he was considered one of the most safe, discerning and upright counsellors in the Commonwealth. As an advocate, he was not the most eloquent, but such was the fairness of his statements and force of his arguments, that conviction seemed their natural result. He was cotemporary with the two Strongs, the late Governor, and the late Judge, both of the county of Hampshire, and the late Hon. Levi Lincoln, of Worcester, and divided with them the multiplied business of advocating causes and collecting debts in the counties of Hampshire, Worcester and Middlesex, and in the counties of Hillsborough and Cheshire, in New Hampshire. In May, 1782, he was elected a representative of the town to the General Court, and in the January session following, a vacancy in the Senate occurring, being a candidate, voted for by the people, was elected by the Legislature to fill that vacancy, and was again elected to the Senate by the people in 1785. In February, 1783, he was first commissioned a Justice of the Peace and quorum, for the county of Worcester. So high was he held in the estimation of the Judges of the Supreme Judicial Court, as a Lawyer, that at the February term of that

Court in Suffolk, 1784, he was made a Barrister at Law, and was called to that distinction by the first writ that issued for Barrister in the Commonwealth ; the mode of admission preceding the revolution having been without writ. He was to have been admitted before the revolution, but the tumults in the country interrupted the Courts. He was elected to represent the town in the General Court in 1784 and 1785.

In 1786, Mr. Sprague was selected by the Government as the law adviser of Maj. Gen. Lincoln, to attend him in his expedition against Daniel Shays and his adherents, who had excited a rebellion in the Commonwealth.

May 5, 1787, he was bereaved of his wife, and in the latter part of the same year, he married Mary Ivers, the widow of Thomas Ivers, Esq. late Treasurer of the Commonwealth, and eldest child of Mr. John Cutler and Mary, his wife, of Boston, who survived him. In 1788, he was elected a member of the convention for ratifying the Constitution of the United States. The town was opposed to the ratification, and by a committee of seven gave him instructions to vote against it. Having confidence, however, in the intelligence and rectitude of their delegate, they so qualified the instructions as to leave him to vote as he should think proper. He was one of seven out of fifty members from the county, who voted in the affirmative. In the winter of the same year, he was appointed Sheriff of the county of Worcester, in the place of William Greenleaf, Esq. who was removed from that office. He was punctual and faithful in the performance of his official duties, reduced the former irregularities in the administration of the office to order and system, and resigned it in 1792.

He returned to the practice of law, and continued in it until 1798. He represented the town in the General Court from the year 1795 to 1799 inclusive. In 1798, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Worcester. It was a new and valuable acquisition to have a learned lawyer at the head of the Judicial administration of the County, whose integrity and talents fitted him for the station, and whose justice and impartiality would ensure the confidence of all engaged in the business of the Court. In this office he continued until his death. His historical and legal knowledge, the accuracy of his mind, and its adaptation in the choice of language to express it on all subjects, rendered him a very useful member of the legislature, and he was looked to as a safe adviser and guide in the political and local concerns of the Commonwealth.

He was a lover of peace, and possessed a happy talent at reconciling jarring interests and harmonizing discordant feelings. Such were his mental qualities, so strong his sense of justice and honourable dealing, that he was selected, before he was on the bench, a commissioner or referee to adjust the numerous controversies which prevailed to an alarming degree in the then District of Maine, between those who, without title, had settled on the lands of the Commonwealth, of the Waldo Patent and Plymouth Company on the one part, and the lawful proprietors of them on the other. By his co-operating agency, together with the enactments thereon by the legislature, such a settlement of the contending claims was effected as restored peace and contentment to the parties.

In the course of his professional career, many young gentlemen of liberal education, entered his office as students in law, and derived from him the requisite instruction. Of the distinguished men now living who were his pupils, are the Honorable Edward H. Robbins, late Lieut. Governor of the Commonwealth, now Judge of Probate for the county of Norfolk.—The Honorable Nathaniel Paine, Judge of Probate for the County of Worcester.—The Honorable Artemas Ward, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts,—and John M. Forbes, Esq. now Charge d' Affairs, at Buenos Ayres.

In his domestic relations he was faithful and affectionate; a good neighbor, unostentatious in his professions of friendship, but manifested his sincerity by kindness and beneficence and untiring efforts to do good. He was a lover of order, and ready at all times to promote the interest and honor of the town. His charities, hospitality and benevolence are by many still remembered. The writer of this memoir, who was his neighbor, and at his desire by his bedside the last twenty four hours of his life, witnessed his calmness and resignation at the approach of death, and his faith in Him who giveth the victory.

His tomb stone, it is hoped, justly repeats the benediction of the Saviour,—"Blessed are the peace makers, for they shall be called the children of God."

APPENDIX.

LIST OF REPRESENTATIVES TO THE GENERAL COURT, FROM THE FIRST ON RECORD, TO THE PRESENT TIME.

1671	Thomas Beattle,	1737	Jabez Fairbanks,
1672	Thomas Beattle,	1738	Jabez Fairbanks,
1673	(Ralph?) Houghton,	1739	Ebenezer Wilder,
1689 Dec	Ralph Houghton,	1740	Samuel Willard,
1690	John Houghton,	1741	William Richardson, Capt.
1692			
1697	John Houghton,	1742	Samuel Willard,
1690, 1692		1743	do
1705	John Houghton,	1744	Ephraim Wilder, Capt
1706	John Houghton,	1745	William Richardson,
1707	Thomas Sawyer,	1746	Joseph Wilder, Jr.
1708	John Houghton,	1747	Joseph Wilder, Jr.
1710	Josiah Whitcomb,	1748	William Richardson, Col Saml
1711	John Houghton,	1749	~~William Richardson,~~ Willard
1712	John Houghton,	1750 William Richardson	
1714	Jabez Fairbanks,	1751	Joseph Wilder, Jr.
1715	John Houghton,	1752	Joseph Wilder, Jr.
1716	John Houghton,	1753	Joseph Wilder, Jr.
1717	John Houghton,	1754	William Richardson,
1718	John Houghton, Jr	1755	David Wilder,
1719	John Houghton,	1756	William Richardson,
1720	Joseph Wilder,	1757	David Wilder,
1721	John Houghton, Esq	1758	William Richardson,
	Jabez Fairbanks,	1759	William Richardson,
		1760	William Richardson,
1722	Jabez Fairbanks,	1761	William Richardson,
1723	Jabez Fairbanks,	1762	David Wilder,
1724	John Houghton, Esq	1763	David Wilder,
1725	Joseph Wilder,	1764	David Wilder,
1726	Joseph Wilder,	1765	David Wilder,
1727	Samuel Willard,	1766	Asa Whitcomb,
1728	Josiah White,	1767	David Wilder,
2729	Josiah White,	1768	Asa Whitcomb,
1730	Josiah White,	1769	Asa Whitcomb,
1731	Josiah White, Jas Wilder	1770	Asa Whitcomb,
1732	~~James Wilder,~~ Jonathan Houghton	1771	Asa Whitcomb,
1733	James Keyes,	1772	Asa Whitcomb,
1734	Ephraim Wilder,	1773	Asa Whitcomb,
1735	Ephraim Wilder,	1774	Asa Whitcomb,
1736	Ephraim Wilder, Capt	1775	Ebenezer Allen,

1775	Hezekiah Gates, Capt	1778	William Dunsmoor,
1776	William Dunsmoor,		Samuel Thurston,
1777	William Dunsmoor,	1779	Joseph Reed. Col.

UNDER THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION.

1780	William Putnam, Capt	1807	Eli Stearns,
1781	William Dunsmoor,	1808	Eli Stearns,
1782	John Sprague,		Jonas Lane,
1783	John Sprague,	1809	Eli Stearns,
1784	John Sprague,		Jonas Lane,
1785	John Sprague,	1810	Eli Stearns,
1786	Ephraim Carter, Jr. Capt.		Jonas Lane,
1787	Michael Newhall,	1811	Jonas Lane,
1788	Michael Newhall,		Jacob Fisher,
1789	Michael Newhall,	1812	Jonas Lane,
1790	Ephraim Carter, Capt.		Jacob Fisher,
1791	Ephraim Carter, Jr. Capt	1813	Jacob Fisher,
1792	Ephraim Carter, Jr. Capt		William Cleaveland,
1793	John Whiting, Maj. Genl.	1814	William Cleaveland,
1794	John Sprague,		John Thurston,
1795	John Sprague,	1815	William Cleaveland,
1796	John Sprague,		John Thurston,
1797	John Sprague,	1816	John Thurston, Capt.
1798	John Sprague,		Edward Goodwin, Capt.
1799	John Sprague,	1817	John Thurston, Capt.
1800	Samuel Ward,		Benjamin Wyman, Capt
1801	Samuel Ward,	1818	~~John Thurston~~, declined & Capt
1802	William Stedman,		Solomon Carter, Benj. Wyman elected
1803	Jonathan Wilder,	1819	Benjamin Wyman,
1804	Jonathan Wilder,	1821	Jacob Fsher,
1805	Jonathan Wilder,	1823	Jacob Fisher,
1806	Jonathan Wilder,	1826	John Thurston. Capt
	Eli Stearns,		

~~Where any year is omitted the town was not represented.~~

Beattle was afterwards one of the deputies from Concord. I do not know that he ever lived here. Thomas Sawyer was the one who was taken captive in 1705. Col. Asa Whitcomb, the revolutionary patriot who represented the town many years in the Legislature, is particularly mentioned in Mr. Goodwin's history of Sterling.

October, 1774, William Dunsmoor was chosen to represent the town in the Provincial Convention at Concord.

Dunsmoor and Asa Whitcomb were delegates to the Provincial Congress at Cambridge, February 1, 1775.

Joseph Reed and Ebenezer Allen, delegates to the State Convention in Concord, July 14, 1779, to the County Convention at Worcester on the second Tuesday of August, 1779, and to attend at Concord first Wednesday in October, 1779.

William Dunsmoor, Ephraim Wilder and William Putnam, delegates to the Convention in Cambridge, September, 1779. This was the Convention that formed our present Constitution of State Government.

Timothy Whiting and Ephraim Carter, delegates to the County Convention at Worcester, April, 1782.

Ebenezer Allen, delegate to the County Convention at Leicester, August 1786.

John Sprague, delegate to the Convention for ratifying the Federal Constitution. It is worthy of remark that out of the whole County of Worcester on the question for adopting the Constitution, there were forty three nays and but seven yeas. The latter were Messrs. Sprague of this town, Seth Newton of Southborough, Samuel Baker of Bolton, David Wilder of Leominister, Matthew Patrick of Western, Josiah Goddard of Athol, and Ephraim Wilder of Sterling.

John Maynard, Jonathan Wilder, and William Cleveland, delegates to the County Convention at Worcester, August, 1812.

Jacob Fisher and Davis Whitman, delegates to the Convention in Boston, November, 1820, for revising the Constitution of the State.

PUBLIC OFFICERS.

County Treasurer, Jonathan Houghton, 1731 to 1733.

Judge of Court of Common Pleas and Chief Justice, Joseph Wilder, 1731 to 1757.

Judge Court of Common Pleas, Samuel Willard, 1743 to 1753. Joseph Wilder, son of first Judge Joseph Wilder, 1762 to 1773. John Sprague, June 28, 1798, Chief Justice, July 31, 1798 to 1800.

Clerk of the Courts, William Stedman, 1810 to 1811. 1812 to 1816.

Sheriff, William Greenleaf, 1778 to 1788. John Sprague, 1788 to 1792.

Judge of Probate, Joseph Wilder, 1739 to 1757.

Assistant Justices of the Court of Sessions, John Whiting, March 1, 1808 to April 20, 1809. Timothy Whiting, November 14, 1811.

Senators, John Sprague, 1785 to 1786. Moses Smith, 1814 to 1816. Jas. G. Carter 1837 to 1839 John G. Thurston 1844 & 5
F. B. Fay 1868 H. J. Nurse 1885-6

John Tinker given license to marry 1758.
Major Simon Willard. Assistant when he
Came to Lancaster.

Justices before 1788.

1727. Joseph Wilder. 1729. & quorum 1743. Judge C.C.P.
1729. John Houghton. (called "Justice" much earlier.)
1732. Col. Samuel Willard, of quorum 1743.
1737. Col. James Wilder.
1743. Samuel Willard Jr.
1753. William Richardson. & 1762
1754. Col. John Whitcomb.
1744 & 1762. Col Oliver Wilder.
1747 & 1762 Col. Joseph Wilder Jr. quorum. Judge C.C.P.
1762. David Osgood.
1762 Col. Abijah Willard
1762 Joshua Willard
1762 Thomas Wilder
1769 Abel Willard. of quorum.
March 18 1772. Levi Willard
March 18 1772 Samuel Wilder.
Feb. 3 1774 Ezra Houghton
1775 John Sprague
1783 William Dunsmoor.
1775 Col. Joseph Reed
1775 Col. Asa Whitcomb.

Representatives to Congress. William Stedman, 1803 to 1810.

Justices of the Peace. I have no means of being accurate prior to 1788. Soon after the settlement of the town, Major Willard, who resided here for a short time, was a magistrate by virtue of his office, as one of the Court of Assistants. After the town was rebuilt, came John Houghton, and, probably, he was the only magistrate for some years. Then followed Judge Joseph Wilder, father and son, Col. Oliver Wilder, Col. Samuel Willard, father and son, Col. Abijah Willard, and Abel Willard, William Richardson, Joseph Reed, David Osgood, &c. ~~After the peace~~, William Dunsmoor, and John Sprague.

Since 1788, they are as follows,* viz:

Appointed

March 14, 1788, Josiah Wilder.
Jan. 23, 1789, Israel Atherton.
Oct. 14, 1789, Timothy Whiting jr. quorum, Oct. 15, 1807.
Sept. 18, 1790, *William Stedman*, quorum, Jan. 21, 1801.
June 24, 1799, Samuel Ward, quorum, Jan. 28, 1806.
Feb. 1, 1803, *Josiah Flagg.*
June 14, 1803, *Benjamin Wyman.*
May 26, 1806, Joseph Wales.
May 13, 1808, Merrick Rice.
Oct. 18, 1809, Moses Smith, jr. quorum, July 3, 1816.
Dec. 17, 1811, Paul Willard.
June 16, 1812, *Jacob Fisher.*
Jan. 20, 1814, Ebenezer Torrey.
Dec. 3, 1816, *Edward Goodwin.*
June 9, 1821, John Stuart.
Jan. 24, 1822, *Jonas Lane.*
Aug. 26, 1823, *Levi Lewis.*
Jan. 7, 1825, *Joseph Willard.*
" " *William Willard.*

Those in Italics are now in commission.

ATTORNIES AND COUNCELLORS AT LAW.

Admitted to practice,

Worcester C. C. P. Nov. Term, 1755, Abel Willard, to 1775.—Removed.

Worcester, C. C. P. March Term, 1768, John Sprague, 1770 to 1800.—Died.

Admitted in Worcester, Levi Willard, about the year 1786—Died. 1791

* This list was furnished by Edward D. Bangs, Esq. Secretary of State.

John Tinker given license to marry 1758.
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1754. Col. John Whitcomb.
1744 & 1762. Col Oliver Wilder.
1747 & 1762 Col. Joseph Wilder Jr. quorum. Judge C.C.
1762. David Osgood.
1762 Col. Abijah Willard
1762 Joshua Willard
1762 Thomas Wilder
1769 Abel Willard. of quorum.
March 18 1772. Levi Willard
March 18 1772 Samuel Wilder.
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1775 Col. Joseph Reed
1775 Col. Asa Whitcomb.

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ATTORNIES AND COUNCELLORS AT LAW.

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Admitted in Worcester, Levi Willard, about the year 1786—Died. 1791

* This list was furnished by Edward D. Bangs, Esq. Secretary of State.

Essex, Sept. Term, C. C. P. 1787, *William Stedman*, to 1810 and from 1821.

Worcester, March Term, 1789, Merrick Rice to 1815.—Removed to Harvard—Died.

Worcester, Dec. Term, 1802, Moses Smith to 1825.—Relinquished the practice.

Worcester, March Term, 1803, Samuel John Sprague to 1805—Died.

In Middlesex, John Stuart, here from 1821 to 1822.—Removed to Boston.

Worcester, Sept. Term, C. C. P. 1811, John Davis, jr. to 1821.—Removed to Charlton.

Middlesex, Dec. Term, C. C. P. 1819, *Joseph Willard* from 1821, July ; at Waltham from March 1820, to July 1821.

Middlesex, June Term, C. C. P. 1824, *Solon Whiting*, Attorney at Law.

Those in Italicks are now in practice in this town. Abel Willard, son of Col. Samuel Willard, who was representative of the town some years, was held in great esteem, and was the instrument of healing many differences without litigation. He went to London in 1775, earlier than was stated in a former note, and died there before the termination of the war. Samuel J. Sprague, Harvard University, 1799, was son of Judge Sprague, Harvard University, 1765, A. A. S. died Sept. 10, 1805, of an injury received by a fall. Levi Willard, Harvard University, 1775, born 1756. After leaving college he resided for some time in England, on his return he studied law with Judge Sprague. He opened an office in Lancaster, and practised there for a short time in 1786, and till his death. William Stedman, Harvard University, 1784. Merrick Rice, Harvard University, 1785. Joseph Willard, Harvard University, 1816, L. L. B. Solon Whiting, son of the late General John Whiting.

PHYSICIANS.

Daniel Greenleaf, died in Bolton.

John Dunsmoor, died Dec. 7, 1747, aged 45.

Staunton Prentice, died Dec. 1, 1769, aged 58.

Phineas Phelps, died Aug. 12, 1770, aged 37.

William Dunsmoor, died May 26, 1784, aged 50.

Israel Atherton, Harvard University, 1662, M. M. S. Soc. died July, 1822, aged 82.

Josiah Wilder, Y. C. died Dec. 20, 1788, aged 45.

James Carter, died 1817.

Samuel Manning, Harvard University, 1797, M. D. M. M. S. Soc. moved to Cambridge in 1821, died 1822.

Dr. Josiah Leavett in 2d Precinct, town clerk near close of Revolution

Nathaniel Peabody, M. D. Dart. M. M. S. Soc. 1821 to 1822.
Calvin Carter, Licentiate.
George Baker, Harvard University, 1816, M. D. M. M. S. Soc.
Right Cummings, Licentiate,

The three last are now in practice here. Greenleaf from Newbury, I find first mentioned in 1734, and as late as 1760. John Dunsmoor, was probably born in Ireland. "Old father Dunsmoor," probably John's father, a member of the Church in Ireland, was admitted to communion in Rev. Mr. Prentice's Church, Aug. 21, 1740. Saunton Prentice was the eldest son of Rev. Mr. Prentice. William Dunsmoor was son of John. Israel Atherton, was a descendant of James Atherton, who came to Lancaster March 15, 1653. James had a son James born 13 May, 1654, Joshua born 13 May, 1656. Joshua was father of Col. Peter, born 12 April, 1705, died June 13, 1764. Peter was father of Hon. Joshua Atherton, born 20 June, 1737, and Dr. Israel, born Nov. 20, 1741. Josiah Wilder was son of Col. James Wilder. James Carter was son of Capt. James Carter, of this town. Samuel Manning was from Cambridge. Calvin Carter is son of Dr. James. George Baker is a native of Dedham, and Right Cummings, of Lunenburg.

Before the first Dunsmoor, and Greenleaf, the earliest of the *Faculty* in this town, was a female, "Doctress Whitcomb." The "Doctress" was here, probably, as early as A. D. 1700. *She studied the profession* with the Indians, with whom she was at one time a captive, and acquired her knowledge of simples from them. She was quite distinguished in this neighborhood as one of the *Faculty*. Before her time, there was no physician nearer than Concord.

GRADUATES AT DIFFERENT COLLEGES.

Harvard University.

1733* *Josiah Swan*, born 1701, minister of Dunstable, as before mentioned. died 1777

1752* Abel Willard, born Jan. 12, 1732. died 1781

1755* Samuel Locke, S. T. D. born Nov. 23, 1732, son of Samuel Locke of this town, minister of Sherburn, and President of Harvard University, 1770 to 1773, died in Sherburne of apoplexy. 1778

1766 Peter Green, M. M. S. Soc. hon. born Oct. 1, 1745, son of the late Peter Green of this town. See ante note. died 1828

1770 *John Mellen*, Tutor, A. A. and S. H. S. born July 8, 1752. died 1828

1775* Levi Willard, born Aug. 13, 1756. died 1790

1776* Timothy Harrington, born Sept. 17, 1753. A physician in Chelmsford, as before mentioned. died 1802

1777* *Joseph Kilburn*, born Nov. 3, 1755 or 6. died 1816

1781* *Isaac Bailey*, born Feb. 24, 1753. died 1814

1798* Artemas Sawyer, born Nov. 2, 1777. died 1815

1799* Samuel John Sprague, born 1780. died 1805

1817 Sewell Carter, merchant in Lancaster. Mr. d. 1838

1817* Moses K. Emerson, a physician, died in Virginia, 1825.

1817 Paul Willard, Counsellor at Law, Charlestown. Mr. died 1856

1821 Henry Lane, M. D. a physician in Boston. M.D. M.M.S.S.

1822 Samuel Manning studied law. He now resides in Mexico. died 1837

" Ebenezer Torry, Attorney at law in Fitchburg. Mr.

1823 Levi Fletcher, Chaplain U. S. Frigate Macedonian. died 1839

1824 Christopher T. Thayer, Theological student at Cambridge.

1825 Frederick Wilder, died at Northampton, "Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit," Feb. 1826.

1826 Stephen M. Weld. Mr died 1867

Messrs. Mellen, Kilburn and Bailey, are of the "Chocksett literati." See Vol. 1. Worcester Magazine, 379, 380.

died - 1788 — Dr. Josiah Wilder and Israel Houghton, Graduated at Yale College about ten years before the revolution. I have not the catalogue by me to fix the year.

Jacob Willard graduated at Brown University, ~~1826.~~ William Hunt

died 1853 White, do. do. do. Theological students at Cambridge. 1826

Abel Willard, son of Joshua W. of Petersham, entered Harvard University, 1772, left in 1775 and went to England with his uncle Abel Willard, Esq. of this town. Died in Canada.

Nathan Osgood	entered Harvard University,	1782	and left.
Samuel Ward	" "	1784,	"
Jeffery Amherst Atherton,	"	1791,	died 1793.
Abel Willard Atherton,	"	1795,	and left.

Richard Cleveland and Henry Russell Cleveland are now in the Senior Class at the University.

NOTE ON THE WILDERS.

The tradition of the family is, that Thomas Wilder the first of the name in this country, came from Lancaster in England; that he settled in Hingham, and had four sons, that one son remained in Hingham, from whom are descended all of the name of Wilder, in that town and vicinity. I find that Thomas Wilder was made freeman, 2d June, 1641, and that he was of Charlestown in 1642. One named Edward took the freeman's oath, 29th May, 1644, and was afterwards of Hingham, (2 Mass. Hist. Col. iv. 221) but whether, or how, related to Thomas I do not know. called brother.

Thomas moved to Lancaster, July 1, 1659, was one of the selectmen, and died October 23, 1667. He left three sons in Lancaster, viz. Thomas, John and Nathaniel, from whom are derived all of the name of Wilder, in this town. *Thomas*, the eldest son, died August, 1717, aged 70, had Col James and Joseph. From James who married Rev. Mr. Gardner's sister, came 2d Colonel James of Lancaster, and Gardner, in Leominster. From the last Colonel James, came James, Dr. Josiah, and Asaph, all of whose families are extinct. Gardner has many descendants now in Leominster.

Joseph, the son of Thomas above mentioned, married Rev. Mr. Gardner's sister; he was a distinguished man in town, and possessed great influence. He was an active magistrate; for many years he represented the town in the Legislature, and was Judge and Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, from 1731 to 1757, and Judge of Probate from 1739 to 1757. He died March 29, 1757, aged 74. His sons were Thomas of Leominster, Andrew, Judge Joseph, and Colonel Caleb. Joseph was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, from 1762, to 1773, representative of the town in the Legislature, and died, ~~April 20, 1773~~, aged ~~65~~ 70. He and Col. Caleb were the first in America, who established pot and pearl-ash works. Caleb died, June 19, 1776, aged 59. Thomas, last named, had three sons, Hon. Abel Wilder of Winchendon, of the Senate, from 1786 to 1792: Thomas of Leominster, and Joseph of Winchendon. Caleb's sons were Samuel and Caleb of Ashburnham, Nahum and Levi. Samuel had a large family of sons. Caleb had two sons, one was Dr. Wilder of Templeton. Levi, who died Jan. 5, 1793, was father of the present Sampson V. S. Wilder of Bolton.

This is the date of his wife Deborah's death. He died Feb 24 1777.

John, the second son of the first settler, had three sons, viz:—John, Thomas, and Ebenezer. From John came John of Petersham, Jonas of Bolton, Josiah and Jonathan of Sterling, Aholiab and Bezaleel of Shutesbury, William of Bolton; Thomas had two sons, John of Ludlow, and Jotham. The latter four sons, Stephen and Titus, Jotham of Saltash, Vt. Reuben, do. From Stephen and Titus are descended the present Wilders in the "six nations."* From Ebenezer, Representative in 1739, who died, Dec. 25, 1745, aged 64, came Benjamin of Sterling, and David. From Benjamin, Col. Wilder, of Sterling. From David, who was a Representative many years, came David of Leominster, Samuel and John, Abel and Jacob of Vermont, Luke of Penobscot, and Jonathan.

*South part of Lancaster.

From David last named, is descended the present David of Leominster, commissioner of Highways, &c. Jonathan had eleven sons; nine lived to man's estate, viz:—Jonathan, David, John, Luke, Cephas, Prescott, Lewis, Henry, and Frederick. The last died at Northampton, in Feb. 1826, universally lamented.

Nathaniel, the third son of the first settler, lived in Lancaster, and was killed by the Indians, July 1704. From him are descended Jonathan, killed by the Indians August, 1707, Nathaniel of Petersham, Ephraim of Lancaster, a Representaive for a number of years, who died Dec. 13, 1769, aged 94, and Col. Oliver. Nathaniel, last named, had a large family. Ephraim, had a son of the same name, who died March 17, 1770, aged 68. This last had three sons, Ephraim, Manassah, and William. Ephraim last named, settled in Sterling, had a large family, of whom Dea. Joel of this town is one. Manassah had two sons, Joseph and Sumner. William had two sons who left children, viz: Ephraim and Elijah.

Col. Oliver had four sons, Oliver, Tilley, Phineas and Moses. Oliver and Moses remained in Lancaster, and from them are descended all of the name of Wilder, in the westerly part of Lancaster, except Joel and Elijah.

NOTE ON SEVERAL OF THE NAME OF HOUGHTON.

Ralph and John Houghton, as has been before mentioned, were cousins, and came to Lancaster in 1653. Ralph wrote a good business hand and was recorder many years. He represented the town as a deputy in the general court in 1673, and 1689. He probably died a few years after. Of his children, were John, born April 28, 1655, and Joseph, born July 1, 1657. John, the cousin of Ralph, whose wife was Beatrix, had a son Benjamin, born May 25, 1668. William and Robert were also sons. There is reason to believe that he died April 29, 1684. John Houghton, Esq. was another son of John. He was born in England, it is said, in 1650, or 1651. He was quite young when his parents moved to Lancaster. From 1693 to 1724, inclusive, he represented the town fourteen years in the General Court. For a long time after the town was rebuilt he appears to have been the only magistrate in the place. He was quite celebrated in this neighborhood, as a man of weight and influence, and was a very skilful conveyancer. In this business he had great employment. He gave the land for the second meeting house. His dwelling house was on the south side of the old common, a little to the south west of Mr. Faulkner's. Three ancient pear trees planted by himself stand in front of the site of his house.

2 Johns Son + father

John H- jr married Mary Farrar 1671 + had son John born 1672 - who is confounded with his father sometime

During the last twelve years of his life he was blind. He died Feb. 3. 1736–7 in the 87th year of his age.

The epitaph on his tomb stone, is the same that was common in the country a century ago. viz.

As you are
So were we
As we are
So you will be.

Jonathan Houghton, the first County Treasurer, was one of his sons.

ADDENDA.

A few additional memoranda, the names of those who "desired to be made freemen," taken from 2 Savage's Winthrop, just published. Those in *Italics*, at least those of the same name, were among the early settlers of Lancaster.

John Johnson, *Oct.* 19, 1630.
William Phelps, Oct. 19, 1630.
John Moore, May 18, 1631.
John Pierce, " " "
Thomas James, Nov. 6, 1632.—This was I presume, the minister of Charlestown, one of the same name perhaps a son, was here, 1653.
John White, March 4, 1632–3.
John Smith, " " "
Joshua Carter, May 14, 1634.
Richard Fairbanks, " "
John Hawkes, Sept. 13, 1634.
George Phelps, May 6, 1635.
John Whitney, March 3, 1635–6.
Edward Bennett, May 25, 1636.
Thomas Carter, March 9, 1636–7.
Thomas Rawlinson, May 2, 1638.—I must think this to be the same as Rowlandson, father of Rev. Joseph.
Thomas Carter, May 2, 1638.—probably the same as above, and ancester of the Carters in Lancaster.
William Ballard, May 2, 1638.
John Tower, Dec. 13, 1638.
James Bennett, " "
Henry Gains, Dec. 14, 1638.
Edward Breck, May 22, 1639.
Thomas Wilder, June 2, 1641.
John Mansfield, May 10, 1643.
John Thurston, " " "
Nathaniel Norcross, May 10, 1643.—This is the gentleman who was engaged to accompany the first planters, and was a "University scholar." Mr. Savage thinks that he returned to England.
William Fletcher, May 10, 1643.
John Carter, May 29, 1644.
Edward Wilder, " "
John Maynard, " "
Nathaniel Hadlock, May 6, 1646.
Thomas Carter, jr. May 26, 1647.
Samuel Carter, " " "
John Smith, " " "
John Pierce, May 10, 1648.

Richard Dwelley probably did not return to town after it was resettled, if he ever lived here. I find him mentioned as a soldier in Scituate, in 1676, 2. Mass. Hist. Col. iv. 229. "Others of the same town, (Watertown) began also a plantation at Nashaway, some 15 miles north west of Sudbury." 2 Savage's Winthrop, 152.

1648. "This year a new way was found out to Connecticut, by Nashaway, which avoided much of the hilly way." 2. Winthrop's N. E. 325.

Maze, Rigby, Kettle, and Luxford, names in Lancaster in 1668–9, disappeared as early probably as Philip's war.

Three acres of land in front of the house of Mr. Richard J. Cleveland, were used as a training field, in the time of the first Judge Wilder.

For the biography of the late Judge Sprague, I am indebted to William Stedman, Esq.

ERRATA.

PAGES.

5 line 17, for "fact," read part.

6 18th line from bottom for "area and of its branches," read area of its branches.

7 line 16 from top for "least," read last.

16 3d line from the bottom of the text, for "effected," read affected.

19 2d line from top, dele, and, in 2d note for "presented by the Court," read presented the Court.

20 line 18 from bottom for "1654 and 1655," read 1664, 1665.

22 line 12 from top for "Jonathan Prescott," read John Prescott, for "Peter Green aged 91," read 81.

37 17th line from top for "had," read lead.

43 3d line from bottom for "Soombes," read Toomb's.

53 last line of note (*) for "Jacob Z. Wearers," read Jacob Zweares.

54 8 and 9 lines from bottom read "Willard."

55 3d line from top after "excitement" add prevailed, 19th line from top for "Jeremeel," read Jeremy.

56 12 lines from top for "authography," read orthography, 16th line from top for "indulged," read indulge.

58 - Kenn for nor

62 4th line from bottom for "or," read nor.

69 in note for "3 Ellis," read 2 Ellis.

70 6th line from top for "broken off," read taken off.

71 3d line from top dele, "cause."

72 21st line from top for "June 3, 1792," read June 3, 1793, last note for "Joeph," read Joseph.

The compiler living at a distance from the press, and not being able to revise the sheets, is the reason that some errata have crept into the work. Some typographical errors of less consequence, and those in the points, are not noticed.

MEN OF LANCASTER LOST AT THE REDUCTION OF MONTREAL.

Appendix to a Sermon preached at the West Parish in Lancaster [Mass.], October 9, 1760, *on the General Thanksgiving for the Reduction of Montreal and the total Conquest of Canada, &c. by* JOHN MELLEN, *Pastor of the Second Church.*

NAMES OF THE MEN LOST OUT OF THIS PARISH [LANCASTER, MASS.] SINCE 1755.

Samuel Fairbanks, William Fairbanks, Isaac Kendal, Ithamar Bennet, Hezekiah Whitcomb, John Whitcomb, Jacob Glazier, Simon Kendal, John Farrar, Jeremiah Dickenson, William Brabrook, Ebenezer Bigelow, Jacob Smith, Jonathan Geary, Philip Geno, Reuben Walker, Stephen Kendal, George Bush, Joseph Stewart.

The four first were slain in the morning Action, at Lake George, Sept. 8, 1755. All the Rest, I think, were lost by Sickness abroad, or Indisposition they brought home with them from the Camp; except the last, who was drowned, this Year, in Lake Champlain; and Brabrook, of whom we ———

AN

ORATION

DELIVERED AT LANCASTER, MASS.

IN CELEBRATION OF

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE,

JULY, 1825.

BY JOSEPH WILLARD.

BOSTON.
CUMMINGS, HILLIARD, & COMPANY—WASHINGTON-STREET.

PRINTED BY HILLIARD AND METCALF.
1825.

To JOSEPH WILLARD Esq. *Lancaster, July* 5, 1825.

Sir,

The Committee of Arrangements, in behalf of their fellow citizens who celebrated the anniversary of our national independence at Lancaster, return you thanks for your excellent oration, and request a copy of the same for the press.

For the Committee.

HORATIO CARTER.

To Mr. HORATIO CARTER. *Lancaster, July* 5, 1825.

Sir,

In compliance with the request of the Committee of Arrangements, I submit to their disposal and indulgence the following oration, which, by reason of indisposition and necessary avocations, I was obliged to delay writing till the last few days.

With assurances of esteem,

I am, &c.

J. WILLARD.

ORATION.

We have assembled to commemorate an event distinguished in our political annals for the glorious recollections of the past that gather around it; distinguished also for the bright hopes with which it gilds the future; an event without a parallel in any age, if we consider the consequences that have flowed, and still continue to flow from it. We look on every side, and find ourselves in the midst of a vast and populous community. Our existence as a nation is no longer a problem; a half century of self-government has proved that the speculations of our fathers were moulded in wisdom, and what was deemed by all an experiment, and by many a very rash one, has exceeded the expectations of friends, and destroyed the doubts and fears of the timid.

Many were the predictions that our national existence would be short. Those who loved their country, and were ready to make sacrifices in her behalf, looked foward to a prospect that to them seemed gloomy,—to a prospect that shadowed out, at no remote period, decay and dissolution.

They thought they saw a frame of government, whose elements were untempered, and which, like

the image beheld by the king of Babylon in his vision, would crumble at the first shock. But, if I may use the expression, no nation ever perished in infancy; the history of the world shows none. By the order of nature and the course of events, nations have their period of youth and mature existence. Factions may arise and shake them to the very centre; war, with its horrors, may visit them; the fairest and brightest may be cut off; but the spirit they possess is not quickly lost: they must pass through many vicissitudes; they must see many dark hours, and many perhaps of glory; many of weakness and strength, before they can perish politically from the earth.

There is nothing in our situation alarming, but every thing to nourish the highest hopes. We smile at the predictions that once were not entirely without the sanction of public opinion. We were told that our civil institutions of government were not fitted for a thickly settled and extensive territory. Your government may last, perhaps, whilst the Alleghanies are a barrier to your people against the hostile tribes of the west; but should you pass the mountains, and extend your settlements to the Wabash, and roll your population along with the waters of the Ohio, the planet that has risen so rapidly, and looked portentous to the world, and bid fair to be lord of the ascendant, will sink in endless night.

Your complicated machinery of sovereign states and a federate government will soon crumble; perpetual conflicts will spring up from your diverse and jarring interests. But the Wabash and the Ohio now roll through a country abounding in population, and water the soil that is cultivated by civilized man. Still westward and westward sets the current of emigration. States not forty years old feel crowded; at this moment they are sending forth adventurers, their hardy sons, to find room for expansion. The Mississippi is but a resting place on this wide spreading highway; and towns have sprung up on the distant banks of the Missouri, enjoying the conveniences and many of the luxuries of what is called the old world of America.

Soon the Stony Mountains, and the intermediate sandy wastes of the Platte and the Yellow Stone, will be passed, and this generation may behold a people with our institutions, speaking our language, with our habits and feelings, covering the banks of the Columbia, and the shores of the Pacific.

This is no fanciful speculation; what has already been accomplished may lay claim to the miraculous, if what remains to be done be considered of exceeding difficulty. Other nations have risen to power by slow progression, and through various casualties; but here the word seems scarcely to have been spoken, and an empire has sprung into existence, like "Pallas armed and undefiled." A little one has swollen to

twelve millions, increasing in knowledge, the arts, wealth, and all that enters into the substance of national power; or serves for its embellishment. No sea is there that is not full of our commerce and fisheries; no port that has not been visited by our citizens; whilst in the mean time our civil institutions have been gaining strength, as the sphere of their operations has extended on every side, and are before the world in expressive silence, a beacon and a blessing to the nations that are toiling after freedom.

I have no relish for a weak national vanity, that would indulge itself in an over-estimate of what is valuable at home, and look with contempt upon the rest of the world. But I thank God, that descriptions and speculations, however much they may seem to borrow from the imagination, must run wild in luxuriance to exceed the naked, sober truth. We are but of yesterday, "driven rather than sent to these shores," and already stand conspicuous amongst the powers of the earth. Old rules here lose their force; in a few years we do the work of ages, and gain the point where history tells us other nations arrive after centuries of exertion. Whilst yet in the cradle, like the infant Hercules, we strangled the serpents that were sent for our destruction.

Our situation and advantages are subjects of gratitude, not of pride and conceit. We are accused of vain exultations on account of our rapid growth.

We have, perhaps, been fond of indulging in a very complacent state of feeling and remark in speaking of our privileges, and of our prospects of increasing greatness. We have considered the future as present, and have acted upon prospective results, as if the day of accomplishment had arrived. For all this, however, we are not without excuse. The actual increase is so great, the resources of the country are developing so rapidly, every thing that constitutes a powerful nation is hastening on so singularly, that while we are speaking of future advancement, the future becomes present with the completion of all that we had expected. Time has as it were changed his mode of computation ; days stand for months, and a few years answer all the purposes of an age. We cannot hasten, we cannot impede the progress, it naturally follows from the peculiarly happy station we hold ; the result of what our fathers did for us.

Contented at home and exerting ourselves for our beloved country like good citizens, we should disregard the calumnies that have been cast upon us from abroad. They have been poured forth, it is true, with an unsparing hand ; we have been ridiculed for our pretensions ; have been made the subjects of innumerable falsehoods ; our institutions and the nature of our government have been grossly misunderstood ; we have been made the sport of satire in lighter moments, and the gravest charges have been brought against us in hours of calm reflection. Noth-

ing has been too gross, no wilful misrepresentation too bold, for those who have filled their mouths with slander. Sweeping conclusions have been drawn from single instances, exceptions taken for rules, and individual cases of crime, construed as decisive proof of general depravity. But the time of these things is fast passing away; every day we live down many calumnies; respect for ourselves as a people demands that the war of retaliation should cease, and forbids any other answer or retort, than the example we set; if this is insufficient, we have no other shield, we deserve the worst fate that hostile feeling can wish.

But true patriotism consists not in resting satisfied with what has already been accomplished, neither is it discovered by a multitude of words, nor is it blind to public faults. It is not a spirit that vapours in the bar-room, or gathers inspiration from the cask: it is active, hastening the progress of improvement; disinterested, making sacrifices of individual comfort for the general good.

In no single case can it be better shown, than in endeavours to promote the diffusion of knowledge. Look over our country, and see what vast sums are annually raised in the old states, and the reservations of land that are made in the new states, for the purpose of education alone, whose blessings, free to all, open to all, are brought to the fireside of the humblest individual. But even here there is room for improvement. I confine the remark to our own

state. Are we as active in promoting the cause of education as our situation, the spirit of the age, and circumstances demand? How stand we in this respect compared with our fathers? Do we not far outstrip them in our regard for free schools, and the intellectual cultivation of the great body of the people? No; to our shame be it said, and repeated too, we are as far behind them in these things, as we are in advance of them in population and wealth. They built up schools, to use the language of the times, "to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers in church and commonwealth." And look for a moment at their situation; in a wilderness, to be subdued by the hard hand of toil; in poverty, surrounded by inveterate and treacherous foes; compelled, and that not unfrequently, to go forth to their daily labours, yea, to the worship of their God in the sanctuary, with arms in their hands to protect themselves, their wives, and their children. These men made better public provision for the diffusion of knowledge, according to their ability, than is enjoyed at the present day, excepting in a few of our largest towns. Massachusetts, a humble, poor, dependent colony in 1647, with an existence of but eighteen years, exerted herself more strenuously for the good cause, than Massachusetts, independent, powerful, and rich, in 1825.

Let me not be misunderstood; I speak solely of our free schools. The liberality of individuals is

great; they have expended, and will continue to expend, untold sums in colleges, academies, and private schools; and the beneficial results continually force themselves upon our notice. But the poor man's son who aspires to a finished education, is shut out from academies and private schools; he cannot go *there*, and, in the language of inspiration, "buy without money and without price." He seeks for the grammar schools, where genius, though clothed in rags, once found encouragement and instruction; where the streams once flowed, open to every one; but the doors are barred against him, against *all*, by the strong arm of the government. He is compelled to sit down in silence, and lament for the sad necessities that encircle him, or to trust to the charities of others, to be stung, it may be, to the very soul with the chill feeling of dependency. We would respect public authorities, we would reverence public opinion when fully, calmly, and fairly expressed. In this instance, as in most others, the Legislature followed the general voice, instead of directing it. It is we, the people, who have blinded our own eyes, by disregarding the law while it existed, or by loosely enforcing its injunctions; marring the simple and beautiful system projected by our ancestors in wisdom, and handed down to us with the sanction of almost two centuries, with the sanction also of distinguished benefits.

But with all our deficiencies, we have, particularly

in New England, cherished the interests of common learning, beyond other nations. Throughout Christendom nineteen twentieths of the population are ignorant of the very rudiments of education ; to them every book is a sealed book. Even in England, we have it on high authority, as late as 1819, only one fifteenth out of that great people could read and write. But since that time, the same distinguished individual who made the statement we have mentioned, has stirred up a mighty spirit in the island ; he has been the means of sending instruction to the doors of thousands, in the manufacturing districts especially, amongst beings who possessed but little more intelligence than the steam engines and spinning jennies that surround them. He has created an excitement, that, touched by the wand of knowledge, bids fair to enlighten and regenerate a mighty mass ; to give a tone to public sentiment that will one day settle the great questions of catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform, by a more summary process than has yet been brought to the contest.

The cultivation of the common branches of learning, however, by no means implies a high degree of literary excellence. Nothing obtains for a nation so bright and permanent a reputation as her literature. Long after her vain battles have ceased, and her proud monuments have mingled with the dust, her intellectual character flourishes in all the beauty and vigour of youth ; it brightens as it goes down the

annals of time, refreshing the mind of the scholar, as the *Oasis* in the Egyptian desert solaces the weary traveller, where every thing around is dreary and barren. It was the literature of the ancients that swept away the clouds that had long been gathering around the human mind, and in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries renewed the face of Europe ; it exerted an influence that still continues, that will be felt so long as the world shall last ; its empire is unbounded, the empire of the mind. In this department, till very lately, we have accomplished but little ; we have been busy about other things ; it cannot be said of us, that " the literature of the age expresses the feelings of society ;" but we trust it will be true, that we shall have something characteristic, something peculiar, something national, in the complexion of our writings, though we do speak the language, and are imbued with the thoughts, expressions, and style of the most distinguished literary people of modern times. Days of happier promise are advancing ; we have scholars, and " ripe and good scholars too ;" a literary spirit is growing in some measure with the physical growth of the country, and daily producing in the midst of us a higher tone of feeling and sentiment. Science too dwells here, and has her votaries, men of deep study and research, who may fearlessly compare with their brethren on the opposite shores of the Atlantic.

We live in an age of powerful and singular exer-

tion. The deep fountains are broken up; the very foundations of the world seem to be shaken; an excitement is abroad amongst the nations, that will not slumber again till its end be accomplished; enlightened man is rising in his might, and bursting the chains that bound him to earth.

Thrones, whose foundations were laid broad and deep in the darkness of the middle ages, and which have towered as if to obstruct the light that would pour in on every side, have been shaken to the very centre. The descendants of Hugh Capet have been driven as outcasts from the midst of their people, and compelled to invoke the aid of foreigners to regain an uncertain tenure of royal power. The divine right of kings has become a heretical doctrine, hardly whispered in the secret chambers of princes; and legitimacy that has sprung up in its place, and will be suffered to walk the earth for a season, and be a scourge to mankind, will ere long become a by-word amongst the nations.

We live in an age of bold speculation; opinions that have been held in high reverence, opinions that have come down to us with the sanction of time, gain no respect from their mere antiquity. The spirit of free inquiry, of fearless investigation, leaves no subject unexplored; every thing unsound is exposed; doctrines are subjected to the keenest scrutiny; the philosophy of the schools has given way to the true philosophy of the mind; errors and superstitions that

mingled with existence, and invaded every walk of life, and bound the mind in strong fetters, have disappeared from the face of society. The phenomena of the natural world, that once were considered as exerting an influence over the fortunes and destinies of individuals and nations, are disarmed of their terrors by the light of rational science. And science, which of old dwelt in the recesses of the study, the intellectual nourishment of a few, has come out amongst men to the common business of life ; she has entered the workshop of the mechanic, and has given promise of indefinite increase to national wealth, and the solid comforts of life. Political economy, as a distinct department of knowledge, and useful to all, is taking a high stand in the old and new world. Political discussions, such as shed an abundance of light on the science of government in all its branches, are carried on with a fervour that in some latitudes is termed patriotism, in others, treason. Every thing is submitted to the test of truth,—rational, enlightened truth.

Amongst ourselves we occasionally have a spirit of excitement, and sometimes the swelling language of gasconade. At the present moment, one of our sister states threatens to array herself against the Union, unless the sad remnant of the Indian tribes is driven from her borders, from the soil owned by the natives ; their birth-place, containing the bones of their fathers, and dear to them by a thousand associations of which the children of the forest are susceptible.

Georgia cries out, "we will stand by our arms, and for the support of this determination we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour." Warm language this for a state containing a free population of scarcely one third part of that of Massachusetts, and a militia of but twenty-nine thousand men, armed with any thing and every thing but fire-arms. Warm language this to use against the whole nation. North of the Potomac, expressions like these would savour of treason; but those who live under a scorching sun, whose temperament is somewhat heated, are licensed, it seems, to talk and vapour as they please. Something too much of this; there is a decency which should be regarded by all public bodies; intemperate language implies nothing favourable of the character of a state, or of the individuals who compose it. If they must work themselves up to angry feelings, let them "in the very torrent, tempest, and whirlwind of their passion, acquire and beget a temperance, that may give it smoothness." The confederacy is too strong to be seriously affected by one of its members; the system, though disturbed, soon returns to its heathful operation.*

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* Since the above was written, it has appeared that the sentiments of the Executive and of the Committee did not meet with an exact response from the Legislature.

It is to be hoped that the existing difficulties will be terminated in a way satisfactory to all; though that, as yet, is very doubtful.

Whilst we possess many high privileges, there are some things, whose existence we lament. The slave breathes heavily on our soil. A population is rapidly increasing that weakens our national power, and sometimes excites the apprehensions of our Southern brethren. It is an evil brought upon the colonies against their consent, in opposition to their repeated remonstrances. It is an evil which all the exertions of all the active and benevolent in the land cannot remove. For its existence at this time the present generation is not answerable; but we have a heavy charge to answer at the bar of humanity; we have extended the privilege, if privilege it may be called, to the new states, and at a time when the opportunity was most favourable to stay forever its progress in the west. The principle is established, that states created by the power of Congress, and subject to whatsoever other conditions, shall not be restrained from holding their fellow men in perpetual servitude. Humanity sickens at the thought that the evil is to spread to an indefinite extent, as new sovereignties are admitted into the American confederacy. Patriotism grieves as she thinks of the scenes that may one day occur, should this blind mass of bondmen attempt to shake off their chains. Christianity shudders that such numbers of human beings should be left in ignorance of the relation between man and his God.

There is another evil existing in the midst of us, of the most alarming nature, and spreading on every side like a pestilence. It blasts the prospects of youth and destroys the usefulness of manhood. It is said, that in habits of intemperance we exceed any civilized nation on earth.

I have not come up hither to assume the office of the moralist; but if this be so, I would say, that as men, we should value too highly the nature we possess, as freemen, we should feel too proud to sacrifice our reason at the shrine of this degrading vice. We have gained the mastery over others; we should respect and govern ourselves. The circumstances in which we are placed are favourable to the exercise of every worthy sentiment, to the growth of all that exalts individual character, and gives it fine and manly proportions. But then we must be true to ourselves, and not sink man, rational man, to a mere animal existence, and that of the lowest kind.

Let us turn away our thoughts from these considerations to the brighter recollections that gather around and hallow our revolution.

There have been wars to stay the incursion of barbarians, to support some imaginary point of national honour, to sustain the balance of power, to secure or defeat the succession of a particular family to a throne. There have been wars, too, for the protection of homes and firesides. But compared with all these, we claim a proud pre-eminence. In none were questions

at issue that were ordained to exercise so powerful an influence over the destinies of future generations, I may say of mankind. Marathon and Platæa delivered the states of Greece from the threatening power of the Persian; but it resulted only in perpetual conflicts amongst themselves. They were free, but it was the freedom of licentiousness; they were free, but it was the tempestuous rage of the ocean; they were free, but it was only that they might become a spoil to each other.

> "Greece! thy hard hand oppressed
> And crushed the helpless; thou didst make thy soil
> Drunk with the blood of those that loved thee best;
> And thou didst drive from thy unnatural breast
> Thy just and brave to die in distant climes."

Our purpose was higher and more sacred. We claimed the right of managing our own affairs in our own way, without undue foreign interference. We claimed it from a nation that should have cherished us with the kindness of a parent, and were rejected with scorn; from a nation that was "bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh," and received our answer at the edge of the sword. We were forced to stand in hostile array against those who should have bid us, God speed; to be armed against those who should have extended the hand of friendship, as to members of the same family and possessing a common ancestry. But the olive branch had withered. An effort was to be made in a cause worthy of every sacrifice. It

was a spectacle of moral grandeur to behold men venturing their lives in support of a noble principle, that the nations of the earth knew not of,—a principle that kings would not recognise. It was a scene of awful interest; it severed the strongest ties; the bands of intimacy, the restraints of kindred were broken; those who had lived in the closest friendship were forced to separate; children and parents were found on opposite sides; and the love of country wellnigh extinguished the claims of blood. These scenes have passed away, but they formed a nucleus around which have gathered the hopes and the patriotism of other lands. The example spread; the nation that came to our aid in the day of our deepest distress, fell a prey to those who would be thought her friends. There, the pressure of long standing abuses increased the elastic power of resistance, till religion and law, all the landmarks of property, all that was refined and excellent, were swept away in one common destruction.

But good was done, deduced even from the very outrages that humanity had suffered. Good was done; for man began to question, in a tone rather louder than whispers, the tenure by which he was held in servitude. He began to imagine that he had some rights; and though his views were limited, because of the darkness that ages of ignorance and oppression had scattered around him, he saw through it a few distant rays, that in some measure shed light

upon his path; a flame that many waters cannot quench, that shall increase till it shall become strong, and cast its blaze abroad, and penetrate the gloomy recesses of despotism, and nations shall rejoice and walk in the light.

The good influence still spread, opposed by the governments, but secretly cherished by many of their subjects, and since, the destruction of imperial power in France has found its way to almost every part of Europe, even to the shores of Italy and the Peninsula. But the death-like silence of ignorance and superstition reigned *there*, and proved to the world that sterner fates, and deeper misery and misrule must be their portion, before the great change, which is delayed for a season, can arrive.

But the prospect brightens elsewhere. Pass over Austria and her dependencies, where an apathy and degradation exist that almost call for a new creation, and extend your views to the north. "The wheel is come full circle." Political improvement has invaded the circles of Germany; in Wurtemburg, Bavaria, Baden, Weimar, and indeed in most of the confederate states, constitutions which afford full security to life, liberty, and property, are in successful operation. Prussia, too, has reformed most of the abuses, that, having their origin with the feudal system, have come down even to this century. She has established universities, and raised the lowly, and abolished many of the unjust immunities of the higher

orders. And Russia, despotic as that government is in principle, is building up, with astonishing rapidity, free schools for her whole population of forty-five millions, and is entering upon the cultivation of literature and the arts with all the ardour of youth. In the end it will prove that every government whatsoever must gradually yield to the force of public opinion, or public opinion will model anew the government. It is a power not to be despised at the present day; though silenced for a time, it will be felt; though limited it will spread, till sceptres acknowledge its sway. Let us rejoice at the efforts that are making to improve the political condition of man, and exalt, by necessary consequence, his intellectual being. Let us rejoice at every attempt to reform abuses, to engraft the popular principle in other governments, to cherish the interests of education, whose influences extend through this life, and, connected with religion, purify for another.

We stand before the world, and afford a practical illustration of the advantages derived from liberal institutions. Let us indulge the hope, that whilst this whole continent, from Canada to Cape Horn, is emancipated from foreign dominion, the nations may reach our political security, whatever forms of government they may choose; we can wish them no greater blessing.

We also have a sacred duty to perform; it is not to lay foundations, and build thereupon,—that has al-

ready been done by venerable men. Our duty is to sustain the noble fabric; to enter it with clean hands and pure hearts; to guard and hand down a spotless administration of justice; to discountenance all tumult; to improve our systems of education; to protect our excellent constitutions from those, who, under the name of reform, would touch them with unskilful hands; to ward off intrigue and corruption, that may one day break in like a flood; and, whilst we reverence the institutions of religion, to avoid the persecution that consists, not at the present day in fire and faggot, but in a spirit intolerant, in remarks severe and cruel, in suspicions of the sincerity of those who do not see with our eyes.

There is that which is called *cant*, a term used by the irreligious against whatever is sincere and holy: there is that which is really *cant*, abounding in the world, and used as a cloak for hypocrisy, that covers the depravity of the heart, and tends to bring religion into contempt. Free inquiry and perfect toleration in practice will, more than any thing else, set these matters right; as for perfect agreement it never will be, it never can be; God, in his wisdom, has prohibited it by the very constitution of the human mind.

Whilst we are watchful of our liberties, it is another part of our duty to cherish in recollection,—grateful recollection,—the memory of those, who, in our behalf, for themselves, for distant posterity, for

all that constitutes the idea of country, passed through the toils and dangers, the distress and sufferings of the war that changed us from dependent provinces to self-governing and free states. They were champions for a nobler cause than history records; in a conflict where unsuccessful resistance would have brought on the punishment of rebellion; and those whom we reverence as the master spirits of the day, whose names gather fresh glory as time rolls along, would have suffered the ignominious death of traitors. The late celebration on the heights of Charlestown, shows that the cold and selfish interests of the day have not effaced the feeling of gratitude, that should glow in every bosom, nor its expression, that should fall from every tongue; gratitude, whose loudest breathings cannot swell too high the notes of praise that should spring from the heart.

Nor should we forget him, who, in his youth, in the gloomiest period of the war, came to these shores, and laid bare his arm in our defence. Of noble origin, he threw off the distinctions to which his rank gave him title. He left the pomp and gaiety of the court of the youthful and unfortunate Louis, the fascinations that dwelt around the lovely queen, "that delightful vision, glittering like the morning star, full of life, and splendour, and joy," and flew to offer his services as a volunteer in a cause that was still doubtful; to a people without a name amongst the nations of the earth; to pour out his wealth to supply

the necessities of an army poorly fed, worse clothed, and almost dispirited ; to shed his blood for suffering men, to whom he was bound by no tie of language, acquaintance, or country. He left us a little one ; he returns to visit us, and is receiving the freely offered, grateful homage of millions. He has come amongst us, like a good spirit descending from higher spheres ; he takes away the bitterness of our little altercations ; he unites all hearts ; he leads us back to the early scenes, where he did and suffered so much for us. And now that he is soon to leave these shores, and forever, we would dwell upon his virtue and his deeds, and show the world that freemen are not insensible to the sacred demands of gratitude. We all remember the enthusiasm which swelled in our bosoms, when he was received amongst us ; "when the ear heard him, then it blessed him ; when the eye saw him, it gave witness to him." We will cherish the *deep* feeling when it ceases to break out in open acclamation. We bid him farewell, with the earnest prayer that the singular vicissitudes of his former life, and the glorious and heartfelt scenes that have marked his progress the last year, may be crowned with a tranquil and happy old age.

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AN

ORATION,

DELIVERED AT LANCASTER,

FEBRUARY 21, 1826.

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE

One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary

OF THE

Destruction of that town by the Indians.

BY ISAAC GOODWIN.

Son of Wm. Goodwin of Plymouth born June 28 1786; opened law office in Sterling August 16. 1809. removed to Worcester April 1826. died Sept. 17. 1832. "Author of The Town Officer" &c &c

WORCESTER:

ROGERS & GRIFFIN.....PRINTERS.

1826.

ORATION.

One hundred and fifty annual revolutions of the Sun have this day completed their circuit, since these beautiful plains were desolated by a cruel and unrelenting foe. The event marks a distinct era in our annals, and its anniversary is worthy of solemn commemoration. From the sad recitals of that melancholy day, the heart of sensibility shrinks away intuitively, nor have we come hither only to feast the imagination upon those barbarous spectacles. But, we assemble to pay a tribute of grateful remembrance to the memory of our fathers: to consider the great things they, under the guidance of the Almighty, have done for us: to contemplate their multiplied toils and sufferings on our behalf: to trace the progress of our nation from its humble beginnings to its present exalted state of glory and happiness: to inquire from whence has arisen the fair and splendid fabric of social order and domestic quiet that protects our rights and cheers our hearts: to consider what is our duty as men and citizens: and what is the return we are to render for all these blessings. We have assembled where civilization, and learning, and Christianity were first planted in our flourishing and wide spread County, then an uncultivated waste and a howling wilderness. We behold the spot where our interesting local history commenced; where a remnant of the Pilgrim band, who fled across the Ocean, the exiled heralds of truth, the champions of the Cross, the asserters of the rights of conscience, the fugitives from oppression, set the bounds of their habitations, and found a refuge from their persecutors, and a home for their children.

The history of our State is divided into four great periods or distinct eras, each comprising a space of half a century, and each commencing with some signal event connected with our glory and prosperity, and apparently essential to our national existence.

Dating back two hundred years from the point where we now stand, we find the settlers at Plymouth had just obtained a permanent footing in the land, and had surmounted the peculiar obstacles incident to a colonial settlement upon new and original principles, on an untried soil, and in a climate to which Englishmen had been unaccustomed. At this juncture, we behold, from every part of the European continent, that illustrious band of Confessors, who had suffered from the persecutions of the British hierarchy, beginning to look to the western world for refuge and rest. The forlorn hope had been successful, and the ranks of the centre column were now filled with men of opulence and learning, prepared to found a powerful and lasting state. Endicott, and Winthrop, and Johnson, with their illustrious compeers, "the sacramental host of God's elect," immediately begin to plant the settlements around Massachusetts Bay, and to subdue the wilderness beyond. In a few years the plantations had extended to this memorable spot, and as the emigrations from England had ceased, here were their limits. An uninterrupted peace prevailed, and their numbers and their power greatly increased.

The second period commences with the Indian war with Philip in 1675–6. This contest scattered desolation and death through all the frontier settlements, and jeopardized the very existence of the Colony. It was followed by a series of similar conflicts, for the precise period of fifty years, until the treaty made with the Indians at Casco bay in 1726. This was literally a period of blood. The sufferings of the settlers were intense. A numerous foe was continually hovering upon the frontiers, and the deadly blow of their vengeance was seldom foreseen until it was felt. The progress of the settlements was suspended. More than 6,000 of the inhabitants had fallen by the sword. Many of the most flourishing towns were entirely broken up. A large public debt was accumulated. But the calamities of the public were trifling when compared with the miseries of the individual sufferers. "Their days were made heavy with anxiety, and their nights restless with visions of horror." Their distempered imaginations constantly presented to their minds the sounds of savage yells in the howlings of the tempest, and the whispers of prowling assassins in every rustling leaf. The corruscations of the meteor were the lighting up of distant conflagrations, and their dreams were of wandering captivity, and of victims writhing in agony and expiring in torment.

The third period, from the peace of 1726, is marked by a series

of encroachments upon the rights of the people by the royal Governors, and of resistance upon the part of the oppressed. It little sufficed to satiate the demands of his Majesty's minions, that the people of Massachusetts had voluntarily expended their best blood and dearest treasures in extending the empire of their Sovereign, and in humbling his proud rival, France, by the reduction of Louisburg, and the conquest of the Canadas. It excited no relentings of tyranny, that one fifth of our population capable of bearing arms, was for successive years exposed to the horrors of the camp and the dangers of the field. No! they were called to submit to measures the most odious, to principles subversive of their dearest rights and their chartered privileges. Blessed be God, the spirit that led our Fathers across the deep, still lived in the bosoms of their descendants. They resisted even unto blood, and the Independence of a great empire was the result of this resistance. The year 1776 marks the fourth era, the proudest in the annals of civilized man. Since that period another half century has been added to the accumulating mass of years. It will ever be distinguished for its brilliant train of momentous events. It has beheld the consummation of our Independence, the establishment of our federative form of government, and the practical illustration of the principles of our fathers. It has beheld our beloved country rising with gigantic steps into maturity, and displaying to an astonished world the blessings of good government, and of opinions unshackled by law.

We are now entering upon the fifth epoch in our annals. It commences at a period of unexampled national prosperity, when our country, and those with whom she is connected, are in a state of profound peace; when Commerce, and her sisters, Agriculture and Manufactures, are rapidly extending and improving, and, mutually protected by the parental care of the government, are reciprocally supporting each other, and pouring into the lap of their common mother the surplus of their abundance. Our times will also be distinguished, at least from all that have preceded it, for the singular circumstance, that our rulers are conducting the affairs of the country, and discussing questions of the highest importance to their constituents, uninfluenced by the bitterness of organized parties, and the confusion of contending factions.

Our history acquires importance by time, and the apparent magnitude of its incidents increases in proportion as we recede from them. This has awakened a laudable curiosity to discover an ade-

quate cause for the mighty effects that we witness around us—this can only be found in the principles of our Ancestors, and their results have been gradually unfolding, through all the successive years of our story. Anniversary celebrations, by presenting a knowledge of their events to the rising generations, have been found the most effectual means of aiding the records of the historian, and of recalling the feelings and principles they are intended to commemorate.

We hear with the keenest interest the story of our father's wrongs in their native land; we sympathise in those sufferings and trials that induced them to abandon forever their native fields. Conscience had issued her stern mandates, and the Puritans were not the men to disregard her solemn injunctions. We follow them with their wives and their children to the strand in full view of the perils of a tempestuous ocean. How have our hearts been elevated with hope or depressed by anxiety as we traced their lonely ship across the billows of an untried sea; the Mayflower cradled like the lone sea bird on the mountain wave, but laden with blessings that other gallant ship never bore; with the constituent principles of an empire beyond the seas; the germ of a government, from whence would spring civil and religious liberty, such as men had never before enjoyed, destined to spread its branches from the sea to the rivers, to protect and solace the millions, who would repose in its shade. The tie that bound the Pilgrim to his native land was now severed forever; what remained to him of earth was now within his view; the relics of property reserved from the grasp of avarice and tyrannical exaction; family and friends were now before him. But he had in expectancy a bright reversion in the wilderness beyond the seas, more valued than the cultivated plains of England, even a home where he could worship his God without molestation or terror; and he had, moreover, a yet brighter hope beyond the skies, dearer to him, than all the loved objects around him, or than all that earth could give. We follow our fathers in their wanderings around our coast, a coast at that inclement season, terrible by its ice clad rocks and snowy cliffs. We accompany them in their landing upon an inhospitable shore, dreary, houseless, and forlorn. We contemplate with reverence and admiration that stern resolution, that holy self denial, and that exemplary patience, which enabled them to persevere, and to place the lasting foundations of their State, through so many hardships, the dread of savage beasts and ferocious men, famine, pestilence, and death.

Where is the American, who has not felt a glow of enthusiasm in listening to a recital of those events that led to our national emancipation? Who can contemplate without emotion that illustrious band of Sages, Patriots, and Statesmen, who adopted the high resolve, that the American people were free and independent, and who through a dubious struggle redeemed the pledge they had given to the world, that they would consecrate to the noble cause "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honors."

These two events, although the most prominent in our history, and most frequently the themes of panegyric, were connected by a series of other incidents equally interesting, and if less splendid and imposing, will be found equally necessary to the consummation of our glory as a nation.

At the landing of our fathers, most of the places where they settled were entirely abandoned and destitute of inhabitants. Numerous vestiges of a former population remained, but those parts of the country had been desolated by a sweeping pestilence some years previous to the arrival of the English. Whenever any of the natives appeared to claim jurisdiction of the soil, treaties were entered into, and equal and honorable bargains were made for the lands. If, in any instances, the case was otherwise, the fault was not that of our fathers, for they then were weak and the Indians were strong. These contracts were mutually fulfilled during the lives of the contracting parties. By the immemorial usages of mankind, however erroneous and unjust, these purchases were unnecessary and altogether gratuitous, for without them, our claim to the soil was acquired by titles as fair and as indisputable as the domains of any other civilized nation. These bargains have been applauded by the most eminent writers upon the laws of nations, even by the French jurists,* as exemplary instances of moderation, and of a regard to equal and exact justice. If it is inquired whether the Indian tribes were parties to these conventional laws of nations, we answer, that by their own rules of acquiring and holding property, that of immediate and actual occupancy, our right is at least as good as theirs. The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; its dominion was granted for the support of his intellectual creatures, and we know of the enactment of no moral law intended to defeat this great purpose of the physical creation.

In this vicinity also, the Indians had been much reduced by the pestilence, and their destructive wars with the Mohawks. Over a

* Vattel—Book I—ch. 18—sect. 209.

considerable region in the valley of the Nashua, Sholan claimed to be the Proprietor. He was Sachem of a tribe, formerly of considerable power, but at this time was tributary to the principal Sagamore of the Massachusetts. He had carried on considerable trade with the settlers of Watertown, for whom he had acquired great friendship. He invited them to occupy this territory, as being a place peculiarly fitted for a plantation. His offers were accepted; and as early as 1643 the purchase was made. It was stipulated that the Indians should not be molested in their hunting grounds, fishing places, and planting fields. For more than thirty years the utmost harmony subsisted between them and the whites. We have no reason to believe that the natives had any cause of complaint against the settlers at Lancaster. In the mean time, Sholan, the friend and protector of our fathers in their weakness, paid the great debt of nature, and was succeeded by Matthew, his nephew, who pursued the same pacific policy towards the English. The next Prince was of an opposite character; he joined with Philip in his rebellion, and afterwards expiated his crimes by an ignominious death. With this unfortunate Sachem, terminated the feeble empire of the Nashuas. The miserable remnant of the tribe dispersed, partly to the vicinity of Albany, and a part united themselves with the more powerful Penicooks.

The sons of the desert were found by our fathers untamed and untutored, sometimes subtle and crafty, and sometimes simple and credulous. Laws were immediately enacted prohibiting any undue advantages upon the part of the whites in trading with them. Purchases of lands from them were void, unless made under the control of the Government. Men of learning and perseverance commenced the benevolent task of rescuing them from their state of barbarity to the cheering light of civilization. The Scriptures and other valued books were translated into their language, a tongue to which the dialects of the learned bore no analogy, and a knowledge of which could only be acquired by submitting in unrepining conformity to savage customs, and brutal modes of living. These pacific measures were completely successful through the whole of he first period of the Massachusetts history.

The Colony of Plymouth bordered upon the Narrhagansett bay. Those beautiful waters studded with a cluster of islands and fertile promontories were peculiarly fitted for the residence of those children of nature. The western banks were at that time occupied by the warlike tribe of the Narrhagansetts. The Pawkunnawkets

held the opposite shore. They were then governed by Philip, a youthful, gallant and ambitious Prince. A growing and rancorous animosity towards the English had long been cherished in the bosom of this vindictive chief. He possessed sufficient political sagacity to foresee that the superiority of the Whites would soon undermine his power and dispossess him of his domains. His conduct had already awakened suspicions, and his motions were watched by the English. The wily King was at last unable to suggest any plausible reasons for his repeated warlike preparations. Without waiting for his allies, whom he had engaged in a general plot to exterminate the English, this self-willed victim of ambition flew to arms, June 24, 1675.

His depredations commenced in his immediate neighborhood, but the flames of war almost instantaneously extended their ravages into Massachusetts. On the 24th of the following month his Nipmuc subjects made an attack upon Mendon, in this County, and slew several of the Inhabitants. This is said by the historians of that day to have been the first blood shed in the Massachusetts Colony, in a hostile manner. Philip fled before the vengeance of his pursuers, and was an outcast from his dominions for nearly a year. His mind was bent on the blackest deeds, and nothing could glut his vengeance but the blood of his enemies. With the most consummate wiles, he infused his spirit foul and dark into all the neighboring tribes he visited in his exile. In August, the Nashuas forgetting the ancient friendship of their fathers, consummated by so long an interchange of kind offices, led on by their newly appointed chief, who had imbibed much of the temper of the Prince of the Wampanoags, made a desperate assault upon their neighbors at Lancaster, then in the unguarded and unsuspecting hours of sacred worship, and barbarously slaughtered eight of the citizens.

The governments of the New England colonies were not unconcerned spectators of these outrages upon their borders. In the depth of a severe winter, a well appointed army made a desperate attack upon the strong holds of the powerful and perfidious Narrhagansetts, and achieved a glorious and memorable victory, which manifested that the valor of Cressy, of Agincourt and Poictiers, had not deserted the Saxon race, even in a remote wilderness.

Nothing now was wanting to arouse to the highest pitch of exasperation and frenzy the temper of the savage soul. The council fires were lighted through the wilds of North America, from the shores of the Narrhagansett to the frozen plains of Canada, from

the rivers of Penobscot and Sagadahock to the roar of the cataracts in the West; from the thickest recesses of their morasses the incantations of their priesthood went forth summoning to arms. The spirits of their fathers howled in the blast, and shrieked for vengeance. The foot of the stranger had polluted their consecrated groves, and had trod the ground hallowed by their sepulchres. The tempest of war moaned in the wilderness; the rising mists rolled through their vales and settled on all their hills. Gathering blackness and vengeance in its course, the lurid storm was now prepared to burst its fury upon the inhabitants of this devoted spot. The wilderness from her boundless wastes "unfolded her widest gates and poured forth all her Kings." Headed by the master spirit of his race, an army of 1500 savage warriors, in five divisions, commenced their attack in as many several parts of the town. The peaceful slumbers of that ill fated morning were awakened by the horrid din of the war whoop, and the death cry of barbarian ferocity. The dismal glare of domestic conflagration reddened the horizon on every side, and from every glen and hill top around us, resounded the yells of savage vengeance, and the shrieks of the unprotected flying for shelter. Neither arms defended the valiant, nor submission the timid; neither hoary age nor lisping childhood was spared; the same blow that pierced the mother, transfixed also the infant in her arms.

The details of that day of carnage and ruin are sufficiently familiar to your minds. Suffice it to say, that most of the unfortified houses were burnt, and the principal garrison, that of their Reverend pastor, was besieged, and after a gallant and vigorous defence, was surrendered, rolling forth devouring fire, agonizing shrieks, the mangled brave, unprotected females, helpless children, the widow and her orphans. From the best authenticated accounts, fifty five of the wretched inhabitants were doomed to death or captivity. One alone of that garrison escaped. Of the miserable survivors, the men were reserved for the horrors of a lingering torture, a fate that no submission, no rewards, entreaties, nor imprecations, nor tears could avert.

Twenty four of the women and children destined for the still more protracted sufferings of savage captivity, were hurried off to a hill, about a mile west of the village. On yonder snow clad eminence, female fortitude was summoned to its severest trials. The cup of human misery was not yet full; something more appalling was wanted to complete the horrid picture. These wretched fe-

males had beheld their plantation, the fruit of an honorable purchase, its value enhanced by thirty years of toil, endeared to them by a thousand tender recollections, the natal spot of their children, and the sepulchre of many of their venerable fathers, all snatched from them in an unsuspecting moment. They had beheld the ruin of their firesides, their altars and hearths overrun by barbarians, possessed and destroyed by a ruthless foe. They had witnessed their dearest friends falling victims to their valor and exertions in their defence, pouring out their blood like water, and sealing the constancy of their friendship by their precious lives. Night shut in; and from that memorable height they could distinctly view by the glimmering light of the burning ruins, the rioting of the savages amidst their spoils, feasting upon their plunder, and celebrating their triumph by the most frightful contortions and terrific yells. Nor was this all: the blaze of other fires than those from their ruined dwellings begin to light up the horizon: other sounds more heart-rending than the war whoop or the yells of the savage float upon the evening breeze, and vibrate upon the ears of the disconsolate captives. Wretched wives! It is no effort of the imagination that informs you whence proceed those shrieks of agony. You have already taken the last farewell of the objects of your dearest affections. Mothers! Nought avails the courage of your sons; their heroic valor will no more be displayed upon the high places of the field.

By the light of the morning sun the captives were doomed to take a farewell of their beloved village. Behind was ruin and desolation; before them were the silent horrors of an interminable forest; on either side, the taunting savage, triumphing in their distress, mocking at their anguish, and heaping indignities and unspeakable cruelties upon those whose feeble natures were sinking beneath their accumulated sufferings.

Of the awful captivity of nearly three months that ensued, the simple and pathetic details are already familiar to you and your children. The sufferings of the intrepid heroine of that melancholy story, have already been consecrated by the tears of every succeeding generation.* Her fortitude and unwavering faith have called forth the admiration of many a generous and pious heart. Who does not feel an increased veneration for the Holy Oracles of

* The wife of the Rev. Joseph Rowlandson, the minister of the place, was among the Captives. She published a narrative of her sufferings after her return, entitled the "Twenty removes of Mary Rowlandson."

our faith, when we find them mitigating the bitterest griefs, and yielding comfort in the darkest hours of tribulation? Timely aid arrived to rescue the remaining inhabitants of the town, who were conducted to a place of safety, when this, like all the other settlements of the County, was abandoned, and for a long time left in ruins. Silence and desolation again resumed their solitary reign over these beautiful regions. Even the savage foot trod not the neglected fields, and the howlings of the bear and the wolf alone mingled with the murmurs of the Nashua.

The death of Philip, in the following August, put an end to further hostilities. No records of modern warfare describe so great a proportional aggregate of suffering as these settlements then sustained. But the inhabitants became inured to the peculiar privations and hardships of Savage warfare, which were of infinite importance to them in their subsequent conflicts with the French and Indians. From these wars their opponents always retired with great defeat and losses. The superior prowess of civilized life prevailed at length over the rude violence of barbarian warfare, and the ancient tribes of New England were erased from the list of nations. In 1680, the re-settlement of this town was commenced; its sufferings from the Savages were renewed in the wars with the Indians and the French that followed each other in quick succession. In each of these conflicts the Inhabitants had to mourn the loss of a beloved Minister, each cut off in the beginning of his days, and his usefulness, and "their sepulchres remain with us to this day." The year 1710 terminated the story of Indian warfare in this town. Since that period but few places have had more reason for grateful praise for the peace and harmony that has prevailed within their borders. In 1708, the Rev. Mr. Prentice was ordained as the Minister of this place. During the long period of 118 years, the pulpit has been vacant but ten months, and but two other incumbents have filled the sacred desk. Through all those eventful periods, when other towns and churches were rent with dissensions, and brethren who had taken counsel together, and walked to the house of God in company, became estranged from each other, and when altar was set up against altar, no root of bitterness here sprang up to distract and divide this people. No ecclesiastical councils have been here assembled to reconcile the animosities of contending brethren, or to heal the wounds of the Church: "no grey haired synods" to mete out the measure of their faith. Notwithstanding the repeated diminutions of their extent by the formation of the several

flourishing and opulent towns within their former territory, this place still stands the first in the vicinity in population, and still maintains the proud pre-eminence of Queen among these villages.

Assembled from the various branches that sprang from this ancient stock, we congratulate the venerable Mother of our towns and our Churches, upon all the pleasing and interesting circumstances and contrasts suggested by this brief though imperfect retrospect of her history. We exhort you, fellow citizens, to a consideration of the high and awful responsibility imposed upon you by the present prosperous situation of our beloved country, and particularly the relation we bear to our fellow men of other climes, who are yet groping in ignorance, and bending beneath the yoke of slavery. Our lot is cast in an age pre-eminent above all others for high advances in mental improvement. The Government under which we live is literally a popular Government, and upon the discernment of the people depends many of our important measures. Projects of internal improvement, involving intricate questions of science, are daily presented for our consideration. The increase of the reading community demands for our public journals distinguished talent and laborious research, for these heralds of intelligence are now sought for by almost our whole population. We believe, therefore, the time is arrived, having been accelerated by a rapid increase of means, when our public schools should be placed upon a more liberal and elevated foundation; when high qualifications should be required in the instructers; when more discrimination should be used in the selection of school books; when a new zeal and higher interest should be felt upon the part of those who have the oversight of Schools. We are not desirous that all our young men should be educated as Statesmen or Philosophers. But no man is capable of acting in the selection of a ruler, unless he is acquainted with the principles of the Government that is to be administered. The general propositions of natural and moral philosophy are of importance to every citizen in his daily intercourse with his fellow men.

Think not that I am undervaluing the first principles of education: these should be laid deep in the infant's mind, and he should be led on to further attainments by more time and more liberal appropriations than have hitherto been devoted to these important objects.

I introduce this subject on this occasion, because I firmly believe it is the most useful improvement that can be drawn from the sub-

jects we have been considering. I name it in this place because this people have been among the foremost in the liberality of their appropriations for the education of their children both at public and private schools. The catalogues of our university for the last ten years bear ample testimony in support of this fact.

It will little suffice "to build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous," unless we imitate their good examples, and cherish their valued institutions. This is the most acceptable tribute we can offer to the memories of our fathers, and to this duty we are also summoned by a regard for posterity. The time and the place is fitted for high and decisive resolves. The ground we tread is holy, for it has been consecrated by the blood of heroes, of patriots, and of martyrs; beneath its turf are interred the ashes of the valiant defenders of our land, our laws, and our liberties: the air we breathe has been hallowed by the shrieks of widows, and the wailings of Rachels weeping for their first born.

Fellow Citizens—We have thus traced the advancement of our country from its humble beginnings to its present state of opulence and power. We have seen the splendid fabric rising by regular gradations, under the hands of its master builders, from its lowly foundations, to a towering height of beauty and magnificence. We have seen it affording to our fathers and their descendants, through every succeeding generation, a resting place, safe and abiding. For a growth so rapid and so vast other times furnish no analogy, and other regions no precedent.

Is this the work of fancy? Is it a chimera or a dream? Is it a castle of enchantment called into existence by the fabled genii of romance, and to vanish again at the tomb of the mistic wand? Is it a palace of frost, glittering and evanescent, like the splendid bauble of the Muscovite, "as worthless as it seemed intrinsically precious?"—No, the progress of our country is no fantasy of the imagination, for the registers of our fathers point to the origin of every column, and the names of its Architects start in bold relief from every pedestal. We have seen its Tuscan foundations laid low and permanent and unyielding as the soul of the Puritan, who freighted the unpolished adamant across the wave. We have witnessed its massy Doric columns, reared by unconquerable fortitude, and cemented by the blood of valor, by a race who followed the thorny path of the Pilgrim in the wilderness, who forgot not their fathers and remembered the inestimable price of their purchase. We have seen the third race continue the growing pile by the tall and grace-

ful Ionic, whose lofty elevations exposed the edifice to the view of the nations, and rendered its sacred treasures the object of cruel rapacity. But from its vistas and its inmost recesses poured forth legions of armed men, who manfully repelled the insidious designs of its aggressors, and stripped the cumbrous Gothic appendages, defaced its beauty, and marred its proportions. Left in possession of its friends, already have they erected the majestic ranks of Corinthian columns, attracting the wonder of an admiring world. Already is it enriched with the tributes of science and the arts. To its spacious Courts is attracted the wealth of every land, and the spoils of every sea. Laden with treasures of barbaric gold and eastern gems, the Merchants from afar flock to its light.

On us devolves the duty of advancing the destinies of our beloved country; of increasing the ascending pile by columns of surpassing strength and splendor, mingling her glories with the skies, blending her fame with all that is grand and august, extending the knowledge of her freedom and her faith to the oppressed and benighted of all nations; of adorning her columns with trophies of science won by peaceful conquest from ages far distant and climes remote; of defending from profanation her altars and her laws, and in preparing her sons to be as pre-eminent in moral and intellectual attainments, as they now are, in the blessings of good Government. Thus may our land become the glory of the whole earth:

"Unbounded be her joy, and endless her increase;
"Praise be in all her gates, and on her walls, and in her streets,
"And in her spacious Courts, be heard Salvation."

ADDRESS

TO THE

WHIGS

OF LANCASTER.

November 1838 ?

WHIGS OF LANCASTER!—

You are soon to exercise your highest duty and noblest privilege as free citizens of a glorious country. Taking the reins of government into your own hands, you are to step in yourselves and make the laws, and govern the state and nation, in proportion to your votes, by the kind of men you help to put into office. Consider the value of your votes, which will not lose their effect during the terms of office of the men whom you may assist to choose.

The whigs of this town, county and state, never had a more momentous and eventful responsibility resting upon them than that which now shades their thoughts with anxiety, and impels them to exertion. The national administration, by a guilty series of despotic abuses, have indeed come home to your business and bosoms, bringing, in disheartening array, signal injury, if not ruin to the one, and dismay, if not despair, to the other. Never did a government do more to harass its citizens. We are not entirely out of the fiery furnace of ruined prosperity, crippled trade, a vexatious currency, valueless property and unemployed labor, into which they, and they alone, have cast us. The people felt the wickedness and incompetency of their rulers, and shouted condemnation to them and their measures, from one end of the state to the other. The administration party was powerless and in despair. At this seemingly auspicious juncture, so full of satisfaction to every true whig, a firebrand of discord was thrown into our camp by some whom we had considered our best friends and allies. They refuse to support the leading measure of a whig legislature. Our opponents are again filled with courage and hope. What has resuscitated their prostrate party? Nothing, nothing but our own dissensions. They stand in an exulting ring around the combatants, believing it easy to conquer the divided. May the whigs of Lancaster and Worcester disappoint them. Will not every true whig among us rally round the regular ticket for senators, and faithfully stand by his country, and preserve his honor? Is this a time for Massachusetts, of all states, and Worcester, of all

counties, to thrust the victory themselves into the hands of those who have proved themselves their enemies. Will you, by voting for an administration man endorse the foul deeds of that administration, and subscribe yourselves subjects to Martin Van Buren?

No list of senators can be chosen but the regular Whig ticket; although word has been given out privately to the Van Buren men to vote the mixed ticket, that they may have a chance of getting three senators of the true Loco Foco dye on the ruins of the Whig party, and as their only chance of getting any. If a Van Buren man enters the senate it must be by Whig votes. Let no man call himself a Whig, who thus betrays his party and his principles. Probably our opponents will vote for the three of their own party on the two-faced list, and three others on their regular ticket. Those Whigs who vote for this "very liberal" ticket will probably lose their share of the spoils.

A United States' Senator is to be chosen by our next State Legislature. Is any Whig ready to elevate men to the State Senate who will there vote against the re-election of Daniel Webster? What a double satisfaction would an administration man take in using the office into which some truly liberal Whigs had helped him, to vote the great champion of Whig principles out of his seat in the Senate. Shall a paltry majority in his favor show a faint approval of those illustrious services which have honored Massachusetts and himself so much? Shall we thus recompense him? Or shall we cheer him on his noble career by choosing a Legislature that will give an overwhelming majority in his favor?

Let us reflect, too, that any gain to the opposite party in the Senate or House will be instantly circulated by all their presses as proof that Massachusetts is swinging round to the administration. This will hurt the Whig cause, discourage our friends, embolden our adversaries, and gain them other victories.

Shall the old board of Senators be proscribed, because they gave an independent vote for the License Law, being convinced that it was right, and for the best interests of the State? No one complains that they are not good men, and good Senators. Are they not sound Whigs? No one alleges it.

You do not know yet that the law is not a good one. You have not tried it. Will you punish a man before you know that he has done wrong? Be not filled with resentment before you have carefully ascertained that you have been injured. Try the law and the men that made it before they are condemned. Be it remembered that thousands petitioned for the License Law, but that remonstrances were not sent in against it, although it was several weeks under discussion, and the people knew it, and might have informed their servants of their wishes. As far as they had access to public opinion, it was strongly in favor of the law. In fact there was no general feeling against it. The pretended excitement now is chiefly fictitious. In all the tumult that has been raised, there has been a vast deal more powder than shot, more shouts than voices, and more and better men chosen delegates to the convention than were willing to go. Every thing has been done for effect. Large delegations were sent from the towns to the Anti-License Law Convention, or to call things by their right names, the Anti-Temperance Convention, in order to bring together a prodigiously formidable body, and frighten us into the idea that their cause is more powerful than it is. Let them use their small arts, they will probably deceive themselves as to their strength, and nobody else.

The Convention, by nominating the mixed ticket, opened a grand half-way house, to which all whigs of easy virtue and prepared for political prostitution, are invited, there to surrender their political conscience. What an extensive scheme for debauching the public virtue of both political parties! Whigs of Lancaster! you will shrink from this pollution, this kiss-of-Judas treachery to your principles. Yon have been conscientious in your political course, and you will refuse to be sold like an ox in the great political shambles. Every honest friend of the administration, who is also a strong friend of temperance, will start in loathing from this unprincipled alliance to put down the purest and most benevolent cause ever brought to the decision of the ballot-box. Already there are those among them who have firmly asserted their determination to vote for temperance men, even if they are whigs. They know that the success or defeat of the temperance cause is identified with that of the regular whig ticket; and they are

willing and resolved to sacrifice a political preference in favor of good morals. They will vote in favor of good order in the community; they will vote against having temptations to vice and ruin presented to their children, and against the depravation of the morals of the town and state. Here is a cause far higher than party politics. These men leave their party to sustain this cause. And will any whig be guilty of the double dishonor of abandoning this party, and abandoning it to preserve a foul and noisome pestilence among us? Forbid it, honesty! Conscience forbid it!

Let every sincere friend of temperance calmly consider the real magnitude of the present struggle. It is not, no man of foresight can think it so, for and against the License Law merely. However meetings may have been insidiously called of "those opposed to the license law;" however the "license law" may be thrust into the foreground on every occasion, the real aim, of those who are so active against the law, goes a great deal farther than the repeal of that enactment. Look thoroughly into this matter. The great battle is about to be fought for and against temperance itself. Every element of opposition is combined against that pure and humane, but calumniated cause. At the bottom of every argument against the law lie these moving but concealed springs of zeal and action; "I wish to sell," or "I wish to drink, ardent spirits;" or "*I am dying for office.*" Some who know better, now lead on and excite the ignorant and depraved, that they may ride into place on the back of the storm. On the other hand, the great majority of the kind, the respectable, and the good, are uniting in a strenuous effort to do something now for temperance that shall need no doing over. The good and evil principles are contending for mastery over Massachusetts, and God prosper the right. The nervous desperation of the exertions made against the law by those disinterested patriots, the sellers and drinkers, show its preponderating importance in their estimation. They do not overrate the crisis. It is, on their part, the death grapple; and, if defeated and put down now, many of them will be made virtuous against their will.

How weak and narrow must be his mind, who, amidst the vast good already produced by the temperance revolution, can only think of, can absolutely poise his whole soul on, some

slight, specious objections to it? This youth, now bright with hope, buoyant with activity, filling the hearts of his parents with joyful anticipations, would have been now, if that blessed reform had not snatched him from temptation, a fester on the body of society, a dagger to the hearts of his friends, an eating cancer to his own. Yes, it is positively certain that, in every town, there are now many pure who would have been corrupt; many kind who would have been cruel; many are a comfort who would have been a curse; many a one honestly and happily at his work, who would have been a pauper in the almshouse or a felon in jail. The Temperance Revolution can even now lay claim fairly, and without contradiction, to these merciful triumphs. Under the shield of the License Law the cause of humanity will gain yet brighter victories. Will you, who insist so much on your abstract or reserved rights, and whose friend, or brother, or wife, or self are not a grovelling brute, undone forever, only because of this great reform, will you lift a finger, say a word, cast a vote, to bring back the former horrible temptations, dangers and miseries upon society? Refrain! Your own son or brother may be your victim. Remember, that, if the friends of temperance be defeated and struck down on the question of the repeal of the License Law, they are dispirited and down for years, while their triumphant opponents will proceed to restore the former unhappy and corrupting times, till we have again our children tempted by a dram-shop at every corner. Remember also that if, by your vote or influence, or inaction, this calamity should come upon us, and past scenes of intemperance, and cruelty, and crime thereby return, remember, that you are an accessary before the fact to any and each of the wrongs, the assaults, the thefts, the murders, that shall be the consequence. Think of it, and see if you are not thus responsible.

Any pretence that there is danger of legal interference in our eating or clothing, if the License Law be sustained, is weak and must be hypocritical. It insults the understanding of the people. Why has the Temperance cause grown to its present power, so that it directs the legislation of the State? Because every family has had its drunkard. Because every person in the State has seen his pure friend transformed into a demon and a wretch. Because the whole community has groaned under its burthens and anguish, and has risen in resolute determi-

nation to shake them off. It is a manifestly false and feigned inference that without any such universal and extreme suffering, public sentiment can be embodied into laws against dress and food. The good sense of the people will not be deluded by so shallow a pretence from those interested to deceive. Will not the clear and mighty intellect, the pure and strong morality of United Massachusetts rise high above the delusions, petty sophistries, the lean abstractions of the artful and interested, and surveying this great question in all its momentous merits, settle it forever at the ballot box, in favor of justice and mercy, good order and good morals? Who can doubt it, or rather who will not do his utmost towards it?

Citizens of Lancaster, come forward in all manliness and honesty to sustain that brave, worthy and independent majority in the last Legislature of Massachusetts, the State never had one more deserving of honor and support, which boldly met this great moral question, without attempting by any of the acts of legislation to postpone it, lay it on the table, or in any way evade it, and well knowing the responsibility they assumed, and the risk of losing their places, staked their political existence on a virtuous vote. Stand by those who have been so high-minded. Let them lose nothing by an elevated and honorable course, and be assured that you have much more at stake in this matter as citizens, than they have as your representatives. Vote for the deliverance of your children and friends from temptation. Never were your suffrages worth so much to your town and State, as well as to yourselves. Sacredly devote the 12th of November to your country. Consecrate your vote to virtue, and bring your upright friends and neighbors with you to the polls. Massachusetts never had so precious an opportunity of elevating her own character, and she expects every man to do his duty.

ANTHONY LANE.
SIDNEY HARRIS.
EPHRAIM FULLER.
DAVIS WHITMAN.
NATHANIEL CHANDLER.
JACOB FISHER, JR.
BENJAMIN HOLT.
G. R. M. WITHINGTON.
WILLIAM H. BROOKS.

A

DISCOURSE

ON THE

LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF THE

REV. NATHANIEL THAYER, D. D.

PASTOR OF THE FIRST

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH AND SOCIETY

IN LANCASTER,

DELIVERED AT HIS INTERMENT,

JUNE 29, 1840.

BY ALONZO HILL,
Minister of the Second Society in Worcester.

WORCESTER:
PRINTED BY SPOONER & HOWLAND.
1840.

LANCASTER, JULY 4, 1840.

REV. ALONZO HILL,

Dear Sir, — In behalf of the Church and Society we would thank you for the impressive and eloquent Discourse delivered at the funeral of our late lamented Pastor, and in their name request of you a copy for the press.

With much respect,

Your obedient servants,

SILAS THURSTON,
WARREN DAVIS,
NATH'L WARNER,
} *Parish Committee.*

DISCOURSE.

PSALM 12: 1.

HELP, LORD, FOR THE GODLY MAN CEASETH; FOR THE FAITHFUL FAIL FROM AMONG THE CHILDREN OF MEN.

No language can represent the transitoriness of human life more forcibly than that which is used in Scripture. Its emblems are found in the frailest things in nature and the most uncertain events in human experience. It is a vapor that floats in unsubstantial masses above us; the sun rises, and it vanishes. It is a shadow that passes over the valley; the interposing cloud goes by, and it disappears. It is as the flower of the plain and the grass of the field; the foot of the unconscious traveller tramples upon it, and it withers; the scythe of the mower goes over it, and it is cut down. The Lord of life has committed to his servants his treasures—the rich treasures of the mind and heart—the means of usefulness and virtue and happiness, and he may come for them in the morning or evening, at midnight or midnoon. Help, Lord, is the desponding cry of the Psalmist; as if he

feared that death in his unsparing progress and indiscriminate slaughter would cut off all the godly and cause the faithful among the children of men to fail.

And how truly do the realities of life correspond with the representations of Scripture. We are in the midst of a vain show. We are daily and hourly reminded of our frailty. We are taught by each passing object our insecurity. Where can we go, in what can we engage, and not be the associates of the dead? What means of safety, improvement, or happiness do we possess, which do not come from them? Think a moment. The great public blessings which we enjoy, the language which we speak, the religion in which we are educated, all come from the dead. How many of the books which we read, how many of the maxims and opinions of the living, how many of the discoveries in art and science, how many of our public improvements and private conveniences, how many of the dwellings which shelter us and the temples in which we worship, are the works of the dead. How large is their sphere, how wide is their empire, compared with that of the living. Instead then of being only occasionally reminded of the dead, when their image is forced upon the attention, we have them all around us, mingling in all the scenes of mortal existence, providing for our comfort, filling for us the cup and spreading for us the table of enjoyment, and contributing to the cheerfulness of the morning and the repose of evening.

Reflect still further. Frailty is written on the very constitution of our frames. How tender and susceptible

are its most important organs. The sting of an insect, or the slightest puncture may derange and destroy them. How thin a covering protects the seat of thought and intelligence. A blow which a child might inflict, or a fall to the ground may disorder the brain, dispossess reason of its throne, and darken the intellect forever. Put your hands upon your bosom. You may almost bathe them in the fountains of life. How slight a barrier prevents them from forsaking their accustomed channel and from gushing out. Close your eyes this night in slumber, and how near do you approach the regions of death. You lie as insensible to all passing objects, to a living, breathing world, as if you had already entered there. Think also in how many forms and by what various instruments the great destroyer accomplishes his work. The very sources of life become the means of dissolution. The air which you breathe is charged with noxious vapors. The water which quenches your thirst is impregnated with poison. The food which nourishes you carries pain and disease into the frame. In the complicated system of nature the bane and aliment of life are found together. The means employed to preserve existence become the means of its destruction.

But I feel that all these considerations impress us lightly compared with events like this which has brought us together. Within the last few months the sentiment of our frailty has been forced upon the mind with peculiar frequency and power. Among the men whom we have been accustomed to regard with reverence there has been an unusual mortality. Especially has it been among

the Liberal Clergy of New England. The breaches in our spiritual Zion have been wide and in rapid succession. Light after light that shone long and clearly among us, has been extinguished. It is not yet a year since we deposited in the grave the remains of the venerable Dr. Bancroft, for more than half a century the fearless defender of religious liberty, and for many years at the head of the clergy of this County. Then after a few months followed the excellent Dr. Tuckerman, a man whose deep sympathies led him to consecrate himself, and wear away his strength in administering to the wants of the poor, and whose fame has spread wherever the name of philanthropist is honored and good deeds are held in reverence. In a few days more succeeded Dr. Kirkland, late President of Harvard University, the well loved instructor, the accomplished scholar and learned divine. And before the season of mourning has passed, while the funeral dirge is yet sounding on the ear, another champion of religion has been called to his account. And under what peculiarly impressive circumstances! As I contemplate them, I feel more than ever a sense of our frailty. A voice more moving and instructive than all our reasonings comes from that silent coffin. Who of all this large assembly that looked upon the cheerful and animated countenance of our venerable father and friend but three weeks ago, dreamed that he should never see him more? Who contemplated the possibility that he would never return to his home and his duties? Who was prepared for a scene like this? Though warned by the frequent monitions of Providence and by his advanced

age, I must confess when the tidings of his death reached me, they produced a shock which I could not but feel; for after he had commenced his journey, he was so cheerful and active, he spoke to me so confidently of his prospects, plans and hopes, that no sad forebodings mingled with our parting wishes. I had no intimations, no apprehensions of his danger. But in the inscrutable wisdom of God his hour had come. The sentence of death was passed and could not be delayed. It overtook him far away from his home, and he fell asleep among strangers. He went from us in the full tide of enjoyment and hope, and he has returned, and asks only for a place in his tomb.

My Hearers, while reflections like these are crowding the mind, while we are made to feel as we do not ordinarily our insecurity, and before we deposit these remains in the grave, it may be well, it may do us good, to dwell a few brief moments on the life and character of our venerable father now gone, who for more than forty-seven years has been the minister of this people, and has occupied a distinguished position among the clergy of New England. Often has his voice spoken from this place,—let the silent record which he has left in our memories, and which is sealed as his account on high, now instruct and admonish us.

Nathaniel Thayer may be said to have been born at the altar and for the Church. He was a direct lineal descendant of the celebrated John Cotton, the first minister of Boston, and belonged to a family in which there has been an uninterrupted succession of clergymen for nearly two hundred and thirty years, among whom may be found

some of the brightest ornaments of the New England Churches. He was born in Hampton, N. H., July 11, 1769—a year remarkable for the number of distinguished men to whom it gave birth. His father, the Rev. Ebenezer Thayer, was for many years the respected minister of that place. For a long period an officer of College, the associate and intimate friend of the distinguished men of the revolution, professing a creed less stern than was usual, he was remarkable in his day for his learning, for the dignity and suavity of his manners, and the placidity of his temper and disposition. His mother seems to have possessed much of the energy which belonged to her family. Her father, John Cotton of Newton, was celebrated in his time for his virtues and accomplishments, and especially for his various powers in the pulpit. And we are told that they who enjoyed the privilege of hearing both, could trace a striking resemblance in air, voice and manner, between the grandson and his distinguished ancestor.

His childhood and early youth were passed under the parental roof, where he received those deep impressions which saved him from the levity of youthful inexperience, and which led him to form that perfect propriety of deportment, and seriousness of manner, that marked his later years. At this period he was uncommonly thoughtful and sedate, and he probably could not remember the time when the great truths of religion did not exert a hallowing influence over his thoughts, motives and conduct. At a suitable age he was removed to Exeter Academy, and was of the first class of pupils offered by

that now venerable institution for admission to our still more venerable University. He left this place without a stain upon his purity, with the unqualified approbation of his instructor; and with brightening hopes and quickened zeal entered on the larger field of collegiate study. Here he was brought into intimate communion with some of the master spirits of his times. Emerson and Kirkland were his cotemporaries and class mates. His rivals in the class room, his fellow laborers afterwards in a higher sphere of duty, he formed with them a friendship, which received no abatement until it was interrupted by death. In securing the affectionate regards of his fellow students he did not forfeit the confidence of the Government of the College, for he was graduated with distinguished reputation, filled for one year the office of Tutor, and at a later period received the highest honors in his profession from the same institution.

Having left College with a mind disciplined and enriched by diligent study—what is more, having passed its ordeal without a touch or stain upon the purity of his character, immediately after commencement in 1789, he entered on the study of Divinity with the Rev. Dr. Osgood of Medford, at the same time as a means of support taking charge of the grammar school in that town. He could not have been more fortunate in the selection of an instructor. If there was a man who stood apart from the dry technicalities of his profession, whose discernment and energy of mind enabled him to perceive, and whose fearless independence prompted him to meet the exigences of his times, it was he. Those times were fraught

with peculiar peril to the New England Churches. It was the period of the French revolution. A deep sympathy with France in her struggle for liberty pervaded the country. French philosophy and French infidelity were largely imported, and were spreading through the community and sapping the foundations of religion and good morals. Voltaire and Diderot and Tom Paine were eagerly read, and the country seemed fast verging towards the unprincipled licentiousness which prevailed in the old world. And how was this deluge of corruption to be arrested? The arm of the civil power could not reach it. An appeal to the authority of the Church could not stop it. The technical preaching and cold dogmatism of the times could not prevail against it. It remained only to set aside the creeds of other days, appeal to the great principles of rational freedom, review the grounds of Christian faith, and shew that Christianity is consistent with reason, that it is the gift of love, and that it is connected with man's highest interests in this world and another. Besides this, among the better educated ministers a more intimate acquaintance was beginning to be formed with the more liberal and enlightened theologians of England. Fifty years before, Whitfield complained that the clergymen of New England were forsaking the good old Puritan writers, and were drinking in the heresies of Taylor and Tillotson and Clarke and Emlyn. And now Lardner and Price and Priestly were added to the list, and were diligently studied by those who were preparing for the sacred profession. Accordingly, a class of divines arose, distinguished, not so much for a fervid eloquence,

for appeals to the imagination and heart, or for an indiscriminate and undiscerning inculcation of traditional doctrines, as for addresses to the enlightened understanding. They stood up for truth and freedom and the sacred rights of the mind. They discarded in a great measure the peculiar language of theology, and uttered tones familiar to the ears of men. They stripped religion of its stern and gloomy aspect, and vindicated its affectionate character, and shewed, more fully than had been done before, its intimate connection with the duties of common life. They had their mission, and wisely and faithfully was it sustained. Under such circumstances, it was easy to foresee to what class of Christians the intelligent student in theology would belong. Dr. Thayer was from the first a Liberal Christian. The principles of toleration were engrained in his heart. Religion lay in his mind, not encompassed with subtleties, but in a simple and rational form. And, addressing himself to the reason, judicious in his thoughts, never offending the most fastidious taste, possessed of a voice of rich, deep, and varied tones, and a manner peculiarly impressive; above all, meeting by a combination of powers the wants of his times, from the moment he obtained a license, he was a decidedly popular preacher, and was received with welcome into the pulpits of our New England churches. In proof of this, it needs but be stated that only a few months after his approbation he received a formal invitation to settle in the ministry over the Church worshipping on Church Green in Boston, afterwards committed to the pastoral charge of his friend Mr. Kirkland. And at a

subsequent period overtures were made to him to occupy the pulpit of the First Church, soon afterwards so ably filled by his other friend Mr. Emerson.

The first scene of his ministry was Wilkesbarre, Pa., where he spent nearly a year in the delightful family of the Secretary of War, the late Col. Timothy Pickering. This period was always remembered by him with peculiar gratification. It was the bright morning of his ministerial life, when the dew was yet fresh upon the mountains, and before a budding hope had withered. At the end of half a century, the enchanting scenery of this village on the banks of the Susquehanna, so famed on the sad page of history and in song, was bright and clear and well defined in his imagination, as if it had been seen but yesterday.

Fair Wyoming,
Although the wild flower on thy ruin'd wall
And roofless homes, a sad remembrance bring
Of what thy gentle people did befal,
Yet thou wert once the loveliest land of all
That see the Atlantic wave their morn restore.

Sweet land—how do its melancholy story and romantic groves rise on the memory! Among the expected pleasures of his last journey was that of again visiting the spot where his youthful labors began. He told me that he had never been there since he left it forty-eight years ago—that his early friends were gone—that he should find himself among strangers—that all would be changed but his heart towards this place of his first love. But in the wisdom of God, the anticipated satisfaction was denied

him; perhaps that he might meet in fairer regions, who shall say how many of those friends, as the seal of his ministry and the crown of his rejoicing.

In the summer of 1793 he began to preach to this ancient Church and Society, then under the care of the venerable Mr. Harrington. After the usual term of probation he received an unanimous invitation to settle as colleague Pastor, and was ordained on the ninth of October. And two years after, he was left by the death of his associate in sole charge of this flock. The day of his ordination was one of the brightest in the autumn. It was the season when in Indian lore the soft breezes were believed to come from the land of spirits, and peculiar auspices were supposed to attend human enterprises. It was a season of unalloyed joy and hope in the hearts of this people. And among the transactions of the day there was one incident, so impressive, so consonant with the general feeling, that it remains fresh in the recollections of the aged to this hour. While the youthful candidate was making his vows at the altar and was receiving from his brethren and fathers in the ministry the charge to be faithful and true, the aged and infirm Pastor was stretched upon a bed of languishing to which he had for many weeks been confined. His strength was wasting away and the fountains of life were drying up within him. But his work was not quite done. One act yet remained, and then he was ready to go. Accordingly, when the rite of ordination was over and his youthful associate, invested with the sacred office, was passing by with the procession of his parishioners and friends, the

old man was borne to the gate of his dwelling, his eyes dim with years and his locks streaming in the wind, and, there supported, he placed his trembling hand on the head of the young Pastor and invoked on him the blessing of Heaven. Almost in the words of Simeon he gave utterance to his emotions. "I now die in peace. I can now go and bear witness to my brother from whom I received this people, that I leave them united, prospered and happy." Fortunate, favored man, who in dying could bear such a testimony as this! Happy the minister who as he reviews the past can put his hand upon his bosom and appeal there for the sincerity of his motives and endeavors; who, as the fruit of his labor, can see united with him a large, prospered and affectionate society, and when he is no more, shall be gently laid in his tomb, while the associates of other days, the companions of his youth and the friends of later years, shall sleep all around. Fitting termination of a relation among the most intimate and endearing on earth!

How far the prayer of the aged saint has been answered, how far the wishes and hopes of his people on that day have been fulfilled, the history of this Church and Society and the presence of this numerous assembly bear witness. That your late Pastor entered on the duties of his profession with an enlightened view of its sublime objects, and with the earnest aim and endeavor and constant study to promote the truest interests of Christianity cannot be doubted. The methods which he adopted to secure his object and the success which has attended his labors can be best appreciated by those who have enjoy-

ed them, and by Him whose piercing eye surveys every deed and purpose of man. So retired is the sphere of the Pastor's labors, and so much in the intellectual and spiritual world, that his truest success and best achievments can be but partially known. Like the good man always, apart from the observation of men he does his principal work. His great business lies amid the more tranquil and retired scenes of life.

> There unfatigued
> His fervent spirit labors. There he fights
> And there obtains fresh triumph o'er the world,
> And never withering wreaths, compared with which
> The laurels that a Cæsar reaps, are weeds.

I make no attempt therefore minutely to trace the course and results of his ministry, and analyze his character and habits of mind. It is for those who have known him for years and been associated with him intimately, to speak of him as he was, and do full justice to those qualities of mind and heart which will linger long in the memory of us all, and which will gain for him a lasting name among the New England clergy.

Among the traits which could not escape the attention of any, and which imparted a peculiar coloring to his habits of mind, affected his manners and gave unity and consistency to all the purposes of life, this was remarkable.—He was thoroughly a minister. He reverenced the sacred profession. Its duties were his delight—its objects, the crown of his rejoicing. The pulpit, however humble, in his view was a post of higher honor than a throne, and the pastoral relation was second only in intimacy to those

of the fireside of home. He was zealous for the honor and influence of the ministry, and the prosperity of the New England Churches was dear to his heart. He coveted success in the sacred profession, and his thoughts, studies and efforts were principally devoted to this object. From the first he occupied a field of toilsome duty, which required for its cultivation the strength of his intellect and the freshness of his affections. Under any circumstances the pastoral office demands habits of unceasing activity. Having a numerous congregation scattered over a large extent of territory, he gave to it the full energy of his mind and heart. He was industrious beyond most men. He was laborious and exact in his preparations for the pulpit. Although from the variety and extent of his duties he was subject to frequent interruption, and was almost daily called from his study to a distance which occupied hours, the Sabbath always found him ready for its services. And it may be added, that even to a late period of his ministry, when in consequence of the infirmities of age and the changes of his congregation, he might with perfect propriety and perhaps equal usefulness have availed himself of his former labors, yet such were his notions of ministerial fidelity—such was his conscientious abhorrence of an old sermon, that he seldom failed to produce a new one. And at the period of his death he had written in a fair legible hand nearly two thousand.

But the weekly preparations for the pulpit constituted but a part of his labors. Living in the interior of the State, and without a rival there for many years as a pop-

ular preacher, he was often called away from home. There could be scarcely an ordination even far beyond his own neighborhood without him. On many of these occasions he was invited to preach and his discourses were published. Of the twenty-three publications which were issued by him from the press, many were of this character.

He often exhibited considerable ability in the statement and developement of Christian doctrine, and there was occasionally a strain of earnestness, delivered in his own impressive manner, that was altogether effective. There are many who will remember with pleasure the impression produced on their minds by the following passage from a sermon delivered at an installation in Hubbardston. "What did the world more need than an Instructor to enlighten them in all the will of God; a Model of undeviating and spotless virtue and holiness; a Savior from the present and distant evils of moral corruption; a Redeemer from the power of the grave; and a Guide to direct their upward course to Heaven and to God? Give me a Savior who shall by his gospel impart light to my mind, purity to my heart and tenderness to my conscience. Give me a Savior who shall lead me by his instructions and perfect example in obtaining a victory over my sinful propensities, appetites and passions. Give me a Savior who shall secure me in the possession of a sure and unfailing promise of the mercy of God, if I am penitent and obedient. Give me a Savior who shall lead me in triumph, by faith in him, through the dark valley of the shadow of death. Give me a Savior who by his resurrection from the grave has set before me a proof of my own resurrec-

tion. Give me a Savior in whom I can confide when he tells me that in his Father's house are many mansions and that if I am faithful, where he is I shall be also. Give me a Savior who can teach, practice, promise all this, and whose authority to reveal the promise is unquestionably established; and I need nothing more to constrain me to acknowledge that I believe him to be all sufficient, able to save to the uttermost all that come unto God by him." This extract, while it embodies his views on a very important doctrine of our religion, may be regarded as a favorable specimen of his manner. If he never reached the higher efforts of eloquence, he was always appropriate to the time and place, always judicious in the selection of his topics, and in this respect was sometimes eminently successful. When Lafayette, as the nation's guest, made his triumphal tour through the country, he was addressed by Dr. Thayer in a manner peculiarly happy. The address at that time made a strong impression upon the assembled multitudes that were gathered at the spot; and as he concluded with these words, "It is especially our prayer that on that day in which the acclamations and applauses of dying men shall cease to reach or affect you, you may receive from the Judge of character and the Dispenser of imperishable honors, as the reward of philanthropy and incorruptible integrity, a crown of glory which shall never fade," the Veteran trembled with emotion. He mentioned at the time how deeply he was affected; and years afterwards in the saloons of Paris, amidst the flattery of king and courtiers, and the more sincere homage of a nation, he was accustomed to refer

with pleasure to the beautiful scenery of the banks of the Nashua, and the heart thrilling address of the venerable minister of Lancaster.

But there were other demands upon the time and strength of the late Pastor of this Church. He fell upon a period of great religious agitation, and of change in the condition of the New England Churches. The old order of things was breaking up, and a new condition of affairs was to be established. Differences between minister and people arose, and the rights of each were to be ascertained and adjusted. The great question of religious liberty was at issue, and was to be settled on a firm and imperishable basis. During his life time he sat on no less than one hundred and fifty councils ; not seldom in connection with his venerated friend, Dr. Bancroft. The results of these councils were often drawn up by himself, and involved an amount of labor, and did a service to the cause of Christianity, which can be but poorly appreciated by those who are unacquainted with these subjects, and who do not perceive the importance of great principles in Church polity, as well as in Christian belief.

Nor in consequence of these numerous engagements abroad did he neglect the performance of his parochial duties at home. There was scarcely a week in the year in which a half day was not given to subjects connected with the education of the young. He was attentive to all the details of public instruction in the town. And the Sabbath School—an institution of recent establishment, so wont to be frowned upon by the aged as an innovation upon the practices of the fathers, was cordially

sustained by him, and fostered with an enthusiastic devotion no way inferior to that of the youngest and most ardent of his brethren. In the more appropriate offices of his profession, he was prompt, impartial and exact. When he was able, I do not believe that the humblest and most obscure individual in his parish ever desired his attendance in the chamber of sickness and sorrow in vain. It might be in the most remote part of the town—amid the burning heats of summer or the pelting storms of winter, under the pressing weight of other duties, in domestic bereavement, in infirmity of body and weariness of mind—yet there he would be, in the chamber of sickness and by the bed of death, to administer the last admonitions, consolations and offices of religion. If he did not always bring home to the conscience of the erring the power of religious truth, he knew how to speak words of comfort to the heart stricken and desponding. The aged, the poor, the burthened, they whom none else would pity or care for, found in him a prompt benefactor and sympathizing friend. And among the many whom his sudden death has plunged in grief, there are none who will shed more bitter tears than the destitute, the enfeebled, the widowed and childless, the forlorn—who sit apart in their solitary places, and remember that they shall no more see his countenance or hear his voice among them.

Nor was our venerable Father without traits of a more domestic and personal character. His hospitality was large and generous. It extended to all, like the aged elms around his mansion. His doors were thrown widely

open ; and the friend and the stranger were invited to sit at his table and repose beneath the shadow of his roof. To the inmates of his dwelling he was kind and considerate. By many once occupying a circle around his fireside, now scattered over the land in places of dignity and responsibility, his influence will be felt to the latest period of their lives. Some of their wisest maxims and some of their best impulses they may trace to the unconscious impressions which he was enabled to leave upon their minds. His placid countenance is associated with their earliest and most fixed resolves—his voice going up in the morning and evening sacrifice, with their most hallowed religious feelings. And in the more intimate relation of husband and father he was gentle and affectionate. The playful companion rather than the severe governor of his children—their ready confidant from their tender years, his influence was like that of the rising sun and falling dews, constantly vivifying and refreshing. In a word, he was a Christian gentleman, never offending against the most rigid rules of propriety abroad, sweetening home by the presence and exercise of the Christian graces, endearing his friends by his constant kindness, attracting strangers by his undeviating politeness and affability.

Dr. Thayer enjoyed a green old age. Although, with a single exception, the oldest minister in the State having the sole charge of a parish, he continued in the exercise of his ministerial functions with undiminished ardor and with few interruptions to the last. At length, debilitated somewhat by the labors of the past spring, three weeks

ago to-day, he commenced a journey for the pleasures of relaxation and the recovery of his health. The day before he had stood where I now stand, and administered the ordinances of baptism and the supper to an unusual number. The spectacle of so many children and youth, offered and offering themselves in the holy rites of our religion, touched his heart. It was a season of unmingled satisfaction ; and he frequently referred to it as the happiest in his life. He began his journey under favorable auspices, and every hour was enjoyed. The almost uninterrupted clearness of the sky, the fragrance of the air, and the richness of fields and forests through which he passed, brought a glow of health to his cheek and animation to his spirits. Every object attracted his attention — every scene awakened his interest. He gazed with wonder on the improvements around him, and speculated as a Christian on that portion of the country through which he was passing. After spending a week of pleasure and improvement at Saratoga Springs, he pursued his course by easy stages towards the Falls of Niagara, and was arrested by death at Rochester, N. Y., on Tuesday, June 23, at two o'clock in the morning. The day before had been spent as he would desire to have done it had he foreseen that it would be his last. Large portions of it had been occupied in most interesting conversations on religious subjects with fellow travellers, which, if they leave no lasting impression upon their minds, will be remembered with gratitude by the daughter who was his companion. In the evening he retired at his usual time and in his usual health; and no in-

timations were given of the veiled events of the coming hour. But the messenger of death had been sent and was already on his way—and in the silence of the night and in a strange city he came—and the aged pastor, familiar with his form, perceived that his hand was upon him, and felt his cold breath upon his cheek, but his presence and power created no alarm. Without a murmur or a sigh of discontent he yielded to the decisions of an unerring Providence, and, serene and cheerful, awaited the final issue. His mind was never clearer, or his heart warmer. His thoughts were among his family and the people whom he loved—"Give them my dying love," said he to the daughter whose privilege it was to stand by his bedside. "Tell them I cheerfully submit.—I die in the faith I have preached.—I die in peace and in the hopes of the gospel." It was all that he could say; and then in accordance with his oft repeated prayer that he might not survive his usefulness or the possession of his powers—that he might not die a lingering and painful death,—he sunk to his rest as calmly and gently as an infant into its slumbers. And they who were there that night and witnessed that death, although but strangers the day before, and of a faith differing from his own, took note and said "a good man has fallen." And

Who shall weep when the righteous die?
  Who shall mourn when the good depart?
When the soul of the godly away shall fly,
  Who shall lay the loss to heart?

He has gone into peace; he has laid him down
  In sleep till the dawn of a brighter day,

And he shall awake on that holy morn
Where sorrow and sighing shall flee away.

To the afflicted Widow, Children, and Relatives of our departed father I would present my most heartfelt sympathy. My friends, it may seem almost unnatural, that, at this season when the face of nature is exhibiting such tokens of cheerfulness, and such large provisions are made for human happiness, your hearts should be unable to vibrate with the general joy—that this sudden darkness should have come on all your prospects—that an affectionate husband, an indulgent parent, a valued associate should have been torn from your embrace. But it is not an enemy that hath done this. It is the wise discipline of a Father that loves you. Ye believe in God. Ye believe also in Christ. Let not your hearts then be troubled. Remember the words which he uttered while he was with us: "In my Father's house are many mansions." There dwell the good, relieved from the toils and burthens of this mortal existence. And husband, children, sisters, friends, I trust, are there, for I behold, and lo a great multitude whom no man can number of all nations and kindred and people and tongues. And, ask you what are these which are arrayed in white robes, and whence come they? These are they who have come out of much tribulation, and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Was it not meet that he whom you mourn should drop his earthly covering and put on the immortal robes? And could you have desired for him a less painful—a more peaceful change? Comfort yourselves, my friends, with these

reflections. Let the hopes of our religion be in you and abound.

My Brethren and Fathers in the Ministry. The present year will be marked in the annals of our Churches. How many of the pillars of our Zion have fallen! How many of our associates and friends have departed! The fathers, where are they? Gone are they to render their account. The faithful fail from among the children of men. The voices of the aged and venerable are hushed. The loved forms that used to rise up before us have disappeared. Their last invitations and warnings have been given. Their last prayers in earthly assemblies have been offered. And can it be so? When we look upon the tranquil face of nature—upon the material world retaining its wonted aspect—upon the uninterrupted outgoings of the morning and the unfailing returns of the evening, we can scarcely realize the greatness of the change that has passed over us. But when we come to the place where fervent devotions have been wont to go up and lessons of grave instruction to be given; when questions of difficulty arise and counsels of wisdom are needed; when we pass the dwelling where kindness and hospitality reigned and hear no word of welcome from accustomed lips, then do we realize indeed that a change has come and that they who were with us are not. They are gone. But we, my brethren, are yet spared, and have a work to do. Whether our ministry shall be longer or shorter, let us not be anxious to enquire. But while sin is in the world and temptations abound—while souls that might attain to angelic excellence are besotted

and enslaved by low worldly habits—while men and women with capacities for immortal and ever increasing happiness, Esau like, are casting from them the treasure for a present gratification or gain, we must work,—and though faint and weary, we must still work. Onward then, my brethren, in a holy resolve and endeavor. Remember, the season for spiritual toil is brief. The day of grace is hastening to a close. The shadows of night are coming down from the mountains. He lives longest who accomplishes most. Watch ye, then, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong.

My Brethren of this Church and Society. By the event that has called us together you have sustained a loss which you only can appreciate. The light which has shone in this place for nearly half a century is extinguished. The voice which you have been accustomed to hear is silent. The heart that beat in unison with your own has ceased to throb. The countenance that was welcome to your dwellings is fixed in death. The guide of this people and the pastor of this flock is now to occupy the narrow precincts of the tomb. At this solemn hour, how many tender recollections must rush into your minds. With how many of the most interesting reminiscences of life is his image associated. On many of you, when you were too young to be conscious of the act yourselves, when parental devotion in the hour of fervent gratitude and hope offered you to the service of God and Christ, his hand sprinkled the waters of baptism and his lips invoked a blessing. When in later years you again approached the altar, he welcomed you to the table

of our Lord and broke unto you the bread of life. When you have come to this place of sacred instruction Sabbath after Sabbath, he has stood here and dispensed to you the great lessons of truth and duty. He has been with you in joy and sorrow, sanctioned by his prayers your nuptial vows, soothed by his sympathies your griefs for the loved and lost, and entered your chamber of sickness and raised your sinking souls above the weakness of the body and opened to you the prospects of life eternal. And now, as the remembrances of these things come thronging into your minds, can you fail to ask,—does not the question press upon the conscience, have you redeemed these pledges of your childhood, and observed these vows of your maturer years? Have none of his counsels of wisdom been slighted? Have all the invitations of religion which proceeded from his lips been accepted? Have the lofty principles and spirit of the gospel been formed within you? Is the love of God and Christ and goodness enkindled in your hearts, and does it shed over your whole lives and conduct its gentle, purifying and ennobling influence? Are you emancipated from earth-born corrupting habits, pressing onward in the career of Christian virtue, rejoicing in Christian hope? My brethren, these are questions which you must ask in your bereavement. They are forced upon the mind, and cannot be evaded. Have you been true to your interests, faithful to your opportunities? Not here in this crowded assembly,—not when the feelings are agitated with emotion,—not to man, frail and sinful like yourselves, be the answer. But take some still quiet hour, when the pas-

sions are hushed and the great responsibilities of life are brought clearly to view, and then and there in the solemnity of the soul and in the presence of God, let the reply be made. Though dead, may your lamented pastor yet speak to you. Remember, your welfare was dear to his heart. If strength had been given him, his last prayer would have been, that, as he received you, you may remain an united, prospered and happy people. Have you forgotten his earnest and almost prophetic language while he was with you? "You will not doubt my sincerity when I express a firm belief that the peace of this town and the hope that no root of bitterness will spring up to interrupt it, are to all of us subjects of devout thanksgiving. I add, if on that day when death shall dissolve the tie that connects us as minister and people, I can leave you as I now behold you, an united, growing, prosperous and happy people; if I may be supported by the hope that you will have a minister who will be a peace-maker, who will be more valiant for the truth and able to defend it, more faithful and devoted to you and your children than your present minister has been, one of the first desires of his soul in relation to your state as a Christian society will be accomplished." By your respect then for his memory—by your regard for the well being of yourselves and your children, let no dissensions arise among you. Now the shepherd is gone, let the flock the more earnestly cleave together. Let your counsels be united and your hearts be as the heart of one; and the prayers of all good men will be offered in your behalf, and the smiles of Heaven will be upon

you. Happy will you be if you find a successor who will be a peace-maker; who will be more valiant for the truth and able to defend it—more faithful and devoted to you and your children than your lamented pastor.

To the Children and Youth of the Sabbath School here assembled I have one word to add, and then I have done. My Young Friends, you have come here perhaps to look on these weeds of wo, to occupy a place in this funeral pageant, and to listen to what I might say of your honored and venerated minister. Before we part let me suggest a thought that will be useful to yourselves. You may have read, for we are told by the Jewish historian, that when Jerusalem was besieged a solitary voice was heard at the dead of night echoing through the still and vacant streets of the devoted city, and saying, "Arise, depart, for this is not your rest." And they who heard that voice deemed the city no longer their home. They went to their labors with their pilgrim's staff in their hands and shoes on their feet for the journey; and whether men, women or children, all were ready when another sign should warn them to go. And my friends, are there not many voices coming to your ears, not merely in solitude, but in the busiest scenes of life; not merely at midnight, but morning, noon and every hour of the day,—from the changing fields and forests, from the word and the providence of God, from the chamber of sickness and the fresh made graves of your friends, saying to you also, "Arise, depart, for this is not your rest." You are bound for another country. God is your Father and your home is in the skies—prepare yourselves to

receive the smile of his welcome and a place in some of his mansions. Lean not on earth—defer not a present duty—begin now your upward course. For, what is your life? To-day you may rejoice in your health and strength, and to-morrow—where may you be to-morrow? Its sun you may never see. You may retire this night with your plans and full blown hopes, as did your venerable father, and amid silence and darkness be hurried to your account. Be thoughtful then, be affectionate, be dutiful. Remember now your Creator, while the evil days come not nor the years draw nigh when you shall say, I have no pleasure in them. Watch, for you know not the day nor the hour. What I say unto you I say unto all—watch.

APPENDIX.

HIS ANCESTRY. P. 7.

This statement is not merely conjectural. The genealogical table is complete. Every link is supplied. Dr. Thayer's maternal grandfather, as has been said, was Rev. John Cotton of Newton. He was born in 1694, and ordained Nov. 3, 1714, at the early age of twenty. He was universally called "the Great Gun of the Gospel," and seems to have inspired a singular degree of reverence in the minds of his cotemporaries. We are told, "the Church and religious society in this place enjoyed the happy resettlement of the Gospel Ministry among them by the ordination of the Rev. John Cotton, M. A., descendant of the celebrated John Cotton, first minister of Boston." "So high was the respect cherished for the virtues and accomplishments of this youth of twenty, that the town in general went in procession, met and gave him a joyful welcome upon his entrance into it as a candidate." "His labors," we are told, "through life were faithful, fervent, acceptable, and considerably successful. He died of a fever, after a short illness, in which he gave his dying counsels to his parishioners present, and expressed his animating hopes, May 17, 1757."*

His father was the Rev. Rowland Cotton of Sandwich. He was ordained Nov. 8, 1694, and died March 18, 1722. He was a faithful and successful minister, and, as was the custom of clergymen living in the neighborhood of Indian settlements, he

1 Hist. Coll. v. 5.

learned the Indian language, and gave a portion of his attention to their instruction. In an account of "a visitation to the Indian plantations within the province of Massachusetts Bay," the following testimony is given to his fidelity. "At Mashpah, belonging to Sandwich, we found another assembly of Indians, among whom the Rev. Rowland Cotton frequently dispenses the word, unto whose good progress in the Indian language we cannot but subjoin our attestation, having heard him dispense the word to them." His brother Josiah Cotton, magistrate of Plymouth, was eminently skilled in the Indian language, of which he published a vocabulary. A manuscript sermon of his, half Indian and half English, is in the library of the Antiquarian Society.*

Their father was John Cotton of Plymouth, who was ordained pastor of the Church, June 30, 1669. In consequence of a difference of opinion on some subjects of Ecclesiastical polity, dissatisfaction arose, which led to his dismission Oct. 5, 1697, "to the great grief of a number in church and town who earnestly desired his continuance." He was afterwards invited to re-settle in Charleston, S. C., where he died Sept. 18, 1699. He was accounted "a man of strong parts and good ability to preach the word of God." He was laborious, active, faithful, and eminently successful. He was well acquainted with the Indian language, and indefatigable in his efforts to convert the natives to Christianity. He published the second edition of Elliot's Indian Bible with a Grammar.*

His father was the famous JOHN COTTON, minister of the first church in Boston.

INVITATION TO SETTLE IN BOSTON. P. 11.

The text is not strictly accurate; but by the kindness of my friend, the present Pastor of the New South Church, I am able to correct it. He never received a formal invitation to settle. But at a meeting of the Society held March 3, 1793, on a ques-

* Hist. Coll. Ell. Biog. Dict. Farmer's Reg.

tion to determine the number desirous of giving him a call, a majority was found in his favor—but in consequence of a subsequent vote no invitation was given him. The record is as follows :

On motion, it was voted, That the sense of the Society be taken by yeas and nays to determine the number desirous of giving Mr. Thayer a call to settle. On counting the votes, it appeared that the whole number were fifty-one, of which thirty-three were for giving Mr. Thayer a call and eighteen in the negative.

On motion whether it be expedient (all circumstances considered) to give Mr. Thayer a call to settle, it was unanimously voted not expedient.

In the First Church no votes were taken. But a movement was made and a committee, composed of leading members of the society, sought an interview to learn if invited, whether he would accept; but to his honor as a faithful and conscientious minister, he rejected the overtures, preferring rather than sever the ties which bound him to his people in Lancaster and wound their affections, to forego the honor and advantage of having a city congregation.

HIS PREDECESSORS. P. 13.

The following notices of the ministry in Lancaster were furnished by a friend, taken principally from printed discourses and from the records of the town.

Lancaster was incorporated in 1653, there being then nine families in the place. "From the year 1654, Mr. Rowlandson preached among them until the 14th of April 1658; at which time they invited him to settle in the work of the ministry among them; and he accepted their invitation, and probably was ordained the same year." He continued their minister till 1676,—when King Philip's war having commenced, Lancaster—then containing above fifty families—was destroyed by the Indians, many of the inhabitants killed, and the rest dispersed. During the dispersion of the Lancaster people, Mr. Rowlandson

was invited to preach at Weathersfield in Connecticut, and died before the resettlement of the town—which was about four years from the time of its destruction.—After the resettlement of the place, the pulpit was supplied by several persons, and no minister settled, till 1690—when Mr. John Whiting, son of the venerable Samuel Whiting of Billerica, was ordained. In 1697, during a war in which N. England was involved with the Canadians, French, and Indians, Mr. Whiting being on some occasion at a distance from his garrison, was surprised and killed by the enemy. They indeed offered him quarter; but he chose to fight to the last, rather than resign himself to those whose tender mercies were cruelty. At the same time twenty others were killed; two wounded; and six carried into captivity.

In 1701, Andrew Gardner was settled. "On the 26th Oct. 1704 (says Mr. Harrington in his century sermon, from which the above facts are obtained) there having been a party of the enemy discovered at Still-River, the soldiers and inhabitants belonging to the Rev. Mr. Gardner's Garrison, with divers others, went in quest of them; who returning in the evening fatigued with the service of the day, Mr. Gardner in compassion took the watch that night upon himself; and coming out of the box late at night, was heard by one between sleeping and waking in the house, who supposing him an enemy, seized the first gun which came to hand, and shot him through the body in the Parade. But the fatal mistake immediately appeared; and he being carried into the house, forgave the person that shot him; and in an hour or two expired, to the great grief not only of his consort, but of his people, who had an exceeding value for him." John Hancock, of Lexington, in his sermon at the installation of Mr. Harrington, alludes to him as "a hopeful and promising young gentleman."

John Prentice was ordained 29th March, 1708; and "after a life of much service, faithfulness, and love, on the 6th of Jan'y 1748, deceased, aged 66, greatly lamented." Mr. Hancock, in the sermon just quoted from, says (after enumerating the calamities that had befallen the people—and especially the persons and families of the first three ministers of Lancaster)—"Thus God has broken in upon you as the breaking forth of waters;

you remember the affliction and the misery, the wormwood and the gall. But since these days have rolled over you, God has shown that he had mercy in store for you. O how have you been greatly smiled upon in the life and labors of the Rev. Mr. John Prentice, who having obtained help from God ministered unto you for the space of 40 years. God made him a blessing to you; he was a burning and shining light, and you rejoiced in that light for a long season. As God gave him the tongue of the learned, so he knew how to speak a word to him that was weary; the God of the spirits of all flesh fitted him for his work, and taught him how he ought to behave himself in the house of God. They that knew him, esteemed him for his piety, his probity, his peaceableness, and gentleness, and for his commendable steadiness in these uncertain times. And ye are witnesses of God also, how holily, how justly, how unblameably he behaved himself among you, serving the Lord in all humility of mind. He was a practical, scriptural, profitable preacher; have you profited under it? God knows, and your consciences they know. He was of a firm, unbroken constitution, till about a year before his death, and was temperate in all things, and with the help of that *Prudence** God gave him, he managed them with discretion. And now behold I know, that ye all among whom he has been so long preaching the kingdom of God, shall see his face no more. * * * And may God make you, his successor, a greater blessing still. And may a double portion of his excellent spirit rest upon you." There is extant in print an Election sermon of Mr. Prentice's, delivered in Boston May 28, 1735.

Timothy Harrington was installed as his successor Nov. 16, 1748. He died Dec. 18, 1795, aged 80; and in the 48th year of his ministry at Lancaster.

In regard to both his immediate predecessors, Dr. Thayer has the following passage in a sermon of his delivered Dec. 29, 1816, on leaving the old Church, in which they and himself had ministered. "Innumerable are the evils and dangers, which flow from Churches being without the regular dispensation of the word and ordinances. In view of these evils and dangers,

* A poor pun upon the name of his wife.

we notice the extraordinary goodness of Divine Providence in the longevity and usefulness of my two immediate predecessors who ministered in this house. It is indeed a memorable fact in our history, that in one hundred and eight years past there have been only ten months, the time which elapsed between the death of Rev. Mr. Prentice and the Installation of Rev. Mr. Harrington, in which this Church has been without a settled minister. It is no less worthy of being mentioned with gratitude, that our records are not defaced with any instance of a controversy between this Church and either of its pastors. I have ever contemplated these two holy men as remarkably displaying a model of the ministerial character, at the time in which they respectively lived. In the Rev. Mr. Prentice were united the commanding dignity, the severity of manners, the pointedness in his public preaching, which were thought by the generation he served to be indispensable characteristics of a Christian minister. 'The young men saw him and hid themselves; and the aged arose and stood up.' The Rev. Mr. Harrington exhibited the urbanity, the condescension, the cheerfulness, the candor for youthful errors and frailties, which are congenial with the spirit of more modern times, and a nearer imitation of the temper of his Great Master. While classical learning shall be viewed an honorable attainment; while charity and the general practice of the ministerial and christian virtues shall enhance personal worth, or be esteemed an ornament to society and to the church, the name of Harrington will be in precious remembrance."

Dr. Thayer in the passage just quoted remarks that in 108 years past there have been only ten months, in which his Church has been without a settled minister. That period is now extended, (making allowance for the time he was colleague with Mr. Harrington—which was upwards of two years) to 131 years. This remarkable fact of so long and constant a settled ministry, together with the extended duration of each ministry, and above all the characters of the ministers themselves, no doubt contributed greatly to the peace and prosperity of the Parish, and to the prospect of its continued harmony.

HIS MINISTRY. P. 13.

Of the ministers of the sixteen churches of which the ordaining council was composed, two only survive, and not one in connection with a religious society. Of the large parish over which he was ordained but few individuals now remain. One after another has gone before him, and the congregation of the dead is scarcely less numerous than that of the living. During his ministry he baptised 1017 individuals—admitted to his church 388—married 1038—and buried 1130.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS. P. 17.

Of his published discourses are the following :—Sermon at the funeral of his Colleague, Rev. Timothy Harrington, Dec. 23, 1795. Sermon on Annual Fast, April 2, 1795. Masonic Discourse, June 24, 1797. Artillery Election Sermon, June 4, 1798. Ordination Sermon of Rev. Elihu Whitcomb at Pepperell-borough, July 3, 1799. Installation Sermon of Rev. William Emerson at First Church, Boston, Oct. 16, 1799. Sermon at the Ordination of Rev. John Sabin at Fitzwilliam, N. H., March 6, 1805. Sermon at the Ordination of Rev. Samuel Willard at Deerfield, Sept. 23, 1807. Sermon on the National Fast, Aug. 20, 1812. Sermon at the Interment of Rev. Francis Gardner at Leominster, June 6, 1814. Sermon on leaving the Old Church at Lancaster, Dec. 29, 1816. Sermon on entering the New Church at Lancaster, Jan. 1, 1817. Sermon at the Funeral of Henry Bromfield, Esq., of Harvard, Feb. 16, 1820. Election Sermon, May 28, 1823. Sermon at the Installation of Rev. Winthrop Bailey of Greenfield, Oct. 12, 1825. Sermon on Revivals of Religion in the Liberal Preacher, August, 1827. Sermon at the Dedication of the New Church in Stow, Oct. 1, 1827. Sermon at the Ordination of Rev. Wm. H. White at Littleton, Jan. 2, 1828. Discourse at Townsend, Feb. 10, 1828. Discourse at the Ordination of Rev. A. D. Jones, at Hubbardston, Nov. 13, 1828. Thanksgiving Discourse at Lancaster, Nov. 27, 1828. Discourse at the Ordination of

his son, Rev. Christopher T. Thayer, at Beverly, Jan. 27, 1830. Address at Berry-street Conference—on the modes of exerting religious influence at the present day, May 25, 1831.

ADDRESS TO LAFAYETTE. P. 18.

General Lafayette—In behalf of the inhabitants of Lancaster, I offer you their cordial congratulations on your arrival in a country whose wrongs you felt and resented; whose liberties you valiantly defended; and whose interests and prospects have been dear to your soul.

We all unite with the few surviving veterans which were with, loved and respected you on the high places of the field, in giving you a welcome to this village, once the chosen residence of savages and the scene of their boasted triumph; and rejoice that you visit it under the improvements of civilized life, in prosperity and peace.

It gladdens us that we and our children may behold the man, whom we have believed and whom we have taught our children to believe, was second only to his and our friend, the immortal Washington. We participate in your joy, on beholding our institutions in vigor, our population extended, so that since you left us from a little one we have become millions, and from a small band a strong nation; that you see our glory rising, our Republic placed on an immovable basis, all of which are in part, under Providence, to be ascribed to your sacrifices, dangers, and toils.

We wish you health and prosperity. We assure you that wherever you shall go, you will be greeted by our fellow countrymen as one of the chief deliverers of America, and the friend of rational liberty and of man. It is especially our prayer, that in that day in which the acclamations and applauses of dying men shall cease to reach or affect you, you may receive from the Judge of character and Dispenser of unperishable honors, as the reward of philanthropy and incorruptible integrity, a crown of glory which shall never fade.

HIS FAMILY. P. 21.

He was married to Sarah Toppan, daughter of the Hon. Christopher Toppan, of his native village, Hampton—one of his father's principal parishioners, Oct. 22, 1795. She still survives to deplore his loss. Delicacy forbids my speaking of an union cemented by the mutual kind offices of nearly half a century, or of the aid which he derived in all the trying circumstances of his ministry from her sympathy and co-operation. They had eight children, of whom five only remain.

HIS DEATH. P. 22.

It is not certainly known of what disease he died. It was probably a congestion of the lungs. It is a little remarkable that the manner of his death should so nearly resemble that of his father, fifty-two years before, who was, also, cut off in the night in his usual vigor, after an evening cheerfully spent in company with his friends. Dr. Thayer died among strangers, but they can be regarded so no longer. The Christian courtesy and kindness of the clergy and people of Rochester, the prompt sympathy of the Rev. Mr. Whitehouse, of the Episcopal Church, in particular, who offered to throw open his house for a public funeral service, will ever be gratefully remembered by the bereaved family. The remains, attended by the daughter, who received every attention by the way which delicacy could prompt, were conveyed to Lancaster, and by another singular coincidence reposed under the same elms where his aged colleague had so many years before invoked on him a blessing, while prayers were offered in presence of the afflicted family and friends hastily gathered together. On Monday, June 29th, at 2 o'clock, P. M., they were carried to the Church where he had so long officiated. It was hung in black and filled in every part with the people of the town and its vicinity. In connection with the sermon, passages of Scripture were read by Mr. Osgood, late of Sterling, prayers were offered by Mr. Allen of Bolton and Mr. Lincoln of Fitchburg, and appropriate pieces of

music were sung. When the services were over, the lamented minister was borne from the portals of the house of God, to enter them no more. And as I saw the aged people following the bier, calling to mind the faithful services of half a century, and those of maturer years sorrowing as for a personal friend, and little children weeping that they should look upon the kind pastor no more—and then beheld the body laid in the silent tomb amid the associates of other days, it seemed to me a sublime and touching spectacle—a fitting termination of a long and devoted ministry.

SERVANT of God, well done!
Rest from thy loved employ;
The battle fought, the victory won,
Enter thy Master's joy.

The voice of midnight came,
He started up to hear;
A mortal arrow pierced his frame—
He fell, but felt no fear.

Tranquil amidst alarms,
It found him in the field,
A veteran slumbering on his arms,
Beneath his red-cross shield.

The pains of death are past;
Labor aud sorrow cease;
And, life's long warfare closed at last,
His soul is found in peace.

Soldier of Christ, well done!
Praise be thy new employ;
And while eternal ages run,
Rest in thy Savior's joy.

417

CHRIST THE HEAD OF THE CHURCH.

A

SERMON

DELIVERED

AT THE INSTALLATION

OF THE

REV. EDMUND H. SEARS,

IN LANCASTER, MASS.,

DECEMBER 23, 1840.

By HENRY WARE, Jr.

PARKMAN PROFESSOR OF PULPIT ELOQUENCE AND THE PASTORAL CARE IN HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

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SERMON.

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AND HE IS THE HEAD OF THE BODY, THE CHURCH; WHO IS THE BEGINNING, THE FIRST-BORN FROM THE DEAD, THAT IN ALL THINGS HE MIGHT HAVE THE PRE-EMINENCE.

We have assembled as friends of the Church of Christ, and in his name, to introduce one of his ministers to a new sphere of duty. We have come to kindle another light in this candlestick of the Lord, in the place of that, whose graceful and beneficent beams, for so many years, shed peace and joy on this community. We do it from a sense of the value of our Christian institutions, and with an earnest desire to promote their prosperity. We do it with a recollection of our responsibility to the great Head of the Church, and with devout prayer, that the spirit of truth and grace may attend our assembly and hallow our work.

The relation in which our Saviour stands to the Church may be a suitable topic of discourse. What more suitable, than that this church, on such a day, remember its honored head? What more becoming its Pastor, than that he remember his Teacher and Lord, to whom he must be united as a branch of the vine, if he would bring forth fruit? May the grace of God, then, be with us, as we take up the doctrine of our text, and speak of him "who is the Head of the Body, the Church; who is the Beginning, the First-born from the dead, that in all things he might have the preëminence."

The Christian dispensation is part of that great plan for the government of mankind, which began with the birth of the race, and is to lead to the establishment of virtue and happiness throughout the earth. To Christianity has been committed the execution of that comprehensive plan. And as it runs back to the beginning of time, our first inquiry is, What is our Lord's relation to that part of it which preceded his own advent to the world? The answer is easy and simple. As he was to be the chief and most efficient of all God's instruments in the achievement of that great purpose, — as that glorious design was to be consummated by his ministry and institutions, — therefore everything that was done had reference to him, and was made a preparation for his coming and labors. Everything looked forward to him and helped to make ready the way for him. Thus Abraham saw his day and was glad; Moses predicted him; the prophets perpetually referred to his appearing; the Law was but a Schoolmaster to bring to Christ; all was a shadow of good things to come. As everything in the natural year looks forward to the ripening of the harvest, and is arranged with express reference to that crowning season, so everything in the previous interpositions and dispensations was arranged in anticipation of his auspicious advent, who was to close the divine purposes with the full splendor of the spiritual year. The glory of Moses and David, of the Temple and the Altar, would be as incomplete without Christ, as the beautiful blossoming of Spring, and the luxuriant growth of Summer, without the ripe burden of Autumn. All was preparation for him.

The new dispensation, then, having been introduced, what relation does our Lord sustain toward it?

The answer is obviously, in the words of our text, He stands at its head. So he is represented in a great variety of language, and by very various illustrations. Sometimes he is likened to Adam, the first man; — the place which he holds in

the moral history of the race, being correspondent to that which the first man held in the natural history of mankind. Hence he is styled the first-born among brethren, the first-born from the dead; because as in Adam all died, so in Christ are all made alive. Sometimes he is likened to Moses, the head of the Jewish dispensation; as being the Mediator and Lawgiver of the more perfect covenant, in the same sense that Moses was Mediator and Lawgiver of the ancient covenant. Sometimes he is called High priest; he stands at the head of the new worship, as Aaron was the head of the old ritual worship. And sometimes King; king on the throne of his father David; as being appointed to that same authority in the spiritual kingdom, which the monarch of Judah held in the political kingdom. Under all this diversity of representation, the same general idea seems to have been intended, — that Christ is head of the new dispensation in every sense of the term; look at it in what light we may, — and from whatever point of view. And this diversity of phrase and illustration is employed, because *there is no one of them* which could alone adequately express the extent and fulness of the office which he holds.

This remark should have our attention. If duly regarded, it would prevent our following too far the analogy of any one of the titles attributed to the Saviour. Here is an entirely new and singular office assigned to Christ; he holds a place which no other being ever held or will hold; a place superior to all, and in a great variety of ways connected with the fortunes and happiness of mankind. What name shall be given to such an office? In what terms shall it be spoken of? by what titles of honor shall it be described? Human language must be used, because there is no other. But human language can depict the offices of Christ, only by borrowing terms from human offices already existing. It knows no other terms. And as no one office among men comprises or could

comprise all the ideas which belong to his unprecedented position, it was necessary to fill out the meaning by adopting the titles of many. "King" he is not in the strict sense, for he never wore a crown or sat upon a throne; "Priest" he is not literally, for he never stood in robes at the altar or slew the victim in sacrifice; nor "Prophet," simply, but much more than a prophet; nor Lawgiver, Mediator, or Shepherd, in the original and literal sense of those titles; — he was something more than all, above them all, and different from all. But there was something in him which *resembled* the functions or relations of each; something which might be signified by their names; therefore their names were rightfully applied to him. Any one of them alone, would have been totally inadequate; the perfect description could be approximated only by employing them all. We are to remember, then, that neither title precisely expresses the office of the Saviour, and is not to be reasoned from on that presumption. If other more suitable terms had existed, they would have been adopted; and the proper modifications to their customary sense must be learned by a large comparison of them with each other, and with what we learn from other sources of his character and duties.

If this had been duly considered, the world might have been spared much idle and vexatious controversy which has arisen from too literal acceptation of terms, that were never intended to be taken in any but a very qualified sense.

There is, however, one title so exclusively appropriated to our Lord, that it might be supposed to furnish the exact description of his office; the title, namely, of THE MESSIAH. But this, like the rest, only leads the mind back to certain offices amongst men. The Messiah, in its original sense, is "the anointed." Jesus receives that appellation because commissioned and consecrated by God to a holy work, in like manner as the priests and kings had been consecrated by the sacred oil. It indicates the supremacy of this Son of God

above all others who had been anointed; as it is written, "God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness *above thy fellows.*" So that the use even of this most distinguishing title points out nothing definite respecting his relations to the new dispensation of grace, excepting his supremacy. He is the Head.

The Head. In what respects? In all. Under God, and by the appointment of God, he is first and supreme in every particular under which that dispensation can be viewed. If it be to reveal divine truth, he is the infallible teacher; if to promulgate the divine will, he is the infallible authority; if to proclaim the divine mercy, he is the one mediator and advocate. What Moses had been to the preceding, Christ became to the new institution, and in relation to the eternal land of promise, what Moses had been in relation to the earthly; — the Leader; — by whose authority, influence, and mediation the whole scheme is conducted. So that precisely as the Law came by Moses, grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. As that eminent "servant" of God built up the institutions of the Old Covenant, until they had prepared the way for the New, so the favored "Son" of God built up the institutions of the New Covenant, until they shall have prepared the way for the perfect kingdom beyond the grave.

In making the transition from the partial economy of Judaism to the more universal institution, the several steps of the process demonstrate the supremacy which had been given to Christ. He is to abolish the former and bring in the latter. In accomplishing this, as Daniel represents it, he is to make an end of sacrifices; which he did, according to the book of Hebrews, by the sacrifice of himself; — his devoted death being regarded, emblematically, as the crowning and consummating sacrifice, because from that act the ritual of the Jewish temple ceased and the offerings at the altar were ended. The ancient formalities being removed, he stands

forth as the lawgiver of the new era; publishing with authority the moral and spiritual commandments of God; uttering with wisdom from on high the revelations of his everlasting truth; making proclamation of his infinite grace, and his provisions for the pardon of penitent sinners. Thus by a word of sovereign command he establishes the Kingdom of God among men, and shows himself its rightful Head, in all things having the preëminence.

The frequency and decision with which this is expressed in the Scriptures is very observable. "All power is given unto him in heaven and on earth." "He is exalted to be a Prince and Saviour;" he is "Prince of the kings of the earth." "God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, and every tongue confess him to be Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

Respecting language of this character in the New Testament three remarks are to be made.

1. First, it is to be taken in a spiritual sense as denoting a spiritual power. "My kingdom is not of this world." "The kingdom of God is *within*." It is the authority of truth, the dominion of the soul, the sway of conscience, principle, and holy affections, righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit. Christ has no dominion but a moral dominion. His followers have misunderstood the purpose and contradicted the genius of his empire, when they have seated themselves on thrones, and crowned themselves with diadems, and wielded instruments of force, and struggled for place with the empires of the earth. His kingdom is independent of the governments of the world; it has no lawful partnership with princes or states. It seeks to influence governments, and direct the application of their powers, and reform the administration of the laws, only by a moral operation on the opinions and character of the people. By changing the *minds* of all men

every where, he will finally obtain the control of all the governments of the earth. In that way, — and in no other, — but in that way, incontrovertibly, — in which alone is efficient and impregnable dominion, — he will by and by come to reign as "Prince of the kings of the earth," "King of kings, and Lord of lords." The hearts of all men will be turned to him; and he will sway them, and, through them, the world and its affairs, without rival and supreme.

2. It is next to be remarked, that the dominion assigned to Jesus has been exercised partly by himself in person, and partly by his apostles, and other representatives and servants. While resident on earth, he labored in his own person for the establishment of the kingdom; and since his ascension to heaven, he ever liveth to make intercession. During the early days of the church, it is clear, from the history in the book of Acts, that he maintained a personal superintendence over it; appearing to the apostles, and directing them in their toils. And whatever may be thought the precise meaning of his intercession, there can be no doubt that, as Head of the church and Redeemer of souls, he ever looks with interest on their fortunes here below, and performs in their behalf offices of love and grace. It is mainly, however, through the agency of others that he has been pleased to administer the government of his kingdom and provide for its progress and well being. As the Father sent him, so he sent his apostles, and appointed them "to sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." In these terms our Lord intimates the manner in which his great trust has been executed; it has been through the agency, in a considerable measure, of the ministers of his church. And we accordingly find, that his institutions have flourished and faded very much in proportion to the fidelity or the negligence of those to whose care they have been committed. The blessing of the Spirit of God, so

essential to the guidance and prosperity of the church, has waited on their prayers and labors.

3. The supremacy, which Christ thus maintains as Head of the spiritual affairs of mankind, is limited to the state of the church upon earth. Its design is accomplished in the deliverance of men from the present evil world, and their preparation for their eternal home. Beyond this life it does not extend. When he has led his many followers to glory, his work is completed, his authority ceases, and the delegated government, entrusted to him for man's sake, comes to an end. This is explicitly taught by the Apostle Paul, when speaking of the resurrection of the last day. "Then," he says, "then cometh the end; when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule and all authority and power. * * * And when all things shall be subjected unto him, then will the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all." In that higher world, therefore, we shall meet him as our Benefactor, Teacher, Saviour, Redeemer; but no longer our Sovereign and Lord. We shall know and rejoice in his love as that of an elder brother and unchangeable friend; but the authority now resting on him as Head of the spiritual Kingdom will have been restored to the God and Father of all.

We see then, what is the relation which Christ sustains to the dispensation under which we live. He is its anointed Head; ruling it by the authority which God delegated to him, through the institutions he set up and the ministry he sent forth; to the end that holiness might prevail, sin be forgiven and abolished, and man be saved; to surrender his sovereignty at last, that in the perfect state of heaven God may be all in all.

The question now arises, What is the practical bearing of all this? I will endeavor to point it out in four particulars.

1. The relation of Christ to this dispensation as Mediator and Head, is such, as to render him an essential part of it; so that in receiving it, he also must be received and acknowledged at the same time.

Christianity, as a dispensation of religion divinely appointed for man, is constituted partly of certain great truths, and is partly an institution of outward means. It is not merely certain truths concerning the soul and God and human destiny, received from any source and for any reason, which will render a man a Christian. If it were so, then a man might be a Christian who had never heard of Christ; or having heard, yet rejected him; rejected him as a teacher, though assenting to the doctrines which he taught. Christianity does, indeed, embrace those universal truths which may be thus received, and which may have dawned on many minds which Jesus never shone upon; but it embraces much besides. It is an institution, of which he is the Head; and it cannot be received in any adequate and genuine sense, unless he is received with it as its master and founder. He who does not thus receive it, might yet be a religious man, living in ancient Lacedæmon or modern Hindostan, if he lived up to the full light of natural religion; but he certainly could not be called a Christian. Nay, we need not deny that he may be a religious man, living among Christians, in a Christian land — if he bow to God with conscientious submission and reverent worship; but it is not easy to see how he can call himself a Christian. A Christian is a disciple of Christ; but no man is a disciple unless he acknowledge the master. Because a man maintains the unity of God and the doctrine of fate, he is not therefore a Mohammedan; he must acknowledge Mohammed in the character which he claimed. And in order to be a Christian, one must not only maintain certain doctrines, but must acknowledge Christ in the character which he claims. — Christianity is not simply the grand doctrines of a Universal Religion; it is those

doctrines, as they are revealed by God's Son, embodied in his life and made permanent in his institutions, together with all the motives and sanctions which he has added to them, and by which he has urged them on men. In order to discipleship, one must receive the whole. To assume his name on the ground of holding certain truths which he taught, while others which he equally taught are refused, and he himself is rejected as the teacher of them, is an obvious inconsistency.

2. If Christ be Head of the spiritual dispensation which God has set over us, then it follows, that, in all questions of religious truth, we are to be implicitly guided by his word. All that is said by himself and his Apostles respecting the "power that was given to him," "the wisdom of God that was upon him," "the spirit imparted to him without measure,"—all implies that he speaks from a divine fulness, with an authority from which there is no appeal. If we admit his claims, we may not go behind his declarations; they are divine and infallible. They are to be received, whether the grounds on which they rest, in the nature of things, can be discerned or not; whether the human reason can or cannot verify them to itself by intuitive discernment or sagacious arguing. They are to be taken as truths because he proclaims them to be such. Now undoubtedly it happens, so consonant is all truth to the human mind, that whatever Christ has taught will in due time be *seen* to be truth by the scrutinizing reason; but I am as much bound to receive it before I thus see it by the light of my own reason as afterwards. My faith in him, as commissioned to declare it to me from the infinite source of knowledge and truth, requires it of me. I exercise faith in him, when I believe in the truth of his doctrine because I trust in him. There is no exercise of faith, if I wait to see it of myself before I will assent to it.—If it should be said, This may not be; because by this reliance on another I may be made to receive what is unreasonable; the answer is, Not at all; for I

am already assured that he is from God, and therefore do not believe it possible that he should teach what is unreasonable. If I withhold my assent to his words, lest I should compromise my reason, I display distrust, not faith; I throw off my allegiance and deny my master; in form I acknowledge, but in fact I reject him. Let me rather implicitly surrender my weak and short-sighted understanding to his wisdom, on whom the Father poured the spirit without measure; satisfied with his assurance that what I know not now I shall know hereafter, and willing to wait though I may not comprehend.

3. If Christ be the Head of the spiritual kingdom, it will follow, that, not only in matters of doctrine addressed to the understanding, but in matters of precept addressed to the conscience and will, his guidance is to be implicitly obeyed. He announces to man his duty. He promulgates the commandment of God. He declares the law of righteousness. There is no course for man but to obey. The commandment of God is perfect right; perfect right is to be pursued without hesitation or deviation; and therefore without hesitation or deviation the precepts of Christ are to be observed. The question is not, are they reasonable; that point has already been decided by the admission, that he is a teacher sent from God. If from God, of course they are reasonable; we can have no so strong proof of anything being reasonable as this, that it is taught by God. Neither is it the question, are they expedient, and is it for our interest to observe them. If we are under the Divine government, these points have already been decided for us by the Sovereign Being in whose hand our destiny lies, and who has sent his Son to be our light. He alone knows what is well for us; we do not know. We may seem, by adhering to his laws of humility, meekness, self-denial, peaceableness, to expose our rights, and put in jeopardy our well being. But this is impossible, so long as they are his laws; and therefore we betray both him and ourselves, when we prefer our own

judgment, and decide *against* those spiritual habits. We show that we have less faith in him than in ourselves; we are false to our profest allegiance to him as the Head of the spiritual kingdom on earth. As subjects of the Divine Government, we have nothing to do with the Divine Law, but to ascertain what it is and obey it. If it is to be ascertained from the teaching of Christ, one might as well proclaim war against the course of nature or the right hand of God, as presume to go contrary to his precepts; it were equally rebellion and folly, and equally sure to end in discomfiture and despair.

4. If thus in all things Christ have the preëminence, and the spiritual interests of the soul are entrusted to him by the Father, then we understand how it is, and why, that the New Testament demands FAITH in his followers. It is by *believing* his revelations, doctrines, and precepts to be from God, and therefore binding, that we receive them. We can receive them only as we believe them. They can be profitable to us, only as we trust in them. If we have not faith in them, they are nothing to us; and their value increases just in proportion to the strength of our belief, that they came from God. Hence the worth and beauty of Faith. Relying with perfect confidence on the word, promises, and sufficiency of Jesus, it enables us to walk through life with the same quiet assurance in regard to our spiritual interests, that we have in regard to the established ordinances of Providence in the natural world. As those ordinances go on, we entrust our temporal concerns to them without fear or misgiving; we understand that they are fixed as the power of God, and wise and kind as his Love. Just such is the effect of Faith, in respect to the concerns of the soul. Throughout our pilgrimage to heaven, in all the trials and progress of our moral being, we lean upon him without fear or misgiving. We look around with a trustful eye, and see that all is well. We look forward with a confiding hope, and our hearts beat with transporting expectation. We know

whom we have believed; that all is secure which we have entrusted to him; and that he has gone to prepare mansions in his Father's house, that where he is we may be also.

And now, Brethren, let us consider how all this may apply to the present occasion.

God has introduced into the world a great dispensation of truth and grace, in order to the perfection and salvation of men. In the midst of it, we are living; and our prospects of real good are bound up in it, for time and for eternity. The Ministry and the Church are the appointed instruments of accomplishing its designs; and we have gathered in the house of God, that we may do something for their continuance and efficiency. Let it be deeply impressed on our minds, that it is the CHRISTIAN Church and the CHRISTIAN Ministry; not an association of men under the exclusive guidance of their own judgment to devise measures for their social and present good; not a teacher of human wisdom, and of truths that his own mind may guess out by ingenious speculation; but the Church, *the Body of Christ*, having no life or worth except as derived from him, its inspiring Head; and the minister, *the servant of Christ*, having no wisdom that can profit, excepting as drawn from his infallible teaching. Over the great work which is to be done for the race God has appointed his Son to be Dictator and Chief; and nothing in aid of it can be effected by the subordinates, excepting in accordance with the methods which he has ordained. How can the institutions of Christianity save the world, but through the doctrines and influences of Christianity? How can the preacher win souls to heaven, but by preaching Christ, who holds the keys of heaven?

We, therefore, ordain to-day a Christian Minister over a Christian Church. We mean that he shall testify here the GOSPEL OF THE GRACE OF GOD. It is through that testimony that he is to hope for success. He is not to be of those who

think that a secular education and the gradual influences of a polite civilization are sufficient for the race; or of those who regard human philosophy as the highest and sanctifying wisdom. What has mere Civilization ever done, but lead to a worldly prosperity, which ends in ruin? What has mere Philosophy ever done, but give a flickering light to a few and leave the multitude in darkness? There are men enough, God knows, to see to it, that society does not degenerate into barbarism; the minister needs not undertake that work. There are men enough to publish the theories of the old and the new philosophies; the minister needs not undertake that. He has a higher calling, he is servant of a loftier truth. The temple throws open its doors to him, that he may go in and make proclamation from God of spiritual and everlasting life alone. Let him stand in his place, and spread that unaltered, unalterable wisdom, which has always blest, and can never fail to bless, and can alone eternally bless, the waiting and immortal soul.

Yes, Brethren; there is no other name given under heaven whereby men can be saved, but the name of Jesus Christ. Him hath God highly exalted, and ordained to fulfil the grand purposes of his spiritual Providence. As God is true those purposes will be accomplished. Christ shall reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet. We may reject his teachings, if we will, and refuse to have him rule over us; but we shall not frustrate his glory; we shall only prepare confusion for ourselves in the day when his throne shall be established among the nations. But, if we will be faithful to his word and help his plans, — then, when that day of glory shall arrive, we may be honored of him in presence of his Father, and share the triumphs of his reign.

CHARGE.

BY REV. CALVIN LINCOLN.

My Brother,

Your connexion with this religious society has now been solemnized in conformity with the long established usage in our churches. In prayer to Almighty God you have been publicly designated as the Pastor and spiritual Guide of this people. We have united in imploring the blessing of that Being, whose blessing is the life of the soul, upon the relation on which you have entered, upon the labors which you are called to perform. While we acknowledge the necessity of divine aid to your success in the ministry, we remember that this result depends also on the purity of your purposes, the fidelity and wisdom of your efforts. I am, therefore, instructed by the Representatives of our churches composing this Ecclesiastical Council, to address to you the customary charge — the charge to be faithful as a minister of Jesus Christ. To this voice of admonition and counsel you have already listened: and you cannot have forgotten, or ceased to feel, the power with which it came to your heart on the day of your introduction to the Christian ministry. The same charge you received in the voice of God's truth within, when, in the retirement of your own soul, you resolved to dedicate your powers to the cause of Christ, and the advancement of man's spiritual welfare. And constantly since that day, as you have pondered the instructions, and studied the life of Jesus, the con-

viction has become more and more strong, that it was your best privilege and your highest duty to spend and be spent in the service of your Master, and in the cause of humanity. Why then repeat this service? It is the part of wisdom to take advantage of all circumstances that may minister to the good of the mind. Although you are not to engage in unwonted labors, you are entering a new and larger field of usefulness; and the service to which I am called in connexion with the solemnities of this occasion, may impart new fervor to holy purposes already formed, and give new impression to truths already received.

In the words of the apostle I charge you, — "Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long suffering and doctrine. Be thou an example of believers in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith. Give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine. Neglect not the gift that is in thee. Meditate upon these things: give thyself wholly to them, that thy profiting may appear unto all." With the Epistles, from which these passages are selected, your mind cannot be too familiar. Imbue your heart with the spirit which they breathe; for this spirit will prompt you to strive for high attainments — extensive usefulness — and if need be, to make generous sacrifices to advance the welfare of your flock.

You have entered the ministry, my brother, in an age and in a part of the Christian world, in which the influence that you exert, and the fruit of your labors will depend, mainly, on yourself, on your individual attainments and on your private character. There was a time, if not within your memory or my own, when the office exalted the man, when the station commanded reverence, when the ministerial garb was a sure passport to the confidence of the community, when instructions from the pulpit were heard with reverence, because they were uttered in the sanctuary, and by one who was recognised as

a minister of Christ. This state of things has nearly ceased to exist. Ministers like other men are judged by their works. Faithfulness and ability are the only means by which to secure confidence and respect. This change in public sentiment is not to be lamented. It affords evidence of increasing religious knowledge, and of growing intelligence. It places ministers in a position more true to nature, and altogether more healthful in its action on their own minds and hearts. I do not mean, that the present condition of our churches creates the obligation to be faithful which rests on the minister. This ever existed. But it shows him with the utmost clearness, that he must not trust to his office for the power with which he speaks, but must rely on himself — yes, with the blessing of God, on himself alone. It shows him at once, that the demand is uncompromising, for a devoted heart, an honorable knowledge of his profession, and untiring fidelity in discharging its various and trying duties.

I exhort you then, first of all things, take heed to thyself, and to the ministry which thou hast received, to fulfil it. Reflect, with frequency and seriousness, upon the character of the religion which you are called to preach, upon the design and effect of the services which you are required to perform. Meditate upon the purity and benevolence of Jesus, his entire submission to the will of heaven, his willing sacrifice of himself for the spiritual good of man. You will thus keep alive in your own bosom a spirit of fervent piety towards God, and of ardent love for the people of your charge. Be also an example to your flock; regulate your own temper, conduct, and language, by the same rules which you urge them to obey. Endeavor to appear before your people in the ordinary intercourse of life, in the spirit of your office; not indeed with a forbidding countenance, an unsocial reserve, or a careless indifference to their common interests. Your communion with those around you may be free, your conversation cheerful,

your heart alive to sympathize in all their joys, and you may still be with them as a minister of the religion of Jesus, improving every appropriate season for instruction and exhortation; thus manifesting that the religion which you inculcate, lives in your own heart. A pure life and a holy conversation will give authority to your instructions, and be a pledge of the sincerity with which they are offered.

I urge you again, my brother, to sustain in your own mind a thirst for religious knowledge, a fervent, deep, ever active love of truth. Let its pursuit be a constant purpose of your soul. Open your mind to its reception from whatever source it may be derived. Truth is the natural food of the mind; it imparts clearness to the perceptions, and vigor to the powers. For its own sake, its worth outweighs any toil borne in its acquisition; and in its attainment, the very efforts that we make, impart freshness to the thoughts and sustain the health, the elasticity of the intellect. I offer this suggestion, because we too generally cease from the pursuit of truth as soon as we have entered upon the threshold of that temple in which truth is to be sought and found. With attainments in theological learning, deemed respectable, we enter the ministry. Amid the various cares which demand our attention, we are too much inclined, and too often willing, to rely on attainments already made, to meet the ever changing condition of the moral and religious world. Powers, that are not exerted, lose their energy. The mind, that enters not on new fields of thought, will soon exhaust its early acquisitions. We may produce many newly written sermons, when it would be difficult to show that all of new pertaining to them is not confined to this particular. I am deeply sensible of the difficulties attending the course which I prescribe. Systematic study is often impossible, in connexion with the multiplied labors of the pastor's office. Still, habits of mental activity may be cherished under all circumstances. He, who cannot command

time to read in his study, may think in his walks; and by providence in his arrangements, and economy in the use of time, may unite, with the sound judgment of mature years and the authority of advanced age, the freshness of early impressions, and the full power of a still advancing mind. Examples are not wanting to justify this view. Standing as I do in the presence of this society, I need have no fear in saying, that it is possible for an aged minister thus to render his last years, the brightest, the most useful, and the happiest years of his ministry.

Preach the truth, — the truth as it is in Jesus. Teach not for doctrines the commandments of men. Go for light and knowledge to the authorized messenger of the Divine mind, to him who knew the human heart, its wants and its dangers, and who dwelt in the bosom of the Father. Preach not yourself. Rely not on the deductions of the human mind, or the imaginings of excited feelings. Do not attempt to go above or beyond the written word. When I consider how very slow have been our approaches, in the passage of eighteen centuries, towards a full conception of the spiritual truth unfolded in the preaching and life of Jesus, I have no belief that eighteen centuries to come will render his instructions obsolete or unsuited to the wants of the human soul. Preach the truth with plainness. Form in your own mind a distinct Idea of the object you would secure — of the impression you desire to make. Point out the application of Christian doctrines to the condition, the dangers, and the wants of mankind. Strive to understand the moral and religious state of your own society. By the directness of your manner and the simplicity of your language, let it be manifest to all minds, precisely what you intend — what you regard as essential to their salvation. Shun ambiguous phraseology and an unexplained use of Scripture language. In this manner the truth uttered in one part of a sentence or discourse, is sometimes rendered pointless and powerless, or obscure, by

an adroit arrangement of words and an involved structure of sentences.

Again, I charge you, preach the truth without fear. Deliver to your people the message which in the honesty of your heart you believe has been given you by the great head of the church. Keep back nothing that will be profitable. Let no unworthy timidity ever induce you to refrain from the utterance of that word, which God and duty command you to proclaim. And if it should be, that the worldly-minded complain, or rise in hostility to your course of instruction, still I say, maintain the integrity of your conscience. Any minister, who does not respect himself, will not be respected by his people, even though he flatter their pride and disturb not the quiet of their own hearts. Yes, I repeat, whatever you believe it duty to preach, that proclaim. Maintain the true independence of the pulpit. Let not professed reformers compel you to go beyond, let not the lovers of self-indulgence induce you to fall below, your own convictions. Do not mistake undue self-esteem — a restless love of innovation — a desire to startle your hearers by bold assertions, for Christian fidelity. True independence is calm, discovers itself, not by the frequent declaration of rights, but in a conscientious discharge of duty. The language of defiance usually originates in conscious weakness, and the spirit of defiance will always awaken the spirit of resistance. Speak the truth in love. Show a respect for public sentiment in regard to the time chosen for its utterance; and the truth, if not obeyed, will be heard with respect; if not observed in practice, will be acknowledged in the hearts of your hearers.

The manner of preaching derives great importance from the effect which it gives to the instructions of the preacher. The audience will sympathize in the apparent feelings of their teacher; and it is only by manifesting deep interest yourself, that you can awaken the interest of others. Let your own heart be full of the truths which you would inculcate, and

then let your utterance be fervent and natural. You cannot with safety copy any model. You may with the happiest result, cultivate and improve your own manner, still let it be your own.

Survey, my brother, the whole field of duty which opens before you. The public services of the sabbath, notwithstanding their great importance, do not include all the duties of a Christian pastor. Your time and talents must be freely devoted to the service of your people; and it will be your duty, as I think you will find it a privilege, to be intimately acquainted with them as private friends and in their own families. In this part of your labors let your practice be regulated by principle. Examine the relative claims of different opportunities for usefulness; and in making pastoral visits, be sure to satisfy your own conscience, and then you can bear with composure the complaints of others.

The younger portion of your society will require no inconsiderable share of your attention. With them you have the fairest prospect of usefulness. Go among them as a friend and a brother, and they will gather around you with confidence and love; and while you thus interest their affections, you may lead their thoughts to the great truths of religion, and thus awaken in them a serious regard for their own spiritual improvement. The obligations resting on you as a minister of Christ, are not confined to the people of your immediate charge. You are a member of a great community; and the general interests of truth and godliness have a claim on your regard, and their advancement will demand your coöperation.

Towards Christians, differing from yourself in opinion, ever cherish a spirit of forbearance and love, and manifest the peaceful temper of the Gospel. Never doubt the purity of his motives, whose life is upright, because his creed differs from your own. In this town there are societies of Christians who may perhaps regard your opinions as unfriendly to the inter-

ests of religion. Let your intercourse with them, and their ministers, be marked with candor and forbearance. My brother, we are confident that you will never descend to the mean and wicked practice of entering another man's fold with no higher motive than that of scattering his flock. Never undertake to whisper, when with the members of another communion, suspicions concerning the characters, or religious experience, of their respective pastors. By such management you might possibly withdraw here and there an individual of credulous mind from his former religious connexions; but you could never, knowing that God was your witness, review such a course, but with feelings of the deepest self-abasement.

I have thus endeavored to present for your consideration a brief outline of your more important duties. May you be faithful and successful in their performance; and, when our final judge shall call you to give an account of your stewardship, may you inherit the rewards reserved for those servants who have turned many unto righteousness.

RIGHT HAND OF FELLOWSHIP.

BY REV. RUFUS P. STEBBINS.

My Brother,

You have been so long engaged in the work of the ministry, and have had so much experience as a Pastor, that you are deeply impressed with the obligations which rest upon you in the new relations which you sustain to this people. And the Charge which has now been given you by an elder brother cannot but have deepened still more this impression. You feel the responsibility that rests upon you. You are ready to ask, who is sufficient for these things? How natural, then, that you should feel the need of sympathy and fellowship; that you should desire a word of encouragement, of welcome, of hope. It is fitting, then, that under this pressure of responsibility you should be reminded of the promises to the faithful; that you should have a word of sympathy from your brethren; that you should hear the shouts of other reapers in this field of the world; that you should receive some token of their fellowship.

I have been requested, my brother, by this Council, to express to you this sympathy; to give to you the sign of this fellowship; to welcome you among us as a fellow servant of the Lord Jesus Christ. Receive, then, this Right Hand as a token of our deep, unfailing sympathy; as a symbol of our cordial and constant Fellowship; as a manifestation of our

joy in meeting you upon this occasion, of our happiness in the prospect of future intercourse with you in the Christian ministry.

I give you this Right Hand, my brother, as a testimonial of our interest in your welfare, as a pledge of our readiness to aid you with our counsels and our prayers. You will not consider it as an unmeaning symbol. It but faintly, it is true, shadows forth the joy, which we feel, that you are to break the bread of life to this people, and to go in and out before them as their teacher, guide, and friend. Welcome then, my Brother, to this field of usefulness,—of labor. You will find here hearts that beat in unison with your own; you will find hands beside those of your ministerial brethren, to aid you in staying up the Ark of the Lord. You are connected with a people whose joy and pride it is to sustain, honorably and constantly, religious institutions. The fickleness which has marked too many other societies has not been permitted to disturb their constancy. They do not feel that they have grown wiser than Christianity, or that the heavenly influences of the teachings of Jesus are all exhausted. They have shown for almost half a century, under the long and faithful ministration of your venerable predecessor, that they understand that they have something to do, as well as their pastor; that if he is to speak the truth in love, and declare the whole counsel of God, they are to listen as those who must give an account,—with forbearance, and charity. They understand that you cannot live by bread alone. Though bountiful to a proverb, you will also find them grateful and kind; and a word of kindness in an hour of trial, a voice of sympathy in a day of depression, how good, my Brother, how good it is! And unless I mistake, they understand that the highest token of the estimation in which they hold your services is not so much *speaking* well of your performances, as *embracing* that religion which you preach, and exhibiting its holiness and beauty in their lives.

We welcome you, then, to this ancient and numerous society, feeling that you will find here a wide sphere of duty, a just appreciation and improvement of your labors. We welcome you to the opportunities you will enjoy of bringing comfort to the sorrowful, consolation to the bereaved, strength to the feeble, guidance to the inquiring. We welcome you to the holy duty of strengthening the faith of the wavering, confirming the hope of the despairing, quickening the purposes of the doubting. We welcome you to the holy pleasure of pointing the penitent to the cross, the faithful to the crown. We welcome you to the lovely office of administering consolation to the broken-hearted, of cheering the strong in their labors; —the dying, in their pains. We welcome you, also, to the joy and high hope of that hour, when you pronounce a blessing upon the newly joined hands and newly pledged hearts of this people. Above all, we welcome you to the devout gratitude which will inspire your heart, when you see souls born into the kingdom of virtue, when the old and the young offer themselves as the followers of the Master at this altar. We do not suppose that you will meet with no trials, suffer no disappointments; but we do suppose that every trial will bring triumph, every disappointment delight. In behalf of this Council, then, and my ministering brethren here present, I welcome you to the joys, the rewards,— the cross, the crown, of a Christian minister.

I have spoken thus far for my brethren; indulge me in one or two remarks for myself. — My Brother and Classmate, our paths have for many years been near together. We have studied the language of Moses and read the divine poetry of Isaiah side by side. We have mused over the glowing lines of the royal singer of Israel, and the words of him who spake as never man spake, in company. We studied together, — let us labor together. With trembling we left the shades of study for the labors of the pulpit and parish. Often did we express

the desire that our lots might be cast together. — They are. Receive once more this Right Hand, often given in friendship, as a token of my personal pleasure in welcoming you to this place and these duties, on this occasion. It will be numbered among the happiest days of my life. Here, my Brother, you can pursue those studies for which you have a taste, and you will find those who will sympathize with you in them. You can bring the result of them here, as an offering, and there will be worshippers who will know that the "oil" has been "beaten." In study and in teaching, in trial and joy, in doubt and hope, you will find many here who will be faithful, constant, true. You have a delightful society,— may your labors be pleasant. You are surrounded with friends,— may you find them always helping you. Long, long may you labor here. Here often may you see the rich fruits of your labors. Here, by this altar, may you welcome many souls to the church; by the altar above may you meet them, the seals of your ministry, the crown of your rejoicing.

But I must close these congratulatory remarks. My heart was full and I could not stay their utterance. My Brother, be faithful unto death, and you will receive a crown of Life.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

BY REV. CHANDLER ROBBINS.

THE service that devolves upon me on this occasion, *My Christian Friends, Members of this Church and Society,* is rendered peculiarly gratifying, no less by a recurrence to the recent history of this Parish, than by a survey of those happy prospects, which fill your hearts with joy and our mouths with congratulation. I should be doing injustice to the demands of truth, and to the general appreciation of your character as a Christian flock, did I not introduce the counsels and suggestions, which you have invited these assembled Churches to offer you, and which they have authorized me to deliver, with the language of commendation. That, amidst the dissensions and divisions, which for the last twenty years have disturbed and dismembered so many of the New England parishes, you have held yourselves peaceably and firmly together; that, even to the latest hour of his services amongst you, you have respectfully attended upon the ministrations and kindly cherished the happiness of one, who, at his decease, was amongst the oldest incumbents of the clerical office in Massachusetts; that, with no one to serve as a common centre of union, you have, since the death of your late venerable Pastor, been cemented together by your personal regard for the interests of religion and your attachment to the Church of your Fathers; and that, after delaying no longer than respect for the dead demanded, you

have with singular promptness and unanimity invited a fit and experienced minister to your altar and your hearts; — these things, my friends, are not to be overlooked by us in this day of regrets to the friends of the faith and order of the Gospel; nor to be mentioned without decent eulogy.

But if these considerations lead us to speak of the past with more than ordinary approval; they at the same time constrain us to indulge respecting the future unwonted expectation. If they evince your knowledge and appreciation of the duties of a Christian people, they furnish stronger reasons for us to look to you, that you prove yourselves in all respects considerate, faithful, and exemplary in that new connexion, which we have consecrated to day. While, then, you are looking to our Brother, whom we have solemnly inducted into his holy office amongst you and over you in the Lord, that he will exert all his powers to prove himself a devoted and successful minister of the New Testament; and whilst you have heard him earnestly charged, that he be instant in season, out of season, in his service to your souls; — we now turn to you, in the presence and in the name of the Great Head of the Church, to remind you of your own responsibilities, and respectfully to admonish you concerning you own obligations.

We feel that the character of this new connexion, the future prosperity of this ancient Church, and the glory of the Redeemer's kingdom in this town and vicinity, depend as much upon yourselves as upon your minister. At least, that he can accomplish comparatively nothing, without your coöperation, devotedness, and love. He may preach with the fervor and closeness of Paul; he may sow the celestial seed with the abounding patience of the Sower, who came forth from heaven; — but, if your ears be dull of hearing, or the soil of your hearts light, stony, or fruitful of thorns, he may wear himself out in vain efforts for your improvement, and reap no other harvest than the consciousness of having done his duty.

It will not be enough, if you liberally provide for his personal comfort and support. It will not be enough, if you welcome him to your firesides with a cordial hospitality, and treat and speak of him with demonstrations of friendship and respect. It will not be enough, if you gratify and encourage him by regular and constant attendance upon his public ministrations — though these things are by no means an unessential part of the duties which you owe to your pastor, and to your faith. There are still weightier obligations than these, which you must conscientiously discharge, in order that he may rejoice and prosper in his office, and the light of God's countenance shine upon this Christian flock. You must stir up the gift of God, that is within yourselves. You must fertilize your hearts by prayer, and charity, and the exercise of godliness. You must seek for yourselves, first of all, the kingdom of God and his righteousness. You must open your souls to the sacred influences of the spirit of holiness and truth and peace. You must place your shoulders to the ark of the covenant. You must devoutly bend before the altar of worship. You must freely come to the table of the Lord, and eagerly reach forth your hands to the cup of blessings. You must unite with him, and with each other, in prayer for himself, and for the church, and for the world. These things, especially, ought you to do, my friends, and not to leave the others undone. And in proportion as you do them, you will be built up in the Lord and prosper — you will increase with the increase of God; and this Church shall be founded upon that Rock, against which the gates of Hell shall not prevail.

But, that I may more fully meet the circumstances of this occasion, and discharge my own sense of what is most important to be kept in remembrance by you, in order to the happiness of your intercourse with your new pastor, I must ask you to bear with me whilst I give utterance to those suggestions which assume peculiar prominence in my regard.

If I may give credit to the uniform testimony of all who have had cognizance of the ministry of him, whose venerable image rises up before my mind to day, distinctly and true to the life, as when I saw him a few years ago, standing at my right hand in prayer in this sacred desk — or if we may believe the still surer evidence, that was lately on every side afforded me, as I entered the homes which he has so often cheered and blessed by his benignant smile and his affectionate speech — I must conclude that your lamented minister was preëminently devoted and skilful in the *pastoral duties* of his office. He had known your families intimately and long. He had taken careful note of most of you, from your cradles. He had been familiar with your characters and your manner of life, from your youth up. He had consecrated the union of your fathers and your mothers, and sprinkled the water of baptism upon your own innocent brows. He had been conversant with those privacies of your domestic life, with which the stranger has never intermeddled. He had been consulted in those secret trials, which your hearts have poured out to none other but to God. He had become thoroughly acquainted with your wants, your virtues, and your faults. On these accounts, I am sure you must most deeeply feel his loss. And on these accounts, be assured, you will yet feel it deeply and long. It is impossible that his successor can make it good to you at once. It is impossible that he can enter at once into your feelings and your confidence. He must go in and out amongst you for these many years, before your hearts will of themselves open their doors at his coming, and his own affectionate hand apply the true key to the inmost chambers of your souls. Be not therefore, I pray you, impatient with him, whilst he shall be gradually studying your characters, and slowly winning his way to your confidence and love. Remember that *time* is requisite to ripen an intimacy so delicate and close as that which always ought to subsist be-

tween a faithful pastor and every individual of his flock. Consider that many seasons of converse, and many vicissitudes of life, must always intervene, between the awkwardness and uncertainty of a first introduction, and the sweet and profitable security of a tried and thorough acquaintance. And remember, especially, that the advances to such a desirable condition, must be *mutual* in order to be successful and sure; that giving, as well as receiving, is the condition of confidence and love.

You may take it for granted, that there is nothing which your minister so earnestly desires as to find the way to your hearts. You may depend upon the fact of his yearning to become your bosom friend. You may be assured, that when you hear his knock at your doors, it is a signal, that he wishes to enter the sanctuary of your souls. You may rely, without the possibility of error upon the conviction, that, when he takes his seat at your firesides, it is as a messenger from God, longing to talk with you upon heavenly themes, and burning to convey to you messages of peace and love. And you may know, as surely as if it were inscribed by the finger of God upon his forehead, that you cannot render to him a more precious offering of your kindness and love, than to unbosom to him those deep experiences of your souls, which convey to him tokens of your spiritual estate, and are connected with the eternal world. Compel him not, then, to pine and mourn in secret through a long winter of your coldness and reserve, but let his first walks amongst you be everywhere gladdened with a propitious spring-time of confidence and interest, that your hearts may ere long glow together in a warm summer of perfect love.

One other suggestion, my friends, forces itself to my lips, as I regard the peculiar crisis at which your pastor enters upon his office.

This is the day of innovations and novelties in religion. Topics are forced upon the ministry, which have not heretofore assumed the prominence which they now possess. Many, important, and still uncertain changes are in progress in theological science, in society, and in the church. Great moral questions are coming up for discussion, under circumstances of unprecedented excitement and interest. Dr. Thayer, as I have been often assured, was gifted with a singular prudence, and of a firmness mingled with a suavity, such as is possessed by few. He lived to carry out, consistently and successfully, the wise system of preaching which he began, when a far different order of things influenced the ministerial practice. From the day when it devolved to his occupancy, this pulpit has been sacredly dedicated to those themes, which are without controversy the prominent themes of the Gospel. From the hour when this edifice first echoed to his sonorous voice, its walls have returned no tones but those of peace.

To the principle which guided his conduct in this regard, I know not whether any of his hearers have objected. The great majority, I am sure, have cordially consented to its propriety and soundness. He has gone to his account. He knows, perhaps, ere this, the judgment of Truth upon his preaching.

What course, my Brother may adopt, by what principles he may be guided in selecting his topics for public discourse, we cannot presume to know. But we must all believe that he will regulate himself in this, as in every other function of his office, by a strict and solemn reference to the reckoning of the Great Day. With this assurance, my friends, let me beseech you to be at present content. Grounded in this conviction, leave to him that sense of unrestraint, which will give the freest action to his mind, and the most generous and noble play to the spontaneous emotions of his heart. Let no one venture to control him in regard to the subjects which shall engage

his attention and be commended to the parish from this desk. Let no one expect, that the same exciting theme which is at any time uppermost in his own mind, or in the minds of any little circle of the parishioners, will, or ought to, arouse an equal interest in him. Let him never feel, that his own people will not kindly and patiently hear whatever he is strongly prompted to say. Let him never have reason to fear, that, if he opposes the opinions of any of his hearers, he will forfeit also their affections — if he shakes their prejudices, he will unrivet their attachment — if he chances for once to select an unpopular subject of discourse, his whole life's acceptable sermons will be thrust out of remembrance. If, on one Sabbath, he should make you uneasy, put by your passion at least till another has passed: for, if a week's consideration do not quite dissipate your wrath, God may very likely give him grace to *please* as well as profit you on the next. And remember also, that the *Sermon* is not the only service of the Lord's house; nor the only expression of your minister's mind and heart. The *prayers* also, you ought to consider, and weigh, and feel; and always, I doubt not, the candid listener may find sentiments enough in them to sympathize with and approve, to compensate for the dull or the offensive paragraph that pains or wearies him in the discourse. Listen always to what he has to say, for his own sake, for the truth's sake, for friendship's sake, and for the sake of your own self-discipline. Be swift to hear, slow to judge. Make all the allowance that in a change of situations you would ask and expect for yourselves. Let charity be ever the interpreter of his words; let time be the judge of his opinions; and the fruits of his continued preaching the test of its virtue and truth.

And now, my friends, we leave our Brother to your care; we entrust him to your love; we commend him to your prayers. He is wedded to you in a most solemn connexion. The

divine voice, speaking through your hearts and answering in his, has called him to you and you to him. You have voluntarily plighted your mutual vows; and they are registered in heaven. Christ himself is concerned in the affiance. You have joined your hands in his name; and he has sealed them together. Thus may they long remain; moved as by one mind; warmed as from one heart; working as by one spirit, for the glorious kingdom of God and of his Son.

But indulge me, my friends, yet further, in the utterance of a single emotion of a personal reference, which naturally rises to my lips and lingers for expression, whilst I bear my part in these interesting solemnities. These fields, yon churchyard, this edifice then just completed, and the image that has long been identified with the name of religion amongst you, are enshrined together in my heart amongst the happy and hallowed memories of my early days. Amidst these scenes, and in the company of some who are now amongst the pillars of this church, it was my lot in boyhood to study and to play; and I also have received in this temple, I know not what impressions of wisdom and virtue. It is, therefore, with even a feeling of individual interest, you will believe, that I hope and pray for your future well-being.

Here, in this beautiful vale, where Christian Peace has hitherto found a safe retreat, may the discordant sound of sectarian warfare never be heard. Over the graves of your venerable pastors, who lie down amidst the great congregation of your fathers — as if they would gather their flock about them even in the field of death — may the air never be ruffled by the din of strife amongst their children. May these noble hills, that compass you round about, forever surround an harmonious, devout, and happy community of the friends of God.

ORDER OF SERVICES

AT THE

ORDINATION

OF

MR. GEORGE M. BARTOL,

AS MINISTER OF THE

FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST,

IN LANCASTER, MASS.,

AUGUST 4, 1847.

It will be seen this order of Services does not correspond with the actual order given at close of the printed exercises following this —

N.

LANCASTER:
PRINTED BY BALLARD & MESSINGER.
1847.

I.

VOLUNTARY.

II.

INTRODUCTORY PRAYER,

BY REV. JOSEPH ALLEN. 11 Luke

III.

READING OF THE SCRIPTURES,

BY REV. MR. HALE.

IV.

HYMN.

1 O God, whose presence glows in all
Within, around us, and above!
Thy word we bless, thy name we call,
Whose word is Truth, whose name is Love.

2 That truth be with the heart believed
Of all who seek this sacred place;
With power proclaimed, in peace received—
Our spirits' light, thy Spirit's grace.

3 That love its holy influence pour,
To keep us meek, and make us free,
And throw its binding blessing more
Round each with all, and all with thee.

4 Direct and guard the youthful strength
Devoted to thy Son this day;
And give thy word full course at length
O'er man's defects and time's decay.

5 Send down its angel to our side—
Send in its calm upon the breast;
For we would know no other guide,
And we can need no other rest.

V.

SERMON,

BY REV. C. A. BARTOL, OF BOSTON. 14 John 6

VI.

HYMN.

1 O Lord of life and truth and grace,
Ere nature was begun,
Make welcome to our erring race
Thy Spirit and thy Son.

2 We hail the Church, built high o'er all
The heathens' rage and scoff,
Thy Providence its fenced wall,
"The Lamb the light thereof."

3 Thy Christ hath reached his heavenly seat
Through sorrows and through scars,
The golden lamps are at his feet,
And in his hand the stars.

4 O may he walk among us here,
With his rebuke and love,—
A brightness o'er this lower sphere,
A ray from worlds above.

5 Teach then thy youthful servant, Lord,
The mysteries he reveals,
That reverence may receive the word,
And meekness loose the seals.

VII.

PRAYER OF ORDINATION,

BY REV. DR. NICHOLS, OF PORTLAND, ME.

VIII.

RIGHT HAND OF FELLOWSHIP,

BY REV. MR. THAYER, OF BEVERLY.

IX.

CHARGE,

BY REV. ALONZO HILL.

X.

HYMN.

1 The patriarch's dove, on weary wing,
One leaf of olive found,
Within the narrow ark to bring,
When all the world was drowned.

2 The dove of God, in happier hour,
O'er Jordan's sweeter wave,
In symbol showed the spirit's power,
That all the earth would save.

3 O Lord! to this our sacred rite
Such gracious tokens grant,
As make thy temples, where they light,
Thine arks of covenant.

4 And still on life's baptising tide,
Or sorrow's bitter sea,
Descending peace be multiplied,
And hallow hearts to Thee!

XI.

CONCLUDING PRAYER,

BY REV. MR. LINCOLN.

XII.

ANTHEM.

O be joyful in the Lord, all ye lands,
Serve the Lord with gladness, come before his presence with a song;
Be sure that the Lord, he is God, It is he that hath made us, and not we ourselves;
We are his people and the sheep of his pasture.
O go your way into his gates with thanksgiving, and into his courts with praise;
Be thankful unto him, and speak good of his name.
For the Lord is gracious, his mercy is everlasting:
And his truth endureth from generation to generation.
Glory be to God who ruleth, high in the heavens, we will praise him till time shall be no more,
Amen.

XIII.

BENEDICTION,

BY THE PASTOR.

CHRIST THE WAY.

A

SERMON

PREACHED AT THE

ORDINATION OF THE REV. GEORGE M. BARTOL,

AS MINISTER OF THE

FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, IN LANCASTER, MASS.,

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 4, 1847.

BY CYRUS A. BARTOL,

JUNIOR MINISTER OF THE WEST CHURCH IN BOSTON.

WITH THE RIGHT HAND OF FELLOWSHIP,

BY REV. C. T. THAYER;

AND THE CHARGE, BY REV. ALONZO HILL.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE PARISH.

LANCASTER:
PRINTED BY BALLARD & MESSINGER.
1847.

NOTE. Some passages printed in the Discourse were omitted in the delivery.

SERMON.

"I AM THE WAY."—John xiv. 6.

JESUS, about to go away from his disciples, tells them the way he was going they already knew. Thomas replies, *we know not whither thou goest, and how can we know the way?* Jesus rejoins, *I am the way*,—the true and living way to the Father. Whatever particular purpose of consolation or instruction was in his mind at the beginning of the conversation, his thought swells into its wonted generality and grandeur as he goes on. He uses other strong figures of the same purport. *I am the door. I am the light of the world.* And the whole strain of the New Testament, literal and metaphorical, goes to this one point, that Christ is the way of human salvation.

This doctrine implies a preliminary consideration of the need men have of light and guidance. They are wanderers who have lost their way. They are as those that sit and wait in darkness for the sun to rise upon them. They are as an untended, scattered flock, seeking entrance into the fold. Christ is the path, the light, the door,—in one word, the way.

We may hold various theories of man's lost and benighted condition. We may say he is constitutionally depraved as the heir of Adam's sin; we may say he sins freely on his own account without any such fatal hereditary bias; or we may say that his errors and transgressions are but the marks of his imperfect and undeveloped state, like that of the nebula of the firmament, whose dim and misty form will be rounded at length into a shining world; and we may ask if it shall not take as long to make and perfect a man, an immortal soul, as a planet, a mass of glittering dust. But whatever our theory may be, we can hardly

differ as to the fact, that man is an erring, sinful being; in darkness, and too often loving the darkness he is in, and needing light and guidance. Or if any one will assume the natural perfection and sufficient self-illumination of the soul, there will be to him no question between one way or another, for no way at all is needed.

Christ is the way,—the direct individual path of salvation. He that climbeth up some other way is a thief and a robber. There is no way that can be a substitute for him. And here is the great danger, which he himself foresaw, of making something else the substitute for him.

Many are in danger, at the present time, of substituting the Church for Christ,—the body for the head. And surely there can be no life, or light, or salvation in this. Christ's Church is properly the union of his disciples in him, by faith, and love, and obedience. Considered in this spiritual idea, as constituted by these inward bonds, it could not be so perverted or misplaced. But it is when unduly exaggerated in its external character, and so but partially manifesting its own idea, overlaying and alloying it with baser elements, that it suffers so fundamental an abuse. And that theory of the Church, which makes its essence to consist in outward forms and rites, particularly exposes it to this loss of its own purity, and sacrilegious assumption of the Master's office. The Church is substituted for Christ, whenever its organization and ordinances are brought into nearer view than his mind and life, and made prominent, to obscure his moral glory, to eclipse the sun of righteousness. It is substituted for Christ when it assumes by its special observances to be *the way* of salvation. It is at best and in the exercise of its loftiest influence, only *a way to the way*,—a foot-path into the clear and open road to God and heaven,—and it abjures its own office in grasping at a higher. All we ask of it is, to point to Christ. Even the forms or institutions with which he himself clothed his Church, are guarded against degenerating into superstition, only when held in simplicity and immediate connexion with himself. All beyond is error and injurious substitution for him.

The doctrine of the Church insisted on at the present day, with some new indications of success, penetrating into the Protestant communion, and well adapted to the weakness of human nature, is a gross departure from the truth of the Gospel. It makes the

formal and sensible in religion to be the essential. It affirms a particular mode of priestly ordination and succession, and a special understanding and administration of the sacraments, as vital and indispensable to regenerate and sanctify the soul. It recognizes no salvation in any other way. A greater violation of Christianity it is hard to conceive.

If there be any thing characteristic of the religion of the Gospel, it is its spirituality; its spare and frugal appeal to the senses, the richness and fulness of its address to the soul; the greater account it makes of the internal and invisible in religion, than of the outward and formal. The Church, according to this theory, magnifies the visible and disparages the unseen. It has its appropriate symbol, not in those finer forms of life, where the vital forces are hid in the centre of a noble organization, but in those inferior creatures, whose nervous and vital system is upon the outside and chiefly connected with the skin.

Christ is no external Saviour, by mechanical conditions, and a large apparatus of means, but himself the means, and as the great Apostle declares, *he is a quickening spirit.* The formal Church, I know, pretends to a loftier presentation even of Christ's influence than that of those whom it calls the dissenters, inasmuch as it teaches that his disciples receive him, even his living body, in the consecrated bread of the Supper. But what we want to receive is not the *body* of our Lord, but his *spirit.* Were the transubstantiation real, it would be a very little thing, compared with the spiritual transformation of mind and heart into the Saviour's image. For, as the Apostle Paul says, we do not know even Christ himself after the flesh. But we would have him formed within us the hope of glory. We would obtain our nourishment, not from his literal body, but from his living virtue, his divine temper, his holy love to God and man. As he himself said, after speaking of the eating of his flesh and drinking of his blood, *his words are spirit and life.*

And so in regard to the introductory rite of Baptism. It is a sacred symbol of Christian purity, of filial adoption and divine training, to be gladly used for ourselves and our children. But to see in it a literally regenerating power distinct from a sincere realizing of its import, is to substitute it as the way of salvation for Christ.

Had the ordinance itself this positive and independent efficacy, the chief Apostle would not have solemnly thanked God that he had baptized so few, merely for fear of misapprehension of his act. Received as signifying all that is holy in God's law, binding in parental duty, and needful in religious nurture, it is indeed precious. For thus it is but a step to Christ the living way.

In the natural religions which have arisen in the world, and in the early dispensation through Moses, suited to the spiritual childhood of the race, the element of form has predominated, the priest regarded as exercising prerogatives and functions mysteriously distinguishing him from all other men. But Christianity presumes that the human mind has at last come of age. Christianity presumes that it is at length capable of something better; receptive of an influence more akin to its own spiritual and aspiring nature. The great High Priest of our profession, the Son of God, identified himself with man, and would have his ministers and disciples identify themselves with mankind. The genius of his religion is to recognize the equality of men before God, their common privilege of freedom, growth, and pursuit of immortal happiness. And nothing can stir the best principles, excite the loftiest efforts, and turn the inborn dignity of the soul into an inbred worth, like this recognition of its capacity, by God's grace, to subdue evil inclinations into virtue, and turn temptation to victory. Christ is the way of salvation by this moral power with which he quickens and ennobles the human heart, kindles in it the sense of its native honor, and high duty, and heavenly destiny, and which a system of external means and appliances cannot exert.

The saving and sufficient virtue ascribed to such a system, makes, not Jesus, but the Church, the mediator between God and man; robs him of his peculiar office only to fail in discharging what it usurps. Let the Church take its true place, and no longer arrogate the Master's; by its superficial treatment, healing slightly the hurt of the daughter of my people, which only the great Physician can cure. It can bless the world only as it confines itself to the work of obeying its Head, and of manifesting and transmitting the true knowledge of Christ himself, without adding to, or taking from, his own word and life. Its business is simply that of a servant making way for the Master, and introducing us directly to him. So far as by the law of spiritual life, his own

immortal excellence has been conveyed to us through it, we will be grateful, whether the incumbent of a bishropic, or the lowliest kneeler on the cathedral's marble floor, have been a link in the chain. But behold the Saviour himself with his disciples to the end of the world. Lo,—the fountain, whose unbroken stream has flowed for ages and watered the breadth of the earth along successive generations, gushing fresh and pure as ever at the very door of our heart! Lo,—the divine portrait, of which the myriad copies have been printed on human souls, standing in all its original distinctness, unblurred in a single feature, unfading in the least hue of loveliness and beauty, for every eye to gaze at on the page of the Gospel. The portrait is alive! It is Jesus himself. He speaks in every recorded word, he moves in every narrated incident. He is the way still to the erring children of men. "*Follow me,*" are the words that fall on our ears as truly as on those of the publican and fisherman of Judea and Galilee. Let not the Church presume to substitute herself, but only set forth Him as the true and living way. She can only be impotent for his mighty work. She may rear her temple with its surmounting cross, she may maintain the decent and impressive order of her service, and employ every expedient instrument in her legitimate work. But in all, let her aim be to hold up the spiritual image and figure of her Lord, precisely as does the lone missionary who gathers his audience in some rude barn, or upon some rough hill-side, making the spot as consecrate to Heaven as though it were the walls and arches of St. Peter's that rang with the preached word, and echoed back the heaven-seeking enthusiasm of praise. And that body of Christians, small or great, best deserves to be *called* Christ's Church, which preaches him with the most vivid and regenerating power among men, be its ecclesiastical form and discipline what they may, through the whole wide range,—from the pomp of Rome to the Quaker's meagre ritual. He that best shows to sinners Christ as *the way* to God, is at the head of the Christian hierarchy, stands nearest to Christ in the Apostolic descent, holds the keys which he gave, is the rock on which he builds, and opens the gates of heaven in his name. Be he Pope of the Catholic world, or "the voice of one crying in the wilderness," the common Lord, *the quickening spirit*, so marks, and honors, and will own him at last.

But there is another danger of substituting for Christ as the

way of salvation, a theological creed. It certainly is a noble effort of the human mind to analyze and condense the whole truth and composition of the Gospel, into a few elementary principles.

The diversity of faith, to which it leads in the Church, arising from the sincere and earnest convictions of individual minds, is better than the unity of form based on smothered dissent or crushed freedom of thought. Nay, without this endeavor after definite views, a firm intellectual hold of Christianity, the religion would have been in its grave ages ago. No evil arises from this attempt to compress the religion into a single grasp of the mind, except when the conclusions arrived at are separated and clothed with a distinct authority from the Scriptures, instead of being continually compared with, and corrected by them; that is, when a creed is substituted for Christ as the way of salvation. Certainly he has given no encouragement or facility to this. It is in fact a very difficult thing to reduce his teachings into less compass than they occupy. *There is no waste in them.* None of them are of that minor and subordinate character, which can be without loss left out; but all touch on grand principles of truth and duty, like those great circles that go round the globe. At the same time they are so intermixed with the details of actual life and the familiarity of private conversation, as to give us precise moral directions, and throw a piercing beam of light over each path of human doubt and difficulty. A creed, setting forth such teachings, should be held but as a temporary statement, open to continual amendment, like a table of calculations to be corrected by material or astronomical facts. It should never be substituted for Christ himself, never made the ground of communion instead of his mind, never imposed as containing the only terms of ecclesiastical intercourse, or joint Christian action, upon any who receive those best of all terms, his own words and works. Indeed the great and pressing need now of believers of every name, is of a closer resort to Christ as he actually stands, not only in the majesty of his truth, but in the still holier dignity of his life, on the broad platform of the evangelic record. If they would come nearer to each other, let them all come to Him. The Christ of history, and the Christ of the conscious heart, not diverse, but the same. He, in his own character, is the harmony of the Gospels, with all-uniting brightness, throwing their so much magnified discrepan-

cies into insignificance and shade; and he alone can reconcile the varying beliefs of his followers, and be the harmony of his disciples' hearts.

If the intellect cannot be satisfied without some complete speculative notion of Christianity, let the idea be held, not insulated, but ever in the light of the simple verity as it stands in that frame of events constructed by the hand of God; just as we hold our idea of nature, before the actual manifestation and movement of the world.

The geologist has his theory of the creation; but, in the light of true science, he will never substitute his theory for the fact, but expose it to continual correction and enlargement from the fact. And, if he would truly understand nature, he will, beyond and above his theory, open his soul to her direct influence in the broad impressions she makes of the Divine power, wisdom and goodness. Else he exchanges the beauty, order and splendor of the universe for a figment of his own brain. He narrows to an abstract theoretical point the vision which should range sublimely over the sum of things, and catch the living pictures of nature's operations as they rise. He dwells on the agency of fire or water as accounting for the existence and condition of things, till he overlooks the agency of God, and screens his soul from the creative glory, that stirs and shines on every side, with the blinder of his own speculation. He theorizes about the world and contends with a differing theorist, till they both depart from Nature, as from each other, and the scene, the marvellous, glorious scene, at which they might admire, and melt, and worship together, lies between them like an unoccupied, disputed territory.

And so Christ himself, the true and living way, containing all the treasures of wisdom, combining the Divine attributes in his words and works, standing before our spirits bright and glorious, like Nature before our eyes, is set aside by contentious debate upon the schemes of scholastic divinity, and the gymnastic exercises of the farthest reach of theological discussion are put instead of Him, for the way of life. The larger part of his revelation lies between the disputants as an unoccupied, disputed territory. No bar is to be raised to thought, to the earnest action of the human mind on our religion. This amazing spectacle of the life of Jesus is a subject for intense meditation. But the meditation should be

confined to the subject, and not wander away into every question that may seem to grow out of it,—weaving a cunning clue of proof-texts into the labyrinth of doubt, entangling itself with extraneous difficulties that may be grappled with as a muscular trial of the understanding, but are impertinent to be connected with the vital importance of the Gospel. Let us meditate on the actual substance of the Gospel in the life and character of Jesus, till he himself rise before us, in his own sinless and divine majesty, in the full proportions of his commanding soul, in the clear lineaments of his holy countenance, in the moral impressiveness of his heavenly doctrine; and from his divine form, the smoke and mist of this hot controversy and abstract questioning roll, like the mist of the mountain-top, away. The want of this simple and true respect to Jesus Christ is the great defect of the prevailing theology.

Christ is much referred to, and with the most exalting terms, in the language of creeds and confessions of faith. But the reference is made too much in the light of a technical and sectarian idea. What we want to quicken and renew our hearts is, not the image of him, which we have made and set up on the platform of our denominational creed, but the living reality, as it appears in the shape and motions of his own actual career. We want to remove alike the intervening traditions of time and the intrusive prejudices of our own minds, and come into direct contact and communion with Him. We honor him, not so much by any high and worshipful phraseology, as by receiving him *as* he introduces himself to us,—*no more, no less, no other*. It is the great wonder of our religion, that his likeness is preserved so without loss, that we can cherish him in a personal acquaintance and love as truly as did John and Mary. The language of sitting at his feet and learning of him, of being in his company and catching his spirit seems entirely appropriate still, though the gulf of eighteen hundred years divide us from his daily walk and conversation. We need no more, were it possible, we need less, than his earliest followers, to substitute a creed for Him. He himself, undying and immortal on earth as in heaven, is before us. He speaks and asks the ear of our direct attention. We hang upon the opening of his lips, our eye turns to his sitting or rising, our feet follow in his journey, our heart glows at his life-giving accents, our cheek

blanches, our bitter tears flow like Peter's at his mild but resistless reproof. And all our capacity of thought, of spiritual conception, and far-reaching anticipation, is exercised and expanded, while every good affection and resolution are aroused by his manner and voice. Oh! if the members of every section of his broken and subdivided Church could thus circle about Him, and sacrifice the idols of their fragmentary views to the immediate contemplation of his spotless, full-orbed majesty; if they would kindle their souls into a common flame at the light of His revealed and authentic glory, how would the reproach of their inveterate strife pass away; how, after the long ages of division, the march of their united and inseparable ranks against the evil in the world would begin; how the freedom of the individual soul be reconciled with the unity of all believers, and the prayer Jesus offered before his death on the cross be indeed answered of God.

But not only the Church and Theology are thus perverted in being substituted for Christ, but Philosophy also. True philosophy and religion have no difference with each other, but fast friendship alone. It is only philosophy corrupted and carried beyond its sphere to seize upon the province of faith, and monopolize the domain of the human soul; philosophy, coveting a false glory, and gaining an unreal aggrandizement, whose overweening claims must be reduced by the stricture of truth.

This philosophy is somewhat rife at the present day. It either sets Christianity aside to take possession of the whole field of human knowledge, or includes it stripped of its peculiar titles to attention, and retaining only the kind of interest due to a multitude of moral illustrations and historic facts. The advocates of this philosophy say; leave the whole space of observation and thought free and open. Let us have no prescription or authority as to any belief, but in the light of unaided reason, reach unbiased conclusions. And though the sun be risen to show the way through the dark and perplexing places of human inquiry, they still prefer to explore by the lamp of their own judgment wherever they go. They are jealous of any fixtures of revealed doctrine, any guides on the road of man's duty and destiny, and nothing will serve but they must survey and mark the whole route, through time into eternity, themselves. Alas, for the mazy and tangled confusion in which their own several chains of thought lie over

the broad field of human life. Complaints are made of the diversities of faith, but even these are trifling compared with the diversities of philosophy, while faith has an agreement in grand principles, which philosophy has not attained. So that some philosophers of the profounder stamp have been led to throw themselves at last upon faith of some sort, as furnishing the satisfaction which their lynx-eyed logic had sought in vain. It is said of the most distinguished of modern metaphysicians, that, finding himself unable by means of argument alone to legitimate any determinations respecting God and man's relation to Him, he cast himself in the final resort upon the authority of the conscience, as a surer basis than any which his own intellectual labors could plant. And the deepest thinkers now, in their loyalty to Christ, cast themselves upon an authority, as solid as that of conscience, only filling up its defects and widening its foundations to take in all which the anxiously searching mind of man might wish to support. It is indeed the blessing of Christianity to the world, that, in the infinite space which the philosopher would keep open, it shows the hand of God appearing to raise the pillars of an intellectual habitation for the human soul. The soul, enterprising as it may be in its excursions, needs such shelter; it would not be sailing forever over the boundless sea of thought, but wants an anchor mid the commotions of that sea, and a harbor of trust and confidence from its perpetual heavings, and wearisome waste. Christianity will never be outgrown, for the greatest even more than the humblest mind yearns for the secure mooring and safe directions in its unknown voyage, which it affords.

For a time, the forward intellect of the age seemed tending towards an exclusive philosophy, but only as for a moment. Its ablest and most brilliant productions are now as instinct with humble faith, as they are with lofty reasoning, and the writings which seemed for a while to rival those of contemporaneous Christian pens, are now left behind by the more various, composite excellence of the essays of a generation of disciples of no one sectarian school, the manifestation of whose power seems as yet but rising to the ascendant, while the brightness of an unbelieving rationalism is already on the wane. And wane it must,—whether destined to brighten or fade for a time, to run a longer and mightier career, or have its spirit laid, as it has so often been, by the potent

energy of the Gospel. Rise and run when and where it will, it must be to its defeat, for it rises against the demonstrations of God's truth, and runs upon the thick bosses of the Almighty's buckler.

Here lies the fatal weakness of the philosophy, which is substituted for Christ; its violation of the very conditions of truth. The great principle of all true philosophy, whether of matter or mind, is, that it be based on, or governed in its conclusions by, the testimonies of fact. And such has been the character of all philosophy that has borne fruit, contra-distinguishing the best modern systems from the groundless and hypothetical character of much in the ancient schools. But the philosophy that slights or would shoulder aside Christianity, is surely not of this solid and experimental kind. It shuts its eyes to, or disparages the noblest passage of all history. It discredits or allows no just weight to the finest piece of evidence, in which the most remarkable signs of verity are all joined, and as it were, condensed. It suspects or contemns the most glorious facts that have ever transpired beneath the sun. It does not deserve the name of philosophy in this age of the world, for it violates the spirit of that whose name it bears, and, like the false herald of the era of chivalry, should have its forged insignia of office torn away. The Christian philosopher may like to reason and speculate, as well as any other man; may have a mind as fertile as any in invention and conjecture, but he turns not his back on the marvellous displays of Divine power and love, to pursue any airy, aimless flight. Patiently as any will he hunt out the hidden trail of analogies through all material and spiritual things, but he will never substitute it for Christ, the open way. He bows his head before the amazing demonstrations of God through his Son, while the philosopher, who assumes to take a higher position in the ranks of wisdom, passes by, as though nothing had taken place.

The philosophy which excludes Christ, or only receives Him divested of his authority, mighty works, and moral perfection, may affirm itself to be religious, but it prefers what it calls Absolute religion, to any special and defined system, like Christianity; which is as though one should prefer, for a habitation, the earth, when it was "without form and void, and darkness covered the face of the deep," to the well-finished and perfected world. To

the human mind there is a vague, shifting, shapeless quality about this so styled Absolute religion, which must render it of very little practical worth to the majority of men, however a few may pretend to perform the feat of grasping its immense and misty proportions. But the philosophy substituted for Christ, changes with Protean facility its own form. Sometimes it is a negative system, which could not stand at all, but by bracing itself against the Christianity it assails; and sometimes it is a positive spiritualism which, in its own conceit, oversees Christianity, borrows from it what it deems good, and applies to it among the other religions of the world, the eclecticism of some Christian believers in regard to the various sects. Sometimes it dwells among abstractions, and rears its fabric on the categories of the pure reason, and sometimes ranges with blithe sensations and a kindling eye, in a sort of nature-worship, through all the wonder and beauty of the actual world, preferring the mystic suggestions and pregnant silence of God's works, to the clear and eloquent distinctness of His word. I wish not to deny that there is a charm of appearance, a generosity of spirit, a power of genius, and not seldom a brilliant gleam of truth about some of its manifestations. But, in any of its forms, to be substituted for Christ as the way of human salvation, it is a mistake and miserable failure. It cannot act with his redeeming power on the highest or the lowliest minds. It has never moved to any such undertakings or sacrifices as he has inspired in the soul. It has not been the parent, like him, of all good institutions, and of every holy cause. It has not renewed the face of the earth as he has done, nor regenerated the individual heart, as he is forever doing. Weighed in the balances of any such comparison, it is found wanting. Even true philosophy cannot do the work of faith; and false philosophy, will do only more thoroughly, that of skepticism.

To every believer in Christ, who receives him in the character in which he presents himself, as speaking in God's name, his teachings must be as segments from the sphere of Eternal truth, and therefore corresponding with all truth, however discovered or made known; while he, himself, is regarded as the Truth alive, as a living and spiritual agency, to subdue the soul of man to himself, and thus be the only perfect way of salvation.

But why canvass long the claims of Philosophy to be a substi-

tute for Christianity? What tangible and really settled principles of its own, has the independent and self-sufficing philosophy to show, like the revelations in Christ, of God's paternal character, of man's kindred relationship with his Maker, and destination to an immortal existence, of the conditions of forgiveness to the sinner, hope to the despairing, comfort to the sorrowing, and final justice to the wronged.

Indefinite and unsatisfying indeed are its best teachings when set over against the Divine oracles, while it is hard to tell whether the Pantheism or the Atheism, upon which some of its most distinguished votaries have finally determined, and from which even by the most masterly abilities for positive science some have not been saved, tend more to the corruption of human virtue. Philosophy cannot be substituted for Christ as the way of salvation. Should it be so substituted extensively among men, it would not be long before, not only the powers of the world to come would be scorned as a superstitious delusion, but the landmarks of order and decency on earth removed, and the flood of sensuality and vice make new inroads over all the embankments of human happiness. In view of the possibility of such a result, we can welcome even that reaction from extreme speculation, by which some, wearied with losing all foothold and dangling in the air, have gone back to the broadest, if not the firmest, of all platforms of authority in the Romish church.

But we are in danger of making one other substitution for Christ,—that of Reform. It is one of the most honorable marks of the present age, that it is an age of reform. Never before were all the evil customs, institutions, of society, called to so terrible an account. As it were, a travelling bar of judgment overtakes every injurious, oppressive class in the community, summoning it collectively or individually, to the trial of whatever force of public opinion can be roused or social conscience concentrated for its condemnation and doom. The spirit of change, like a universal spy, overlooks nothing that can be shown capable of improvement. This reforming tendency is the fruit of our religion, and, while connected with, nursed and nurtured by the Christianity that gave it birth, only a tendency to good. But not so, when separated from Christianity, and substituted for Christ. Not so, when divorced from his Spirit, and allied with the unholy passions of the

world; taking anger, scorn, bitterness, malice, and all uncharitableness, for its companions. Not so, when the reformer withdraws from, and mocks at the observance of Christian institutions, and denounces the Church, and the Bible itself, as obstacles in his career. Not so, when a fanatic and miscreating energy on the one hand, joins with a hard insensibility on the other, to produce the monstrous phenomenon of an apparent division and unfriendly antagonism between the very sentiments of religion and philanthropy; the stream cut off from its fountain, the child in unnatural war with its parent. The love of man can flow deep and pure from no other source, than the love of God; and lasting and thorough beneficence have no other parentage than sincere and lofty devotion. In Christ, the religious and benevolent sentiments exist, each perfect, and both inseparably united. In his character, overflowing charity to man gushes out from the pure, solitary heights of communion with God. But how often the zealot of a good cause shows no such devout and humbly adoring soul! And this evil comes not, as sometimes appears to be thought, from the overgrowth of his philanthropy, which has left no room for his religion. Religion and philanthropy cannot thus press upon or exclude each other. All real increase of either, is common to both. But it comes, when philanthropy, in its own nature, spiritual and unconfined, has been limited to some single point, or pledged itself to one exclusive course towards that point, and then debased its own quality with dislike and opposition to the best and holiest men, whose sense of right will not let them go along with it in the same way. It comes, when a special object, or a special measure, is held dearer than the whole scope and temper of the Gospel. It comes when the favorite reform has been substituted for Christ. But a short step after this conducts to the loss alike of brotherly kindness and filial devotion. Christ includes and fosters all true reforms. His Church has room within its walls for the growth of all. But no one under him can be exclusive, as though it were the only worthy end of human exertion. No one has a right to overrun the whole garden of the Lord's husbandry. They should all be cultivated on Christian ground, with Christian hands, and then no sour or bitter fruit will grow upon their branches, but only that which is for the nourishment and healing of the world. And when any of them, without this Christian culture, is sown on

the wild soil of human nature, though some of the seed of God's own word were stolen for the planting, the quality of the product will continually degenerate. The large and loving spirit of the Gospel is the only antidote to that narrowness, dogmatism, and gall, which are apt to be engendered in the hot and single pursuit of any outward object, however great and noble. Only that replenishing of the inward fruits of pure affection, which comes best from the mind of Christ, and that rein upon the passions, which his hand most effectually imposes, can save the devotee of the highest enterprise from hatred against his opponents, and, in the excitement of his ardor, restrain every intemperate movement, and prevent the boiling up of any drop of acid from the bottom of his heart.

The philanthropist, with his particular outward aim, most of all men, needs to bathe in the broad element of Christian love and piety, which girdles in its embrace every corner and continent of the world, so that he may pursue his special end with a sweet, sympathetic good-nature, which no contagion of ill-will against even an adversary, can disturb or disease. Oh, we want no fewer reformers,—God forbid,—but more generous, catholic, Christian reformers, who shall speak against all the evil in the world, the unanswerable words of truth and goodness. In short,—for to this point of the text, every rational consideration tends,—we want Christ himself *as the way.*

He has been called the great Reformer. But his method is to reform, by regenerating, mankind. Men cannot be saved by any undertaking, however great, of outward reform, but by being born again,—inwardly renewed in the spirit of their minds,—and having the very germs of iniquity drawn out of their hearts. The reformer may go round with his axe, and cut down some of the corrupt trees, but they will grow up again, fresh and lively from the old stock, till the axe is laid—not at the trunk—but the root. This *radical* process is longer, but alone effectual. The reformer seems, not seldom, to think the evils that afflict society can be struck off, as it were at a blow of immediate abolition. He might as well attempt to strike off the primeval forests, or the granite bound hills. These evils are rooted in the human heart, some of the roots running, it may be, into his own heart. Alas, to the observation of Heaven, are we not all, more or less, in the same

plight, all suffering with the same chronic disease of sin? Who shall deliver us, and help us to deliver our fellow-creatures, but Christ the regenerator of the human soul, and so the Reformer of the world! *He is the way.* Reform is but the effect of which he is the mighty cause, and his disciples the instruments carrying on the work, not with the clamors of an outraged and frantic conscience, but with a sober benevolence, with a zeal supplied from no seething passion, but from the current of a loving heart, with an activity running in various directions, but, like the lines of the mathematical problem, producing one resultant of right.

This criticism upon Reform implies no general disparagement of the importance of the reformer's work, and nothing but unqualified honor of it when conducted after the way of Christ. In view of the pressing occasion for reform everywhere existing in human life, we should feel inclined to pardon even the reformer's excesses, were they not made inexcusable to his own better judgment, by weakening his arm, reducing the amount, and impairing the quality of his work. And, with all his faults, considering the nobility of his aim, the frequent disinterestedness of his labors, and the noble exceptions to the harsh and unjust manner he has too much assumed, if, in fixing his true place, there be any class that, to finish the category, we must add to *the goodly fellowship of the prophets, the blessed company of the apostles, and the noble army of the martyrs,* it is *the righteous band of the reformers.* Especially will they deserve this rank and title, when they purge away every remainder of acrimony and bigotry from their spirit, and clothe themselves with the internal power of the Gospel to accomplish their external designs. Let them learn from Christianity a profounder understanding of the nature of the evil to be removed, learn, as all of them have not as yet clearly done, that man is not the mere victim of circumstances, or necessary prey of temptation, or helpless subject of wrong, but himself a sinner, and by sin his own chief traitor, and worst foe. Let them not look to any change in outward relations or re-organization of society as the cure of human woes, any farther than it shall proceed from the infusion of a better sentiment and the establishing of higher principles in the individual and the common heart. Carrying on their various plans more by the method of Christ, they may hope to check the dominion of iniquity, not only by breaking down its

grosser forms, but by overcoming its moral causes, toiling not only that the injured may be righted, but for that, if possible, still nobler end, that there may be none to injure; that men may be raised above not only intemperate indulgence, but intemperate desire; that the sword not only be sheathed, but beaten into the ploughshare; that the rod not be wrested with violence from the oppressor's hand, but fall at the bidding of his own soul, and the long empire of selfishness and hate give way to the Kingdom of holiness and love. Such is the glorious result that glimmers from afar upon the vision, through no path of human opening, but from the end of that way which is Christ. Let us all devote ourselves to hasten the fulfilment. Let us pray God by His Son to hasten it. Even so, Lord Jesus, come quickly!

Thus we see everything wrongfully substituted for Christ, rightfully embraced beneath him, as his own creation or lawful domain. There is nothing contracted or ungenerously exclusive in him, this broad survey of the main courses of the human mind not carrying us off the premises of our Master. The Church, in every just appeal to the sense and fancy and social sympathy of man, is his.

The faculty or principle of Faith in the soul is drawn by his works and teachings to its highest objects and noblest exercise. Philosphy, led into the region of truth along the road of his veritable revelations, starts into the track of all harmoniously related truth. And Reform, corrected by him of its narrow and superficial violence, probes the depths of the moral maladies it would cure. All the powers of our spiritual nature receive from him their right direction, stimulus, and growth.

Let him be to us, brethren, *the way*. There is no other way so good for us pilgrims on the earth to travel in. Let us thank God for the way His own hand hath made, and that we are not left to make a doubtful or devious way for ourselves. Let us be too grateful, and too progressive in the divine direction, ever to think of substituting any other for it. Do we not need it, as it actually lies before us? With temptation opening its alluring paths, and sin drawing us astray, and sorrow dragging us to the ground, and doubt involving us in its confused tracks, and death digging the pit where all earthly roads converge and terminate together, do we not need this highway, which leads to pardon and consolation,

which is lined with perpetual repairs of strength, and which lays its even and unbroken course across the dark valley of the grave? This way verily ends not in the tomb, for it passes through the lighted sepulchre of Jesus, where the shining angels sat, and by the enduring monuments of his resurrection, which time has not wasted nor the hand of violence shook, till it enters into the path of his ascension. It will conduct all his followers to his own high, immortal home.

To this way, my friends of this society, does not a finger from this consecrated desk seem ever to point, and a voice from behind to say, "Walk ye in it." Do not moving tones come back, as though these walls had not yet lost the echoes waked by the persuasive lips of that venerated man, whose memory hallows this spot, and whose name the Church rejoices to speak with honor? And is not Christ *the way* to which your steps have been led by a still living and well-loved guide? It is the prayer of one, who can pray as fervently as any for good issues to the relation this day sealed, that Christ may be shown as THE WAY by him who now succeeds to their work.

RIGHT HAND OF FELLOWSHIP;

BY THE

REV. C. T. THAYER.

RIGHT HAND OF FELLOWSHIP.

Standing as you now do at the threshold of high responsibility—about to enter on important and sacred duties, you naturally look for sympathy as well as counsel; you want not only the guiding hand, but also that which, with a cordial pressure, shall give friendly assurance. This service has both a natural and a scriptural foundation. It springs from the occasion itself, while it has the sanction of apostolical and ecclesiastical usage. None could have been assigned me, which I should perform more cheerfully and with a full heart. The minister at this altar and of this people I shall ever regard as more than in a professional sense, a brother.

Accept, then, this hand as a token of Christian fellowship from your brethren and friends—as an earnest of their readiness to counsel, comfort and aid you in all your future course, and especially in the work to which you are now consecrated. We welcome you to its labors, than which none on earth can be higher or worthier. Welcome to its still and delightful studies, by which your own mind may be enriched, at the same time that it is prepared to enlighten and improve others. Welcome to its pleasures—to that peculiar and sweetest pleasure arising from the consciousness of at once getting and doing good. Welcome to its trials, of which we may without undignified complaint assert it has its full share—that they are neither few nor small, but which may lead to glorious issues—may be made to quicken, strengthen, refine, elevate. Welcome to its rewards, more valuable than all the world beside, pure and lasting as heaven.

It is no narrow or exclusive fellowship, which we hereby pledge to you. Our best wishes for your usefulness, and our ready co-

operation, will attend you whithersoever you follow the great Master. We should greatly dread to see all minds, and those of the ministers of religion by no means least, cast in the same mould, thinking the same thoughts, feeling and acting alike. Slavish deference to opinion, custom, human authority, is always degrading and injurious. Much was comprehended in the daily prayer of a good man—that he and his might be upright toward God and downright to men. Such a petition might well be offered by many, who are wanting in the spirit of just self-reliance, of impartial inquiry, of free action. Still, we desire that you may cherish and enjoy, as far as consistently with moral independence you can, the fellowship of all Christians, whether of like or differing faith. Thus may you attain the blessed distinction of being a friend of peace. Thus you strengthen the cause of the Prince of peace, and help to rescue it from the evils of bitter contention among its professed friends. "It is written," (says Milton, with admirable practical wisdom,) "that the coat of our Saviour was without seam; whence some would infer that there should be no division in the church of Christ. It should be so indeed; yet seams in the same cloth neither hurt the garment, nor misbecome it; and not only seams, but schisms will be, while men are fallible;—but if they who dissent in matters not essential to belief, while the common adversary is in the field, shall stand jarring and pelting at one another, they will be soon routed and subdued."

Above all, may your fellowship be with the Father and the spirit of his Son. There will be times in every individual's experience, and in the Christian minister's as much perhaps as any, in which no other mortal can know, as the heart itself does, its own bitterness—its conflicts, its doubts, its darkness and sorrows.

> "Oh, when we look for sympathy in vain,
> Let us look deep into the secret springs
> Of our own hearts. There let us wake up
> The tones of meditation, and commune
> With the great spirit that is stirred within,
> And seek companionship beyond all else
> That is allowed to mortals."

I recognize the evident blessing of God in the harmony and many happy circumstances attendant on the commencement of your ministry here. In congratulating you on these and expressing our warm interest in the relation you are to sustain to this

people, I cannot suppress the thought, that I am not speaking for the living alone. Could the stillness of yonder tomb be broken, the voice there hushed to its last silence, which long spake within these walls, would repeat with redoubled earnestness our welcome. He, whose it was, would bid you welcome to this home of his affections, to this temple he loved, to this altar at which he delighted to serve, to this peaceful and beautiful valley to which he was bound by strongest ties and even a romantic attachment; amid the scenes of which he moved for nearly half a century, spending in them his earlier and later strength, feeling that in them was an abundant sphere for honorable and useful exertion, and fondly desiring here at length to repose from his earthly labors. If there be joy in the world of spirits at the happy events of earth, I feel assured that he rejoices with us in the bright prospects of this day, and mingles his prayers with ours, that your ministry here may be long, most prospered and happy, and you be gathered at last to the faithful who shall "clasp inseparable hands" in never-ending progress and bliss.

Before closing, I would tender to this beloved Church and Society the expression of our fellowship, our sympathy and joy. When your late pastor, on whom in the outset your feelings and views had with remarkable unanimity centred, and in whose light, during the season it was continued to you, you so much rejoiced, was arrested by the providence of God in the midst of his usefulness, and his strength made to fail by the way—ere it was noon, you were called to severe disappointment and had our sincerest sympathy. But the same providence has ordained that light should spring out of darkness, and a joyful morning succeed the weeping night. We feel, I must confess, mingled pleasure and pride at the honorable manner in which you have passed through this trial, and with renewed unanimity fixed on a successor to the sacred office among you. It is our fervent desire and prayer, that the best hopes of this hour may be fulfilled. Whether we come and see you, or be absent, may we hear of your affairs, that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the Gospel.

CHARGE;

BY

REV. ALONZO HILL.

CHARGE.

My Brother,—If I were to collect and repeat all the warnings and directions for the conduct of the ministry to be found scattered through the New Testament, I do not know that I could better perform this service to which you have invited me. They contain your best manual of duty and are worthy of your frequent and careful study. Among these there is one which I desire may linger in your memory. It fell from the lips of the great Teacher. He uttered it at a time when it could not fail to have an indelible impression on the minds of the first preachers of his religion. He was about to send them out to proclaim his truth. They were to go with unaffected simplicity and godly sincerity, without purse or scrip or array of apparel, and with only shoes on the feet and the pilgrim's staff for the journey. "And into whatsoever city or town ye shall enter, look around and see who is worthy of your confidence, and there abide until ye go thence—there stay until the providence of God call you away." My Brother, on the same great mission, in the service of the same great Master, you have entered this town. This people have given you the warmest welcome; you have received from them the highest marks of their confidence and affection. You have been ordained as their religious teacher and friend. Here, then, stay,—come with the purpose, lay your plans, enter upon your duties with the expectation of staying here, God helping you and them, until your earthly work is over and you go to your reward. Here you have pitched your tent, and here let it stand through summer's heat and winter's cold. Look upon these hills and fields and meadows; this is the scene of your life-long labors—resolve here to stand in your lot

while the glory of the year shall come and go, and the leaves again spring and fall and the flowers blossom and decay. Cast your eyes around this ancient and venerable church; receiving your ordination vows this day, let it echo with the last sounds of your voice, let it witness your earliest and latest struggles in the cause of your Master. Regard for a moment the face of your congregation; of one by one of its aged members you are to smooth the passage to the grave, one by one of its more youthful portions you are to send forth prepared for the world's dread conflicts, trained by your hand, bearing the marks of your fidelity. For life and for death, consecrate yourself to this people. Their highest interests are given you in charge; count that you have lived as these interests have been promoted. I know what I am saying; I know there are circumstances in which it is better for minister and people to separate. I know there are sacred calls of duty when the relation must be severed, though it tear and lacerate the very heart-strings. But this restless spirit of change, this indifference to ties once deemed among the most sacred, is the bane of the ministry and is robbing it of its strength. Shun, I charge you, this error. Reverence the sacredness of the bond which now connects you with this people. Be assured, they will not be hasty to seek causes of separation. Look at the annals of their church. They point to them with pride, for the length and harmony of the ministerial relation. In their graveyards they will show you the monuments of their successive pastors, each resting after a long day of labor; each reposing in the midst of the generation whom he loved and served. Resolve, then, to establish yourself in their affections, and with the blessing of God, to cement your relation by years of faithful labors. Seek no higher honor than to be the long-tried and venerated pastor, and to sleep the sleep of death at last in the midst of them.

But for the intimacy and permanency of this relation, this occasion would be idle—they impart to it its chief solemnity, and give weight to the words which now find utterance. Let me speak to you of the means by which you may obtain a healthful and permanent influence in this place—for then I assist you to do the great work of the ministry. I counsel and charge you then, first of all things, to have respect to the *spirit* which you maintain. If you would enjoy a successful and happy ministry, your

one act of self-consecration must be the act of your *whole life*. There are temptations, invading the silence of the sanctuary—mingling in the most sacred duties—besetting the heart of the minister of religion, as subtle as they are fatal. Beware of their insinuating influence on your ministerial character. Shun, as the bane of your success, the temptation to mental and spiritual sloth. Beware, I warn you, lest frequently interrupted, you relax your mental discipline—lest familiar with your duties, they become formal—lest compelled to go the round of official service, the heart lose the first freshness of devotion and its best affections by the constant demand upon them be *worn* out. Enough now may be numbered—the first days of whose ministry have been their best days—the living, melancholy monuments of mental sloth and spiritual declension. I charge you, my brother, resist the all surrounding temptation; for your own sake, for the happiness and usefulness of your ministry, for the sake of this people whose welfare is bound up in your fidelity, do not stop here. Go on from this moment, day by day, increasing in wisdom and mental strength and in Christian graces. Now you are fixed in one spot and are to commune with the same minds week after week and year after year, to relax your mental efforts, to forego your spiritual exercises and rely on your past acquisitions, would be your ruin. Now, if never before, *study*—lay down some plan of study and *pursue* it. *Think*, from the *habit* of thinking, and *persevere* in it. *Watch and pray*, and be *constant* in watching and prayer. I can give you no better nor more useful advice than to be faithful in a *generous self-culture*. Let all your private habits be so arranged as shall conduce most to your intellectual and spiritual improvement. Let your early morning hours be secretly devoted; in your noon-day rides carry with you habits of thoughtful meditation; and when you retire at eventide, weary and worn it may be, give no sleep to your eyes nor slumber to your eyelids, until you have once more taken an account of the responsibilities and duties of the day. This unceasing, unwearied watchfulness and activity I would urge were your occupation any other; how essential in one who has in charge the spiritual welfare of a community like this!

And yet, my brother, with all this devotion, be not restless in your activity; be not overburdened with anxiety; yield not to the spirit of despondency. There is no way in which you can more

effectually impair your own energies and weaken the confidence of your people. The time will come after the excitements attending a new ministry have in some measure subsided, when the burthen of duty will press heavily and when, having no longer the sympathy of the hour to cheer you, you would gladly cast it from you and escape a responsibility to great for man to bear. But, my brother, be calm. Possess your soul in tranquillity and cheerfulness. Remember others before you have felt this burthen and borne it,—have felt it almost beyond endurance,—have struggled and persevered, and finally triumphed. And, let me tell you, nothing will aid you more certainly in this result, than a serene, trustful spirit,—toiling on through the long night though you have caught nothing, as well as through the bright day amid many tokens of divine favor. Calmness is the attribute of earnestness and power. God works in silence,—and through his mighty agents showers blessings without number in solemn magnificence and without a word. Go then to your work with calmness and tranquillity; pursue it with a self-sacrificing, yet hopeful spirit; with faith and with prayer, under a solemn sense of responsibility and a cheerful reliance on God.

And what is your work? It is to preach; preach the Word—and to preach it in all its grandeur and simplicity and purity, means a great deal. I charge you do this with your best energies. Let this pulpit be your throne. Have no higher ambition than to occupy it faithfully and well. Let it be the seat of your piety and wisdom and power. For, let me tell you, that the place in which our venerable father stood for nearly half a century, and where our accomplished brother, but just now spoke with such fervor of devotion (alas, too soon compelled to relinquish it,) is no mean one, nor will it cost small labor to fill it well. Enter it from Sabbath to Sabbath with such fulness of preparation as if you were never to enter it again. Bring to it your purest, best, and most matured and stirring thoughts. Bring to it the choicest treasures which you may collect from the wide volumes of nature, and providence, and revelation, and your own inward experience. Bring to it a mind filled with the truth of God, sanctified by watching and prayer and a holy endeavor, and a heart kindled with the holiest spirit and longing to give utterance to its burning convictions;—and when you look around upon the face of this congregation, how

shall you fail to be understood and felt? For, what will you see here and in all our churches? Men and women gathered from all the walks and ways of life, from places of business and domestic abodes and halls of pleasure and chambers of grief, with their burthens of care and temptation and wo;—youth, passionate and impetuous and encompassed with perils; and children in confiding simplicity and innocence;—men, women and children, spiritual beings, yet how many of them wedded to the earth—made for a sublime destiny, yet indifferent to the great concern—formed for unalloyed happiness, yet casting from them the cup—all hurrying, while you gaze, to their account; yet pausing for a brief space around the pulpit to listen before they go, to words of instruction and warning from the religious teacher. With what trembling solicitude should he, who stands here in the name of God and Christ and human happiness, look upon such a spectacle! In what tones of gentle persuasion and irresistible power ought he to utter his voice! With what plainness and freedom and earnestness should he speak! My brother, regard your congregation in this light, and your preaching can never be a dull, formal business. You will desire and expect palpable results; and, however insufficient of yourself, you will not be slow to learn the secret whereby to soothe the throbbing heart and warm the wintry bosom. It was only a wand with which the man of God struck the rock, and the refreshing waters gushed out. The simple truth of God is the instrument to loosen the earth-bound spirit and cause the heavenly affections to flow. A word once stilled the tempestuous sea; these words, life, death, retribution, eternity, are the means to stay the streams of worldliness that are rushing in impetuous torrents over the human soul. Speak out that which is within you, my brother—speak it earnestly, yet kindly, as from the deepest conviction, and you may be assured you shall not speak in vain. Speak it freely too, for I hold there is not a truth which ought to be spoken that may not be; and which, if uttered in tones of sympathy and kindness, will not be patiently heard and inspire a hearty respect for the preacher.

But your public duties are not all to be done within these walls. You must be much abroad among your people. In respect to your pastoral relations, I have this one admonition to give. As you go from house to house, as you receive your people within

your own dwelling, wherever you may meet them, I charge you not to neglect your opportunities of usefulness. If I do not mistake their dispositions, they will wish you to be much with them, and expect you to maintain the character of a friend and brother. The doors of your parishioners will be thrown widely open, and you will find a cordial welcome at their fireside, and their board. Confide in them, my brother, if you would win them. Once admitted to the intimacy of affection, you will become associated with all that is endearing and momentous in human experience, share in the joys and sorrows which the heart only knoweth, and with which the stranger cannot intermeddle. Present with your benediction at the formation of each little community, you will take a part in all its revolutions, and all its heart-thrilling history will be written on the pages of your experience. You will be there when the candle of the Lord shines upon their dwelling and the song of praise is heard within the gates,—in the unbroken circle of fathers, mothers, and their children. There, too, you will be when life's changes shall come,—when this community shall be rent, its members torn asunder, and each individual alone shall drink of his own bitter cup,—when the strong shall grow weak, the beautiful in their high places shall fall and the countenances of this people shall be changed; and in their woes their hearts shall be laid all bare and bleeding before you. What rare opportunities does the minister enjoy of touching the inmost sanctuaries of the human soul and the deepest springs of human conduct. Now I charge you, my brother, before God, the final Judge, faithfully improve these seasons, so favorable for the profoundest moral impression. When you descend from this pulpit think not to cast off a shred of the ministerial robe, or leave behind a particle of the minister's earnest and devoted spirit. Henceforth, till the tie which now unites you shall be severed, you are to have no separate interests from the society. What they feel and endure, rejoicing or sorrowing, members of your own larger family, you must feel and endure with them. Go among them, then, as Jesus went in Galilee, and whether you sit with them in the bloom of health, or pray with them amid the slow wastings of sickness, whether you mingle with the young while the dew of youth is yet fresh upon them, with the active in the midst of their great responsibilities, or with the aged who wait and watch for the last

great change,—at home, in the shop and by the way, at the festal board and at the tomb, let the earnest, calm, cheerful, glad spirit of religion light up your countenance, pervade your language and control your manners. Let your whole intercourse be marked by frankness, honesty and fidelity. Let no earthly temptation allure you for a moment into a forgetfulness of yourself or your responsibilities. Watch for souls as one who must give an account. Deceive no one by random remarks; mislead no one by silence when you ought to speak; forget no one whom you ought to remember; neglect no one whose joys or whose griefs you ought to share. Be every where, like the religion which you preach, the warm, devoted, sympathizing friend of all.

My brother, there are many other things which my heart prompts me to say to you; but I cannot now,—I must not tax your strength longer. If my prayers can prevail,—and the prayers of those you love, of earlier and later friends, you will establish yourself in the hearts of this people and find in this favored spot a lasting home. Lowly laying your heart upon this altar, entering upon your work with a single and undivided affection, I see the selectest influences of Heaven attend your labors. I see you fulfilling the highest expectations of this congregation, and new hopes, new interests, new sympathies springing up within and around you. Bearing along the ark of the Lord, I see the dark trains of moral evils, fear and agony and remorse retiring before you,—life sweetened, death disarmed, Heaven opened to those who hear. I see you conducted in safety to the end of a long and useful ministry,—your work closed amid the tears of a grateful people,—your commission sealed,—your reward great. But I am checked in these pleasing anticipations, for I remember that duties only are ours; events are determined by a higher wisdom. Be diligent, then, and devoted in your duties, for you know not what a day may bring forth. Be faithful unto death, and you shall receive the crown of life.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.*

"From humble tenements around
  Came up the pensive train,
And in the church a blessing found,
  Which filled their homes again—
They live with God, their homes are dust;
  But here their children pray,
And, in this fleeting lifetime, trust
  To find the narrow way."

[From the Century Sermon by Rev. Timothy Harrington, May 28, 1753.] 1753

"In the year 1645,† Sholan, alias Shaumauw, Proprietor of Nashawogg, and Sachem of the Nashawas, who lived at Washacum, informed Mr. Thomas King, of Watertown, (with whom he traded and for whom he had a considerable friendship,) of the said tract of land as well accommodated for a Plantation, desiring that the English would come and set down by him.

"Accordingly Mr. King, Mr. John Prescott, and others, procured of said Sholan, a Deed of said Nashawogg, ten miles in length, and eight in breadth; with these restrictions, that the English should not molest the Indians in their hunting, fishing, or usual planting places,—And the General Court confirmed the Deed.

"On this, the Associates purchased of Mr. King all his Interest in the Premises; and entered into mutual obligation by a certain term to appear on the spot, to begin and carry on the Plantation and contracted with a Preacher to go on with them.

* Both Mr. Harrington's Century Sermon and the "Historical Sketch" of Lancaster, by Joseph Willard, Esq., being nearly out of print, a few ecclesiastical memoranda are gathered into an Appendix for the use of the parish.

† Lancaster was the tenth town incorporated in the county of Middlesex, and precedes, by many years, every town now within the limits of the county of Worcester.

Gov. Winthrop differs from Mr. Harrington as to the year when the purchase was made, and says 1643.

"Having thus concerted affairs, they sent up divers persons, (to whom they had given Lots,) to perform divers things, at the common expense of the Proprietors, before the time of their general appearance; and these were the first inhabitants.

"But before the time for their general appearance; their Minister, to whom they had committed their mutual obligation, (whether by reason of his own aversion to the place, or by the instigation of such of the Proprietors as were unwilling to come up themselves, is uncertain,) forsook them, carrying with him said mutual obligation.* And in consequence of this, all the associates, except Mr. Prescott, refused to fulfil their contract, but yet held their Interest. So that for the space of seven years, very little was done to forward the plantation.—But at length some of the rest being willing to engage more heartily in the affair,—on the 18th of May, 1653, there being *Nine Families* in the place, they petitioned the General Court for an Incorporation, and obtained it by the name of LANCASTER.

"From the year 1654, Mr. Rowlandson preached among them, until the 14th of April 1658; at which time they invited him to settle in the Work of the Ministry among them; and he accepted their Invitation, and probably was ordained the same year.

"The town was in Peace and Prosperity for the space of twenty-two years from its Incorporation.—And the Indians were very serviceable to the inhabitants, by supplying them with such Corn and wild meat as they stood in need of; and that on very moderate terms.

"But on the 24th of June 1675, Philip, Sachem of Pocanoket, commonly called King Philip, rebelled against the English, and began a very bloody and destructive War.

"And on the 22d of August following, eight persons, in different parts of the town were killed.

"And as the Sachems of the Narragansett country joined with Philip in his Rebellion; so after the destruction of Canonicus'-Fort, commonly called the Narragansett-Fort, by the forces of the united colonies, on the 19th of December, 1675.—The Indians leaving that part of the country, moved toward Wachusett, and meeting with the Nipnets and Nashawas, in their

* Winthrop gives the following account: "3d mo. (May) 1644. Many of Watertown, and other towns, joined in the plantation at Nashaway; and having called a young man, a *universal* (qu. university?) scholar, one Mr. Norcroff (qu. Norcross?) to be their minister, seven of them, who were no members of any churches, were desirous to gather into a church estate; but the magistrates and elders, advised them first to go and build them habitations, &c. And then to take some that were members of other churches, with the consent of such churches, as had formerly been done, and so proceed orderly. But the persons interested in this plantation, being most of them poor men, and some of them corrupt in judgment, and others profane, it went on very slowly, so that in two years, they had not three houses built there, and he whom they had called to be their minister, left them for their delays."

march, persuaded them to take up arms against the English; and after this combination, part turned back towards Plymouth Colony, burning and destroying as they went along.

"But Philip, with the rest, confessed by themselves after the peace to be fifteen hundred, marched for Lancaster, in which there were then above fifty families—And on the 10th of February, 1676, assaulted in five distinct bodies and places, burning most of the unfortified houses, and killing several persons.

"However, they destroyed no Garrison, but that belonging to the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson; in which, there were soldiers and inhabitants to the number of forty-two. And as there was no fortification on the back of the house, and the English being unable to ply their shot on that side; the enemy having loaded a Cart with combustible matter, pushed it flaming to the house; and thus being reduced to the sad necessity of either perishing in the flames, or resigning themselves to the Savages, they surrendered.

"On this, the Men, except one who made his escape, were slain, or reserved for torture, and about twenty of the Women and Children were carried into Captivity; among which was the Consort of the Rev. Mr. Rowlandson; an account of whose Captivity, Sufferings and Return, written by her own hand, you have doubtless many of you seen in Print.

"Mr. Rowlandson was then at Boston soliciting the Governor and Council for more soldiers for the protection of the place—And on his return, met the heavy news, which he received with a becoming submission and magnanimity.

"About six weeks after the assault of the town, it being judged untenable under the then present circumstances, both of that and the country; the remainder of the inhabitants, except one who was killed that very day by the enemy, drew off under a guard of Horse and Foot.—And immediately on this desertion of the place, every building that remained, save two, were reduced to ashes. And in this state of Desolation the town continued for about four years."

"The first minister of Lancaster," says Mr. Willard, "commenced bachelor at Cambridge in 1652, with all the honors of his class, as he appears to have constituted the whole of the class of that year. Cotton Mather calls him an author of 'lesser composures.'* What these were, I venture to say, after diligent inquiry, is not to be discovered. Mr. Rowlandson began to preach in Lancaster as early as the summer or fall of 1654. * * * * The commissioners, at their meeting, April 25, 1656, directed the town to pay Mr. Row-

* "Not only have we had a Danforth, a Nathaniel Mather, a Hoar, a Rowlandson, &c., the authors of lesser composures out of their modest studies, even as with a Cæsarean section, forced into light; but also we have had an Hubbard, an Isaac Chauncey, a Willard, a Stoddard, the authors of larger composures."—*Magnalia, book 4, part I.*

landson 'fifty pounds by the year,' taking 'wheat at sixpence per bushel,' under the usual price, 'and as God shall enlarge their estates, so shall they enlarge therein answerably,' &c. In September, 1657, the Commissioners ordered the selectmen 'to take care for the due encouragement of Master Rowlandson, and also for the erecting a meeting house,' &c. In compliance with these orders, a house for worship was erected soon after. A town meeting was held in it in June, 1658. It was situated on the northeast side of what is now the new burying ground, on the brow of the hill, opposite to Mr. Rowlandson's house, and about one-third of a mile a little to the west of south of the present church. * * * * After preaching in town nearly four years, he probably became discouraged as to the prospect of being invited to settle, and gave out his intention of removing from town. Whether this was done in sober earnest, or was merely to bring the town to terms, is only a matter of conjecture at this late day. The following extract from the records, has some point, and perhaps will bear being quoted."

"Monday, 3, 3 mo. 1658. On the certain intelligence of Master Rowlandson's removing from us, the selectmen treated with him to know what his mind was, and his answer was, his apprehensions were clearer for his going than for staying. They replied they feared his apprehensions were not well grounded, but desired to know his resolution. He said his resolutions were according to his apprehensions, for ought he knew. Then the selectmen, considering it was a case of necessity for the town to look out for other supply, told Master Rowlandson, that now they did look upon themselves as destitute of a minister, and should be forced to endeavor after some other,—so discharging him.

"Friday 14, 3 mo. 1658. A messenger came from Billerica to fetch Master Rowlandson away;* upon which, the town having notice given them, came together with intent to desire him to stay and settle amongst us; and, after some debate, it was voted as follows:

"1. Whether it were the mind of the town to invite Master Rowlandson to abide and settle amongst them in the work of the ministry. The vote was affirmative by the hands of all held up.

"2. Whether it was their mind to allow him for maintenance fifty pounds a year, one-half in wheat, sixpence in the bushel under the current prices at Boston and Charlestown, and the rest in other good current pay, in like proportions; or, otherwise, fifty-five pounds a year, taking his pay at such rates as the prices of corn are set every year by the Court. The vote was affirmative by the hands of all held up.

"3. Whether they were willing that Master Rowlandson should have the dwelling house which he lived in as his own proper right according to the deed made by the town and confirmed by the committee; with the point of

* The meaning is, that he was invited to preach in Billerica.

land westward, and some land west, and some north, of his house, for an orchard, garden, yards, pasture and the like.

"This was put to the vote and granted by the major part, (and opposed by none but old Goodman Kerley,* only there was a *neuter or two*,) with this proviso, that it hindered not the burying place, the highway, convenient space to pass to the river, and the land intended to be for the next minister, &c.

"And upon this, Master Rowlandson accepted of the town's invitation, and gave them thanks for their grant, and agreed to the motion, concerning his maintenance, and promised to abide with us in the best manner the Lord should enable him to improve his gifts in the work of the ministry."

"Mr. Rowlandson preached for some time as a candidate in Weathersfield, where he died November 24, 1678, and before Lancaster was resettled. He was probably born in England. His father, Thomas, took the freeman's oath May 2, 1638, and died in Lancaster, November 17, 1657."

After the town was resettled, and for seven years, the pulpit was supplied by Mr. Carter, (probably Samuel Carter, Harvard University, 1660,) William Woodrop, and Mr. Oakes, (perhaps Edward Oakes, H. U., 1679.) Mr. Woodrop was one of the two thousand ministers turned out of their benefices under the act of conformity, on St. Bartholemew's day, 1662.

In February, 1688, Mr. John Whiting, of Billerica, a graduate of Harvard University, 1685, was invited to preach on probation; and continued preaching until November, 1690, when he was invited to settle in the work of the ministry, and was probably soon after ordained.†

On the accession of William of Orange to the throne, England was involved in a war with France, and New England in a war with the Canadians, French and Indians. "In the calamities of which," to go on with Mr. Harrington's account, "this town had a large share."

"For on the 18th of July, 1692, the Indians assaulted the house of Mr. Peter Joslin, who was at his labor in the field, and knew nothing of it, till, entering the house, he found his wife and three children, and a woman that lived in his family, barbarously butchered by their hatchets, and weltering in their gore.

* Goodman Kerley, (William Kerley, senior,) seems to have continued in a wrathful state of mind for some time; for though one of the number appointed to manage the municipal concerns of the town, he did not attend the meetings of his brethren; it being a usual entry in the records that the Selectmen met at such a time and place, all excepting Goodman Kerley.

† It was not usual during the first age of the New England Church, or indeed through the seventeenth century, to have a discourse preached at ordination. And when the practice was introduced, the minister elect preached it himself.

"His wife's sister, with another of his children were carried into captivity. She returned, but that child was murdered in the wilderness. Thus was he stript naked, and called to bitter weeping and lamentation.

"In 1695, on a Lord's Day Morning, Mr. Abraham Wheeler, going from Garrison to his own house, on some occasion, was there shot by an enemy, that had lain in ambush for him; but although mortally wounded, he wrested the gun from him, and brought it towards the Garrison, until met by his friends.

"In 1697, a considerable body of the enemy, under five commanders, but one in chief, came and lurked in the woods for some time, sending in their scouts by night to observe the posture of the town.—And having done this, they determined to begin the attack on Mr. Thomas Sawyer's Garrison; and the firing at that was to be a signal to all the rest, to fall on in their respective stations.

"And accordingly on the 11th of September, when the inhabitants, suspicious of no enemy, were gone out to their labor; they came in several companies into the town, and were very near surprising said Sawyer's Garrison, both the gates being left open; but that Mr. Jabez Fairbank, who was at his own house half a mile's distance, and designing to bring his little son from said Garrison, mounted his horse which came running to him in a fright; and rode full speed into the gate, but yet nothing suspicious of an enemy.—However, this was a means of saving the Garrison; for the enemy who were just ready to rush into it, supposing they were discovered, gave over that design; and fired at such as were out in the fields.

"At that time, the Rev. Mr. John Whiting being on some occasion at a distance from his Garrison, they surprised and killed him.—They indeed offered him quarter; but he chose rather to fight to the last, than resign himself to those whose tender mercies are cruelty.—

"At the same time they killed twenty others, wounded two, but not mortally; and captivated six, five of whom returned.

"On this sorrowful occasion, the town set a-part a day for Prayer and Fasting."

From 1697, the year of Mr. Whiting's death, to 1700, the pulpit was supplied by Rev. John Robinson, (afterwards settled at Duxbury, in November, 1702, where he died, 1731.) Mr. Jones, (perhaps John, Harvard University, 1690?) and Mr. Samuel Whitman, Harvard University, 1696. In May, 1701, Mr. Andrew Gardner, Harvard University, 1696, (but not in *italics* in the catalogue, because never ordained,) was invited to preach, and in the following September received an invitation to be the minister of the town. In July, 1702, the war between England and France was renewed, and the Colonies were once more involved in trouble. In July, 1704, seven hundred French and Indians proceeded against Northampton, but finding the

inhabitants prepared against an attack, they turned their course towards Lancaster, excepting two hundred, who returned home in consequence of a quarrel about the division of spoil. Early in the morning of the 31st, they commenced a sudden and violent attack on the town. During the day four persons were killed, and the church, which escaped destruction in Philip's war and was the first house of public worship in town, was burnt. Six other buildings and much of the live stock of the town were also destroyed.

"On the 26th of October following," continues Mr. Harrington, "there having been a party of the enemy discovered at Still River, (Harvard,) the soldiers and inhabitants belonging to the Rev. Mr. Gardner's Garrison, with divers others, went in quest of them; who returning in the evening, fatigued with the service of the day—Mr. Gardner, in compassion took the watch that night upon himself; and coming out of the Box late at night, on some occasion, was heard by one between sleeping and waking in the house, who supposing him an enemy, seized the first gun which came to hand, and shot him through the body in the Parade.

"But the fatal mistake immediately appeared; and he being carried into the house, forgave the person that shot him; and in an hour or two expired, to the great grief not only of his consort, but of his people, who had an exceeding value for him."

In May, 1706, a new meeting-house, situated on what is now called the Old Common and opposite to the second burying ground, was probably completed.

The Records in Mr. Rowlandson's time, were, without doubt, consumed in his garrison, and as those in Mr. Whiting's day are not to be found, we have no account of the number of Communicants, or of Baptisms, from the founding of the Church to the ordination of Mr. Prentice, in 1708.

In May, 1705, Mr. John Prentice, a native of Newton, and a graduate of Harvard University, 1700, commenced the supply of the pulpit and continued to preach until February, 1707, when he was invited to settle. He accepted the invitation and was ordained March 29th, 1708.

On the same day, previous to his ordination, the members of the church subscribed their names to the covenant, which was the same probably as that in Mr. Whiting's and even in Mr. Rowlandson's time.*

From the 15th of October, 1705, to the 5th of August, 1710, four persons were killed, two wounded, and three taken captive by the Indians; and the inhabitants were doubtless kept in a continual state of anxiety and alarm until peace was concluded in 1713.

* It was retained until November, 1793. Our limits will not admit its insertion It was, however, general in its nature, and did not contain the injunction of particular doctrines as necessary to enable one to participate in the ordinances. The second

In 1733, from members of this church was formed a considerable part of the church in Harvard—in 1741, the church in Bolton—in 1743, in part, the church in Leominster—(all these towns originally included in Lancaster, having been, from time to time, previously set off upon petition of their inhabitants)—and in 1744 the church in what had then been separated into a second precinct and is now the town of Sterling.

1742. A new church building was completed in 1743. It contained thirty-three pews on the lower floor with many of the long seats common at that day.

Mr. Prentice died January 6th, 1748, aged 66. During his ministry of forty years 1593 were baptized and 331 admitted to the church.

His successor, Timothy Harrington, born in Waltham, February 10th, 1716, was a graduate of Harvard College, 1737, and preached at Swansey, New Hampshire, until the destruction of that town, and the dispersion of the inhabitants in April, 1747. He was installed at Lancaster, November 16th, 1748. The sermon was preached by Rev. John Hancock of Lexington, (father of Rev. John Hancock of Braintree, and grandfather of Governor Hancock.)

Mr. Harrington died Dec. 18th, 1795, in the 80th year of his age. In his ministry of this church, 1531 were baptized and 478 admitted to the communion.*

article reads thus: "We also bind ourselves to bring up our children and servants [in the] knowledge and fear of God, by holy instructions according to our abilities, and in special by the use of Orthodox catechism, [that] true religion may be maintained in our families while we [live,] yea, and among such as shall live when we are dead and gone."

What the standard of "Orthodox catechism," was, may perhaps be inferred from the fact that March, 1731, the town voted to buy Rev. Pres. Samuel Willard's "Body of Divinity, to be kept in the meeting-house for the town's use, so that any person may come there and read therein as often as they shall see cause, and said book is not to be carried out of the meeting-house, at any time, except by order of the Selectmen, or the town.

November, 1734. The church voted "that any desirous of admission to full communion, scrupling his or her obligation to make a relation of his or her experience shall be informed by the pastor that the brethren do not insist upon that as a term of communion, but will take up and be satisfied with a written confession of their faith."

* Mr. Willard, (to whose history, by his kind permission, we stand indebted for more in this Appendix than we can easily indicate by the usual signs,) speaking of the great changes which took place in the state of society in New England, during Mr. Harrington's ministry, "when ancient simplicity was yielding to the alterations, if not the refinements, in manners, induced by a widening intercourse with the world, the increase of general intelligence, and the number of well educated men," remarks more particularly of the changes which took place in the *Psalmody* used in Lancaster.

"I do not find that the introduction of instrumental music as a part of public worship, or the change in the mode of singing, gave rise to any uneasiness in the parish.

On account of infirmity he had preached but little during the last five years of his life. From March, 1791, till the following spring, the pulpit was in part supplied, among others, by Messrs. Alden Bradford and Thaddeus M. Harris. June 3d, 1792, the town voted unanimously to concur with the church, in giving Mr. Nathaniel Thayer an invitation to be their minister, with a settlement of £200, and a salary of £90 during Mr. Harrington's life-time, and £120 ($400) after his decease. (Afterwards increased.) Having accepted this invitation he was ordained as colleague pastor, October 9th, 1793. The following was the order of services. Prayer, by Rev. Dr. Belknap, of Boston. Sermon, by Rev. Dr. Osgood, of Medford, from Acts, xx., 27. Ordaining Prayer, by Rev. Mr. Whitney, of Shirley. Charge, by Rev. Mr. Jackson, of Brookline. Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Emerson, of Harvard. Concluding Prayer, by Rev. Dr. Clarke, of Boston.

The building that had been used as a house for public worship from 1743, being old and inconvenient, the town voted, December 4, 1815, to erect a new one,—and the corner stone of the present edifice was laid July 9, 1816. The pastor first made an address on the occasion,—and after the 87th Psalm,

(Except Mr. Wheelock used to shake his head, when the pitch pipe was sounded, and Thomas Holt would leave the house at the sound of the pitch pipe, or when 'Funeral Thought' was sung.) Not so, however, with the introduction of the 'New Version.' Many were grieved because of the change, and two individuals proceeded further. The version of Sternhold and Hopkins, the first metrical version of the Psalms, in English, was never used in this town. This was not in high repute. Eliot, Welde, and Richard Mather, in 1639, attempted a translation, but their labors were not valued; and President Dunster, the following year, was called upon to revise the collection. His improved version was the one in use in most of the New England churches for many years—and in Lancaster, till the time of Mr. Harrington. Probably about the year 1763, the collection by Tate and Brady was introduced. Early in 1665, a complaint was made that one of the members of the church, Moses Osgood, with his wife, Martha, had been absent from the communion service more than a year. On being inquired of by the church, why they absented themselves from the Supper, they sent a written reply, in which they say that the reason is, 'the bringing in of the New Version, as we think, not in a prudent and regular way. Also we find, in said Version, such words and expressions as are unknown by us, so that we cannot sing with the understanding also. The composers of the said Version, we find, have taken too great a liberty to themselves, as we think, to depart from the scriptures. And as for the hymns taken from the other parts of the Bible, we know of no warrant in the Bible for them, and shall humbly wait on such as are the maintainers of them to produce and demonstrate the warrantableness for them from the Word of God. We are therefore waiting the removing or in some way or other the satisfying the above said doubts; for they are a matter of grievance to us, and we think we are wronged in our highest interest, &c.' "

Belknap superseded Tate & Brady in this church. Greenwood's Collection was introduced January 5, 1834, and is still in use.

Belknap's Collection, had been sung, in the tune of Old Hundred, prayed for the divine blessing on their work. The corner stone was then laid, a silver plate with this inscription being placed beneath ; "Fourth house built in Lancaster for the worship of God. Corner stone laid July A. D. 1816. May God make our way prosperous and give us good success. Rev. Nath'l Thayer, pastor of our church."

January 1st, 1817. Agreeably to a vote of the town the new meeting-house was dedicated. Introductory Prayer, by Rev. Mr. Capen of Sterling, "who also read the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the temple." Dedicatory Prayer, by Rev. Dr. Bancroft of Worcester. Sermon, by the pastor, from Ephesians ii., 19, 20, 21, 22. Concluding Prayer, by Rev. Mr. Allen of Bolton.

Dr. Thayer was born in Hampton, N. H., July 11th, 1769, graduated at Harvard College, 1789, and died June 23d, 1840, in the 71st year of his age, and the 47th of his ministry.*

In the course of his ministry, he baptized 1017, received into the church 388, married 1038, and buried 1130.

Dr. Thayer's successor was the Rev. Edmund H. Sears, a native of Sandisfield, and a graduate of Union College, who, after pursuing his theological studies at Cambridge, settled in Wayland. Having accepted an invitation from this parish, he was installed December 23, 1840. The Order of Exercises was as follows : Introductory Prayer and Reading the Scriptures, by Rev. Mr. Hill, of Worcester. Hymn 222, (Greenwood's Coll.) Sermon, by Rev. Dr. Henry Ware, Jr. Hymn 534, Greenwood. Prayer of Installation, by Rev. Isaac Allen, of Bolton. Charge, by Rev. Mr. Lincoln, of Fitchburg. Fellowship of the Churches, by Rev. R. P. Stebbins. Address to the Society, by Rev. Chandler Robbins, of Boston. Concluding Prayer, by Rev. C. T. Thayer, of Beverly. In April, 1847, Mr. Sears resigned on account of ill health. During his ministry, 80 were baptized, 56 became communicants and 151 were buried.

Mr. George M. Bartol, who was graduated at Brown University in 1842, and received his theological education at Cambridge, having been invited to the care of the church as his successor, was ordained August 4th. 1847,

* It will be seen by referring to the dates, that the united ministries of Mr. Prentice and Mr. Harrington extended through nearly ninety years, that Dr. Thayer's settlement exceeded forty-six, and that making allowance for the time the latter was colleague with Mr. Harrington, there was a period of 131 years, during which but ten months elapsed in which the church was without a settled minister. For some account of Dr. Thayer's life and character, see Rev. Mr. Hill's Discourse, and "Notices," by Dr. Parkman, in the Monthly Miscellany, August, 1840.

ORDER OF EXERCISES AT THE ORDINATION.

I. VOLUNTARY.

II. INTRODUCTORY PRAYER, BY REV. MR. WHITE, OF LITTLETON.

III. READING OF THE SCRIPTURES, BY REV. MR. HALE, OF WORCESTER.

IV. HYMN. REV. DR. FROTHINGHAM. (Greenwood's Coll., 534.)

"O God, whose presence glows in all," &c.

V. SERMON, BY REV. C. A. BARTOL, OF BOSTON.

VI. HYMN. REV. DR. FROTHINGHAM.

O Lord of life and truth and grace,
Ere nature was begun,
Make welcome to our erring race
Thy Spirit and thy Son.

We hail the Church, built high o'er all
The heathen's rage and scoff,
Thy Providence its fenced wall,
"The Lamb the light thereof."

Thy Christ hath reached his heavenly seat
Through sorrows and through scars,
The golden lamps are at his feet,
And in his hand the stars.

O may he walk among us here,
With his rebuke and love,—
A brightness o'er this lower sphere,
A ray from worlds above.

Teach Thou thy youthful servant, Lord,
The mysteries he reveals,
That reverence may receive the word,
And meekness loose the seals.

VII. PRAYER OF ORDINATION, BY REV. JOSEPH ALLEN, OF NORTHBORO'.

VIII. RIGHT HAND OF FELLOWSHIP, BY REV. MR. THAYER, OF BEVERLY.

IX. CHARGE, BY REV. MR. HILL, OF WORCESTER.

X. HYMN. REV. DR. FROTHINGHAM.

The patriarch's dove, on weary wing,
One leaf of olive found,
Within the narrow ark to bring,
When all the world was drowned.

The dove of God, in happier hour,
O'er Jordan's sweeter wave,
In symbol showed the spirit's power,
That all the earth would save.

O Lord ! to this our sacred rite
Such gracious tokens grant,
As make thy temples, where they light,
Thine arks of covenant.

And still on life's baptizing tide,
Or sorrow's bitter sea,
Descending peace be multiplied,
And hallow hearts to Thee !

XI. CONCLUDING PRAYER, BY REV. MR. FROTHINGHAM, OF SALEM.

XII. ANTHEM.

"O be joyful in the Lord, all ye lands," &c.

XIII. BENEDICTION.

Laus Deo.

E. R. Fiske, Printer, Worcester. *Prentiss, Del. & Sc.*

LANCASTER, MASS.

FROM NEAR THE RESIDENCE OF THE LATE DR. THAYER.

Suggested by the Bi-Centennial Celebration, June 15th, 1853.

COMMEMORATION

OF THE

Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Incorporation of Lancaster.

ORDER OF EXERCISES IN THE MEETING HOUSE OF THE FIRST PARISH,

Wednesday, June 15, 1853.

I. VOLUNTARY.

II. INVOCATION.

III. READING OF THE SCRIPTURES.

IV. SINGING.—LXXVIII. PSALM OF DAVID. C. M.

1. Let children hear the mighty deeds
   Which God perform'd of old,
   Which in our younger years we saw,
   And which our fathers told.

2. He bids us make his glories known,
   His works of pow'r and grace;
   And we'll convey his wonders down,
   Through ev'ry rising race.

3. Our lips shall tell them to our sons,
   And they again to theirs,
   That generations yet unborn,
   May teach them to their heirs.

4. Thus they shall learn, in God alone
   Their hope securely stands,
   That they may ne'er forget his works,
   But practice his commands.

V. PRAYER BY REV. C. T. THAYER, OF BEVERLY.

VI. SINGING.—ODE, BY MISS HANNAH F. GOULD, OF NEWBURYPORT.

1. The dark forest frowned o'er the unopened sod;
   The scene was a wilderness howling,
   With trails where the wolf and the man-savage trod,
   Unknowing alike of their Maker and God;
   And each for his victim was prowling.
   Our anthems arise, where the wild-wood air,
   Moaning, wailing,
   Hath shuddered the war-whoop to bear!

2. Our forefathers cried to the King they adored,
   "Jehovah our banner! Jehovah!"
   They bowed at His throne in a holy accord;
   Then here bore for safety the Ark of the Lord,
   The drear ocean waste roaming over.
   Their harps, that had hushed on the willows hung,
   Sounded, joyful,
   Till Nature's grand temple-arch rung.

3. Around their rude altar in trust as they kneeled,
   A guard of strong angels attending,
   Spread o'er them, unseen, their bright wings, as a shield,
   Till darkness was chased by the Day-fount unsealed,
   With streams of a Light never-ending.
   The desert was sweetened with Sharon's Rose,
   Thornless, blooming,
   All fair and immortal that grows.

4. Two Centuries now hath our LANCASTER seen,
   And left not a cloud on her story:
   With eye clear and beaming, her brow is serene;
   Her footsteps direct, and majestic her mien,
   While passing from glory to glory.
   Her jewels unblemished will yet be shown,
   Shining, priceless,
   And numbered of God, as his own!

5. But how for her day she hath acted her part,
With wisdom, and beauty, and fitness,
For culture of earth—of the mind—of the heart;
For Commerce and Science; for Letters and Art,
Let Heaven, Earth, and Sea, bear her witness!
Her children arise, and proclaim her blest:
Onward, upward!
She points them, for honor and rest.

6. May she, when her Aloe shall blossom anew,
New beauties and powers be unfolding,
With ever-fresh blessings like spring showers and dew;
And we, to whom earth must be then but *review*,
The lilies unearthly beholding;
For circling to-day our old Home hearth-stone,
Stronger, brighter,
Our ties, where no parting is known!

VII. ADDRESS, BY JOSEPH WILLARD, ESQ., OF BOSTON.

VIII. PRAYER.

IX. SINGING.—CVII. PSALM OF DAVID. L. M.

1. Where nothing dwelt but beasts of prey,
Or men as fierce and wild as they;
God bids th' opprest and poor repair,
And builds them towns and cities there.

2. They sow the fields, and trees they plant,
Whose yearly fruit supplies their want:
Their race grows up from fruitful stocks,
Their wealth increases with their flocks.

3. The righteous, with a joyful sense,
Admire the works of providence;
And wise observers still shall find
The Lord is holy, just, and kind.

X. BENEDICTION.

Anniversary

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Saml. Riggs single speech

[For the Boston Courier.]

The annexed copy of a speech delivered yesterday in our Town-House, by one of our oldest inhabitants, (whose ancestors have resided in this town,) I enclose to you, on account of the originality of its ideas, and the rich expressions contained therein.

Great excitement has prevailed in this town on account of the School Committee's Annual Report, recommending the abolishing of two District Schools, and in place thereof, a high tax to support *High Schools*, which were to be placed at a very inconvenient distance from the *doomed districts*. Under these circumstances, every one seemed inclined to express his opinion in the Town-House, and some very racy speeches were the consequence. The annexed was written off in the Town-House, and the writer, although on the opposite side of the house to the speaker, took particular pains to note correctly the words which flowed from the venerable gentleman's mouth. It is only to be regretted, that *all other* town reports of selectmen, committees, &c., are not printed before the assembling of the citizens in their hall, and distributed to every family, as the School Committee's Report is. Were we without a printing office, it would be excusable; but we have already one printing-office, a weekly journal published, and the prospects of the establishment of a *good Whig paper* in the central part of the town, in a very short time.

Should you find room in your crowded columns, pray give this a place, as I think it will be acceptable to many of your readers. L. B. D. S. R.

LANCASTER, April 11th, 1848.

"What can be more important for us, when we meet together, than to devise ways and means for the training up of our children in the way they should go. It is for our individual, social, and national prosperity. We ought to keep the fountain of sovereignty as pure as possible, and teach the young idea how to shoot. On this question I claim a privilege to speak and act, being the oldest man in the house, and not only born in this town, but my father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, I believe,—for the Town Clerk has told me (from the access he has had to the old records) that my name was among the first settlers of the town. Were my living descendants here present, I should have the pleasure of voting with my grandchildren on this important question.

Jno. S. Thurston

Elderly people are apt to be tenacious of their ancient land-marks, rights and privileges, habits and customs, and they do not like to give up their old school-districts. How were our fathers and their children qualified to do much of any thing? They gained their independence, rights and liberties. We have had self-taught men. Gen. Joseph B. Varnum,

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believe, never went through college, but went to Congress, and was Speaker of the House. I will mention a man of this town, who, when living, was about my age. When young he had little or no chance for schooling, but he improved daylight, candle-light and torch-light in his studies, to acquire an education, and after he came to this town, he received a Justice's commission, and went to General Court repeatedly. He told me that when on committees, they would put it on him to cast up accounts, as he was expert in figures; he was a ready and good penman, correct speller, and used good language; he was qualified for business, and did a good deal of it. That man's name was J. F., Sen., Esq. He was a self-taught man, and I would give more for *one* self-taught *man*, than I would for *twenty* educated *things*.

Maj Jacob Fisher

The convention that framed our Federal Constitution were not all college-learnt men—yet they were as wise and patriotic an assembly of sages as ever adorned a convention hall. I would raise money enough to qualify every male child for business men, and even *functionaries*, and also for governing the plough handles with as much skill and pleasure as did Cincinnatus, the Roman General. But there appears to be a high fever at the present day for building Babels, and we are called upon to establish High Schools to learn the *confounded languages*. I have heard it predicted that the High Schools would take place in this town in five years! If any should say that there would be a tall educating ladder erected, and our children sent up to the moon, and there kiss the old man, I will not gainsay him. *If* such a tour could be effected, and return made with intelligence *how to prevent the potato rot*, it would be a valuable acquisition.

The wise man has told us that man is grass; we find by observation that one species of vegetation will take the place of another, and we hope that there will be *wheat* enough brought into Lancaster to root out all the *tares*.

It has been a question in my mind whether I invented a blessing or a curse to the country, when I set up the power *loom*, and wove thirty yards of good shirting cloth from yarn spun in Clintonville. It was done by turning a crank, as it was calculated to go by water. This was done about thirty-nine years ago. That loom has become the mother of villages, and *one entire city*; and is in exercise for giving laws to Lancaster and the country.

If I had the money which I might have made by that invention, I would give money to every town in the state to educate their children in the outside districts. I will stop, for I do not expect to gain our point by a multitude of words, nor to loose it by long speeches.

Feb 9 1854 [For the Boston Journal.]

Reminiscences of Lancaster.

Mr. Editor:—There are so few existing links between the past and present generation, that a passing notice of some among those who still linger on the stage, may not be undeserving a space in your columns.

Samuel Willard, Esq., and his sister, Mrs. Anna Goodhue, are now residing in Lancaster, in the same house in which they were born. At the commencement of the Revolutionary war, the father of these two persons having espoused the Royal [illegible] left Lancaster with his family for Nova Scotia [illegible] remained until the close [illegible] war when, returning to Lancaster, [illegible] of the old home [illegible] been [illegible] The loyalty of the father was rewarded by the British Government in settling on each of the children an annuity of twenty pounds sterling. Mr. Willard has entered his ninety-fifth year in the full enjoyment of his mental faculties, and with an intellect yet unclouded. He wields the pen readily and with vigor, and seeks enjoyment in society, reading, or a game of whist. His hearing is somewhat impaired and he walks with difficulty, but occasionally enjoys a ride in the open air.

Mrs. Goodhue is in her ninety-first year, and retains her youthfulness and all her faculties, except hearing, to a remarkable degree. Her beautiful auburn hair remains unsilvered; she is still an interesting correspondent, and her chirography is round and fair,—almost unchanged in three-quarters of a century. Her eyesight remains perfect, and the most exquisite specimens of her needlework and embroidery are not unfrequently presented to a friend, who will long preserve and cherish them as valuable and interesting mementoes.

She is an exemplification of all the Christian virtues; is always cheerful and fond of society, and seems now in the full enjoyment of a green old age. And thus surrounded by kind children and friends, these venerable relics of another age seem destined to glide gently down the tide of time until their ashes shall mingle with those of their fathers.

Some twenty-three or twenty-four years since, Mr. Manners, then British Consul at Boston, came to Lancaster in search of a summer residence for his family, observing to a friend that he was induced to locate in Lancaster, as his government had learned that here people lived forever. Mr. Manners was delighted with the beautiful scenery and natural resources of Lancaster, and in company with several other distinguished gentlemen, among whom were William Shaler, Esq., (then residing at Lancaster,) formerly Consul at Algiers, and since Consul at Havana, and William Lee, Esq., late of Boston, formerly Consul at Bordeaux, they passed several summers here in social intercourse and enjoyment, finding ample means for indulging in refined tastes and recreations. Delightful drives were daily enjoyed through the cool and shady groves which abound in the vicinity, and which were a constant theme for praise.

The hills and woods were ranged for game—the Nashaway River and our numerous well stored ponds, were frequently laid under contribution to supply the table with substantials for a chowder party of thirty or forty friends, who were gathered in a delightful grove on the margin of some beautiful pond, to do justice to unsurpassed cookery, and sing the praises of old Lancaster, to whom nature has been so bountiful in her gifts.

Most of these worthies—peace to their ashes!—have gone to their long home, but the charming scenery, the windings of the graceful Nashaway, the numerous crystal ponds, and to crown all, the many delightful groves, and the hundreds of majestic and lofty elms which are here scattered in such profusion, are still remembered by those who in years long past loved to seek pure air, to brace the listless nerve, and look for freedom from all cares in a few weeks recreation in old Lancaster.

Old Times.

Written by George L. Thurston, his father John L. Thurston going to Lodi.

New-England Normal Institute,

LANCASTER, MASS.

Design of the Institute.

This Seminary is a school of Departments, under separate instructors, and is designed for the professional training of Teachers, of both sexes, for the duties of instruction in elementary schools, public or private, high schools, and academies. As a private establishment,—unrestricted by State regulations,—it is open to persons of the age of sixteen, from all parts of New England, or the other States of the Union, and to individuals wishing to devote attention to any branch of education, at their own option, for a limited time, as well as to those who desire the advantage of a full progressive course of instruction and study, for successive years.

Calendar.

The Academic year is divided as follows: the Winter Term, of fourteen weeks, commencing on the Monday of the week following Thanksgiving in Massachusetts; the Spring Term, of fourteen weeks, commencing on the last Monday in March; the Fall Term, of fourteen weeks, commencing on the second Monday of August.

Board of Management.

The general affairs of the Institute, are under the control of the Board of Management, consisting of the Prudential Committee and the Board of Instruction.

Departments, Instructors, and Terms of Tuition

ELOCUTION, including Reading and Declamation,—Professor WILLIAM RUSSELL, *Principal:* Mr. LEVI W. RUSSELL, *Assistant Teacher.—Terms of Tuition*, for each session of fourteen weeks, $4,00.

RHETORIC, including Grammar and Composition,—Professor WILLIAM RUSSELL, *Principal:* Mr. LEVI W. RUSSELL, *Assistant Teacher.—Terms as above.*

MATHEMATICS.—GEORGE S. HOUGHTON, *Principal.—Terms*, for the ELEMENTARY COURSE, including Arithmetic, Book-Keeping, and Geography, $4,00; for the INTERMEDIATE COURSE, including Algebra, Plane and Solid Geometry, and Natural Philosophy, $4,00; and for the ADVANCED COURSE, including Analytic Geometry, Trigonometry, Surveying, and Astronomy, $4,00.

LATIN AND GREEK LANGUAGES,—H. C. KIMBALL, A. M., Harvard College, *Principal.—Terms*, $4,00, each language. Students of the Special Course, (not studying in other departments,) $8,00.

MODERN LANGUAGES, including French, German, and Italian,—Professor HERMANN KRÜSI, *Principal.—Terms*, 4,00, each language. Students of the Special Course, $8,00.

NATURAL SCIENCES, including Geology and Mineralogy, Chemistry, Physiology, Botany, &c., SANBORN TENNEY, A, B., Amherst College, *Principal,—Terms*, $4,00, each branch, including the double Course of Lectures and Instruction.

INVENTIVE AND PERSPECTIVE DRAWING,—Professor HERMANN KRÜSI, *Teacher.—Terms*, $4,00, each of the two courses; for students of the Special Course, $8,00.

VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC,—Mr. OSGOOD COLLESTER, *Teacher.—Terms*, in the former of these branches, proportioned to the number of students in a class; in the latter, $12,50, a course of twenty lessons.

PENMANSHIP,—Mr. ALGERNON P. SHATTUCK, *Teacher.—Terms*, Elementary Course, $1,50; Teacher's Course, $2,50.

LECTURES ON PHYSIOLOGY, and other subjects in their respective departments, are given at intervals, during the session. A course on English Literature and on History, on Modes of Education and Methods of Instruction, and on Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, and Logic, as connected with the business of Teaching, is also given by the Director.

BOARDING, in the vicinity of the Institute, from $2,00 to $2,50 a week. Arrangements are made for the accommodation of boarding clubs.

Incidental Expenses, connected with the Seminary, 25c. a term.

NOTE.—Terms, in all departments, payable in advance.

The Institute, having, through the liberality of the friends of education, in its vicinity, been placed on a permanent footing, and ample arrangements having been made for agreeable boarding accommodations, the Board of Management present, with pleasing anticipations, the claims of the Institute on the attention of all persons desiring a thorough course of training for the business of teaching, or opportunities peculiarly favorable for enjoying the benefits of a superior education.

To persons at a distance from our locality, it may not be inappropriate to mention the peculiar advantages of the Institute, as regards healthful situation, quiet and retirement, and beauty of scenery. Individuals who wish to enjoy a residence in the country, during the summer season, in connection with mental recreation, will find favorable opportunities in the public lectures and general exercises of the Institute, or in the departments of elocution, English literature, modern languages, natural history, and drawing, in any of which, as well as in mathematics and the Greek and Latin languages, private instruction may be obtained.

For the Prudential Committee,
J. L. S. THOMPSON, M. D.
For the Board of Instruction,
WILLIAM RUSSELL, DIRECTOR.

Lancaster, Mass., 30 September, 1854.

N. E. Normal Institute.

LANCASTER, MASS.

DESIGN OF THE INSTITUTE.

This Seminary is conducted on the plan of a Teachers' Institute, in permanent session, and is designed for the professional training of persons of both sexes, for the duties of instruction in elementary schools, public or private, high schools, and academies. As a private establishment, — unrestricted by State regulations, — it is open to persons of the age of sixteen, and of certified moral character, from any part of New England, or the other States of the Union. Students may enter at any stage of their educational progress, and give their attention, for a limited time, to whatever branches (not less than two in number) they prefer. Those who desire it, can enjoy the advantage of a full progressive course of preparatory study, for successive years.

CALENDAR.

The Academic Year is divided as follows: The Winter Term, of fourteen weeks, commencing on the Monday of the week following Thanksgiving in Massachusetts; The Spring Term, of fourteen weeks, commencing on the last Monday in March; The Fall Term, of fourteen weeks, commencing on the second Monday of August.

BOARD OF MANAGEMENT.

The general affairs of the Institute, are under the control of the Board of Management, consisting of the Prudential Committee and the Board of Instruction.

DEPARTMENTS, INSTRUCTORS, AND TERMS OF TUITION.

Rhetorical and Elocutionary Departments, including Grammar, Rhetoric, Composition; Reading, Elocution, and Declamation: Professor William Russell, *Principal;* Mr. Levi W. Russell, *Assistant Teacher.* — Terms of Tuition, for each session of fourteen weeks, $4,00 for one Department; $6,00 for two.

Mathematical Department, including Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, and Trigonometry: Professor Hermann Krüsi,* Principal.— Terms, $4,00.

* Formerly Instructor in the Mathematical Department of the "Home and Colonial" Normal Seminary, London.

Latin and Greek Languages: H. C. Kimball, A. M., Harvard College, *Principal*.—Terms, $4,00 for one language, or $6,00 for two.

Modern Languages, including French, German, and Italian: Professor Hermann Krüsi, *Principal;* Mrs. C. T. Symmes, *Assistant Teacher*.—Terms, $4,00 for one language, or $6,00 for two.

Natural Sciences, including Geology and Mineralogy, Physical Geography, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Physiology, and Botany: Sanborn Tenney, A.B., Amherst College, *Principal;* L. S. Burbank, *Assistant*.—Terms, $4,00 for one branch, $2,00 for each additional.

Inventive, Perspective, and Landscape Drawing: Professor Hermann Krüsi, *Principal;* Mrs. C. T. Symmes, *Assistant*.—Terms, $4,00 for one branch, $6,00 for two.

Penmanship, Mr. Algernon P. Shattuck, *Teacher*.—Terms, Elementary Course, $1,50; Teachers' Course, $2,50.

Lectures on Physiology, by J. L. S. Thompson, M. D.; on Geology and Botany, by Sanborn Tenney, A. B., and on English Literature and General History, by Professor Russell, are given weekly, or at stated intervals.

Educational Course, comprising a series of Lectures, by Professor Russell, on the duties of Teachers, and on the Elements of Intellectual Philosophy and Logic, in connection with the Theory of Education, and the Processes of Instruction.

Boarding, in the vicinity of the Institute, from $2,25 to $2,75 a week. Convenient rooms can be obtained, on reasonable terms, by students who wish to board themselves.

Incidental Expenses, connected with the Seminary, 25 cents a term.

☞ *Tuition, in all Departments, payable on the second Monday of each Term.*

The Institute having, through the liberality of the friends of education in its vicinity, been placed on a permanent footing, and the rates of tuition modified accordingly, the Board of Management present, with increased confidence, the claims of the Institute on the attention of persons desiring a thorough course of training for the business of teaching, or wishing to improve peculiar opportunities for enjoying the benefits of a superior education.

Private instruction, in any Department, may be obtained by arrangements made with the Teachers.

For the Prudential Committee,
J. L. S. THOMPSON, M. D.
For the Board of Instruction,
WILLIAM RUSSELL, Director.

Lancaster, Mass., 15th June, 1855.

May 21, 67

A Memorial Hall.

To the Editors of the Boston Daily Advertiser:—

The subject of a suitable monument to the memory of those who have fallen in the late war has exercised the invention and ingenuity of many persons of taste and feeling in most of the towns and cities of New England. How shall we do honor to the brave who have gone, without exciting anything but respect and admiration in the hearts of those who remain? What and where shall the monument be? Shall it be a plain column, a pillar, pyramid or obelisk, serene in its simplicity? or shall it be an ornamented shaft with a tasteful capital? or a Greek altar, loaded with wreaths and chaplets, like some of the beautiful monuments in Mount Auburn? or a triumphal Roman arch, rich inside and outside with inscriptions and figures? or an elaborate monument, with heads and full length figures, grand and imposing, like the splendid composition designed by Miss Hosmer for Lincoln, poetical, costly, and in the highest degree artistic? Each one of these must have stood in the open air, in some place inconvenient and uncomfortable to examine in mid-winter or in the heats of summer, when people have most leisure to look about, or it must have occupied a large space in some church or public hall.

Should it be a tablet on a wall in a church like that exquisite one just erected in King's Chapel, to be seen on Sundays or on application to the sexton, or shall it be in a court or town house, to be seen on court days or election days?

Should the tablet be a plain marble slab, with simple names, dates and inscriptions? or a tablet ornamented with hatchments, escutcheons, arms, crests, shields, swords?

Shall it be in some frequented place where one could not remain long without fear of interrupting or being interrupted; or in some sheltered place, made for the express purpose, but with which may be associated other objects elevating, soothing or instructive?

I have not seen or heard of any plan elsewhere which gives a more satisfactory answer to these questions than one which has been proposed and is about to be executed by the citizens of that mother of towns, time-honored Lancaster. A friend has shown me the plans and explained the design of a memorial hall to be erected in the centre of that pleasant old town. The question was how shall they do perpetual honor to the dead and, at the same time, benefit, in the highest degree, the living of the present and of future generations?

After full consideration and discussion, the citizens have, with great unanimity, resolved to erect a modest building, to be called Memorial Hall, but which shall serve as a Town Library, and shall furnish reading rooms, rooms for the town officers, for collections in natural history and a lecture room.

On the centre of the rear wall, opposite the entrance, in the principle apartment, marble tablets will contain the names of all citizens of the town who have fallen in the war, with suitable commemorative inscriptions. This room is to be finished in an octagon form, as a library, the walls to be occupied by shelves for books, and the small triangular rooms made of the four corners, to be also furnished with shelves and used as reading rooms. The rooms in front of the library, on either side of the entrance hall, to be for the town officers and for the librarian.

The space above these front rooms, in the next story, to be arranged as a lecture room, the walls being occupied with shelves or cases for collections.

The Memorial Hall will be beautifully situated, on a gentle elevation in the centre of the town, near the post-office, the bank and the churches, and commanding views on the north and east of the Harvard and Bolton Hills, on the south and west of the beautiful valley of the Nashua, with its cultivated fields and tasteful habitations, rich meadows, and the stately hickories and magnificent elms, for which the town has always been famous, beyond all which towers Wachusett.

The lot, of one or two acres, on the front edge of which the Memorial Hall is to stand, is to be laid out and planted with young trees of every species found native in New England, and with all the various shrubs and undershrubs.

The library will be, as it should be, in a central, pleasant situation. It should be rendered attractive. What better can be done to render it so, than to have it in a cheerful room, well ventilated and well lighted, and in cold weather well warmed, with little rooms, each with its window, for solitary reading? What better adjunct to a library than collections of the stones, minerals, shells, birds, insects, and other natural objects of interest, inside the building, and, outside, living specimens of all our trees and shrubs, the most beautiful and the most various to be found native in any country in the temperate zones?

How will it strike strangers?

A person from a distance, perhaps one born in the town, comes to visit it. He wishes to see the monument of a friend of his childhood who fell for his country. He inquires for the place, and finds it the most delightful in town, and that the patriotic citizens have embalmed the memory of the hero, by surrounding the name and the inscription which will carry it down to posterity, with all that is most agreeable for the present and most auspicious for the future. He reads on the commemorative tablet the date and place of the battle in which his friend fell. He finds, in an adjoining alcove, a volume which gives an account of that battle and a history of the events of which it formed an important part. He has an hour to spare, and seats himself, by a pleasant window, to read an interesting chapter in the history of his friend and of his country.

He strolls into the grounds, and is agreeably surprised to find there specimens of all the trees he once knew, each with its name nicely ticketed. He is delighted thus to learn, at last, the name of many an old friend of his childhood, whom he had known by sight in the woods and now finds introduced to him in the good company of many others he now sees for the first time as denizens of the forests of this or other parts of the State. Or, if he be inclined to prolong his stay, he sees, in one of the apartments, an arranged and labelled collection of specimens of all the rocks and minerals of the town and country; in another, all the birds that tarry there for the summer or visit the woods in the neighborhood, on their way to distant regions North or South. In one set of drawers he finds, under glass, all butterflies; in another, the insects injurious to vegetation, in their various forms of grub, caterpillar, chrysalis and perfect fly; in another the shells of the streams, lakes and land; and he wonders there are so many. On the label of each specimen he finds a reference to volumes, to be found near at hand, in which they are described and their history is given.

He came to look for a memorial of his lost friend He finds his monument surrounded by memorials of the formation but curious and wonderful beauties of God's creation. He came an affectionate man, a lover of the friends of his childhood, but perhaps a thoughtless or unobservant traveller. He goes away graver and wiser, with bright purposes rising in his thoughtof beautifying, in this noble style, his new home in a distant State, in the valley of the Mississippi or on the coast of the Pacific.

George B Emerson LL.D G. B. E.

ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE

Dedication of Memorial Hall, Lancaster,

JUNE 17, 1868.

BY CHRISTOPHER T. THAYER;

AND

ODE,

BY H. F. BUSWELL.

With an Appendix.

BOSTON:
NICHOLS AND NOYES,
117, WASHINGTON STREET.
1868.

Public Dedication

OF THE

Memorial Hall,

IN

LANCASTER,

Wednesday, June 17th, 1868.

COURANT PRINT, CLINTON.

Order of Exercises.

1.—Music.

2.—Reading Scriptures.

3.—Prayer.

4.—Music.

5.—ADDRESS.

By the REV. CHRISTOPHER T. THAYER, of Boston.

6.—MUSIC.

7.—ODE.

By H. F. BUSWELL, Esq.

8.—PRAYER.

9.—BENEDICTION.

The Chairman of the Executive Committee will preside, and the services will begin at 2 o'clock P. M.

ADDRESS.

My Friends, — For such I feel that I may address you, one and all, — here in this charming valley, surrounded by those hills over which are drawn waving lines of beauty, crowned queen among the valleys with living green and golden sunshine, we have met together; some to whom this is their first and only home, others having here their chosen residence, some returning to the loved place of their nativity, others who have here taught or studied and lived, others still comparatively strangers; yet all of us attracted by objects that themselves bind us in common ties, and make us one in mutual regard and friendship.

It has been said of some of our States, that they were good places in which to be born, but not to live. But even the stranger, as he looks upon these lovely scenes, must admit that this is a goodly land in which to dwell; and that he must be hard to please, if not guilty of great ingratitude, who cannot here find a happy abode. For my own part, I must say — pardon me, if it be egotistically — that, though my lot has been mostly cast in some of the pleasantest places by the sea, and for a long period amid many of the most beautiful and interesting regions across the ocean and in the old world, I can truly and from the heart say, —

> "Where'er I roam, whatever realms to see,
> My heart untravelled fondly turns to thee," —

To thee, the home of my infancy and youth, where first I breathed the breath of life, on which my eyes first opened, and

on which they have never ceased to rest with delight. And now, through the public spirit, generosity, and excellent taste of the citizens, has been added to it the new charm of a noble memorial of the patriotic dead, coupled with an intellectual mine of inexhaustible and immeasurable wealth, which shall improve and bless the present and succeeding generations.

The interest taken in this enterprise is indicated and testified to by the numbers I now see before me. Probably, on no former occasion has so large an audience been assembled on this green, unless it were when Lafayette, our country's great benefactor, was welcomed as the nation's guest. The arch under which he was received was but an emblem of that in the heart of the whole country, spanning, like the vault of heaven, the entire land. Many present, I am sure, will agree with me in wishing that the clear, deep, sonorous voice which gave him welcome, that of the minister of this church, the only place of worship at that time in the town, might be heard here and now. Certain I am, that, if heard at all, it would be uttered in entire accordance with the purposes of this assembling, and would be in tones of rejoicing that any of his children should take a part, however humble, on this occasion.

Two objects are embraced in it. The first is to dedicate a suitable and grateful memorial of your brave fellow-citizens, who at their country's call, and in the ardor of patriotic impulse, went forth from among you, life in hand, ready to peril life and all they held dear on earth, to do and die, and actually did lay down their own lives for the saving of that of the nation. This is in singular and beautiful harmony with the call which within a few weeks has sounded through the length and breadth of our land; and been instinctively, as it were, and so cordially and universally responded to, for decorating with flowers the graves of soldiers and heroes fallen in the great civil conflict through which we have lately passed. A spirit like that expressed in the lines of one of England's most gifted poets, Mrs. Hemans, seems in response to that call to have possessed the hearts of our people: —

"Bring flowers, pale flowers, o'er the bier to shed,
A crown for the brow of the early dead.
For this through its leaves hath the white rose burst,
For this in the woods was the violet nursed.
Though they smile in vain for what once was ours,
They are love's last gift: bring ye flowers, pale flowers."

The general burst of enthusiasm with which the sacred rite was performed, answered well to the glowing words, in which General Logan, commander of the Grand Army of the Republic, in an order designating the thirtieth day of May last, for strewing with flowers, or otherwise decorating, the graves of comrades who died in defence of their country, says, "If other eyes grow dull, and other hands slack, and other hearts cold in the solemn trust, ours shall keep it well as long as the light and warmth of life remain to us. Let us then, at the time appointed, gather around their sacred remains, and garland the passionless mounds above them with the choicest flowers of springtime; let us raise above them the dear old flag they saved from dishonor; let us in this solemn presence renew our pledges to aid those whom they have left among us, a sacred charge upon a nation's gratitude, the soldier's and sailor's widow and orphan."

I rejoice that similar demonstrations of feeling and taste were made for those who were arrayed and fell in the hostile ranks. Though foes for a time, they yet were our countrymen, our fellow-countrymen. Some of them were forced into a service, which at heart they despised and detested; others being deluded by bad counsels, or swayed by prejudice, or acting and fighting from honest and strong conviction; while others there may have been, and I think were, actuated by ambitious, selfish, cruel motives, to whose names, however we may forgive them in our hearts or commend them to the mercy of God, will adhere a cleaving curse. Still the late floral solemnities are to be rejoiced in, as indicating progress in real sentiment and refined taste. Whether observed in relation to victors or vanquished, they may be hailed as harbingers of a brighter and better day, when the amenities and arts of peace shall be cultivated and

exercised, and higher refinement and elevation of character be attained. My friend Professor Russell, whom for all but "the critic's eye" I am happy to see with us to-day, many years ago, —neither he nor myself might care to say definitely how many,— in one of his elocutionary lessons (from which, if all his pupils had been as apt to learn as he was to teach, you might at this time be gainers), remarked, that a great defect in the American mind was a want of emotional cultivation. In his native Scotland, he said, it was common for parents, even the inhabitants of humble cottages, to call forth their children to admire and receive permanent and deep impressions of the beauties and sublimities of nature. Not so was it then with us. But, while there has since been an improved appreciation of what is interesting and exciting in natural objects, dull and slow of heart must we have been, if, amid all the stirring, trying scenes through which in the last few years we have passed, we have not had our souls moved to their lowest deeps, and had a depth and power of emotion, patriotic, moral, and religious, to which before we were utter strangers. This anniversary of the ever-memorable battle of Bunker Hill, so fraught with strong, patriotic, and, if rightly viewed, pious emotion, has been most appropriately selected for these commemorative and dedicatory services. Many circumstances combined to render that battle a grand event and turning point in the history, not of our country only, but of the world. Considered merely as a military drama, it was one of the most dramatic ever presented to human view. As, lately, I stood on an elevation overlooking the principal scenes connected with it, and recurred in thought to what they who stood there on the 17th of June, 1775, must have witnessed, I was struck anew with the impression that, for grandeur and effect, it could scarcely, if ever, have been exceeded. There, on that height, which, for what was suffered and achieved, may well be to us a Mount of remembrance, was the small band, — behind intrenchments, which like Jonah's gourd had sprung up in a night, — assailed by deadly missiles from batteries and vessels of war. Then there were mustering of troops on Boston Common, and marching to the points of embarka-

tion, and gathering on the eastern point of the peninsula of Charlestown, all clad in brilliant military trappings and burnished armor. All the surrounding dwellings and hill-tops, meanwhile, were crowded with earnest, anxious spectators of the great tragedy to be enacted. Forward! the order was given, when the proud host advanced; and at the moment of assured triumph they were met by a reserved fire, which, while consigning many brave officers and men to their last account, produced a recoil which even the bravest could not withstand. The discomfited were rallied, only to be again driven back with dreadful shedding of blood and loss of life. Once more, with ranks re-inforced and vastly superior numbers, they returned to the charge and succeeded in driving from their intrenchments those who, with exhausted ammunition, could only resist them with the butts of their muskets, and a resolute will. Meantime Charlestown had been fired by the enemy, and the flames and smoke and crackling of fires mingled with the overhanging clouds and awful din of battle. For miles around this scene of smoke and flame, and dread conflict was beheld; and where not seen, was heard and felt in the roar of musketry and cannon, so as to be accounted, especially with the great issues impending, among the most impressive events of war.

On that literally "high place of the field," many good and brave men acted and fell. From this town one, David Robbins, was killed on the spot; and another, Robert Phelps, died of his wounds soon after the battle. But then and there, chief among the sacrifices laid on the altar of their country, was General Joseph Warren. Distinguished in his youth by fine physical and mental endowments, the youth was significant of the man. There is a tradition, received from some of the older inhabitants, in which I am confirmed by one here present, who is not likely to be found at fault in traditionary lore, that during his collegiate course at Cambridge, he taught a district school of this town. Certain it is, that at the age of nineteen years he was appointed master of the grammar school in Roxbury, which he conducted with marked success. By education a scholar, by profession a physician, fitted by natural and acquired

gifts to be eminent and successful in the profession of his choice, and having actually attained honorable distinction in it, he was impelled by his ardor as a patriot, and the claim urged by his fellow-countrymen on his acknowledged and great abilities, to devote himself mainly to the absorbing civil interests of the time. The superiority he displayed in these, as in other respects, is sufficiently proved by the remark of John Adams, that he regarded him, and his compatriot, Josiah Quincy, as two of the ablest and most accomplished men then living. On the 5th of March, 1775, the anniversary of the Boston massacre, which was celebrated in the Old South meeting-house, he was the orator. Revolutionary discussions, agitations, and events were rapidly approaching a crisis. Just as the exercises were about commencing, the patriot, Samuel Adams, of whom with good reason it has been affirmed, that he, more than any other man, commanded our nation into existence, who presided, was informed, in tones of hurry and alarm, that many British officers were at the doors, viewing themselves, no doubt, in duty bound to preserve peace and order, and guard against, and, if need be, suppress, sedition and rebellion. With the utmost calmness and urbanity he replied, "Invite the gentlemen in;" at the same time ordering that the front seats should be cleared for their accommodation. Not feeling at liberty to decline so bland an invitation, in they came; and there they sat in the midst of that vast and crowded assembly, listening in all probability to as close preaching as ever issued from the Old South pulpit. Warren commenced his oration by announcing as his subject, "The Danger of Standing Armies in Time of Peace," — a rather bold announcement, considering that Boston was then in the possession of British troops, stationed there to overawe and keep in subjection her own and the neighboring populations. And undaunted by the hisses of opponents and foes, nor unduly elated and tempted to extravagance by the cheers of friends, — for with one or other of these salutations was he repeatedly and often met, — he discussed his theme with a self-possession, thoroughness, and power of eloquence which placed him in the front rank of orators, patriots, and brave

men. Altogether, this scene may be viewed as a fitting prelude to the actual hostilities which, little more than a month later, opened on the plains of Lexington and Concord.

Yet the hour of his departure and sacrifice was at hand. His few remaining months and days were passed amid most exciting scenes and momentous events, and were filled to the full with duties performed, with high and varied usefulness. On committees for sustaining and carrying on the war, President of the Provincial Assembly, then appointed major-general in the army, the amount of duty discharged, the ascendency acquired, the influence exerted, by this young man, who at his death was not much more than thirty years of age, may fairly be accounted among the marvels of civil and political history.

When it was apparent that the British general (Gage) had resolved on forthwith driving the Americans from their position on Charlestown heights, the gallant Major Brooks — afterward distinguished in fiercely contested fields during the Revolution, and since for years the greatly respected and beloved Governor of Massachusetts, whom many of us beheld and remember as a model of grace and dignity on yonder parade-ground, at the largest and most imposing military review ever held in this vicinity, to whose recital of thrilling incidents in the Revolutionary War, and especially in its first great battle, I have often listened with rapt interest — was despatched to headquarters at Cambridge to call for re-inforcements. These Warren expressed a determination to join. To his friend Elbridge Gerry, who sought to dissuade him from so doing, and urgently remonstrated against his thus exposing his invaluable life, he simply, and as if with a presentiment of his fall, replied, "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*," — sweet and glorious is it to die for one's country. Similar in expression, showing a like determined and self-sacrificing spirit, and in some of its terms strikingly applicable to the nature of our late civil strife, was this declaration of an Essex-County convention, in September of the previous year: "Though above all things, slavery excepted, we deprecate the evils of a civil war; though we are deeply anxious to restore and preserve harmony with our breth-

ren in Great Britain; yet, if the despotism and violence of our enemies should finally reduce us to the sad necessity, we, undaunted, are ready to appeal to the last resort of States; and will, in support of our rights, encounter even death, sensible that he can never die too soon who lays down his life in support of the laws and liberties of his country."

Arrived on what was soon to be the field of desperate conflict, the presence of Warren is hailed by the troops with shouts of joy and triumph, and imparts a magic impulse to that devoted band of citizen and patriot soldiers. There he stands and moves, resplendent in manly beauty and vigor, in exalted feeling and sublime heroism, with the "rose of heaven on his cheek, and the fire of liberty in his eye." The veteran Colonel Prescott hastens to greet him, and, in deference to his superior rank, offers him the chief command. But no: that he positively declines. He has come to obey, not to direct; to learn, from veterans of larger experience and former wars, — and from no truer or more valiant officers and men could he learn, — to serve in the ranks, and share with the common soldier the perils and glories there to be met or acquired. Through the surging waves of the awful succeeding conflict, he is courageous, firm, ever on the alert, and most effective. And at the sounding of a retreat, because of exhausted ammunition and overpowering numbers, he is among the last to retire, and receives the fatal wound by which he is placed among the highest on the list of our country's martyrs and benefactors.

Let me now for a moment ask your attention to the remarkable providences through which, by a singular inversion, defeat was turned to victory, and ever since has been celebrated as such. In a mere military point of view, I believe it is admitted by those best capable of judging, that decided mistakes were committed on both sides. The Americans had stationed themselves on a peninsula connected with the main land by a narrow isthmus, which was enfiladed, and, to a great extent commanded, by the fire of British vessels, — so that they must incur extreme danger, if not starvation and capture. On the other hand, the British, by venturing a direct attack, were liable to, and actually

did, suffer immense loss; whereas, if they had bided their time, they could, with the forces they had at command on land and water, have compelled to retreat, or reduced to surrender, those of the Americans. Not so was it in the divine counsels. Man proposes, but God disposes. On a warm Saturday afternoon in June, the flower of the British army sallied forth from the metropolis, flushed with anticipations of an easy triumph over hastily gathered and undisciplined troops; but before nightfall they were in the midst of one of the bloodiest tragedies, in proportion to the numbers engaged, ever enacted in modern warfare, and themselves by far the greatest losers and sufferers. The consequence was, that the patriot army was inspired by the results of the contest with new confidence in their prowess, and renewed assurance of ultimate success and triumph. Moreover, the blood of the martyred heroes cried from the ground. Warren, their chief's name, alone, was a talisman to rouse and sway the hearts of his countrymen. As the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church; as by the greatest sacrifice men have been prompted to become living sacrifices and holy offerings, — so the blood, shed in the solemn and momentous scene we have now contemplated, had a living power to move to the high resolution and persistent endeavor, that it should not have been spilt in vain.

Like providences have been known in our recent experience. Thrillingly have they been recognized by not a few among us. I do not mean to intimate that Providence does not work, is not ruling and overruling, in the midst of all events and human affairs. Still it may be admitted, that the divine hand and agency are more manifested, more peculiarly and strongly marked, in some of them than in most others. Take, for instance, the first overt act of violence and military demonstration in the late rebellion. It was not the disproportion of numbers between the little band that defended Fort Sumter, and the hosts that besieged it, — though that took mighty hold of the general sympathy, — which wrought most deeply on the national heart. It was the dishonoring and bringing down of our country's flag; which none of us till then, when, grasped

by sacrilegious hands and foul treason, it was trailed in the dust, knew or felt how much we loved it, or realized the sublime meaning wrapped in its folds, — that it was the sacred sign and symbol, the living representative, as it were, of the union, integrity, peace, prosperity, — the very life, — of the nation; of all the privileges and blessings in which as fellow-countrymen we rejoice and glory, and by which its name and existence are endeared to our souls. They who had thought to "fire the Southern heart," soon found another and a stronger one fired, — that, in place of the dragons' teeth they had sown, there sprung up hosts of armed men, ready at all hazards to sustain their country's cause, and answer in full accord to the all but inspired appeal of the patriotic poet, —

> "Stand by the flag,
> All doubt and treason scorning.
> Believe, with courage firm, and faith sublime,
> That it shall wave,
> Till the eternal morning
> Pales in its glories all the lights of time."

So, in the ever-memorable passage through Baltimore on the 19th of April, 1861, when victims from our own State and neighborhood were freely laid on the altar of liberty, while on the way to save the ark of the nation's freedom, do we see the same guiding, providential hand. The coincidence in date was, of itself, a providence, — pointing in the same direction, and leading to the same grand result, as that of April 19, 1775, and was not without strong effect on the public mind. He, the late Governor Andrew, under whom those victims were marshalled and sent forth on their blessed errand, who so touchingly directed their remains to be tenderly cared for and returned to the homes which their untimely fate had left desolate, was in himself a providence. In him were wonderfully combined sensibility, sagacity, administrative energy, and ability. Scenting treason, with its wiles and workings, from afar, he showed wisdom and true greatness in at once preparing to meet and repel it. Ever, amid so many other tokens of his credit and renown, will it be remembered to his honor, that, owing to

his foresight and efforts, Massachusetts troops, from nearly five hundred miles' distance, were the first to appear in defence of the capital. Not, as in one instance at least of ancient Rome, by the cackling of geese, but by the keen-sighted, true-hearted, indefatigable efforts of our citizens, — and foremost among them the honored, beloved, and, I grieve to add, lamented Andrew, — was the capital saved.

Then there was the first battle in the War of the Rebellion, — that of Bull Run. Being in England at the time it occurred, I was under painful apprehensions of the tendencies of our affairs. Distance is said to lend enchantment, but may also to the humblest minds give correctness, to the view. The cry heard from some of the leading journals was, "On to Richmond!" An insane *furor* was abroad, implying that advance only was necessary, and all would go well, and ignoring the artful and deeply laid schemes and actual talents and resources of the rebel chiefs. So that when one evening, at the residence of our minister, Mr. Adams, the intelligence of the disastrous defeat which had befallen us came to me, it seemed rather as the bursting of an impending cloud, than an occasion for extreme surprise. Though not, in itself, calculated to favor deep sleep, I slept upon it as well as I could. And the next morning I had come to the conclusion which, if not the most gratifying to national pride, was the most comforting and the best of which the circumstances admitted; and that was, that the mortifying disaster was a necessary and salutary discipline, which would only tend to rouse the supporters of the Union to more definite and strenuous efforts for its preservation. In one faith I then as never faltered, — that the union of these States must and would be preserved. Swiss said to me, "Are we, the little lone republic of Europe, to be left altogether solitary and alone; and you, the great one, to which we have looked as model, guide, and guardian, to be dissolved and melt into thin air?" Italians asked, "Is your great nation to be sundered into North and South, if not an indefinite number of fragments, while we are struggling to bring our glorious old peninsula to one political faith, and under one consolidated and benign government?"

Germans, too, striving for the concentration of magnificent powers, which had been frittered and all but thrown away and annihilated by division and subdivision, and which have since been, and are now in process of being, so nobly concentrated and maintained, exclaimed, with a feeling akin to despair, "Are all our theories of unity false? all our strivings for it vain? Is it altogether a hollow and sad delusion?" Frenchmen there were, who expressed cordial sympathy with our countrymen in the distractions and trials through which they were passing; but many of the same nation went hand in hand, heart in heart, with their Emperor in his covert, but poorly concealed, hostility to our Union; by which, and in the spirit of which, he, taking advantage of our civil commotions, sought — ill-fated and disastrous though the effort proved — to erect an empire in Mexico; which, if not absolutely annexed to the Southern would-be Confederacy, should be nearly allied to that; both of them being under his domination, and both opposed to the progress of our free republican institutions. Englishmen, — what shall I say of them, our kinsmen and brethren, dwellers in our father-land? Some of them with tears in their eyes, and, I doubt not, from the depths of their souls, deplored the calamities under which we were struggling, national life and death being held in the balance. Ever is it to be recorded to the honor and glory of the workingmen of England, that at all risks, even that of starvation for themselves and their families, they stood up without faltering and inflexibly for what they clearly discerned was not more the cause of union than of freedom. This they did, with a common sense and right feeling, which afford strong grounds of hope and satisfaction in the future; notwithstanding the Prime Minister, Palmerston, in the Commons, and the Foreign Secretary, Russell, in the House of Lords, had declared our condition hopeless, and our union of States irrevocably sundered; notwithstanding lords and gentry and many others fully believed in the dissolution of that union, and large commercial interests were joined with rebels against it, in committing depredations on our commerce, by which it was sorely crippled and threatened with annihilation even; though

a day of reckoning is at hand, as sure as any event of national policy can be, in which I trust just recompense to the uttermost farthing will be rigorously insisted on. But, amid all questionings and forebodings in that hour of severe and dread crisis for our country, I had but one opinion, one reply, one confidence; which substantially was, that whatever the difficulties, dangers, vicissitudes through which we had to pass, — and they might be various and multiform, — we should come out the brighter and better, more free, prosperous, and happy for the trials we had endured. And with something of exultation may I ask, Is it not so? or is it not so to be?

Another incident, marvellous in itself and considered merely as a coincidence, but illustrative of the wonderful providence by which through direst straits we were carried on, occurred at the mouth of the Chesapeake, in the vicinity of what proved to be our last strong fortress, Monroe. When the iron-clad "Merrimac," wrought with cunning art and amazing device by our foes, had wreaked death and destruction on a portion of the fleet anchored there, in a single day, and only waited the return of morning to devour as a Leviathan of the deep all the rest, there appeared in the distance, no larger than a man's hand and scarcely visible above the water, an angel of deliverance, a new invention and mere experiment, yet destined to work a complete revolution in naval warfare, the "Monitor," under command of the heroic, self-sacrificing, and all but sacrificed, Worden. At dawn of day, as the monster came, bent on and sure of his prey, he was met like the eagle by the king-bird, like Goliath by David, an apparently insignificant, but ultimately victorious, antagonist. And, before the setting of the sun, he had retired to his hiding-place, to be no more seen or known, or, at most, to be counted among the things past and gone.

The prolongation of the War of the Rebellion is to be regarded as among the leadings of a kind and merciful Providence. Heavily as it bore upon us, deeply wounded and grieved as we were to give up, in behalf of our country's liberties, one after another, whole hecatombs, indeed, of our bravest and best, some of us saw then, and all must now see, that it was

good for us to have been thus afflicted. Surely it was no mean sacrifice, and equally sure is it that it was for no unworthy ends. By that delay and those prolonged trials, our people were brought to a true and exact comprehension of the real state of affairs, to realize that it was not the preservation of the Union, but the abominable and ever-to-be-execrated institution of human slavery, which was the actual issue. Slow, cautious, heeding carefully constitutional provisions, by which some of the warmest friends of freedom were embarrassed, the executive at length, and none too soon, planted itself on the strong, impregnable ground of universal emancipation, as a military necessity; thus virtually wiping away the stripes, and leaving only the stars to adorn our country's banner. How meekly, wisely, and kindly the race held in bondage to downright slavery, or prejudice scarcely less absolute, in relation to whose fate the war was in fact raging, bore themselves; how, when summoned to the contest, they were among the bravest and most valiant, neither you nor I need be told. History will sufficiently record their bravery, and attest their genuine worth. But the grand result — the placing of our political institutions on their original and legitimate basis, that of the free and equal rights of all men — is due to the protracted, painful, oft-times disheartening, but finally triumphant, struggle through which we have lately passed. Had our triumph been earlier, we should have triumphed less, if at all. Complete triumph was the only adequate assurance that the victory was worth having. Blessed be God, who gave us the victory, by which free institutions were vindicated, by which the down-trodden were raised up and delivered, and the free made free indeed!

One more providence I must, in consonance with my own convictions, mention, though it is in no partisan spirit that I allude to it. What I refer to is not the prolongation of the trials of war, but those of peace. When war had ceased, many vainly — and events have demonstrated most vainly — flattered themselves, that all was settled, and that we had only to sit down in happy tranquillity by still waters. But who, after such a war of elements, could reasonably expect a dead calm imme-

diately to ensue? Certainly it has not. Rebellion may have been subdued; but the spirit of rebellion is not exorcised, nor, foul as it may be, is it likely soon to be driven out. Yet this painful suspense, this hope deferred and wofully disappointed, this placing at an indefinite distance the consummation of our fondest wishes for ourselves and our country's consolidation and welfare, — all these I fully believe to be fraught with real solid, lasting advantage. A space has thus been afforded for digging about and rendering more safe the foundations of our union and our liberties. Securities, which otherwise might have been overlooked and neglected, have been brought to view; and the whole fabric has been, or is in process of being, strengthened and beautified.

We come now, and after longer preliminaries, perhaps, than I ought to have indulged in, to the notice more particularly of those who gave themselves heart, soul, body, and estate, to their country's cause in her late extremity. All honor be paid to the thousands, hundreds of thousands, nay, millions, thus devoted and faithful! Not on the tented field only was such devotion shown, but at the fireside and in the family circle, made solitude by the absence of the dearly loved and how many lost! Heavy indeed were the burdens borne by multitudes, — pecuniarily burdensome, — but not to be mentioned in comparison with the load of care, anxiety, often despair, which weighed on the overburdened heart. Woman! how she loomed an angel of light amid the lowering clouds and the surrounding darkness! Florence Nightingales sprang up as by enchantment, and whether in hospital, camp, or the very field of battle, doing no dishonor to the name. Others there were, who in less exposed positions did good and not less material service. One I well know and delight to honor, — and so well known I need not name, — who, foregoing the charms of the most cultivated society, resigning the peace and domestic comfort so congenial to mature life, gave herself, her time, her labors and means, for four long years, wholly up to generous sympathy with, and supplying the needs of, patriot soldiers; so establishing a most desirable place, not

only in their hearts, but in that of this whole community. With such instances in view, well may we exclaim, —

> "In the great history of the land,
> A noble type of good,
> Heroic womanhood!"

Special honor ought we to give to them who, buckling on their armor, went forth to the fight, and bravely meeting the chances of war, yet survive to gladden our hearts by their presence. Let them be assured, that as live heroes they are not less honored than dead heroes. Gladly, honorably, with my deep reverence in which I am sure all around me will join, do we welcome their presence, as not that of the dead, but of the living, here to-day. And yet I am assured, that none more cordially join us in paying honors to the departed, in erecting and consecrating this memorial of their worth, this tribute to their precious memories. Much as we rejoice that your lives have been spared amid the perils through which in the mighty conflict they passed, scarcely less do we take joy and solace in the patriotic sympathy by which your tears are mingled with ours in these commemorative rites.

You of this town, who bared your breasts to all the dangers of the late tremendous conflict, and courageously rushed to the deadly breach, let me say here, showed yourselves worthy successors of those whose names, running through the long line of more than two centuries, have been distinguished in the defence of their homes, or their country and her liberties. It was in no aggressive spirit, no violent wresting from the aboriginal possessors, but by purchase mutually agreed to be just and equitable, that these fair and fertile vales and hills, these beautiful groves and woodlands, intersected as by silver threads with streams of living water, came into the possession of the first English settlers. They named it Lancaster, after the shire town of one of the largest and most opulent counties of England, remarkable for its beautiful and commanding position, in which, especially in its old cemetery, are found names, familiar here, that indicate not mere fancy, but native and dearly cherished associations in

the selection of the name. For years, this was a frontier settlement, of decided prominence for its position, and also for its extent; comprising as it did what with itself now includes the territory of nine different towns. At first all seemed peaceful and prosperous, and the surrounding tribe of savages of so gentle a nature as to be so only in name. But under King Philip's combinations, with his deadly determination to exterminate the whites, the scene was wholly changed. The population was thrown into garrisons, and the garrisons became centres of war and siege. In one attacked in February, 1676, were over fifty persons, nearly half of whom were killed, and the rest, with the first minister's wife, carried, with her dying child, into all but hopeless captivity, from which happily she was rescued. Your second minister, Whiting, was killed in conflict with Indians; and your third, by a sentry, mistaking him for an Indian foe; both falling and dying on the now attractive park of Colonel Fay. Strange, most unnatural, it seems, that the smoke and lurid clouds of battle should hover over, and the din of war be echoed from, the mild atmosphere of this peaceful and charming valley. Not only so, but hence have gone forth others, and not in defence of themselves alone, but for others' relief. Simon Willard, your own townsman, — whom I regard as among the magnates, the chiefs and leaders of the land, ancestor of two Presidents of Harvard College, and a posterity — in which is included Joseph Willard, your historian, and long your worthy fellow-citizen — of which any one might be proud; Major of Middlesex of which this was then a part, and holding a command in the militia second only to that of the chief executive, — sprang at the first call to the rescue of the beleaguered settlements on our Western border, and, though at the age of threescore and ten, effected their entire deliverance. In the subsequent wars with the French and Indians, the men of Lancaster bore their full part of duty and bravery. Among them was Colonel Abijah Willard, descendant of the first of that name just mentioned, who commanded a regiment in what has long been termed "the old French War;" himself honored for his public and private services, and followed by worthy rep-

no. Mrs R. Says "37" others "42" —

? ×

× Not so. Whiting was "at a distance from his garrison" when killed and scalped

resentatives down to this time. An adjutant of his regiment was Samuel Ward, one of the most remarkable men, not of this place only, but of any place where his abode might have been fixed. Born in Worcester, he at the early — premature I should rather say — age of sixteen years, enlisted as a private in the army, and, before completing his twentieth year, rose to be adjutant. He was at the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point by the forces under General Amherst in 1759, and of *Isle aux Noix* and Montreal in 1760. Soon after the war, he came here, engaged in mercantile business, held various offices in town and State; and up to the last of his life, prolonged as it was to eighty-seven years, he was distinguished as a supporter of good institutions, for his acts of neighborly kindness and friendship, for a most liberal hospitality, and for a wit so ready and sparkling, a wisdom so keen and penetrating, a spirit so genial, diffusive, and magnetic, as to make his society ever welcome and a delight to young and old alike, and give life and soul to any circle in which he moved. Hardly can we, who knew him well, expect to see his like again.

1767 ?

A pleasant allusion of his to the early experience he had in war, here occurs to me. When the neighboring town of Fitchburg, whose respectable representation we gladly hail to-day, was a mere village in a narrow valley, overshadowed by surrounding lofty hills, he used to say that on entering it he felt that he had got into camp. This, of course, was before that now enterprising and prosperous town — availing of its central position, exacting tribute and profit from every drop of water in the north branch of the Nashua, which here is permitted to flow in comparative freedom and beauty; having no fear before its eyes of becoming a shire, with jails and convicts, and perhaps the multiplication of prosecutors and advocates, as our influential fathers of this place had when the same boon was offered to them; cherishing no feeble aspirations of being soon enrolled among the cities of the Commonwealth; and spreading itself in pride and glory over all the neighboring heights — had forfeited all title to the similitude, and as now viewed had taken from the playful allusion, just referred to, its point and jest.

As we come down to the times of the Revolution, we find a highly honorable record of the part taken in it by the citizens of this town. Heavy drafts were made upon them for men and money, which, almost without exception, were met with cheerful alacrity. During the protracted contest, all the able-bodied men either served in the field, or were represented by substitutes. A few there were who, impressed with the idea that the conflict was an unequal one and likely to prove disastrous to this side, either withdrew from the country, or else maintained, as far as was consistent with remaining in their homes, a cautious neutrality. With the greatest caution, however, and whatever the sacrifices which willingly or reluctantly they might make, those of a conservative cast were subjected to severe trials, and were obliged to encounter serious perils. "In June, 1777," says your historian, "Colonel Asa Whitcomb was, in pursuance of a resolve of the General Assembly, chosen to collect evidence against such persons as shall be deemed internal enemies to the State. The names of a number of citizens were placed on the list, as being of that description, which were afterwards stricken off. It is related of Rev. Mr. Harrington, that when his name was added to the list, the venerable and truly excellent man bared his breast before his people and exclaimed, 'Strike, strike here, with your daggers: I am a true friend to my country.' The passion for proscribing innocent persons soon subsided; calmer and more thorough investigation by the Committee of Safety was substituted; violence and riot were avoided; and the spirit of liberty proved to be deeply rooted, and widely extended."

One instance there was of shrinking from, or at least of hesitation to meet, the demands made for patriotic exertion and sacrifice. In June, 1780, a draft of forty men for six months' service was made upon the town. This was felt and openly declared by many stanch friends of independence and the Revolutionary cause, to be a demand and pressure beyond the point of endurance. At a town meeting called to deliberate upon it, Josiah Kendall, "a flaming patriot and whig leader," opened the discussion by distinctly advocating non-compliance,

were it only on the ground of absolute exhaustion of both men and means. In this position he was sustained by other speakers, all well known as ardent patriots, professing and claiming as well as himself to express the general sentiment of the loyal inhabitants. The apparently even tenor of the deliberations was suddenly broken by a voice, coming unexpectedly as could a clap of thunder in a bright summer's noon. That voice was from Samuel Ward, of whom just now I have spoken, who had fought bravely, successfully, and with merited distinction, in a former war, which was in fact the school in which many of the best officers and soldiers of the Revolution were trained, and whose courage, therefore, could not be questioned; who yet, amid the notes of preparation and in the early stages of the conflict, doubted our ability to cope with the vast power, naval and military, of the mother country; in which he coincided with not a few wise, good, and firm lovers and friends of our land, but for which his patriotism had come under the ban of suspicion and obloquy, and his name been inscribed even on the list of Tories, and foes of liberty and independence. Rising, with such antecedents and under such circumstances, amongst his assembled fellow-townsmen, thus abashed by the discouragement of their leaders, and their thoughts led to ponder on a "lost cause," he was too astute, too fertile in expedients, too conscious of discernment of governing motives, and tact in directing them, not to be fully sensible that his hour had come for doing good service immediately to the State, and incidentally for himself and his own vindication. The very words, in which the appeal he then made was couched, may not with perfect exactness have been preserved; but its tenor and substance have been faithfully transmitted, and may, though partially and imperfectly, be represented thus: —

'Friends and fellow-citizens, we have arrived at a turning-point, a tremendous crisis, in the affairs of this town, in fact of our State and whole country. When the political leaders shrink from supporting the conflict, it would not be strange if their followers quailed and stood aghast. But I believe better things of you and the great body of my countrymen. If they

who assume to be leaders falter in patriotic determination and effort, others worthier and more resolute will be put in their stead. Just in proportion as they fall back, will the people come to the rescue, ready to contribute their last dollar, and perish in the last ditch. For after all, with the mass of the people, under God, rests the deciding of the mighty business we have in hand. Before we plunged into the surging waves of civil war, there was abundant room for doubts and hesitation, and I confess I was not without them. The time, however, for doubting has passed. Of this high and sacred cause may we say now, in the language used in relation to one yet higher and holier, He that doubteth is damned. True, we are in the midst of a sea red with blood; but the only opening of escape from it which I can discern, is by forward, not retreating, steps. We are in for and fully committed to the fight, and base subjection is the only alternative to fighting it through. Shall it be, can it be, that all the blood and treasure, poured out like water in these five long years of deadly struggle, have been expended for naught, and vastly worse than naught? But they will not have been in vain, or worse than vain. Through the thick gloom on either side and before us, I see blessed rays of light and hope. The sympathy of foreign nations, especially the powerful French nation, is lending us practical and essential aid. Our forces on land and sea, the soldiers and officers of our armies, — under their wise, prudent, virtuous, and valiant chief, yet to be hailed as the saviour of his country, — have shown a power of enduring privation and hardship, a skill, bravery, and valor, and devotion to the support of our liberties, which I cannot doubt the God of battles, of the free and the enslaved alike, will crown with final and triumphant success.

'Above all, the heart, the soul, the nerve of the people must, under an overruling Providence, be our principal defence and ground of reliance. Far, very far, were their fortitude in bearing the heavy burdens, truly grievous to be borne, which this war has imposed on them, — their courage to meet the inevitable trials and sacrifices to which by it they have been subjected, — their resources, mental, moral, and physical, which in its course

have been developed, — from being imagined in the outset. Even now, after the extended and trying experience through which we have passed, scarcely are imagined, still less fully understood, the vital force and reserved power for future exigencies residing in and forming a basis of permanent and strong confidence in the mass of the people. As one of them, and rather than that this requisition should not to the letter be met and answered, I solemnly declare on this spot and before this assembly, that my old and rusty armor, which has seen no small and some pretty hard service in the campaigns of a former war, shall be reproduced and buckled on again; and I will be enrolled and mustered among the men required by this immediate and pressing need of the country.'

Following up this appeal by a carefully prepared plan, which Ward presented to the meeting, he showed conclusively that the requisition might and ought to be complied with, and carried it by an overwhelming majority, almost by acclamation. Great enthusiasm was excited throughout the town, and no exertions were spared to accomplish the object of the plan adopted. Recruits in goodly numbers were readily obtained, most of them, no doubt, inspired by self-devotion and love of country. One of them there was, of whom not quite as much could be affirmed, who could hardly be said to have had a single eye to his country's good. It seems that he was possessed with a longing desire to acquire a lot of land constituting an important part of Deacon Moore's farm, and insisted, as a condition of his enlisting, on having that, though it was much more in value than the amount generally paid. "Take it," replied the deacon: "I had rather part with that land, which is the best I have, than lose the whole by my neglect in aiding the cause of my country." Whether the soldier returned to possess and enjoy the recompense he demanded, or fell a victim of the war, does not appear, and may not admit of being learned. If the latter were the case, and known so to have been, we might be excused, should our sympathies be not quite as deeply moved by his fate as they might have been, had he been less grasping and exacting. At any rate, in one way or another, or in many ways, the

forty men required were enlisted, paid, and on their march to headquarters, within twelve days. Patriotism thus, then and here, gloriously triumphed. Not less complete was Ward's triumph over prejudice and threatened, if not actual, molestation. From what, in my younger days, I heard from the lips of aged men who were present in the assembly, — the deliberations, doings, and results of which I have just faintly sketched, — and variously otherwise have been informed, I am convinced that never, in all democracies, little or great, from those of Greece and Rome down to our own time, did a popular orator exercise a more skilful and absolute sway over a deliberative assembly than he did on that occasion. During the remaining years of the war, and ever afterward, as we may readily suppose, neither his loyalty was impeached, nor his political orthodoxy questioned, nor were his person and property thereby endangered.

Following close upon the termination of the Revolutionary struggle, were serious embarrassments and commotions. Public indebtedness, accumulated through the war, pressed heavily on the Confederacy, and the States of which it was composed. Private debtors and creditors were intermingled in seemingly hopeless and inextricable confusion. The general government, unable to discharge its own pecuniary obligations, was poorly situated for compelling the liquidation of others, in fact was wholly powerless so to do. Little if any better was the condition of the several States included under it. Their courts might decree justice and demand payment; but what did the decree or demand in effect amount to, where there was nothing to pay with, under a currency depreciated so as to be almost valueless, business of nearly all kinds sadly deranged and at a stand, and the resources for payment either tied up or entirely exhausted? What but irritations between individuals and among communities, general uneasiness and disloyalty toward the civil authorities, and opposition, even to the extreme of determination on their overthrow, to the courts themselves? At length, in 1786, only three years after the close of the war, these difficulties and disturbing causes culminated in downright

rebellion here in our own State. Shays's Rebellion, to which I refer, — so called after the name of the military commander at the head of it, — marks a most eventful crisis in our country's history. Even now, with all the light shed upon it by contemporaneous and subsequent accounts, I doubt very much whether its interest and importance, and the bearings it had on our civil institutions, their establishment, progress, and beneficial results, have been duly appreciated. Occurring as it did in Massachusetts, the head and front of resistance to British domination, which had commenced and taken the lead in carrying to a successful issue the Revolution, it spread dismay among the friends of order and good government, not only here, but throughout the country. They felt, not unnaturally, that if the demon of anarchy, wild, consuming, destructive of all hopes of rational and well-guarded liberty, had taken possession of this old Pillar State, then might the advocates and supporters of republican freedom and union resign themselves to bitter disappointment, and fold their arms in utter despair. But it was not so to be. Our beloved Commonwealth, though shaken and tried, was not to be rent and shattered. Pioneer as she had been in liberty's cause, she was not to prove herself unworthy of that rank and title. Under the wise, virtuous, and energetic Bowdoin, her chief magistrate, was promptly organized in the eastern and more populous section of the State an overwhelming military force, which, placed under command of General Lincoln, — whose practical wisdom, tried gallantry and skill, weight of character, and magnanimous spirit singularly fitted him to subdue, to negotiate with, and conciliate, the disaffected, — at once marched into Western Massachusetts, where the rebellion had its seat, and soon effected its suppression. Quite a number from this town joined Lincoln's army, and served faithfully and bravely in it, which was the more creditable, from their vicinity to the infected district, and their additional exposure to contracting thence a taint of disloyalty. Though the rebellion had been thus subdued and had subsided, not so was it with the fears it had excited in the public mind. It had struck a chord of intense alarm, that vibrated far and wide and

long. Its lessons had sunk deep into the minds and hearts of the most thoughtful and discerning patriots throughout the country. That they were received and comprehended in their full force and meaning in our own State, where they had more immediately been taught, is indicated by the fact, that a citizen of it ("one Nathan Dane," as he was sneeringly styled by Hayne in his great debate with and defeat by Webster), being chairman of a committee of the old Congress, the year following, reported in favor of assembling the Convention by which the Federal Constitution was framed. Through those teachings, in no small part, were leading men all over the land made to realize the loose, broken, chaotic state in which the Revolution had left it; to feel the absolute need of a central power, which, while sustained and deriving strength from the several divided and limited sovereignties, should with proper restrictions impart vigor and extend its sway to them all, — the need of a supreme law of political gravitation, embracing within its reach and control all the individuals and people of the nation, that should, keeping the respective States in their appointed orbits, preserve them from being by internal dissensions rent asunder and scattered into innumerable fragments, make them at peace with each other, and, while independent each in its appropriate sphere, maintain them in constituted harmony with and obedience to the general government. We — I so speak, for here I feel that we and you are convertible terms — may justly felicitate ourselves, that the people of this town, amid the difficulties and agitations of those trying six years which elapsed between the close of the war and the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, were thoroughly loyal to the cause of order and law. They cheerfully and fully met the demands made on them for military aid in its support. And none, more cordially than they, welcomed and sustained the new Constitution, as it went into operation under the guiding hand of Washington, — which almost at the outset showed itself sufficiently strong to suppress a formidable insurrection in Pennsylvania, and has of late, in addition to all the intermediate and other blessings it has richly bestowed, proved adequate to scat-

ter clouds of civil war as dense and dark, and suppressing a rebellion as mighty as — deemed by many not without reason the mightiest — the world ever saw.

Coming down to the last war with Great Britain, — may it ever be the last, — that of 1812–15, we find an honorable record of the self-sacrificing patriotism of the inhabitants of this place. Throughout its continuance, the heavy burdens borne, the contributions exacted, the privations inevitable and bitter, the losses and sorrows necessarily incurred, were here submitted to, with more than resignation, rather with the heroic determination to meet and bear all of them and, if need were, much more, — a resolution sustained and fortified by trust in God, and inspired, fired with ardent love of country. At the call for troops from this and the neighboring towns to defend the capital of our State from threatened invasion, the summons was responded to with alacrity. Individuals there were who from time to time offered themselves to serve in the field; some of whom rose to high and merited distinction. Among such whom I recall to fresh recollection were Generals Henry and Fabius Whiting, — brothers, not more by birth, than in the soul of honor, courage, and patriotic devotion. Of them might we truly say, *Ambo ornati, literati, et digniores,* with the free rendering; both highly accomplished, of large and varied literary and scientific culture, and to be counted with the worthier and best members of society. I vividly remember the admiration, amounting to something very like reverence, with which in my early boyhood I looked upon them, when amid lulls in the storm of war they returned to visit this their native home. Having escaped unharmed from the perils of warfare, in the midst of which they had been brave and faithful, they were long spared to serve their country in their chosen profession, — which they adorned and exalted, — to which, while true to all other claims, private, social, and public, they to the end of their lives remained devoted. Another name I will venture to mention, even at the risk of trespassing on the rights and feelings of the living; and I am sure, if it be a trespass, this whole assembly will bear me out in it, and will heartily

agree in wishing that he who bears that name may long yet live to be a blessing and ornament to our community. I refer, it is perhaps needless to say, to Colonel Thomas Aspinwall. Though Lancaster cannot claim him as native-born, she can advance a claim which he would be the last to dispute, that of having furnished him with his better half. Some of you, at least, will recollect with me his return from the fields of battle, when, bereft of a trusty arm, he bore himself, as he has ever since, with a manliness and fortitude which seemed to turn the loss into a grace and glory, rather than a bereavement; and many there are present who have followed with approval and pride his subsequent career in long upholding the honor and interests of our country as its Consul-General in London, and have accompanied him to the shades of more retired life with their sincere respect and affection.

Passing by other wars, such as those with the Indians and Mexico, in which natives or citizens of this place served and bore an honorable part, I come to speak more particularly of the share taken and service rendered by the town in our late tremendous civil strife. Its women, — God ever and most richly bless them! — soon as the contest was fairly begun, with womanly intuition seized upon and comprehended the chief points at issue. Forthwith they armed themselves, if not in the panoply of war, yet in a spirit to labor and suffer, to supply the wants, relieve the sufferings, and courageously, with unshrinking fortitude, meet and bear the trials and sacrifices, which war — and such a war — must necessarily occasion. Through the four weary years of warfare, they never tired in all but angelic ministrations to alleviate its horrors and calamities. And I am sure they will not — and who among us without a heart of stone could? — cease or tire, in relation to those who have come forth from it, to bind up the wounded, to be eyes to the blind and feet to the maimed, and liberally supply the needs of them by whose wounds our bleeding country has been healed and saved; and yet more, to most tenderly care for and cherish the widow and orphan who mourn for husband and father left behind and never to return. That the men who remained at home were not idle

or indifferent in the cause, is shown by their raising large sums of money, and contributing nearly two hundred recruits for the service, who were equivalent in number to not far from a tenth part of the whole population of the town. Of all the sons it sent forth, I find no record which is not to their credit for bravery and faithful discharge of duty. That they did not shrink from danger, and were often in the thickest of the fight, we have painful yet glorious evidence in the thirty-nine names inscribed on that memorial tablet. Well and most appropriate is it, that the names of your fallen heroes should be imprinted within the building erected to their memory, away from the conflict and marring of the elements, apart from the disturbing or contaminating influences of the outer world, in the innermost shrine of the temple designed to commemorate their worth even as they are enshrined in the deepest recesses of our hearts. As I reviewed the list of persons, with the ages attached to them, I was impressed strongly with the thought, that it was not the miserable remnant of an eked-out existence on earth, but the flower and prime of their lives, that they had consecrated to their country's salvation, and for that noble end had freely laid them down. Most of them were under thirty years of age, some even under twenty, and but two exceeding forty years. Among them were the highly educated and refined who here, as elsewhere was so extensively done, resigned homes of luxury and comfort and happiness, abandoned for the time bright prospects of worldly advancement, went forth to encounter hardships, privations, and dangers untold and not fully to be described, and finally surrendered all that was dear in earthly enjoyment or anticipation, with their lives. It was a striking coincidence in the case of one such, General Francis Washburn, — who, when enlisting at the commencement of hostilities, being asked for what length of time he had enlisted, promptly replied, "For the war," — that, though he had lost a beloved brother in the service, he persevered in it, was in the battle at High Bridge, the last of the struggle, in which Lee's army was so intercepted on its retreat from Richmond, and so reduced in force as to be compelled quickly to capitulate; was

in that distinguished for such gallantry and ability, that he was promoted from the rank of colonel to that of brigadier-general on the spot; and there, sad to relate, when the war for the whole of which this then very young man had engaged, and in which he had attained such high distinction, was about being closed, he received his death-wound, and survived not many days.

Many tears will be shed, and will long continue to flow, not only from eyes of love, of kindred, friends, and acquaintance, but also of strangers even, while going over that lengthened roll of the martyred young and brave. Sorely grievous was and still is their loss. Heart-rending to no few of us have been, and while we live always must be, thoughts of the agony and horrors through which they passed, and which they endured unto death, a cruel death. But mingled with the bitter draught, of which they and we were made to partake, were rich, sustaining, blessed solace and hope. What though some of them lie buried far away, or even were denied the rites of sepulture? We may take to ourselves the consolation suggested by the Athenian orator, Pericles, who, in speaking of the heroes who fell in the Peloponnesian War, said, "The whole earth is the sepulchre of illustrious men." And surely they are illustrious, whatever the rank or sphere in which they may have toiled and suffered, who, like these our friends, at their country's call and in the hour of her extreme peril, sprang forward, risked their lives, and gave them up in her cause. If we cannot strew flowers over their actual graves, we can, in imagination bordering closely on reality, weave garlands of forget-me-nots, of laurel, of tender remembrance and loving admiration, that shall reach and mark and chastely decorate any spots, however distant or secluded, where the remains of our beloved heroic defenders repose. We have, too, the consolatory reflection, that they did not fight or bleed or die in vain; that they contributed a part, and a noble one, toward preserving the Union, securing and enlarging our liberties, and establishing on broad and firm foundations our permanent national prosperity. So far, indeed, as resort to the arbitrament of arms was inevitable, we may concede to the

vanquished the benefit of this soothing consideration, since we earnestly desire and hope that they may participate largely with the victors in the good to be derived from the victory and its grand results. Neither are we to regard or think of these our friends, townsmen, countrymen, and patriots whom we here commemorate, as lost or dead. Lost they are to our mortal vision. Dead are they to the fleeting pleasures and interests of time and earth, — cognizant though it may be of more than even our Christian philosophy dreams of, and watching over the progress of the holy cause of Union and Freedom for which they died. Besides the higher and heavenly life on which we trust they have entered, beyond the reach of alarm, discord, and conflict, and where the sounds of war with its deadly strife are heard and known no more, they still live on earth, and, as far as can be predicated of any thing or being, shall in this world be invested with immortality. Their memory will be embalmed in the record of the historic page, and preserved fragrant and blessed so long as that shall last. They will live in the reverence, affection, and gratitude of multitudes of hearts living and yet to live. Ingenuous youth and maturer age will alike look up to them as living exemplars of patriotic courage, valor, and self-sacrifice. In the very names here inscribed they will live, and, long as the inscription shall endure, will they impart fresh and strong inspirations of true love of liberty and patriotism. Should any who read them be tempted to swerve from the strict line of patriotic integrity, to plot against the union and freedom of the Republic, and meditate involving it in anarchy, distraction, and ruin, hardly could we wonder or deem a miracle to be wrought, were the stones on which this building is reared to cry out, and that cold marble suddenly to glow with fervent heat, and the names written thereon changed to speaking tongues of fire, in rebuke of such disloyalty and treason, such ingratitude and demoralization, not only social and civil, but of soul.

You, my friends, have contributed to swell this moral power, I might almost say, to bring back the dead, to prolong their existence and salutary agency, by this memorial edifice, the

completion of which we are celebrating. Here you have set up a remembrancer of them which will not, cannot fail, till the brick and stone and marble of which it is composed crumble to dust. Here they, for their worthy and glorious deeds, are placed side by side with, and share the immortality of, those who by their writings have been made, so far as on earth they could be, immortal. Here they are linked inseparably with a great and good object and work, in which the *dulce et utile* are admirably mingled, the tender and affecting in sentiment and memory that "smells sweet and blossoms in the dust," with meeting the pressing and sacred demands of a high utility. And what higher usefulness could we propose to ourselves than to enlighten, enlarge, fructify, and imbue with just, generous, and elevated sentiments and aspirations our own and others' minds? Such is the purpose which wisely and well you have connected with the commemoration of your heroic dead; and certain I am, that, if bending now from their seats of bliss and glory in cognizance of things below, they look on this scene with approving smiles and added happiness, not more for the honors bestowed on them than for the excellent ends with which those tributes to their valor and worth are associated, and are evermore to be intertwined.

What are those ends, and how may they most effectually be promoted? Their direct and chief design is to furnish suitable books for reading to persons of all classes, the more or less informed, and of whatever age, within the limits of the town. Included in them is the idea, that education in the broadest sense is never finished, is always beginning and never ending; never ended in heaven itself, and therefore clearly not to be confined in its scope to them who are in their teens, or them approaching life's meridian, in full career after its possessions not always gained, its joys oft missed or blighted, or those, even, who, with wings half-folded and drooping, are on their descent into the quiet vale of years; but to be extended to and embrace all of every age and condition. A nobly wise and munificent illustration of that grand idea is afforded in the metropolis of our own State. There the child of the humblest abode and

scantiest means is taken by public provision as in parental arms, and carried through the primary, the grammar, the English high, or the Latin schools, till he has acquired as good a preparation for pursuing the common business of life, or entering on a collegiate course, as could elsewhere be obtained. Then there is the Public Library, originally selected and arranged, and long watched over with loving care, by some of the first scholars of the land, among whom were Edward Everett and George Ticknor; which, with its spacious and delightfully furnished reading-room, is open to all the inhabitants of the city indiscriminately, who would avail themselves of its advantages; the only condition or requirement being compliance with the rules necessary for its safety, preservation, and greatest usefulness. There is the Athenæum, whose library exceeds, as does the one just mentioned, very considerably, a hundred thousand volumes; which, though incorporated and owned by individual proprietors, is yet, through its liberal arrangements, virtually a public institution, — in whose privileges and treasures of literature and art, ancient and modern, a large proportion of the people of the vicinity, as well as of the city itself, are favored with the opportunity of sharing. Next comes the Lowell Institute, founded and most amply endowed by one whose honored name it bears; in which lectures on a great variety of subjects — embracing science, theology, law, history, geography, travels, the arts, whatever, in short, may justly be of temporary or permanent interest to the popular or more cultivated mind — are given gratuitously to all of the citizens, without distinction of persons, who after due notice seasonably apply for admission to them. Then there are the Institutions of Natural History and Technology, the doors of which are thrown wide open to the public for observation and inquiry, and which to any desirous of pursuing courses of study in them are brought within the compass of their ability. To crown all, there is Harvard University, which — though numbered among American colleges, and foremost among them all by age, endowment, extensive and varied culture — is, in view of the quarter from which its resources have been derived, and its prosperity mainly sustained and

carried forward, after all, a Boston institution; from which, I feel sure, no son of hers, truly loving and worthily seeking after knowledge, however restricted in pecuniary means, will for want of support be turned away. Let me here, by the way, note the fact, — for it is a noticeable one, — that of the four largest, and much the largest, libraries in the United States, three of them are located within an extent of only three miles, — two, the Public and Athenæum in Boston proper, and the Harvard in its immediate neighborhood; the fourth being the Astor Library of New York. From this simple statement, I trust it will appear not to savor of undue assumption, if the assertion be hazarded, that in no city of this or any other country is education in its most enlarged signification as relating to and essentially concerning all the people, more highly regarded or more liberally provided for than in the chief one of our State.

The Commonwealth has not been unmindful of this extended interest, or been slow to spread over it the shield of her protecting and fostering care. Having at a very early period in her existence placed the village school-house by the side of the village church, and from time to time passed laws to insure the intellectual and moral training of all her children, and having in later years invested one of her most intelligent and influential Boards with the duty of seeing those laws thoroughly executed, she, in 1851, authorized the towns to appropriate a sum equal to one dollar for each ratable poll, for establishing a public library, and a quarter of a dollar for every poll annually toward its support and increase. This last proportional amount was, not long after, doubled; and two years since, all restriction on appropriations for the object was removed, and the whole matter was left to the discretion of the several towns and cities. So that, as the law now stands, "any town may at a legal meeting grant and vote money for the establishment, maintenance, or increase of a public library therein, and for erecting or providing suitable buildings or rooms therefor, and may receive, hold, and manage any devise, bequest, or donation for those purposes." By a law of 1867, it was "resolved that, after the current year, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Com-

monwealth to furnish each public library, organized under the laws of this State, on the application of the librarian thereof, with the annual reports, described in the General Statutes as the public series;" thus wisely and beneficially providing, that the citizens generally should be well informed in regard to whatever concerns the common weal, — to which phrase the term Commonwealth, as designating the whole State, has an affinity in both sound and substantial meaning, and from which it may naturally have been derived. Another enactment, passed in the same year, I will not omit to mention; giving it in the exact words of the statute, and at the same time commending it to the respectful, prudent, nay, more, magnanimous, consideration of youths, and their elders too, here or elsewhere: "Whoever wilfully and maliciously writes upon, injures, defaces, tears, or destroys any book, picture, engraving, or statue belonging to any law, town, city, or other public library, shall be punished by a fine of not less than five dollars, nor more than one thousand dollars, for every such offence."

Under these laws, authorized and encouraged by them, many of our towns have at different times, and in a steadily increasing number, established the institutions they were designed to foster. So that now the public library takes rank among our established institutions, and the constituted means of our intellectual, social, and moral development. This which we now welcome to its new building, to enlarged and elegant accommodations, under circumstances and with associations so solemn and touching, was founded in 1862, and has already accumulated several thousand volumes, with a prospect of rapid increase; while, in kindred establishments throughout the State, the number of volumes collected cannot fall far if any short of half a million. When to this vast instrumentality for diffusing knowledge among the people, we add the nearly if not quite a million volumes more in social, literary, scientific, and professional libraries, — to say nothing of the extensive ones strictly private, — we may take to ourselves new courage in the hope and trust, that good old Massachusetts is not falling and will not fall behind in the march of real and noble progress. With such means in opera-

tion, and ever cumulative, intellect will here be more and more disciplined, receive new impulses, make continual advance, —

"And souls be ripened in our northern sky."

Thus, though our climate be cold and bleak, our soil sterile, and our natural exports limited to granite and ice, and in regard to temperature, fertility, and central position we be far less favored than others or most of our sister States, yet here will mind grow with what it feeds on, genius be awakened and kindled by the air which surrounds it, invention be quickened and informed and made triumphant, a wide, generous, elevated culture, physical, mental, and moral, be attained. Whether minds so nurtured and cultivated remain with us, or go forth to other more inviting and genial climes, they exert an immense and most salutary influence, with which all fertility of soil, or geniality of atmosphere, or advantages of position, are not for a moment to be compared. Wherever they may be, in the great family of these conjoined States, or in the still greater family of the earth's nations, they will add to the renown and enhance the glory of the parent who gave them birth and nourished them; for whom it may without extravagance be claimed, that, while yet not two centuries and a half old, no State of equal duration, extent, and numbers, in all modern experience, has exercised the sway she has over the fortunes of her own and other countries of the world.

How now shall this great institution, the public provision of books for reading, be made most effective in advancing the good of the State, of society, and the individuals composing it? To this inquiry the first answer I have to offer is, that its management should be placed in the most capable hands, be they of men or women, or both together, that can be commanded. This important trust should be as far as possible committed only to those who, by their cast of mind, their habits and pursuits, and, not least, a deep sense of its responsibility, are best qualified for its discharge. If, according to the well-known saying, the composing of the songs of a nation imply more power than the framing of its laws, certainly not less, rather I should say much more, powerful is their agency to whom, in

this reading age, and especially this community of readers, is confided in large degree a control over this mighty engine of good or ill, of weal or woe. Choose you, I would say with a redoubled emphasis, but very imperfectly expressing my feeling of the immense and all-concerning consequence of this interest, choose for its supervisors persons of tried fidelity, of extensive acquaintance with books and their adaptation to the wants of the minds that shall read them; who, when those of pernicious tendency are demanded, shall have the decision and moral courage to say No; who, rising superior to all demarcations and trammels of party or sect, shall exercise an enlarged liberality, and encourage the most impartial inquiry into debatable subjects, the most thorough search after all knowledge; who, in short, in all the regulations and details of the institution, particularly in the selection of books and other materials for reading and information, will pay implicit deference to certain fundamental principles by which I conceive all acting in that official capacity should uniformly be governed.

What are those principles, or the chief among them? The first I would mention is an inviolable regard for truth. Not truth in the abstract or concrete, or as we understand it. Though frequently issue from the press, works which so palpably violate the apparent fitness of things, the constitution of the universe, the relations of society, and man's best good, that the purveyors of the intellectual food of the community might, justifiably and without undue stretch of authority, cast them out as birds of ill-omen, spirits of evil, working that and nothing else, still let there be a generous confidence in the truth, in its power and ultimate prevalence. Trite as may be the saying, Truth is mighty and must prevail, it yet has upon it a stamp of divinity. I believe it, as I believe in the God of all and perfect truth. Cast down at times it may be, and trodden in the dust; but, in the soul-stirring language of our charming veteran poet, Bryant, —

> "Truth crushed to earth shall rise again:
> The eternal years of God are hers;
> But Error, wounded, writhes with pain,
> And dies among his worshippers."

Still we must not shut our eyes to the tremendous opposition truth has to encounter. Prejudice, passion, dread of innovation, pride of opinion, love of power, the spirit of secular and spiritual domination, always have conspired, and it may be will persevere to the end in conspiring, against her steady and equable progress.

No few — their name is legion — have there been and are now, who would have her walk in leading-strings, with their own mark on her forehead, a collar of their fashion and label on her neck, and bound hand and foot with chains and shackles of their forging. They have seized on the press as her handmaid, — not always wise, discreet, or chaste, but often false and wicked, it must be confessed, — and have sought to put the latter under corresponding bonds. Among the first to resort to such expedients was the Romish Church. About the year 1550, having previously at different times and in numerous instances prohibited the reading of certain books, the Papal government issued the *Index Expurgatorius* containing a list of them, which has since been extended as circumstances seemed to demand. To such an extent has it been enlarged, that we may, without fear of contradiction, assert that scarcely a really valuable work on science and philosophy, morals and religion, or any other field of thought, where heresy might be avowed or suspected, has not come under its ban. Restriction and prohibition, however, on this point, have not by any means been confined to the Roman Index, or its authors, or the people over whom they had a controlling influence. "Even in Protestant countries, overseers have been appointed by law to peruse all writings intended for the public, and with authority to license or suppress, as they should think proper. Such a body of licensers existed, and exercised their powers in England, till a century and a half ago, when it was abolished by Act of Parliament. At present, although any person in that kingdom may print what he pleases, he is liable to punishment if the book is found to contain sentiments which the law pronounces to be pernicious." Our own country cannot claim immunity from the charge of having infringed on the domain and rights of a free

press. Printing, from its first introduction here, was watched over with a lynx-eyed surveillance, arising in part from habits and associations formed and nurtured in the mother-land, and in no small measure from jealous guard of the principles and institutions, civil and religious, with which our ancestors had entered on a new and untried career of duty and conflict, and of which they were resolutely bent on making in this Western World full experiment. And it was not mere watching, but positive action and direct interposition, with pains and penalties annexed, that awaited wanderers or any suspected of straying from the true fold, and any in particular who were deemed to convert the blessed art of printing — the art preservative of all arts — into an instrument for propagating error, and therefore no better than a device of Satan himself. Let me cite, for instance, the case of William Pynchon, the first settler of Springfield, and father of Western Massachusetts. When the colonial charter was about being transferred hither and to be here administered, he was one of the patentees, received his appointment as magistrate and assistant at the time the other officers were appointed, and came over with Governor Winthrop and his company in 1630. That year he commenced the settlement of Roxbury. There he remained till 1635; when, from the glowing accounts he obtained of the Connecticut-River valley, of its fertility and beauty, which made it even then as now to be regarded the garden and Eden of New England, he proceeded thither and fixed on Agawam — then so called, but soon after named Springfield for a town in Essex, England, where Pynchon had a mansion — as his future residence. Having completed his arrangements, and been joined by a goodly number of colonists, he the following year established the settlement of that prosperous and charming town. Here, in this fertile vale, this land all but literally flowing with milk and honey, and yielding spontaneously as it were corn and bread and the fruit of the vine, he, with his co-settlers, lived and flourished in peace and great prosperity; being himself respected highly for his abilities, his moral and religious worth, and looked to and reverenced by those around him as their patriarchal head. This

golden period lasted for some fourteen years, when, in an evil hour, at least for his own peace and comfort, he was prompted to publish a treatise entitled "The Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption," in opposition to the then-prevailing views of the atonement. For this heinous offence, or what was deemed such, he was cited before the General Court, laid under heavy bonds, visited at length with its censure, and compelled to relinquish the magistracy. A compromise was subsequently effected, by which the obnoxious sentiments were retracted, and the censure of the Court was withdrawn. But such was the dissatisfaction, disgust it may have been, with which these proceedings had affected Pynchon's mind, that he departed for England, never to return; concluding possibly with another, that the tyranny of the lords bishops was more endurable than that of the lords brethren. To this instance allow me to add one more. Richard Pierce, in 1690, worked off on his hand-press the first newspaper published in America. This the General Court took into custody, held solemn debate over its contents and the daring disturbance of the public peace, together with all the evils it involved and portended, and finally voted, that, as it "contained reflections of a very high nature," it was contrary to law, and to be suppressed. If the spirit of this first American martyr to news-printing be permitted now to walk the earth, he may be pardoned for no little self-glorying at seeing how prolific the seed of his martyrdom has been, the multitude of his progeny among us having come to be almost beyond numbering. Though some descent from his spiritual exaltation, and an essential abatement from his glorification, may be imagined, when we consider that, while he was obliged to taste the bitter fruits of bigotry and persecution, the saying held true, that the fathers ate sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge; judging from the acerbity of spirit manifested by many of our news-journals, both secular and religious so called,—he must conclude, that the teeth of these his descendants were set on edge, nay, sharpened to bite and devour not only one another, but any who might be so unfortunate as to come within reach of their belligerent and voracious propensities. Might he not

also apprehend that no small proportion of them, if arraigned before the General Court or the regular courts of justice, would be compelled to plead to an indictment just the opposite of that on which he was convicted and condemned, namely, that their sheets "contained reflections" of a very low, rather than "of a very high, nature"?

Notwithstanding the restrictions to which it has been subjected, and the abuses and corruptions ingrafted upon it, the press, within the few centuries of its existence, has come to be a chief power in the world, and a source of incalculable good. Who will undertake to enumerate its benefits, or measure the extent of its influence? Worthily to employ it is the fulfilment, intellectually, of the command from the voice of God in the morn of creation, which with equal appropriateness and felicity is inscribed on the tomb of Guttenberg, its great and immortal inventor, — "Let there be light." Its productions are spread far and wide by land and by sea. Its leaves are borne on all the winds of heaven, and bear, not light, knowledge, only, but healing, peace, joy, renovating and saving energies to all nations. Sure as the voyager is to spread his sails and launch upon the waves, are they to accompany him on his voyage, whether bound to the nearest port, or on the circuit of the globe. Be it in the cottage or the palace, in the crowded city or the distant solitude, there they go, and there they are, to enlighten and cheer and solace. What a blessed ministry did they fulfil amid the horrors, privations, and sufferings of our late civil war! Some of the most gifted pens, the wisest minds and truest hearts, sent forth of their abundant treasures books and tracts, by which to uphold and strengthen, and, it might be, gladden, the soldier, who had staked his all for Union and Liberty. I fancy now, that I see him hailing one of these flying messengers, with a welcome next only to that with which tidings from his dearly loved and longed-for home would be received; and whether by the pine torch, or the struggling moonbeams, or the noonday's sun, drinking in rays of wisdom and comfort, amid the rugged wilds through which he was passing, from the best teachings of this world, and yet

more from the world in which there is no need of sun or moon, and in which earth's brighest light is melted and lost in the divine effulgence.

So numerous — rather it should be said so innumerable — are the productions of the press, and such their world-wide diffusion, that we could scarcely conceive them to be blotted out or destroyed, except by a convulsion or conflagration by which the earth itself should be annihilated. What folly, then, to think of confining this mighty agent, and yet more, the truth of which it claims to be the great medium and expositor to the world, by the poor weak withes of man's weaving! Why, it is like attempting to bind the sea in chains. And the inexpediency and injury are yet greater and far more serious than the folly of so doing. Says Milton, whose marvellous genius is hardly less resplendent in prose than in poetry, "If it come to prohibiting, there is not aught more likely to be prohibited than truth itself; whose first appearance to our eyes, bleared and dimmed with prejudice and custom, is more unsightly and unplausible than many errors; even as the person is of many a great man slight and contemptible to see to. If the men be erroneous who appear to be the leading schismatics, what withholds us but our sloth, our self-will, and distrust in the right cause, that we do not give them gentle meetings and gentle dismissions; that we debate not and examine the matter thoroughly, with liberal and frequent audience, if not for their sakes, yet for our own? Seeing no man who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world. And were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armory of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away." Yes: our trust in truth and her innate force must be implicit and entire, as our loyalty to her should be unwavering and complete. She has no need of bolts and bars, framed by councils or law-makers or tyrants of any kind, to guard against and effectually resist the assaults of error. Give her but a fair field, and she is omnip-

otent, whether in defence against or assailing her adversaries. No greater mistake has in times past been made, and even now is entertained, than to suppose that truth cannot stand or walk alone, but is so weak and frail that she must borrow such poor crutches and wretched safeguards as may be furnished by erring and more or less ignorant men. With her good right arm bearing aloft the sword of her own spirit, and upheld by the powers of reason, justice, humanity, and the reverence and love of her followers; in her left hand the torch all radiant with her blessed light, — we may rest assured, that she will prove abundantly competent to fight her own battles, win her own laurels, while torches unnumbered and numberless shall be kindled at hers, and cause her sacred flame to penetrate the remotest ends of the earth and be universally diffused. Closely allied to the claim of free course for truth, is the right of impartial, unfettered investigation, of independent forming and holding of opinions. Let this right be sacredly protected, for all young or old who shall come hither to drink of the fountains of knowledge. It has been well, as truly, said, "The man who gives up his independence of thought and opinion is manacled, and will be a prisoner as long as he lives. In short, he is to his respective judges just what Sancho was to Don Quixote; fully persuaded of enchantments, giants, and adventures, which their masters dream of." My friends, I indulge the hope, and I am persuaded it is not a vain one, that many of this generation, and still more of the generations to follow, will come up to this as a consecrated place, where they may adopt or renew vows of fealty to the truth, resolved to follow whithersoever her steps shall lead, and determined to the utmost of their ability to seek and maintain, as the language of our civil oath expresses it, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

Besides, in conducting an institution like this, and in order to its best efficiency, a watchful eye should be had to the substantial. Constant and thorough discrimination should be exercised in selecting and procuring works of solid value, either for the information they impart, or the thoughts they suggest, or the mental discipline they produce, for some or all of these

qualities. One of the best thinkers and scholars of our country remarked, that the minds he found most difficulty in grappling with, were the one-book men; by which he meant those who had confined their attention principally to a few standard works, till they had become familiar with and mastered their contents. Not that I would advocate the total exclusion from your library of fiction and poetry, of the light, facetious, and entertaining. By flashing meteor-like across the literary firmament, they may afford an occasional and needed diversion to the eye and the mind, weary with gazing at the fixed stars. Still substance, not surface; the solid cube, not the superficial square; quality, not quantity; the amount digested, rather than the space gone over; not the number of books read, but the knowledge and improvement derived from them, — it is, which is to be kept chiefly and steadily in view by readers and those by whom their intellectual food is provided. Never was this caution so important to be heeded as in this age and at the present time. So well, with such force and point, has it been set forth and illustrated, in its application both to authors and readers, by John Stuart Mill, that I am induced to quote him somewhat at length. "This is a reading age; and, precisely because it is so reading an age, any book which is the result of profound meditation is perhaps less likely to be duly and profitably read than at any other former period. The world reads too much and too quickly to read well. When books were few, to get through one was a work of time and labor; what was written with thought was read with thought, and with a desire to extract from it as much of the materials of knowledge as possible. But when almost every person who can spell, can and will write, what is to be done? It is difficult to know what to read, except by reading every thing; and so much of the world's business is now transacted through the press, that it is necessary to know what is printed, if we desire to know what is going on. Opinion weighs with so vast a weight in the balance of events, that ideas of no value in themselves are of importance from the mere circumstance that they *are* ideas, and have a *bonâ fide* existence as such anywhere out of Bedlam. The world, in consequence,

gorges itself with intellectual food; and, in order to swallow the more, *bolts* it. Nothing is now read slowly, or twice over. Books are run through with no less rapidity, and scarcely leave a more durable impression, than a newspaper article. It is from this, among other causes, that so few books are produced of any value. The lioness in the fable boasted that, though she produced only one at a birth, that one was a lion; but if each lion only counted for one, and each leveret for one, the advantage would all be on the side of the hare. When every unit is individually weak, it is only multitude that tells. What wonder that the newspapers should carry all before them? A book produces hardly a greater effect than an article, and there can be three hundred and sixty-five of these in one year. He, therefore, who should and would write a book, and write it in the proper manner of writing a book, now dashes down his first hasty thoughts, or what he mistakes for thoughts, in a periodical. And the public is in the predicament of an indolent man, who cannot bring himself to apply his mind vigorously to his own affairs, and over whom, therefore, not he who speaks most wisely, but he who speaks most frequently, obtains the influence."

Bear in mind, let me further say to them who are to conduct this institution, and them who are to receive its benefits, the practical bearing of the treasures collected in and diffused from these alcoves. Ignore not the activities of the time, that press as a bounden duty on all who live in it. "Action!" thrice uttered as it was by the Grecian orator, when asked what were the chief requisites of eloquence, is the great demand of our age, in its every interest and pursuit. The right of him that hath a dream to tell his dream may not be disputed; but the number of his listeners will in all likelihood be comparatively few, and his life-giving power small indeed. Cloistered seclusion and the speculations of a morbid reason and imagination have a poor chance and amount to little, amid the stirring energies now at work. Activity, bent on and struggling for a "livelier life," raised to the exaltation of high resolve and noblest endeavor, is their most marked characteristic. Active usefulness it is that

"gives to life its lustre and perfume, and we are weeds without it." In short, it is no time for dreaming, for airy fancies and speculation, for making our literature, as has been charged upon a large portion of it, "a mere reflection of the current sentiments, and an abandonment of its mission as an enlightener and improver of them;" a mere apology for inanity, inefficiency, and a sense of vacuity, instead of an inciter to wise designs, lofty aspirations, and worthy actions.

"But one grand life, whose noble deeds
File by like men to battle,
Borne strongly to its glorious end
Amid the world's vain rattle,
Is worth a thousand promises
Dreamed by a brain ascetic:
Our glory is in acts, not words;
Deeds done, not deeds prophetic."

Moreover, and above all, let there reside here, and from this place ever go forth, a moral and religious influence. In so exhorting, I trust you will understand me as having no reference to party or sect, but a spirit soaring altogether above them. It is in their broadest, truest sense, that I ask you to give their just weight to moral and religious considerations in dispensing the privileges and benefits of this institution. Amid engrossing worldly interests, it is folly, — if not wilful blindness, it is practical insanity, — to let the voice which can alone rightly interpret and direct them be drowned in the din of this lower and material world. Our advance in this land and age is most in worldly greatness; but nothing worth, if it abjure the inexpressibly higher interests of learning, virtue, and religion; worse than nothing, if it leads only to wider spiritual bankruptcy and ruin. There are many — may there be many, very many more — "who, apprehending the true value of this material prosperity, deeply feel the responsibilities it imposes, and would endeavor to direct and use it in a manner demanded by the solemn teachings of the past, by the pressing claims of the present, by the mighty possibilities of the future." No investments are so secure, or so well deserving the name of securities, no expenditures of time, labor, or money, no bread cast on the waters, more sure

to return without delay unduly prolonged, or to yield a large and rich reward, than those devoted to the wholesome nurture and healthful growth of the mind. And minds, it is certain, cannot be sufficiently nourished, or adequately guarded and guided, if the essential elements of morality and religion be wanting. Genius, too, what wreaths can that weave for itself, with what garlands can its brow be adorned, fairer or more glorious, than the beauty and glory of its consecration to the highest culture of the intellectual and immortal part? Sons thus consecrated it has had, some of whom who, though cut down like the early flower, have left a sweet and delectable fragrance behind; others who have passed on to their meridian, strewing their way with culled flowers and ripe fruits; others still, who, holding on to a career lengthened to its utmost limit, have kept their faculties and zeal for good, bright and brightening to the last, just as the most brilliant hues of nature are seen in the departing year.

> "Piety has found
> Friends in the friends of science; and true prayer
> Has flowed from lips wet with Castalian dew."

So from many most eminently gifted minds and pens and hearts has proceeded a power, not only to amuse and cheer, but to enlighten, cultivate, form to virtue, prepare for usefulness and happiness here, and heavenly blessedness hereafter. On the other hand, the number, alas! is not small of possessors of the finest and most brilliant powers of intellect and imagination, who have perverted them to pandering to base appetites and passions, to ministering to diseased and corrupt fancies, and leading them spell-bound by unnatural, monstrous, accursed creations; digging pitfalls of ruin for the young and inexperienced, and working untold mischief and misery. Whoever lets fall one discoloring, bitter drop into the sweet, transparent waters of truth, innocence, and virtue, is so far an enemy to his race. How much more are they its foes, who, systematically, for selfish and wicked ends, aim, by their writings, at the corruption and degradation of souls; who to the mind's health and

peace are the pestilence walking in darkness, and the destruction wasting at noonday! Of such the language of Edmund Burke, strong as it is, is none too strong, when he says, in giving his estimate of what is likely to result from a character chiefly dependent for fame and fortune on knowledge and talent, as well in its morbid and perverted state as in that which is sound and natural, "Naturally, men so formed and finished are the first gifts of Providence to the world. But when they have once thrown off the fear of God, which was in all ages too often the case, and the fear of man, which is now the case, and when in that state they come to understand one another, and to act in corps, a more dreadful calamity cannot arise out of hell to scourge mankind." Be it, then, ever borne in view, that poison lurks in the feast of knowledge of which we are invited to partake; that among the plants and fruits of human wisdom, as in the first garden, there is a serpent, and a tree of the knowledge of good and evil, from which the most watchful moral discrimination alone can save us from reaping direful consequences. Fortunately there is reserved to us the power of such discrimination. Though the issue of immoral and pernicious publications may not, except in most flagrant instances, be restrained, we are not obliged to purchase or read or circulate them. Our part it is,—would that we might invariably choose and be true to it!—to cultivate purity of taste, and exercise sound moral judgment, in regard to whatever works we select for our own or commend to others' reading; seeing to it, that, while the intellect is informed and trained to wisdom, the heart is made and kept right, its sensibilities chastened and regulated, its affections attached to and its impulses directed toward the worthiest objects, the heart and conscience kindled and made tenderly, uniformly alive to every moral and religious obligation. Thus are the greatest enlargement of mind and elevation of character wisely and most effectually sought; for—

> "It is the heart, and not the brain,
> Which to the highest doth attain."

In dedicating, then, this edifice to the memory of our de-

parted brave, and the instruction of the living, we consecrate it, first of all and over all, to the God of both the dead and living, and to the everlasting, all-important interests of truth, virtue, and pure religion. While we dedicate it to the names and services of those here specially mentioned, as we do most solemnly and affectionately, we yet bear in grateful remembrance all the wise, patriotic, and good who have preceded them here, and in the light of whose example they went forth to do and to die in their country's cause. At the same time that we dedicate it, as now we would, with all the solemnity becoming the sacred interests involved, to the other main purpose of its erection, — that of the diffusion of knowledge by books and reading among all of every class and age, — I delight to advert to antecedents, and to recall associations, which seem to constitute the present occasion, as tending to the fulfilment of that purpose, but a consummation in entire accordance with the past history of this place. A literary air has from its first settlement pervaded it. Most of its professional men have been liberally educated, and some of them have been eminent for their classical and scientific attainments. Among the teachers of its schools have been Warren, Channing, Sparks, Proctor, Emerson, Miles, Carter, Russel, Wood, Fletcher, — all eminent for scholarship, — with others that might be named. Of their pupils were Frederick Wilder, dearly loved and early lost, whose name I can never — for friendship's sake alone — utter without deep emotion; whom I hesitate not to pronounce without a peer, for the combination of intellectual and moral qualities, in the seven classes with which I was connected in Harvard University; Horatio Greenough, also, the distinguished American sculptor, who in youth gave unmistakable indications of the peculiar talent which shone so conspicuously in his subsequent career; and many besides, who, in the professions, in literary and scientific pursuits, in the walks of business, of civil and political life, have been eminently useful and honored, and at least have done no discredit even to such teachers. Writers, too, and authors we have had, worthy of special and honorable mention. Mrs. Rowlandson's "Removes," — the narrative given by one

of the earliest settlers and the first minister's wife, from the day of her capture amid all the horrors of fire, wounds, and death, which she touchingly designates "the dolefulest day that ever mine eyes saw," to the time of her deliverance from wretched and almost hopeless captivity, — while deeply interesting in itself, is regarded by competent judges to be one of the most authentic and accurate accounts of the character, habits, and modes of life of the aboriginal inhabitants of this country. Coming down to a much later period, there was the Hill~~ar~~er and Cleveland family residing, in patriarchal union, in the venerable, and for its time stately, mansion, around which cluster the buildings of that excellent institution, the State Industrial School for Girls. At the head of that family, as pictured by my earlier recollections, was Joseph Hill~~ar~~er, an officer of the Revolution, a friend of Washington, and in token of his confidence appointed by him first Collector, under the Federal Constitution, of the port of Salem and Beverly; a man of high principle and bearing, the refined, accomplished, Christian gentleman. Rarely, if ever, — and I appeal to some present better capable than myself of judging, to bear me out in the assertion, — has such an amount of talent, cultivation, and varied attainment been concentrated under a single family roof. Included within that domestic circle were four sisters, all of rich and various culture, two of whom made valuable contributions to the current literature; also the husbands of the latter, both intelligent and well informed, entertaining and agreeable companions, of great energy and wide experience, having travelled or navigated over a large portion of the globe; one of them being the author of an interesting and remarkable narrative of his voyages and commercial adventures in which he had borne a principal part, and likewise the father of Henry R. Cleveland, whose literary remains attest his well-earned distinction as a man of taste, a writer and scholar. Then there was Caroline Lee Hentz, whose warm heart, fervent soul, and attractive graces here had their birth and early nurture; whose thoughts and affections, notwithstanding long distance and absence, were always to the end of her life strongly and fondly drawn hither. Her mature life

was mostly passed in our Southern States, where her tales and romances by the power of vivid description, the florid style and luxuriant imagination, which marked them, found a congenial atmosphere, and gained a popularity second perhaps to none of the kind, or indeed of any kind, in that region. Another I must not in justice to yourselves, or the place, or a deservedly acquired reputation, omit to refer to, who, though not a native, not strictly to the manor born, is by association and residence one with you and us; whose modesty yet, as we are favored with her presence, I should fear to offend by pronouncing her name; and I will therefore content myself with simply expressing the wish, to which I am sure of a general and hearty response, that all the *wares* brought to the literary market might be superior as hers. But I go one step further. I claim for you a share in the origin and influence of the works of some who have had here a temporary abode and occupation, but whose interest and attachments never forsook, rather have been increased, warmed, mellowed, by time, in this scene of their early teachings and labors. So was it with William Ellery Channing, the eloquent divine, the far-famed writer, the enlightened and devoted philanthropist. So it was with Jared Sparks, who, to the credit lastingly to be accorded to him for the offices he filled and the works he did so well, will be superadded in all coming time the title of biographer *par excellence* of Washington. So it is — long may he be spoken of in the present tense — with another, with whose attendance we are honored to-day, George B. Emerson, who, having with unwearied fidelity and signal success been a teacher of one generation; having contributed greatly to elevate his profession, to enlarge its sphere, and place it in importance and the public esteem by the side of what are termed the learned professions; vying still with the most forward in devising and inculcating the best methods of promoting that all-concerning interest, education, and besides being always ready to enter, heart and hand, into any enterprises and the upholding of any institutions by which our race might be exalted and blessed, — has, moreover, by his writings laid the community under weighty obligation; and in

his treatise on arboriculture, if he has not, like the fabled music of Orpheus and his lyre, drawn the groves after him, he draws from them rich lessons and stores of science, taste, and practical wisdom.

With such associations, derived from the past and present, which may justly be regarded in themselves favoring auspices and bright auguries, we may turn with animating hope and confidence to the future of this hall and this institution, now consecrated at once to genuine patriotism and good learning. Most cordially, my friends, do I congratulate you on the work so well begun, and carried to such completion. Long may you live to witness and enjoy the benefits thence accruing, that are destined, I trust, to flow down and be diffused through uncounted generations! If that is too much to anticipate for each, — and all of you must, in the order of nature, at no very remote period, have passed from these earthly scenes, — it is pleasant, very, to think of the instruction, the impulses and incentives to virtuous living, the solace and delights, which many of every condition and age may partake and enjoy, when you that have reared these walls and spread this intellectual banquet shall be dwellers in the region of spiritual, heavenly, and ever-progressive illumination. Walter Scott, in that combination of penetrating discernment and real pathos wrought at times by his magic pen, represents Dumbiedikes as saying on his death-bed, in his parting advice to his son, "Jock, when ye hae naething else to do, ye may be aye sticking in a tree; it will be growing, Jock, when ye're sleeping. My father tauld me sae forty years sin', but I ne'er fand time to mind him." May the tree you have here planted, evermore, whether your eyes behold it, or are closed in the sleep that in this world knows no waking, be spreading and strengthening its roots, sending out branches clad in foliage of living green, and laden with fruit, fair to the eye, pleasant to the taste, of which whoever tastes shall live, and not die, surely not die that worst of deaths, the only one we need to dread, that of the mind; but from which the soul may derive continually increasing light, health, peace, and joy. Let us, furthermore, hope and trust that while the call issuing from these portals, made tender

x Heart of Midlothian Cap. VIII

and affecting by these memorials of martyrs for their country's good, shall sound out to this and succeeding ages, clothing itself in the language of sacred writ,—Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters: come ye, buy and eat, without money and without price,—it may be responded to heartily and fully by multitudes who shall here not only drink deep of the fountains of human knowledge, but shall imbibe largely of the wisdom that is from above, and thither leads the way.

CHRISTOPHER TOPPAN THAYER.

It has been well said that the best part of history is biography, and we might well add that the best part of philosophy is also biography; for the manner in which a man of strong intellect, deep sentiment and pure character orders his life is the highest lesson which man can teach or men can learn. To preserve the record of such a life is, therefore, not only a high privilege, but a solemn duty.

On the 23d of June last there came to me with electric haste, in a distant land across the sea, the sad intelligence that the man, from the lesson of whole life I had learned more than from that of any other, had gone to be clothed with the immortality of the good,—the Rev. Christopher Toppan Thayer of Boston. So far as earthly presence is concerned, the tie of a friendship was thus broken, which for fifteen years had been one of the deepest joys of my life. And I have desired, among my first acts after returning to my native land, to express my deep gratitude for the rich legacy of his example,—for such a life and such a death.

It requires no great reader of character to analyze the qualities of Mr. Thayer's mind or heart. The first impression of him was generally the true one, and further intercourse only deepened and strengthened and enriched it. In him were found those rare unities of sound judgment and finest sentiment, of strong uprightness and tenderest sympathy, of large practicality and kindest generosity which mark alone the full man. No one of his many friends can ever forget how he could clothe the shrewdest maxims in the most gentle playfulness of speech, carrying with them both sharp instruction and keen delight. And no one who knew him intimately can fail to remember how the best thoughts, the best feelings and the best expressions would flow at the sympathy of his touch. He always laid his hand upon and brought out the best side of the nature with which he came into contact, and what greater power for good is there than this? It is the unerring witness of the truest and highest philanthropy.

His form we can no longer see, and his kindly voice we can no longer hear, but his memory is to those of us who knew him best a strength and an example which will impel us and lead us to the attainment of that higher manhood which he so nobly represented, and to follow upon the way which will finally bring us to him again in the place where parting is unknown.

J. W. P.

Columbia College, Oct. 13, 1880.

ODE.

I.

THE purple haze of summer days
Lies low above the sleeping hills;
Beneath the Sun's warm touch, the Earth
To her deep centre throbs and thrills;
And Peace above the smiling land
Her gentle benediction breathes;
And round the sheathed and rusty brand,
The summer-blooming laurel wreathes.

Seven times the earth her solemn course
Has wheeled around the central sphere, —
Seven times the change from bud to leaf
Has marked the noon-day of the year, —
Since that wild spring-time, when the blast
That kindled all the land to flame,
With cloud and thunder, o'er us passed,
And woke us from our dream of shame!

II.

We had dwelt with the heroes of mythical ages, —
  The gods on Olympus, the men of old Rome,
The chivalrous knights of King Arthur's romances,
  The paladins clustered round Charlemagne's throne.

We thought that all chivalry, valor, and beauty
  Had melted like dew, in the noon of our time;
That the clang of the loom and the beat of the piston
  Now made for the world its most musical chime.

Like the sound of a trumpet, the voice of an angel,
  Like the light that around the transfigured once shone,
Came the noise of the battle, the glare of its bale-fires:
  We sprang from our slumbers; our visions had gone!

We turned from the past with its glooms and its shadows;
  The light of the present shone full on our brow,
Flushed crimson with shame, at the thought that its grandeur
  Had never been felt by our spirits till now!

We saw that whatever of truth and of valor,
  Whatever of glory, past ages can claim,
Still shines in the laurels that garland the heroes
  Who fought the good fight in fair Liberty's name!

Though the knights for their ladies have run their last tourney,
  True knights at the service of freedom had we;
Though their helmets be doffed, and their war-cries be silent,
  Our rifle-balls sang the shrill song of the free!

So the dark years of war and the wild days of battle
  We welcomed, and knew that truth grappled with wrong;
Bade farewell to the olive of peace for a season,
  Made the blood-dripping laurel the theme of our song! —

Until we saw, above the rescued land,
  Shine in the sky, the golden bow of peace;
And hailed the omen, — promising at last,
  From all the woes of war a swift release.

III.

How dream-like seemed those fever days of war!
How cool the breath from arid battle-plains!
The cannon-echoes sound but faint and far,
And dim have grown the crimson banner stains.

Alas! how little trace on earth or sky,
The hurrying past, however stormy, leaves!
The broken branches fall to earth and die,
But not one element in nature grieves.

The war-scorched plains where grappled hostile bands, —
Where nameless heroes fought, and fighting, died, —
The spring-time clothes again with genial hands,
And hides the wave-marks of the battle-tide.

Thanks for the kindly years
That rob us of our tears, —
That heal the wounded heart and soothe the pangs of sorrow;
That leave our joy and pride
In our heroes glorified;
But from the night of mourning keep their promise of the morrow.

IV.

Still lives the memory of our fallen brave,
Though tattered banners gather silent dust,
And fades the crimson stain from land and wave,
And sword and cannon moulder into rust!

We walk the weary paths of wordly life,
Uncertain of the worth of all we win, —
Theirs the long rest that follows glorious strife,
The peace that dawns upon the battle's din,

For those who fight upon the side of God,
And, dying, know they do not die in vain,
But see, up-looking from the bloody sod,
The martyr's aureole crown the battle-plain!

Let the storied marbles rise
Till they touch the arching skies, —
Let brush and chisel tell, to the world, the thrilling story
Of the men who died for truth,
And the golden hopes of youth
For the love of freedom yielded, and bartered life for glory!

V.

Here in the sacred heart
  Of the dear old pilgrim land,
Whose heroes wrought their part
  To save their father's land, —
Where the streams and woods are vocal
  With the voice of ancient years,
And hills and fields are hallowed
  By the pilgrim's blood and tears, —
With sober hearts and humble,
  We come to own our debt,
To the hero-sons of heroes,
  Who proved that there lingers yet
Some trace of the ancient spirit,
  That fired the men of old;
That, under our sordid drosses,
  Still burns the virgin gold!

Within these walls shall echo
  The voices heard of yore,
Which the truth revealed from heaven,
  To the waiting people bore,

Of bards, whose lips were touched
  With a spark of heavenly fire,
And who struck, with prophet-fingers,
  The poet's ringing lyre, —

Which told of the deeds of heroes,
  Whose blood redeemed the earth
From the bonds of old oppression,
  Of the throes of Freedom's birth,

Of the dawn of civic order,
  Of the victories of peace,
Of the promise of that future,
  When the days of war shall cease.

But the sculptured names above
  Shall tell their nobler tale,
Through day and night the same,
  Beneath the starlight pale,

Or when round the western mountain
  The evening glory lingers,
And paints the pallid marble
  With sunset's rosy fingers!

VI.

This pile your hands have builded
  Is built for time alone:
The rust shall eat the iron,
  The moss shall crust the stone,
The massy walls shall crumble,
  And sink in dust away,
When the fingers of the ages
  Have wrought their sure decay;

But a deed that is done for freedom, —
  A blow that is struck for truth, —
Shall live with the souls of men,
  In a self-renewing youth!
In the golden book of Heaven,
  The sacred names are written,
Of the heroes and the martyrs
  Who the hosts of sin have smitten!
No need of our poor endeavors:
  Their work was its own reward;
The seed shall grow, that they planted
  On the bloody battle-sward,
And the harvest shall be gathered
  In the good time of the Lord!

When the march of the solemn years
Hath brought us to their goal,
The precious blood and tears,
Wrung from each hero-soul,

Shall be paid in flowing measure, full and free:
For virtue bringeth peace;
And the wrongs and sins of old
Shall pass like troubled dreams;
And the shock and crash of arms,
And the battle's wild alarms,
In God's own time shall cease;
And the light of his holy law,
With its mingled love and awe,
Shall shine o'er all the earth, and light the solemn sea!

APPENDIX.

PREPARED BY REV. GEORGE M. BARTOL, AND EXTRACTED IN PART FROM THE "CLINTON COURANT" OF JUNE 20, 1868.

DEDICATION OF SOLDIERS' MEMORIAL HALL IN LANCASTER, JUNE 17, 1868.

AT a meeting of the citizens of the town, held in March, 1867, it was voted to appropriate $5,000 for the purpose of building a Memorial Hall, provided a like amount should be raised by subscription. The additional $5,000 was more than made up, several of the citizens of the town contributing sums ranging from $500 to $1,000. The matter was intrusted to a committee of seven, consisting of the following gentlemen: NATHANIEL THAYER, Esq., Rev. G. M. BARTOL, Dr. J. L. S. THOMPSON, HENRY WILDER, JACOB FISHER, QUINCY WHITNEY, and Maj. E. M. FULLER. Of this committee, the selectmen have been members *ex officio*.

The building, which is situated in the rear of the town common, between the parish church and the town hall, has been completed at a cost of $25,000; the balance, above appropriation and subscription, having been contributed by NATHANIEL THAYER, Esq., a native of Lancaster, by whose munificence the library had been already very largely endowed. The style is classic, of the so-called Renaissance; the material being granite, brown freestone, and brick. Dimensions: 56½ by 36½ feet. The mason-work was done by Fairbanks & Frazer, of Clinton, and the wood-work by Robert Black, Esq., of Marlborough.

Inside, the walls and ceilings are frescoed in the highest style of the art, by Brazer, of Boston. The entire arrangement of the building reflects much credit on the architects, Messrs. Ryder and Harris, also of Boston. Wm. S. Brazer 9 Hamilton Place

Immediately above the porch, and architecturally connected with it, is a recessed panel or niche of freestone, bearing in bas-relief an urn surrounded by a wreath of oak-leaves, draped in mourning, and resting upon a pedestal of bound staves, representing the Union intact. On the pedestal appears the national coat of arms, and against it lean a musket and sword.

The entry bears on either wall a marble tablet; that on the right thus inscribed: —

1653–1868.
THIS EDIFICE
TO THE SOLE HONOR AND MEMORY, UNDER GOD,
OF THOSE BRAVE AND LOYAL VOLUNTEERS,
NATIVE OR RESIDENT OF LANCASTER,
WHO FELL MAINTAINING THE NATION'S CAUSE
IN THE BATTLES OF THE GREAT REBELLION,
IS ERECTED ON THE VERGE OF A FIELD
LONG USED BY THE INHABITANTS AS A MILITARY MUSTER-GROUND,
AND NEAR THE FOURTH BUILDING
OF THE TOWN'S FIRST CHURCH, INSTITUTED 1653.

"The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away; but the word of the Lord endureth for ever."

WITHIN ITS WALLS THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE TOWN,
WASTED BY FIRE AND OTHER ACCIDENTS,
AND ALSO THE TOWN'S LIBRARY, FOUNDED IN 1862,
ARE NOW MORE SAFELY THAN HERETOFORE DEPOSITED.

"Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

The tablet on the left has this inscription: —

"The memorial of virtue is immortal. When it is present, men take example at it; and when it is gone, they desire it."

THIS BUILDING,
BEGUN AND COMPLETED A.D. 1867–8,
IS DEDICATED, BY THEIR FELLOW-CITIZENS,
TO THE SACRED MEMORY OF THOSE MEN OF LANCASTER
WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE REPUBLIC
IN THE CIVIL WAR, 1861–1865.

From "Festus"

WE CAN NEVER BE DEATHLESS TILL WE DIE.
IT IS THE DEAD WIN BATTLES — NO: THE BRAVE
DIE NEVER. BEING DEATHLESS, THEY BUT CHANGE
THEIR COUNTRY'S VOWS FOR MORE, — THEIR COUNTRY'S HEART.

A door at the right conducts us into a fire-proof room, 13 by 19 feet, and 12 feet in height, designed for the use of town officers. The floor is laid on iron beams with brick arches; the ceiling is similarly constructed. The room is furnished with iron doors and shutters, and convenient cases are arranged at one end for records and papers.

On the left of the vestibule is the office-room of the librarian, 16 by 13 feet, and 12 feet in height. This room connects, by means of a conveniently furnished ante-room, with the main room of the building.

The twofold design of the building — as a library and as a Memorial Hall — everywhere appears. The main hall is constructed in the form of an octagon, the distance from side to side being 34 feet. The height from the floor to the skylight is 26 feet. Directly in front of the entrance-door, and on the farther side of the room, is a large marble tablet, bearing the names of the soldiers, citizens, or natives of the town who died in the war, arranged in the order of date of decease, with age. Upon the upper part of the tablet appears the following: —

THAT OUR POSTERITY MAY ALSO KNOW THEM,
AND THE CHILDREN THAT ARE YET UNBORN.

Then follows the list of thirty-nine deceased soldiers, as below: —

George Wright Cutler, Oct. 21, 1861. — 23.
Willard Raymond Lawrence, Oct. 21, 1861. — 28.
James Gardner Warner, Oct. 21, 1861. — 31.
Luther Gerry Turner, Nov. 1, 1861. — 24.
Franklin Hawkes Farnsworth, May 31, 1862. — 19.
James Burke, Sept. 1, 1862. — 26.
Robert Roberts Moses, Oct. 3, 1862. — 26.
Ebenezer Waters Richards, Dec. 13, 1862. — 37.
George Lee Thurston, Dec. 15, 1862. — 31.
Henry Maynard Putney, April 28, 1863. — 20.
David Wilder Jones, May 3, 1863. — 46.
James Dillon, May 10, 1863. — 26.
Charles Timothy Fairbanks, June 19, 1863. — 27.
Henry Albert Cutler, July 9, 1863. — 19.
Oscar Frary, July 28, 1863. — 27.
Stephen Adams Keyes, Aug. 10, 1863. — 19.
Walter Andrew Brooks, Aug. 22, 1863. — 20.
John Patrick Wise, March 15, 1864. — 19.
John Chickering Haynes, March 19, 1864. — 30.
Stephen Wesley Gray, April 4, 1864. — 32.
James Andrew Bridge, May 15, 1864. — 21.
Henry Jackson Parker, May 15, 1864. — 28.
Sumner Russell Kilburn, May 16, 1864. — 21.
Solon Whiting Chaplin, June 5, 1864. — 40.

William Dustin Carr, June 20, 1864. — 40.
Samuel Mirick Bowman, July 26, 1864. — 28.
Caleb Wood Sweet, Aug. 3, 1864. — 23.
Edward Richmond Washburn, Sept. 5, 1864. — 28.
Horatio Elisha Turner, Sept. 8, 1864. — 20.
William Schumacher, Sept. 13, 1864. — 22.
Frederic Fordyce Nourse, Sept. 13, 1864. — 22.
George Walton Divoll, Sept. 21, 1864. — 37.
Should be e John Louis Moeglin, Sept. 28, 1864. — 53.
Oren Hodgman, Sept. 30, 1864. — 21.
Luke Ollis, Oct. 13, 1864. — 21.
Fordyce Horan, Nov. 9, 1864. — 21.
Francis Henry Fairbanks, Jan. 4, 1865. — 30.
Edward Russell Joslyn, April 10, 1865. — 21.
Francis Washburn, April 22, 1865. — 26.*

Beneath the tablet, and cut in gilt on the walnut base, are the words, —

IN THE SIGHT OF THE UNWISE THEY SEEMED TO DIE,
AND THEIR DEPARTURE WAS TAKEN FOR MISERY,
AND THEIR GOING FROM US TO BE UTTER DESTRUCTION;
BUT THEY ARE IN PEACE.

Above this tablet is the "war window," of stained glass, on which appear the Holy Bible and military emblems, as sword, helmet, shield, victor's wreath, and national flag.

Directly above the centre of the hall is a domed skylight, or "peace window," also of stained glass, with this sentence in the border, in the old-English character: —

"They shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks; neither shall they learn war any more;"

and representing the breaking away of the clouds of war, and the descent of the dove with the olive-branch of peace.

At the springing of this dome is the following motto, also in old-English letter: —

"The truth endureth and is always strong. It liveth and conquereth for evermore, the kingdom, power, and majesty of all ages."

On the walls of the hall, above and below, shelves are arranged for the use of the library, on the peg system of the British Museum. A gallery runs round seven sides of the room, with a light iron railing,

* Albert Gilman Hunting, deceased June 25, 1862, Æt. 19, volunteered at Holliston; but his family removed directly afterwards to Lancaster, to which town he belonged when mustered into service.

and sustained by iron columns. The estimated capacity is 25,000 volumes.

A flight of stairs leads from the vestibule to rooms directly above the fire-proof and office rooms, at the west end of the building; also to the galleries. The north room is designed as a general reading-room. Folding doors connect this with the south or "cabinet room." This room is to be devoted to natural-history collections, and is furnished with elegant and convenient black-walnut cases, drawers, and cupboards. Arrangements are also made for mineralogical and ornithological specimens, &c., &c.

The entire interior is elegantly finished in black walnut, and is to be warmed by furnaces in the basement, and lighted by gas.

Dedication.

Appropriate dedicatory services were held last Wednesday, the 17th inst.; this date being the ninety-third anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill.

The services commenced at about 2½ o'clock, Nathaniel Thayer, Esq., presiding. The order of exercises was as follows: —

I. Statement of Executive Committee.
II. Music by the Band.
III. Reading of Scriptures, by Rev. G. R. Leavitt.
IV. Dedicatory Prayer, by Rev. G. M. Bartol.
V. Music by the Band.
VI. Address, by Rev. Christopher T. Thayer, of Boston.
VII. Music by the Band.
VIII. Ode, by H. F. Buswell, Esq., of Canton.
IX. Prayer and Benediction, by Rev. Dr. Whittemore.

Boston Journal.

LANCASTER MEMORIAL HALL. The town of Lancaster, in this State, has set an example well worthy of imitation by many other towns in our Commonwealth in the manner in which she proposes to perpetuate the memory of thirty-nine of her citizens who gave their lives for their country in the late war of the rebellion. A memorial building has been erected at a cost of $25,000, of which sum the town appropriated $5000 and the balance was made up by subscriptions and donations. Nathaniel Thayer, Esq., of this city, a native of the town, made a large and generous donation, and the library, which is to occupy a part of the building, has been largely endowed by him. The building has a two-fold design—to furnish a Memorial Hall and a library room with a capacity of 25,000 volumes.

We have received from Nichols & Noyes, the publishers, a copy of the dedicatory exercises, which took place last June. The address was delivered by Rev. Christopher T. Thayer of Boston, and a most excellent and appropriate address it was. He spoke of and contrasted the commencement and progress of the war of the Revolution and the war of the rebellion, and gave a complete history of the part taken by Lancaster and Lancaster men in those two struggles. The wisdom of that Providence which prolonged the war of the rebellion beyond the expectations and wishes of the loyal men who witnessed its commencement was illustrated by a careful history of the various phases of the war and an enumeration of its results and benefits, and the last part of the address was devoted to some interesting statements of the appropriate work of a library, and the manner in which it can best be made to answer its whole purpose in promoting the intelligence and morality of those who use it. The pamphlet to which we have referred contains, besides Mr. Thayer's address, an ode by H. F. Buswell, Esq., of Canton, and a description of the building.

Clinton Courant.

Saturday Morning, June 20, 1868.

☞ The COURANT is published on Saturday of each week; and no papers will be delivered at the Post Office or by news dealers, or at the office of publication, until Saturday morning.

Dedication of Soldiers' Memorial Hall in Lancaster, June 17th, 1868.

At a meeting of the citizens of the town, held in March, 1867, it was voted to appropriate $5,000 for the purpose of building a Memorial Hall, provided a like amount should be raised by subscription. The additional $5,000 was more than made up, several of the citizens of the town contributing sums ranging from $500 to $1,000. The matter was entrusted to a committee of seven, consisting of the following gentlemen: Nathaniel Thayer, Esq., Rev. G. M. Bartol, Dr. J. L. S. Thompson, Henry Wilder, Jacob Fisher, Quincy Whitney and Maj. E. M. Fuller. Of this committee the selectmen have been members, *ex officio*.

The work has been carried to a successful completion, at a cost of about $25,000—the balance, above appropriation and subscription of citizens already referred to, being contributed through the generosity of a well known citizen of Lancaster.

Various sites were proposed for the hall, and the one finally accepted for the purpose was the vacant lot between the Brick Church and the Town Hall. The sheds were removed, and the grounds suitably prepared, and work was commenced on the foundations in May, 1867, the building being located in the rear of the green between the church and hall.

The building is of brick. Dimensions: 56 1-2 by 36 1-2 feet. The mason work was done by Fairbanks & Frazer of Clinton, and the wood-work by Robert Black, Esq., of Marlboro'. The frescoing, which is finely done, is by Brazer of Boston, and the entire arrangement of the building reflects much credit on the architects, Messrs. Ryder & Harris, also of Boston.

On entering the building the visitor notices in a niche above the door, a panel of freestone, bearing in bas-relief an urn surrounded by a wreath of oak leaves, draped in mourning and resting upon a pedestal of bound staves representing the Union intact. On the pedestal appears the national coat of arms, and against it leans a musket and sword. Immediately above the door is the inscription: "Erected —A. D. 1867."

The rich appearance of the vestibule first attracts the visitor's notice. The frescoing and tiling are in the true Pompeian style, and attest the value of "first impressions." On a marble tablet at the right are the following inscriptions:

A. D. 1653—1867.

This Edifice, to the sole honor and memory under God, of those brave and loyal volunteers, native or resident of Lancaster, who fell maintaining the Nation's cause in the battles of the great Rebellion, is erected on the verge of a field long used by the inhabitants as a military muster ground and near the fourth building of the Town's First Church, instituted, 1653.

"The grass withereth and the flower thereof falleth away but the word of the Lord endureth forever."

Within its walls the public records of the town, wasted by fire and other accidents, and also the Town's Library, founded in 1862, are now more safely than heretofore deposited.

"Except the Lord build the house they labor in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city the watchman waketh but in vain."

On the tablet at the left appears the following:

The memorial of virtue is immortal. When it is present men take example at it, and when it is gone they desire it.

This building, begun and completed A. D. 1867-8 is dedicated by their fellow citizens to the sacred memory of those men of Lancaster who gave their lives for the integrity of the Republic in the civil war, 1861-1865.

We can never be deathless till we die. It is the dead win battles. No, the brave die never. Being deathless they but change their country's vows for more—their country's heart.

A door at the right conducts us into a fire proof room, 13x19 feet and 12 feet in height, designed for the use of the authorities of the town. The floor is laid on iron beams with brick arches; the ceiling is similarly constructed. The room is furnished with iron doors and shutters, and convenient cases are arranged at one end for records and papers.

On the left of the vestibule is the office room of the librarian, 16x13 feet and 12 feet in height. This room connects, by means of a conveniently furnished ante-room, with the main room of the building.

The hall is entered directly through the vestibule, and utility and elegance are here most happily combined. The two-fold design of the building, as a Library and Memorial Hall, appears in its every part. This room is constructed in the form of an octagon, the distance from side to side being 34 feet. The height from the floor to the skylight is 26 feet. Directly in front of the entrance door and on the farther side of the room is a large marble tablet bearing the names of the soldiers, citizens or natives of the town, who died in the war, arranged in the order of date of decease, with age. Upon the upper part of the tablet appears the following:

That our posterity may also know them and the children that are yet unborn.

Then follows the list of thirty-nine deceased soldiers, as given below :

George Wright Cutler, Oct. 21, 1861—23.
Willard Raymond Lawrence, Oct. 21, 1861—28.
James Gardner Warner, Oct. 21, 1861—31.
Luther Gerry Turner, Nov. 1, 1861—24.
Franklin Hawkes Farnsworth, May 31, 1862—19.
James Burke, Sept. 1, 1862—26.
Robert Roberts Moses, Oct. 3, 1862—26.
Ebenezer Waters Richards, Dec. 13, 1862—37.
George Lee Thurston, Dec. 15, 1862—31.
Henry Maynard Putney, April 28, 1863—20.
David Wilder Jones, May 3, 1863—46.
James Dillon, May 10, 1863—26.
Charles Timothy Fairbanks, June 19, 1863—27.
Henry Albert Cutler, July 9, 1863—19.
Oscar Frary, July 28, 1863—27.
Stephen Adams Keyes, Aug. 10, 1863—19.
Walter Andrew Brooks, Aug. 22, 1863—26.
John Patrick Wise, March 15, 1864—19.
John Chickering Haynes, March 19, 1864—30.
Stephen Wesley Gray, April 4, 1864—32.
James Andrew Bridge, May 15, 1864—21.
Henry Jackson Parker, May 15, 1864—28.
Sumner Russell Kilburn, May 16, 1864—21.
Solon Whiting Chaplin, June 5, 1864—40.
William Dustin Carr, June 20, 1864—40.
Samuel Mirick Bowman, July 26, 1864—28.
Caleb Wood Sweet, Aug. 3, 1864—23.
Edward Richmond Washburn, Sept. 5, 1864—28.
Horatio Elisha Turner, Sept. 8, 1864—20.
William Schumacher, Sept. 13, 1864—22.
Frederic Fordyce Nourse, Sept. 13, 1864—22.
George Walton Divoll, Sept. 21, 1864—37.
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Oren Hodgman, Sept. 30, 1864—21.
Luke Ollis, Oct. 13, 1864—21.
Fordyce Horan, Nov. 9, 1864—21.
Francis Henry Fairbanks, Jan. 4, 1865—30.
Edward Russell Joslyn, April 10, 1865—21.
Francis Washburn, April 22, 1865—26.

Beneath the tablet, and cut in gilt on the walnut base, are the words :

In the sight of the Universe, they seemed to die and their departure was taken for misery and their going from us to be utter destruction. But they are in Peace.

This tablet is guarded on the right and left by two massive pillars, fluted at the base in imitation of the Roman custom of thus providing for suitable resting places, against which the soldier might rest his spear when retired from service..

Above this tablet is the " war window " of stained glass, on which appears the Holy Bible and military emblems, as sword, helmet, shield, victor's wreath and national flag.

Directly above the centre of the hall is the skylight, or " peace window," also of stained glass, and rendered in the highest order of the art. Around the window are the words :

" They shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks; neither shall they learn war any more."

This window represents the breaking away of the clouds of war, and the descent of the dove, bearing in its mouth the olive branch of peace.

At the springing of the dome of the building, on the different sides of the room, are various mottoes, as follows :

The truth endureth and is always strong. It liveth and conquereth forever more; the kingdom, power and majesty of all ages.

On the ceiling, on the four sides of the room, are the names of four eminent American authors—Sparks, Irving, Prescott and Bryant.

On the walls of the hall, above and below, shelves are arranged for the use of the library. The style of shelving adopted is the " movable " pattern on the " peg system," similar to that adopted in the British Museum. A railing is built entirely around the hall, about four feet from the shelves, and there is a gallery above on seven sides of the room, supported by iron columns, with a light iron railing. There are four alcoves, or " literary retreats," one in each corner on each floor—eight in all. It is estimated that the room has accommodations for 25,000 volumes.

A flight of stairs leads from the vestibule to rooms directly above the fire-proof and office rooms at the west end of the building ; also to the galleries. The north room is designed as a general reading room. Folding doors connect this with the south or " Cabinet Room." This room is to be devoted to natural history collections, and is furnished with elegant and convenient black walnut cases, drawers and cupboards. Arrangements are also made for mineralogical and ornithological specimens, &c., &c.

The entire building is elegantly finished in black walnut, and is to be warmed by furnaces in the basement, in which it is designed to finish off a working room. The building will be lighted by gas.

DEDICATION.

Appropriate dedicatory services were held last Wednesday, the 17th inst., this date being the ninety-third anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill. A speaker's stand was erected in front of the Brick Church, and a second stand was built on the westerly side of the grounds near the street, which was occupied by the American Brass Band of Providence—twenty pieces—who furnished some of their best selections for the edification of the audience who were located on the enclosed square.

The grounds were beautifully decorated, the national colors being thrown to the breeze, and some sixty flags of various foreign nations suspended around the green, which added much to the impressiveness of the scene.

We noticed on the stand a large number of the citizens of the town, with ladies. Among the invited guests from out of town were Judge Chapin, Rev. Dr. Hill, John D. Washburn,

Esq., of the Governor's staff, and Hon. Stephen Salisbury, of Worcester; Rev. Dr. Lothrop and Geo. B. Emerson, Esq., of Boston; Hon. C. G. Stevens of Clinton; Ebenezer Torrey, Esq., and Col. J. W. Kimball, of Fitchburg, and others. The venerable Prof. Russell of Lancaster occupied a seat near the speaker.

The services commenced at about 2 1-2 o'clock, Nathaniel Thayer, Esq., presiding. The order of exercises was as follows:

1. Statement of Executive Committee.
2. Music by the Band.
3. Reading of Scriptures, by Rev. G. R. Leavitt.
4. Dedicatory Prayer, by Rev. G. M. Bartol.
5. Music by the Band.
6. Address, by Rev. Christopher T. Thayer, of Boston.
7. Music by the Band.
8. Ode, by H. F. Buswell, Esq., of Canton.
9. Prayer and Benediction, by Rev. Dr. Whittemore.

The following is a brief abstract of the address:

ADDRESS.

Probably on no former occasion has there been such a collection of men on this green and under the shade of these ancient elms, unless when the nation's guest * was welcomed here by the people of the surrounding towns. You will agree with me in the wish that the sonorous voice which welcomed our guest on that occasion could be heard today on these grounds. We have come together to consider the event of which this day is commemorative. June 17, 1775 has become historical and connected with the best interests of mankind. We remember today the heroic band who on that day offered themselves on the altar of their country. We do not forget the patriotic Prescott whose descendants settled in this town. Gov. Brooks, a participant in the important events of that day, afterwards officially reviewed a portion of our State militia on yonder muster field. We recall today the graceful form of Gen. Joseph Warren, the proto-martyr in the cause of American and human liberty, who perished on Bunker Hill at the early age of thirty. He can never die too soon who lays down his life in the cause of the liberties of his country. His address on the danger of standing armies in time of peace was considered close preaching for the Old South Church. Tradition says that Warren once taught school in the southwest part of Lancaster on the road to Sterling. When but nineteen years of age he was appointed to the preceptorship of the Grammar School in Roxbury, which fact is an evidence of his precocity.

There is a peculiar Providence in reference to the battle of Bunker Hill which deserves notice. Military authorities consider that *both* sides made a mistake in their movements on that day. The Americans erred in going upon the height and exposing themselves to the danger of being cut off and starved out. The British committed a blunder in advancing up the height even with three times the number of the Americans, which want of military skill resulted in a carnage rarely equalled.

The same Providence was seen in our recent war. At the assault on Fort Sumter, instead of "firing the southern heart," the northern heart was fired. A better mode of rousing twenty millions at the north could not have been adopted. Being abroad at that time the reception of the news seemed to be anticipative of the electric cord, and the patriotic spirit evinced by Americans was refreshing to witness.

Again at Baltimore, where our Massachusetts men fell, the same result followed.—The North were awakened to find a pathway to the capital.

Another illustration of the argument may be found in the terrible disaster of Bull Run—a result of the impatient cry of "On to Richmond," a disaster resulting in final victories. The protractedness of the war, under divine Providence resulted in the liberation of millions held in slavery, a result generally acquiesced in as a right of war.

When we remember the hundreds of thousands who laid down their lives for our country's good, we cannot too fully acknowledge our obligations. The soldiers were not alone in their sacrifices: woman, in a multiplicity of ways, aided the cause. It will never do to say that woman has very little more to do than to talk over the gossip of the hour at the tea-table, although this custom has sometimes produced material results in the community!

We have today to acknowledge our indebtedness and to drop a tear over the graves of our departed soldiers. The scene lately witnessed throughout the land in the decorating of the soldiers' graves is unparalleled in our national history. It is a fit expression of our feelings. Prof. Russel once remarked that we in America need the "culture of the emotions."

We have had heroes here before, Maj. Simon Willard was the ancestor of two Presidents of Harvard College, also of the historian† of Lancaster. Capt Samuel Ward was another hero of the olden time. In the last war with Great Britain Generals Henry and Fabius Whiting held prominet positions. Col. Aspinwall, by marriage, was a son of this town. These men flourished in the earlier years of our municipal history; in the times when Lancaster declined to be a half-shire town, fearing the consequent damage to the good name and morality of her citizens, which would result from the necessary proximity to their people, of thieves, robbers and villains. Whether harm was anticipated from the presence of those on whom devolved the duty of convicting or protecting the criminals does not appear!

Six years ago, or in the year 1862, this town instituted a public Library which now contains some four thousand volumes. This Library is to Lancaster what the Public Library, Atheneum and Lowell Institute are to Boston. The atmosphere of this town is of a literary character. An unusual number of students have been furnished the University from Lancaster. Among the names of teachers of private schools in town, we find those of

Sparks, the historian, Proctor, Geo. B. Emerson—who drew wisdom from the trees—and Dr. Channing. The first authoress of Lancaster was Mrs. Rowlandson, whom Dr. Palfrey highly eulogizes as a writer. Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz is widely known. We must not omit a reference to Mrs. Cleveland and we should all have occasion to rejoice if all the *Wares* brought to the literary market were as superior.

To those who were concerned in establishing this Library, we would say: May the tree which you have here planted strike deep its roots, send wide its branches, increase its foliage, and bear everlasting fruit that when we are sleeping it shall still be growing. Future generations shall come up hither and be greeted by the words, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come." So it shall be a spring of water springing up into life, the purest and best on earth and everlasting in the heavens.

* La Fayette.
† Joseph Willard of Boston.

ODE.

I.

The purple haze of summer days,
Lies low above the sleeping hills,
Beneath the sun's warm touch, the earth
To her deep centre throbs and thrills;
And peace above the smiling land,
Her gentle benediction breathes,
And round the sheathed and rusty brand,
The summer blooming laurel wreathes.

Seven times the earth her solemn course
Has wheeled around the central sphere,—
Seven times the change from bud to leaf,
Has marked the noonday of the year,—
Since that wild spring-time, when the blast
That kindled all the land to flame,
With cloud and thunder, o'er us passed,
And woke us from our dream of shame.

II.

We had dwelt with the heroes of mythical ages,
The gods on Olympus, the men of old Rome,
The chivalrous knights of King Arthur's romances,
The paladins clustered round Charlemagne's throne.

We thought that all chivalry, valor, and beauty,
Had melted like dew, in the noon of our time,
That the clang of the loom, and the beat of the piston,
Now made for the world its most musical chime.

Like the sound of a trumpet, the voice of an angel,
Like the light that around the transfigured once shone,
Came the noise of the battle, the glare of its balefires,
We sprang from our slumbers,—our visions had gone.

We turned from the past with its glooms and its shadows,—
The light of the present shone full on our brow,
Flushed crimson with shame, at the thought that its grandeur
Had never been felt by our spirits till now.

We saw that whatever of truth and of valor,
Whatever of glory past ages can claim,
Still shines in the laurels that garland the heroes,
Who fought the good fight in fair liberty's name.

Though the knights for their ladies, have run their last journey,
True knights at the service of freedom had we,—
Though their helmets be doffed, and their war cries be silent,
Our rifle-balls sang the shrill song of the free.

So the dark years of war, and the wild days of battle
We welcomed, and knew that truth grappled with wrong,—
Bade farewell to the olive of peace for a season,
Made the blood-dripping laurel the theme of our song.

Until we saw above the rescued land,
Shine in the sky, the golden bow of peace,
And hailed the omen,—promising at last,
From all the woes of war a swift release.

III.

How dream-like seem those fever days of war,
How cool the breath from arid battle plains,—
The cannon echoes sound beat faint and far,
And dim have grown the crimson banner stains.

Alas how little trace on earth or sky,
The hurrying past, however stormy, leaves,
The broken branches fall to earth and die,
But not one element in nature grieves.

The war scorched plains where grappled hostile bands,
Where nameless heroes fought, and fighting, died,
The spring-time clothes again with kindly hands,
And hides the wave marks of the battle tide.

Thanks for the kindly years
That rob us of our tears,—
That heal the wounded heart and sooth the pangs of sorrow,—
That leave our joy and pride,
In our heroes glorified,
But from the night of mourning, keep their promise of the morrow.

IV.

Still lives the memory of our fallen brave,—
Though battered banners gather silent dust,
And fades the crimson stain from land and wave,
And sword and cannon moulder into rust.

We walk the weary paths of worldly life,
Uncertain of the worth of all we win,—
Theirs the long rest that follows glorious strife,
The peace that dawns upon the battle's din.

For those who fight upon the side of God;—
And dying know they do not die in vain,
But see, uplooking from the bloody sod,
The martyr's aureole crown the battle plain.

Let the storied marbles rise
Till they touch the arching skies,—
Let brush and chisel tell, to the world, the thrilling story
Of the men who died for truth,
And the golden hopes of youth,
For the love of freedom yielded, and bartered life for glory.

V.

Here in the sacred heart,
Of the dear old pilgrim land,
Whose heroes wrought their part
To save their father's land,—
Where the streams and woods are vocal,
With the voice of ancient years,
And hills and fields are hallowed
By the pilgrim's blood and tears,—
With sober hearts and humble,
We come to own our debt,
To the hero—sons of heroes,
Who proved that there lingers yet
Some trace of the ancient spirit,
That fired the men of old,—
That under our sordid drosses,
Still burns the virgin gold.

Within these walls shall echo
The voices heard of yore,
Which the truth revealed from heaven,
To the waiting people bore,—

Of bards, whose souls were warmed
With a spark of heavenly fire,
And who struck with prophet-fingers,
The poets ringing lyre,—

Which told of the deeds of heroes,
Whose blood redeemed the earth
From the bonds of old oppression,
Of the throes of Freedom's birth,—

Of the dawn of civic order,—
Of the victories of peace,—
Of the promise of that future,
When the days of war shall cease.

But the sculptured names above
Shall tell their nobler tale,
Though day and night the same,
Beneath the starlight pale.

Or when round the western mountain,
The summer sunbeam lingers,
And paints the pallid marble,
With sunset's rosy fingers.

VI.

This pile your hands have builded,
Is built for time alone,—
The rust shall eat the iron,
The moss shall crust the stone,
The massy walls shall crumble,
And sink in dust away,
When the fingers of the ages
Have wrought their sure decay.

But a deed that is done for freedom,—
A blow that is struck for truth,—
Shall live with the souls of men,
In a self renewing youth.
In the golden book of Heaven,
The sacred names are written,
Of the heroes and the martyrs,
Who the hosts of sin have smitten.
No need of our poor endeavors,—
Their work was its own reward;
The seed shall grow, that they planted
On the bloody battle sward,
And the harvest shall be gathered
In the good time of the Lord.

When the march of the solemn years,
Hath brought us to their goal,

The precious blood and tears,
Wrung from each hero-soul,

Shall be paid in flowing measure, full and free:—
For virtue bringeth peace,—
And the wrongs and sins of old
Shall pass like troubled dreams,—
And the shock and crash of arms,
And the battle's wild alarms,
In God's own time shall cease;—
And the light of his holy law,
With its mingled love and awe,
Shall shine o'er all the earth and light the solemn sea.

There were a large number of guests present from out of town who were served with a superb collation in the hall, previous to the exercises. With a single exception, elsewhere referred to, no accident occurred to mar the enjoyment of the large number present throughout the day.

Lancaster.

"*Address delivered at the dedication of the Memorial Hall, Lancaster, June* 17, 1868, *by Christopher T. Thayer and Ode by H. F. Buswell, with an Appendix.*" We are indebted to Messrs. Nichols & Noyes, Boston, for a copy of the above work, which is got up in a neat and acceptable manner. Of the address and ode we gave full reports on the occasion of the Dedication. The "Appendix," as we are informed in the preface thereto, is "Prepared by Rev. Geo. M. Bartol and extracted in part from the Clinton Courant, of June 20, 1868." With the exception of some half a dozen lines and a very few verbal alterations, the entire appendix was "prepared" by the editor of the Courant, it being a *portion* of an article which appeared in this paper in our issue of June 20th, to which the reader is referred for fuller particulars.

LANCASTER, Nov. 27, 1868.

Mr. Editor: My eye is arrested by a paragraph in your last number, under the head of "Lancaster," which challenges a paragraph from me, in reply. To appropriate the results of another man's literary skill and industry, so as to receive the reward which is his due, is almost as bad as picking his pocket; and I should consider myself among the shabbiest and lowest of created things to have intentionally done so.

The object of the appendix to the address at the dedication of the Memorial Hall was to give as brief a description of the building and of the occasion as would cover the main features of both. The "copy" for that appendix was made up of slips cut from your printed account, omitting what was thought not to be essential, with so few connecting lines of the pen that it hardly deserved the name of manuscript. All the facts and figures were very familiar beforehand, and were all it was really cared to include; and the document thus "prepared" seemed fairly to embody them, and with sufficient conciseness. There was no thought of laying the slightest claim to any credit for originality which might accrue to such a production; and it was prefixed, not as it now appears in print, with "Prepared by" and "Extracted in part," but simply with these words, "From the Clinton Courant," and the date of the particular issue.

It only remains for me to add that whatever force "prepared by," &c., may bear, it is not that of any merit or distinction which I crave, or to which I have set up any title: that this change of the phrase I used has been made, however innocently, yet without my consent or knowledge; that I have never suspected my name was likely to be attached to what is, in every respect, so inconsiderable a portion of the pamphlet; and that the fact of its being so conspicuously attached is a source of pain and regret to me. G. M. B.

May 5 **Dedicatory Services.** 1878

Last Sunday afternoon, in a driving rainstorm, the dedicatory exercises of the Seventh Day Adventist church in South Lancaster commenced. The external appearance of the church is neat and unassuming. One is most attracted, however, on entering the building, to find such purity of finish, and blending of colors; the walls are tinted drab; at the left of the pulpit the ten commandments are printed, and at the right the Lord's prayer, while in the center, just back of the pulpit, an arch is frescoed in relief. The furniture of the church is of hard wood with black walnut trimmings, with a seating capacity for some 250 persons. The light from the six long windows is not subdued either by galleries or stained glass panes. The organ, which is a portable one, is of ample power for the size of the house.

Elder S. N. Haskell first addressed the assembly; speaking particularly of the rise of their people, he said in substance:—

The Seventh Day Adventists hold the position that the scripture should be taken in a literal sense, that is when God says that the seventh day is the Sabbath day, then it is so, and should be kept as such, and when the Bible speaks of Christ's return to earth it is taken in the literal sense and we believe He will come; and when He speaks of the signs, it is believed He means actual signs; and we believe these signs bring us down to a time when we can look for that event to transpire—not that we can say the year or the day—but we believe it is near. In 1844, there was a class of people throughout the country who looked for the Lord to come to this earth; they were mistaken through some means and felt their disappointment keenly. From that party started the society called the "Seventh Day Adventists." In 1847 the first book was written upon the subject; in 1848 the first paper was published; now, in Michigan, there are four power presses running almost night and day; there are also publishing houses on the Pacific coast; and to the press we are largely indebted for the great increase in our numbers. There are now upwards of 20,000 people in America professing this belief; there are missionaries sent to Italy, Egypt, Denmark, Holland, Austria and to the southern part of Russia. In 1864 a small party of eight individuals organized here; weekly prayer meetings were held; in four years they secured a hall in which to hold their meetings, the numbers increased until we were obliged to build a little chapel; our numbers still increasing we have built this church. Commencing with eight members, fourteen years ago, we have multiplied until now we number one hundred members; this is the first effort we have ever made, which has gone beyond our means; the sum of $1100 was pledged at the commencement, to build this church, and since then we have received $500 more. The actual cost of the building is not far from $2800; we are here today for the purpose of dedicating this church, but it is not the dedicating of the building itself, but it is the hearts of those who worship in the building that bring the blessing of God.

The choir, under the direction of Prof. C. W. Stone of Vermont, then sang an anthem appropriate to the occasion.

Elder D. M. Canright said:—

It is a fact that the majority of churches that profess to have free seats carry so much style that the poorer class of people are virtually shut out. It is a matter of pride therefore that the Seventh Day Adventists who have aimed to have everything neat in their church, are also without this false pride, so that even the humblest may feel at home inside its walls.

Prof. C. W. Stone of Vermont, made brief remarks, saying:

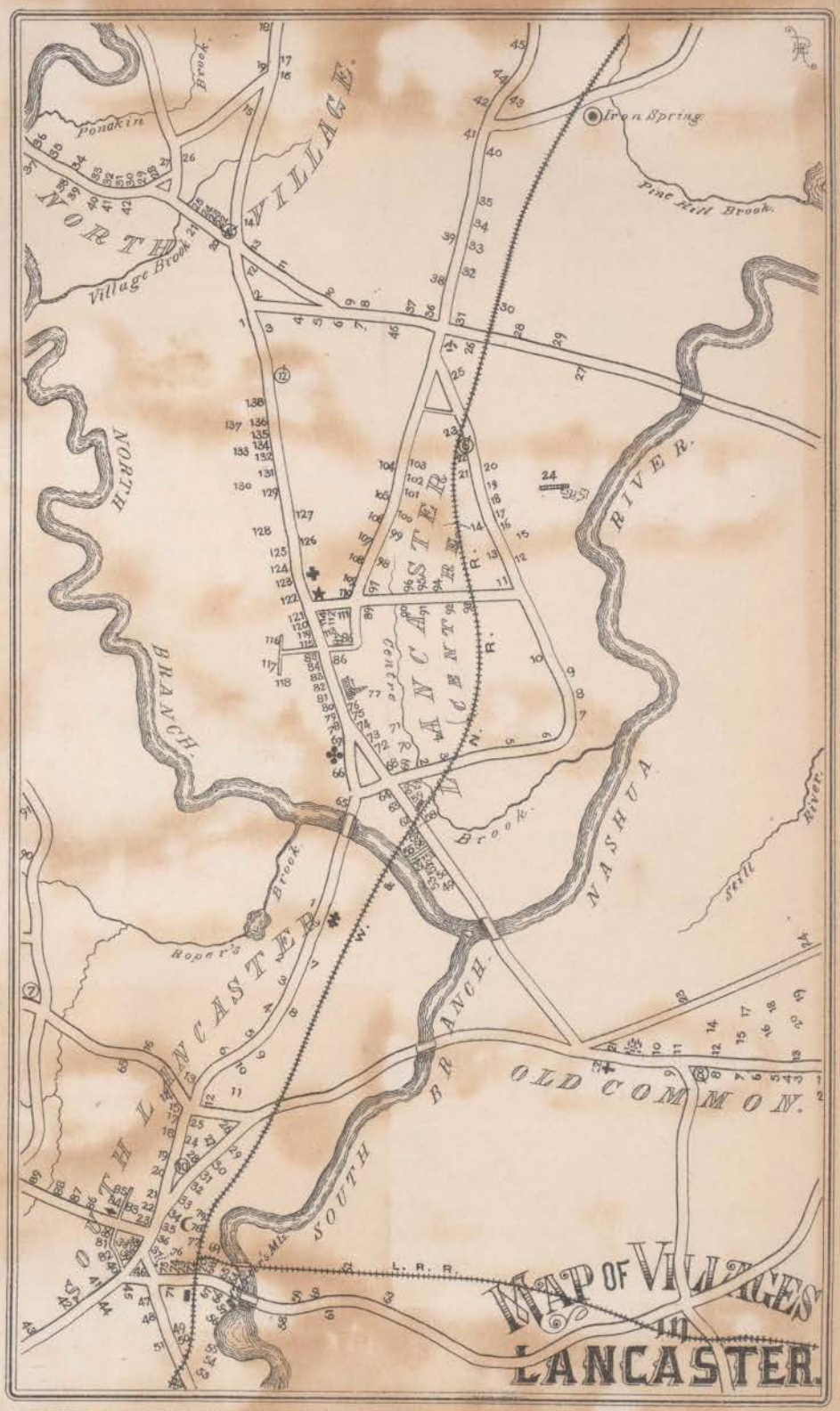
I have been often asked why it is that we build meeting houses if we believe they are so soon to be destroyed. The reason is, we believe in advancing the cause in the most rapid manner. If we knew the Lord was coming in one year, and we thought we could do more for the salvation of sinners, we would sell our farms and put the money into meeting houses, for how much will our farms be worth, how much will the elegant mansions in yonder city, or the millionaire's gold be worth when Christ comes? I think it is better to lay up our treasures in Heaven.

Elder S. S. Mooney of Salem, congratulated the people and in a few remarks said that it was by united efforts and united prayers that the society had been so prosperous, and urged them to continue.

Elder G. G. Haynes of Newburyport, said that faithful labor in the service of God always insures success. He advised his hearers not to think that they had reached the topmost round of the ladder, but to press on with renewed energy, and the Lord would abundantly bless.

Elder D. A. Robinson made a few effective remarks, after which Elder Haskell, in an earnest prayer, dedicated the church to God. The exercises closed with an anthem by the choir.

The out-of-town elders have remained over for a few days to lecture on this doctrine, taking for their subjects, "What becomes of God's people hereafter?" and the "Signs of the times."



THE HELIOTYPE PRINTING CO. 280 DEVONSHIRE ST. BOSTON

1879.

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609

Memorial Service,

LANCASTER, 1870.

On Monday, May 30,

At 3 o'clock, at the Memorial Hall.

Music—"Who when darkness gathered o'er us."

Prayer—Rev. G. M. Bartol.

Music—"My Country 'tis of Thee."

All are invited to join in singing.

Original Hymn.

Scatter flowers lovingly,
Years have gone by
Since our "Brave Soldier Boys"
Went forth to die,
Since peace the land has blest
They died to save,
Still will we deck with flowers
Each grassy grave.

Scatter flowers tearfully,
Far, far away,
Many a precious form
Moulders today.
Yet is their memory
Cherished and blest,
Would we could deck with flowers,
Their lowly rest.

Scatter flowers mournfully,
Many a heart,
Bowed down with heavy grief,
Takes here a part.
Many a lonely home,
Desolate yet,
Bids us our "Soldier Boys"
Never forget.

Scatter flowers tenderly,
Emblems of love,
Sent by a Father's hand,
Our souls to move,
Leading from grief and woe,
From care and gloom,
Pointing to life and joy
Beyond the tomb.

After the Decoration there will be music on leaving each of the Cemeteries.

WILLIAM A. KILBOURN,
JOHN E. FARNSWORTH,
HENRY C. KENDRICK,
GEORGE W. HOWE,
HARRIS C. HARRIMAN,
Committee of Arrangement and Reception.

Coulter, Printer, Clinton, Mass.

ORDER

—AT THE—

DEDICATION

—OF—

EASTWOOD CEMETERY.

See the leaves around us falling,
Dry and withered, to the ground!
Thus to thoughtless mortals calling,
In a sad and solemn sound:

"Youth, on length of days presuming,
Who the paths of pleasure tread,
View us, late in beauty blooming,
Numbered now among the dead.

'What though yet no losses grieve you,
Gay with health and many a grace;
Let not cloudless skies deceive you:
Summer gives to autumn place.

"Yearly in our course returning,
Messengers of shortest stay,
Thus we preach this truth concerning,
Heaven and earth shall pass away."

On the tree of life eternal,
Oh let all our hopes be laid!
This alone, for ever vernal,
Bears a leaf that shall not fade.

SCRIPTURE SELECTION, - - REV. MR. EMERSON.

PRAYER, - - - - - - - - REV. DR. WHITTEMORE.

HISTORICAL SKETCH, - J. L. S. THOMPSON, M.D.

Shall I fear, O Earth! thy bosom?
Shrink and faint to lay me there,
Whence the fragrant, lovely blossom
Springs to gladden earth and air?

Whence the tree, the brook, the river,
Soft clouds floating in the sky,
All fair things come, whispering ever,
Of the love divine on high?

Yea, whence One arose victorious
O'er the darkness of the grave;
His strong arm revealing, glorious
In its might divine t save?

No, fair Earth! a tender mother
Thou hast been, and yet canst be;
And through him, my Lord and Brother,
Sweet shall be my rest in thee.

ADDRESS, - - - - - - - - - - REV. MR. BARTOL.

How oft, beneath this sacred shade,
Encompassed by the earth's green breast
Shall many a weary head be laid,
And wandering hearts find peaceful rest!

Each opening leaf and flower shall bring
Memorials of their higher birth,
And whispering breezes o'er them sing
Some requiem for the lost of earth.

If earth were all, how sad to leave
What never, never can return!
But oh! if opening heaven receive,
How vain the parted shade to mourn.

But here, while days on days repeat
The annals of each coming race,
May Faith, Hope, Love, forever meet,
To crown and bless the sylvan place!

BENEDICTION.

Coulter, Printer, Clinton, Mass.

611

CENTENNIAL

CELEBRATION.

JULY 4, 1876.

LANCASTER, MASS.

PUBLIC EXERCISES.

First Parish Church.

Beginning at 10 o'clock A. M.

Organ Voluntary.

My Country, 'tis of thee.

(America.)

My country, 't is of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing;
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the pilgrims' pride,
From every mountain-side
Let freedom ring.

My native country, thee—
Land of the noble free—
Thy name—I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills,
My heart with rapture thrills
Like that above.

Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees
Sweet freedom's song;
Let mortal tongues awake;
Let all that breathe partake;
Let rocks their silence break,—
The sound prolong.

Our fathers' God, to thee
Author of liberty,
To thee we sing:
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by thy might,
Great God, our King.

Prayer by Rev. Benjamin Whittemore, D. D.

Hymn, by Benjamin B. Whittemore.

Almighty God, whose gracious hand
Has long sustained our favored land,
Thy people, now, in hymns of praise
Their grateful hearts and voices raise,
And for thy blessing humbly pray
To crown the glory of this day.

Thy sovereign power o'er all the earth
Attends the nations in their birth—
Thy wisdom giving each, aright,
Its meed of strength—its needed light,
All moving by Thy wond'rous plan,
To serve the final good of man—

Thy guiding hand our fathers knew,
Their faith was strong—their courage true.
With trust in Thee they fearless spoke
The words that stern oppression broke,
While Liberty 'mid storm and strife
Led forth a *nation* into life.

That nation with resistless tread
Forth on its mission boldly sped.
Though freedom's direst foes assailed,
Its loyal heart has never quailed,
And, in this proud centennial year,
It meets the world without a peer.

Lord, we behold our Father-land—
Its borders wide—its beauty grand—
While every plain and mountain crest
With freedom's signet seems impress'd,
And o'er its wide domain we see
A country blest, a people free.

And shall not this dear heritage
Our deep solicitude engage?
Lord, for our country may we live—
Help us devoted hearts to give,
That still her destiny may be
To bless mankind—to honor Thee.

Reading of Declaration of Independence, by Henry S. Nourse.

Ode, by Mrs. Julia A. Fletcher Carney.

One hundred years ago, our sires
  Unfurled the starry banner,
And lighting Freedom's signal fires
Even from their own funereal pyres,
  Shouted in glad Hosanna!
Old Massachusetts led the way!
  Her pine tree flag unfurling
Wherever,—on the battle day,—
Thickest and darkest, o'er the fray,
  The smoke of death was curling.

The snowy flag beside the blue
  Still said, "Appeal to Heaven!"
Dark and yet darker grew its hue,
As mid the battle smoke it flew
  Till victory was given.
God of our sires, Thou still art here!
  We still, to Thee appealing,
Ask that this proud Centennial year
May leave us nobler, purer, freer
  From foes around us stealing.

Save we beseech! Our nation's heart
  A myriad foes doth cherish!
Low men in places high have part,
A selfish greed doth fill each mart,
  Help! lest our country perish!
In olden time, against one foe
  Forth went our snowy banner;
Our newer flag, today doth know
No foeman for its mailed arm's blow,
  Yet still we cry, Hosanna!

Oration by John D. Washburn.

O Lord, our fathers oft have told,
  In our attentive ears,
Thy wonders in their days performed,
  And in more ancient years.

'Twas not their courage, nor their sword,
  To them salvation gave;
'Twas not their number, nor their strength,
  That did their country save:

But thy right hand,—thy powerful arm,—
  Whose succor they implored;
Thy providence protected them,
  Who thy great name adored.

To thee the glory we'll ascribe,
  From whom salvation came;
In God, our shield, we will rejoice,
  And ever bless thy name.

Benediction by Rev. A. P. Marvin.

ADDRESS,

DELIVERED JULY 4, 1876,

AT

LANCASTER, MASSACHUSETTS,

BY REQUEST OF THE CITIZENS.

BY

JOHN D. WASHBURN,

A FORMER RESIDENT OF THE TOWN.

LANCASTER:
1876.

WORCESTER:

PRESS OF CHAS. HAMILTON.

1876.

PREFATORY NOTE.

At a legal meeting of the Voters of Lancaster, held April 3d, 1876, on motion of the Rev. A. P. Marvin, it was voted:—

"To refer the subject of the delivery and publication of a Centennial Address on the 4th of July next, to a Committee of five, and that the sum of $150 be appropriated for the same."

Elected as said Committee:—

Rev. A. P. Marvin, Rev. G. M. Bartol,
Chas. T. Fletcher, G. F. Chandler.
Henry S. Nourse.

This Committee was subsequently organized by the election of Mr. Bartol as Chairman, and of Mr. Nourse as Secretary and Treasurer. On motion of Mr. Marvin, Col. John D. Washburn was invited to deliver the address.

EXERCISES.

The following exercises were held in the Meeting-House of the First Parish; beginning precisely at Ten o'clock A. M.:—

ORGAN VOLUNTARY.

MY COUNTRY, 'TIS OF THEE.

(America.)

My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing;
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the pilgrims' pride,
From every mountain side
Let freedom ring.

My native country, thee—
Land of the noble free—
Thy name—I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills,
My heart with rapture thrills
Like that above.

Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees
Sweet freedom's song;
Let mortal tongues awake;
Let all that breathe partake;
Let rocks their silence break,—
The sound prolong.

Our fathers' God, to thee,
Author of liberty,
To thee we sing;
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by thy might,
Great God, our King.

PRAYER,

By Rev. Benjamin Whittemore, D. D.

HYMN,

By Benjamin B. Whittemore.

Almighty God, whose gracious hand
Has long sustained our favored land,
Thy people, now, in hymns of praise
Their grateful hearts and voices raise,
And for thy blessing humbly pray
To crown the glory of this day.

Thy sovereign power o'er all the earth
Attends the nations in their birth—
Thy wisdom giving each, aright,
Its meed of strength—its needed light,
All moving by Thy wond'rous plan,
To serve the final good of man.

Thy guiding hand our fathers knew,
Their faith was strong—their courage true,
With trust in Thee they fearless spoke
The words that stern oppression broke,
While Liberty, 'mid storm and strife,
Led forth a *nation* into life.

That nation with resistless tread
Forth on its mission boldly sped,
Though freedom's direst foes assailed,
Its loyal heart has never quailed,
And, in this proud centennial year.
It meets the world without a peer.

Lord, we behold our Father-land—
Its borders wide—its beauty grand—
While every plain and mountain crest
With freedom's signet seems impress'd,
And o'er its wide domain we see
A country blest, a people free.

And shall not this dear heritage
Our deep solicitude engage?
Lord, for our country may we live—
Help us devoted hearts to give,
That still her destiny may be
To bless mankind—to honor Thee.

READING OF DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE,

BY HENRY S. NOURSE.

ODE,

BY MRS. JULIA A. FLETCHER CARNEY.*

One hundred years ago, our sires
  Unfurled the starry banner,
And lighting Freedom's signal fires
Even from their own funereal pyres,
  Shouted in glad Hosanna!
Old Massachusetts led the way!
  Her pine tree flag unfurling
Wherever,—on the battle day,—
Thickest and darkest o'er the fray,
  The smoke of death was curling.

The snowy flag beside the blue
  Still said, "Appeal to Heaven!"
Dark and yet darker grew its hue,
As mid the battle smoke it flew
  Till victory was given.
God of our sires, Thou still art here!
  We still, to Thee appealing,
Ask that this proud Centennial year
May leave us nobler, purer, freer
  From foes around us stealing.

Save, we beseech! Our nation's heart
  A myriad foes doth cherish!
Low men in places high have part,
A selfish greed doth fill each mart,
  Help! lest our country perish!
In olden time, against one foe
  Forth went our snowy banner;
Our newer flag, to-day doth know
No foeman for its mailed arm's blow,
  Yet still we cry, Hosanna!

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* Extract from letter of Mrs. Carney; "It will be known to most of the older ones assembled, that in the early part of our Revolutionary War, our privateers all carried the *old* flag of Massachusetts. The field was of white,—in the centre a green pine tree;—the motto, 'Appeal to Heaven.' The star-spangled banner was not adopted till June 14th, 1776, and still the Massachusetts State flag was used with it.

The Hebrew meaning of Hosanna, 'Save, we beseech,' may interest the Sunday School children.

Of course, the present flag of our dear native State, with its mailed arm ready for a foe, yet its motto of peace, is familiar to all."

ORATION,

BY JOHN D. WASHBURN.

PSALM 44,

(Version of Tate & Brady.)

O Lord, our fathers oft have told,
  In our attentive ears,
Thy wonders in their days performed,
  And in more ancient years.

'Twas not their courage, nor their sword,
  To them salvation gave;
'Twas not their number nor their strength,
  That did their country save:

But Thy right hand,—Thy powerful arm,—
  Whose succor they implored;
Thy providence protected them,
  Who Thy great name adored.

To Thee the glory we'll ascribe,
  From whom salvation came;
In God, our shield, we will rejoice,
  And ever bless Thy name.

BENEDICTION,

BY REV. A. P. MARVIN.

In further pursuance of their instructions, the Committee now publish the Address.

ADDRESS.

An accomplished and eloquent orator, in a commemorative address delivered some years ago in a neighboring State, spoke of the early days of this country as the "Age of Homespun;" yet to it he attributed, by way of contrast to our own, most of the characteristics of a golden age. The address was graceful and charming, yet it may be doubted whether the pictures of the life of our fathers were not too highly colored, and whether the inferences which would naturally be drawn from what was said, are not, relatively, too unfavorable to the present day.

For was the age of homespun and the pillion the golden age of America? Are we degenerate sons of nobler sires, as we gather to-day to commemorate and thank Heaven for the lives and labors and sacrifices of those who first made their abiding place in this Commonwealth, fugitives from a tyranny which sought to fetter the conscience and bind the soul in bonds of iron, of those also who,

in sacrifice and self devotion a hundred years ago laid the foundations of this Republic, then strong only in hope and the possibilities of the future, now imperial among the powers of the earth? Is not the present as truly the golden age, bright with the acquisitions of the century just drawn to its close, the age of free thought and free men, of intellectual activity, of universal education, of religious equality, of scientific attainment, of the steamship, the railway and "the thoughts that shake mankind?" Do we not most truly honor the fathers when we claim honor for their sons as a worthy race of descendants which, on the whole, has illustrated in its career the influence of their transmitted quality, which, on the whole, has even improved on the standard they set up, and which, though not maintaining every one of their signal virtues in the conspicuous degree they themselves did, has yet, in the main, preserved those and combined them with other good of which the Fathers dreamed not? Is it wise, even in these days of commemoration, to magnify too much their merit in depreciation of our own? Honest, conservative, desponding minds there are to-day, which dwell persistently and painfully on the virtues of the Fathers, excluding all contemplation of their errors, and sighing over the decline of the virtues to-day, contrasting our failures with their attainments, ignoring alike their

short-comings and our peculiar and distinctive excellence. Sighs for the domestic purity of times gone by, sighs for the simplicity of the Fathers, sighs for the days when, in our country, political corruption was unknown. Shut your eyes and listen, and you will hear them breathed somewhere even to-day. And so are the Fathers glorified and the children shamed, and by the children's shame are the Fathers glorified. Not so would I exalt the founders of these Colonies and this Republic, rather show forth their true glory by vindicating the claim of their sons to legitimacy and honor.

Yet our disposition in this regard was theirs also. In their day, not a few of them mourned their own degeneracy, and deplored the existence among them of evils as grave as those over which a portion of our community sighs to-day. It is not the characteristic of the present age above all others, to look back to the past for golden days. It is the common propensity of every age. Hesiod, early poet of Greece, but spoke the voice of his contemporaries when he said that men must look into a vague and remote antiquity for the times when purity and faith prevailed on the earth. Ovid, among the Romans, describes the simplicity and virtues of the remote golden age in his musical verse. The loftier strains of Virgil repeat the same refrain, and Tibullus echoes the sweet and melancholy tone.

But a few years later, the successors of these looked back to them with longings unutterable. They became the representatives of the golden age of morals, hardly less than of letters, and their days seemed as bright and guileless as had to them the days of Saturn. Christianity came, lighting up the dark places of earth with mild diffusive ray ; yet it was long before men ceased to look back to the Greek philosophy as of a loftier and purer type: nay, some have not wholly ceased to even now. I pass over illustrations of similar disposition from the writers of English literature, but remark that in the time of our revolution many good men mourned over the decay of virtue since the early colonial days, just as now, in the midst (grant it) of striking instances of personal and political unfaithfulness, we recur to the days of the Revolution as our golden age.

To say that this disposition is natural is but commonplace. We have its foundation in the character and distinctive quality of every succeeding past and present. As years elapse individuality lessens. It is the individual always withering and the world always more and more. By consequence, the patterns of virtue were more conspicuous in the past than now, as were the men of high intellectual type and attainment. It must follow, as the average of each succeeding age grows higher, that indi-

vidual eminence, in anything, becomes less pre-eminent. With this advancing average, the competitions of life become more vigorous, and the spirit of inquiry into individual action more bold and relentless. Moreover, against some particular vicious tendency of the present, we see the corresponding virtue, standing out in the record of the past, and dwell upon it with longing. A single illustration will convey and point my meaning. There is to-day a tendency to extravagant habits of life. We see as we look back that there was, as a general proposition, more simplicity a hundred years ago. By a false generalization we are led to the conclusion, that since a certain degree of simplicity is better than a certain degree of luxury, those days were therefore all better and these days all worse. Simplicity of manner of life is a virtue, therefore those who manifested this simplicity in the past were better than those whom more complex habits bind in the present. But how if that simplicity were mainly the result of narrow means and limited opportunity? Simplicity is not the only test of virtue. Was the man who rode with his wife on a pillion in 1676 because his contracted means forbade a carriage, by this circumstance a better man than he who drove in his rude and cumbrous chaise in 1776, or than he who drives in the commodious, even luxurious, carriage of the

present day? Does a sound logic compel this conclusion from this change of circumstance? Is there a necessary and logical connection between discomfort and virtue, or does the latter spring from the former as its natural fruit? Then must we sigh for the hair shirt, or the pillar of St. Simeon Stylites. Is religious profession necessarily more genuine from being austere, uncharitable in its judgments and forbidding in its observances, than when illustrated by the graces and charities? Is the man who turns the furrow in a secluded corner of the earth necessarily and from that circumstance a better man than he who tends the loom or guides the engine amid the busy hum of cities, coming, in his daily walk, into immediate contact with his fellow-men?

I suggest these queries, challenging this disposition to consider simplicity of life and its surroundings, in the early days of our country, a sufficient equivalent, and more, for much which makes life admirable to-day, — for far-abounding charities, for sympathies developed and matured by constant and ready intercourse with men, for knowledge broadening and deepening its channels, for high schools and colleges, for the railway, the power loom, the telegraph, for broad and generous views by want of which the simple isolated life is usually marked.

Nor, while denying that enforced simplicity of life is the sum and embodiment of all virtue and excellence, is it necessary to deny that some return towards it might well chasten the spirit of the present day, so abounding in the long results of time, which the Fathers dreamed not of. To such return this centennial year which, as it were by a special Providence, brings with it unexampled commercial disaster and distress, may well admonish the generation of to-day. How easy such a return may be is illustrated by the example of Washington (who maintained at times, and especially during his presidency, a dignity and pomp of state which none of his successors in that office have ventured to imitate). A curious instance of his self-renunciation, which in the narration must cause a smile at the *naiveté* of the commendation, is related by one of his contemporary statesmen. "General Washington has set a fine example of severe economy. He has banished wine from his table, and entertains his friends with rum and water. This is much to the honor of his wisdom, his policy and his patriotism. And this example must be followed by banishing sugar and all imported articles from our families. If necessity should reduce us to a simplicity of dress and diet becoming republicans, it would be a happy and a glorious necessity." A declaration twofold in its significance, illustrating the suggestions I have

made as to the simplicity of revolutionary days, and the longings even then entertained for a return to plainer manners.

It is then a false generalization which concludes, while lamenting some particular error of the present from which the past was in great measure free, or all the ways in which the infirmities of human nature work themselves out to-day, that we are, on the whole, degenerate sons, and this illustrated more frequently than in any other way, by the primitive simplicity of manners among the fathers. I claim, on the other hand, joyfully and in veneration of the men who laid the foundations of our civil liberties, that, on the whole, the present days are the best the world has seen; that, on the whole, steady progress has been made in all that develops the better part of human nature, that our country has grown, not only in material resources, but, on the whole, in public virtue, that occasional lapses, and brief eras of lapses, when conspicuous instances of unfaithfulness in public relations and in private trusts have been brought to light, are not to be taken for permanent discouragement, but at most are but the intermittent recessions of a rising tide, that repining for the absence from the public councils or from the seats of judicial learning, of men of as conspicuous talent as those of former days is unwarrantable,

since the pre-eminence of individuals is diminished by the higher average of those around them. Probably no one will seriously claim, on reflection, that the aggregate intelligence of any public body, is less now than in earlier days. The difficulty is to make leadership recognized, when surrounded by so much that approaches it in original quality.

Let me show how the greatest public evils, like those of which we complain to-day, were mourned over by one of the purest patriots of the Revolution, as existing throughout that period. We hold up the unfaithfulness of public officers as in painful contrast to the fidelity of those of the revolutionary era. Yet John Adams, in 1776, speaking not in the heat of debate, nor goaded to stern utterance by the rigor of party necessity, but in the quiet confidence of domestic life, said, "We are most unfaithfully served in the post-office, as well as many other offices, civil and military. Unfaithfulness in public stations is deeply criminal. But there is no encouragement to be faithful; neither profit, nor honor, nor applause is acquired by faithfulness. But I know by what. There is too much corruption even in this infant age of our republic. Virtue is not in fashion. Vice is not infamous." Who despairs of disinterestedness in public and private service to-day, and in this regard deplores our national degeneracy? The same illustrious man

said in the same year: "The spirit of venality, you mention, is the most dreadful and alarming enemy America has to oppose. It is as rapacious and insatiable as the grave. We are in the '*fæce Romuli, non republica Platonis.*' This predominant avarice will ruin America, if she is ever ruined. If God Almighty does not interfere, by His grace, to control this universal idolatry to the mammon of corruption, we shall be given up to the chastisements of His judgments. I am ashamed of the age I live in." Does the venality of the present day call for sterner rebuke than these words convey?

And with reference to this very simplicity itself, which is sometimes assumed to be so characteristic of the beginning of the century just now closed, Mr. Adams, commenting on Necker's essay on the true principles of executive power in States, says,

"A man who, like myself, has been many more years than Mr. Necker ever was in the centre of public affairs, and that in a country which has ever boasted of its simplicity, frugality, integrity, public spirit, public virtue, disinterestedness, etc., can judge from his own experience of the activity of private interest, and perceive in what manner the human heart is influenced and soothed by hope. Neglect and sacrifice of personal interests are oftener boasted than practised. The parade, and pomp, and ostentation, and hypocrisy, have been as common in America as in France. When I hear these pretensions set up, I am very apt to say to myself, 'this man deceives himself, or is attempting to deceive me.'"

young

irritated

John Adams' Letters

Not a few good men are grieving to-day over the tendency of a portion of our people to indifference to

the preservation of the national faith, as presenting a contrast, in the present time, to the sturdy upholding of it by the Fathers. Yet, on this point, in his day and before the close of the last century, Mr. Adams said: "It is a mortifying circumstance that five months have been wasted on a question whether national faith is binding on a nation. Nothing but the ignorance and inexperience of the people can excuse them. Really we have not a right sense of moral or natural obligation. We have no national pride, no sense of national honor."

Sadly some deplore the increase of government influence and patronage, and the tendency of those in power, at the present day, to press prerogative unduly against the liberties of the people, as well as the dangers of intense party spirit in its influence on the popular mind and conscience; and in this regard contrast the early days of the republic with our own. Yet this same philosophic statesman, speaking, as before, calmly and in familiar correspondence, said, in language which may find its almost exact application to the circumstances of this hour, —

"I have always thought it injudicious to make any attempt against the governor, knowing, as I do, the habitual attachment to him, as well as the difficulty of uniting the people in another. The ~~consideration~~ countenance he gives to a very profligate party is very pernicious to the public, but he is stimulated to it, in part, by the opposition to him, and he would not do less out of office. The

constitution of our government is calculated to create, excite and support ~~political~~ perpetual parties in the States, mixing and crossing alternately with parties in the Federal Government. It will be a perpetual confusion of parties. I fear we do not deserve all the blessings we have within our reach, and that our country must be deformed with divisions, contests, dissensions and civil war, as well as others. * * * May God, of His infinite mercy, grant that some remedy may be found, before it ~~is~~ be too late, in the good sense of this people." John Adams' Letters

Many persons, well-informed in general, strangely forget the plainest truths of history, in their disposition to depreciate the present in comparison with the past. At the time of our great Civil War, nothing was more common than to hear it cited as a proof of our decline in the spirit of patriotic self-sacrifice, that it was necessary to offer pecuniary bounties, in order to induce men to serve in the national army. Yet as early as 1776, Congress offered twenty dollars and a hundred acres of land to every man who would enlist for the war, and in 1778 five hundred dollars were offered by towns in Massachusetts, for recruits for nine months. There was no vice in our late army which did not find its counterpart, in kind if not in degree, in the patriot army of Washington. Then, as later, the sutler preyed upon the soldier, and the hoarse voice of Hook resounded through the patriot camp, with its selfish and discordant cry. The same jealousy among military officers in high command which we have seen so lately exhibited warred against the

Lancaster offered 1400 £ bounty lawful money in 1780 which was then only equal to 13 £.. 6 s.. 8 d in paper.

efficiency of the army, and protracted the exhaustive struggle.

"I am wearied to death," says Mr. Adams, "with the wrangles between military officers, high and low. They quarrel like cats and dogs. They worry one another like mastiffs, scrambling after rank and pay like apes for nuts. I believe there is no one principle which predominates in human nature so much, in every stage of life, from the cradle to the grave, in males and females, old and young, black and white, rich and poor, high and low, as this passion for superiority; but I never saw it operate with such keenness, ferocity and fury, as among military officers. They will go terrible lengths in their emulation, their envy and revenge, in consequence of it." Jno Adams' Letters

(12 lines omitted)

I cite these contemporaneous declarations of the highest authority, not in disparagement of the Fathers whom we venerate, but as an encouragement to men of to-day to believe in their times and in themselves, to show by one witness among many, and by one whom all who listen will admit to be entitled to the fullest respect, that the very vices we most deplore among ourselves in public life were deplored not less deeply by those men who, amid all these drawbacks, laid strong and enduring the foundations of our government. Even better than they knew did the Fathers build. For who of them, in the moment of highest prophetic ecstacy, would have dared predict for his country the glory and success it has achieved among the nations of the earth? If we have not eradicated the vices of those earlier days, we have added to them the triumphs of the present, triumphs of intellect, of

personal freedom, of free thought and the advancement of learning; and I venture to add, also—in view of the severer strain put upon them by the fiercer competitions of the day—of public and private morals. Notwithstanding the recent developments, of defalcations, financial dishonesty, moral delinquency and crime, it may be fairly claimed as a triumph, at least of the negative character, that a gigantic civil war has closed and left behind no greater track of moral ruin. Of civil wars it may well be said, in the language of Burke, "They strike deepest of all into the manners of the people. They vitiate their politics; they corrupt their morals. They prevent even the natural taste for equality and justice. By teaching us to consider our fellow-citizens in a hostile light the whole body of the nation becomes less dear to us." Unquestionably, the general history of mankind confirms these declarations of Mr. Burke, and, compared with what might reasonably have been expected to follow in pursuance of this rule, our actual experience has been exceptional in the lightness of the evils we have suffered.

A modest scholar, in dwelling upon the disclosures of the past few years, has claimed that "it may be considered one of those epidemics of crime which have frequent parallels in the history of the past, and is not a symptom of incurable national decay

and corruption." With peculiar felicity, he cites a similar state of affairs in England in the time of William III., and especially in the years 1694–5. The characteristics of those times have been graphically portrayed by Macaulay's brilliant pen. He says :—

> "The peculations and venality by which the official men of that age ~~period~~ were in the habit of enriching themselves had excited in the public mind a feeling such as could not but vent itself, sooner or later, in some formidable explosion. But the gains were immediate; the day of retribution was uncertain, and the plunderers of the public were as greedy and audacious as ever, when the vengeance, long threatened and long delayed, suddenly overtook the proudest and most powerful among them. But the whole administration was in such a state that it was hardly possible to track one offender without discovering ten others."

Hist of England Vol. IV. Cap. 21 p. 401-7

Then follows the long catalogue of public crimes and illustrious criminals. All, as in our own case, the temporary recessions of the rising tide of civilization—the rule, progress from century to century; the recessions of a few years in each century lost in the contemplation of the past. And all this progress but the omen and prophecy of what is yet to come. We stand on this Centennial Day at the opening of a century at the close of which our successors may look back upon us, in the comparison of our attainments in all that makes human life desirable with their own, as barbarians. In the providence of God, in the light of Christianity, in

the light also of Science—her younger sister, infinite possibilities of progress are before us. Imagination fails to grasp or define the results of an advance for another century proportionate in any degree to that of this closing one. What truths of nature will not science then have revealed ? What arts of life will then obtain, inconceivable now ? What shall it now be said will then be impossible ? What conditions are to us more inconceivable than were one hundred years ago that power in the expanded drop of water to drive man's iron chariot over land and sea, or that mysterious agency of the skies which, obedient to man's command, gathers with instantaneous grasp the scattered intelligence of the eastern and western worlds and lays it on our table fresh every morning of the year ? The impossibilities of to-day fade away then before the unimaginable possibilities of the future. These cannot be defined nor foreshadowed, and the boldest visions shrink from taking shape or form.

> "Vast images in glimmering dawn,
> Half shown are broken and withdrawn."

Their embodiment in attainment through the agency of the restless and aspiring soul and mind of men, our successors here, rests alone with God. Yet, in his Providence, I hold it clear that, bright as is this day of our success and glory as a nation, a country, a race,

these successors of ours, looking back to what we were, shall descry an infancy of hope rather than a manhood of attainment; and, judging us with charity,—exaggerating, perhaps, our merit as they contemplate some passing or signal demerit of their own,—will yet insist that, after all, we were but the "ancients of the earth, and in the morning of the times."

I must once more guard against the possible suggestion that in what I have said earlier in this address, I design to depreciate or undervalue the past. Not so! I would but judge it fairly, and do justice to the present in the comparison. What I mean is, that the present shall not be undervalued by reason of its errors, and to that end I remind you that our Fathers had to contend with the same evils in their day, which pressed upon them to the point of discouragement—at times, even, of despair—and drove them in their time back to the past for brighter and purer examples. It is the danger to which the conservative mind is subjected (and its judgments are generally to be treated with respect because its aspirations are generally for virtue), to feel that all the progress of the present is more than offset by new and heretofore unexperienced evils. Is it not true that most of the conventions and conferences of so-called conservative men and politicians are marked by expressions of glorifica-

tion of the past, in disparagement of the present? Do they not generally exclude its short-comings, its expression of the vanity of human hopes, the exact counterpart it presents to our own trials, from their field of vision? Buoyantly, therefore, and with belief in the present, I remind you that our trials of faith were theirs also, that our hindrances and disappointments were theirs also, and beg you to believe with me that as they overcame we shall overcome also, if we doubt and despair not by the way.

It is appropriate to this Centennial year that its celebration of the National birthday should be marked by considerations and congratulations local in their nature, as well as by those relating to the greatness and glory of our country. The reasons which led to the colonization of this land, so remote from what, in that early day, was known as the Christian world, the considerations which, in the next century, led to the establishment here of a Republic, the National struggle, the National victory, have been in the past and will be to-day, set forth in completeness by orators who, from their more distinguished position, address a field large as the country. And the President of the Republic, reiterating therein the expressed wish of the National Congress, has suggested that the addresses delivered to-day in the various towns of the

land, may be, in some degree at least, based on and made to illustrate the local history of those places ; so that they may to some extent, by statement or reference, constitute a permanent addition to the details and materials of the history of the country. No suggestion could be better timed or more truly in accord with the spirit of the day. The history of our country is, in a degree at least, the sum of the histories of its towns and cities. In the usual exercises in honor of the anniversary of the National Independence, the disposition of orators has almost invariably been to dwell upon the aggregate glory of the country, rather than upon the less conspicuous and, it may be confessed, less interesting details of municipal experiences. Yet these illustrate the whole subject, and a knowledge of them is indispensable to a full comprehension of the growth and true grandeur of our institutions. Here are the primal springs of empire. From the town meetings, in communities like this, emanated the influence and declarations which stirred the National conscience, strengthened the National heart and sustained the National arms in the great struggle of the Revolution. And I will show you from the original records of this town, that from its meeting-house went forth lofty utterances in denunciation of the pretensions of the mother country, and in determination to obtain redress of

grievances, years before the Declaration of Independence had rung its notes of liberty through the land. In contemplating then the history of our town we turn from maturing results to primary beginnings, from the comprehensive and general to the essential and elementary particular, "*non sectari rivulos, sed petere fontes.*"

Nor should the leading points in the history of a town be suffered to remain unfamiliar to its inhabitants of successive generations. There may be little room for originality or claim to the credit of research and investigation, yet he renders no unimportant service who, by bringing these points anew before the men of to-day, aids in the creation of a familiarity which must animate and inspire. Who first explored that wilderness which now blossoms around us like the rose? What influence led to that exploration, and laid the foundation of the consequences which followed? Where was the first house built? Where was the rude meeting-house, whose walls first listened to the voice of public prayer in this valley? Who was the first martyr in the great crusade, which ended, though conducted long with varying fortunes, in the triumph of Christianity over Heathenism, and of Civilization over Barbarism here? In the Providence of God it was ordained that the red man should disappear from our land, and that land be peopled with a new

race which should, in the course of time, develop all its wondrous possibilities. What were the relations of this valley to that aboriginal and fated people? Independence of foreign domination was to be won by blood and sacrifice. What part did the Revolutionary Fathers of this town bear in that heroic and protracted contest? With what spirit did they meet the onset of imperial power, and with what endurance bear the exhausting strain of long discouragement and deferred hope? A vast rebellion against the government of our country was to be met and overthrown, and rivers of blood flow, to which those of the Revolution were but mountain rills. How did the sons of our sires rise to this new crisis, and prove from what lineage they sprung?

You see that these inquiries bring us at once to the contemplation of the springs of National greatness, while the answers which might be truly made to-day (for I shall not attempt to answer all), inspire us with honorable pride which needs no concealment or apology, and kindle anew our attachment for our birthplace. A blessing follows. For as is eloquently and earnestly observed by Southey:—

"Whatsoever strengthens our local attachments is favorable both to individual and national character. Our home—our birthplace—our *native* land; think for awhile what ~~are~~ the virtues are which arise out of the feelings connected with these words, and

if you have any intellectual eyes, you will then perceive the connection between topography and patriotism. Show me ~~the~~ a man who cares no more for one place than another, and I will show you in that same person one who loves nothing but himself. Beware of those who are homeless by choice. You have no hold upon a human being whose affections are without a tap-root. The laws recognize this truth in the privileges they confer upon freeholders, and public opinion acknowledges it also in the confidence which it reposes on those who have what is called a stake in the country ~~community~~."

In cordial compliance, then, with the executive recommendation, I ask you to contemplate with me some of the leading points in the history of our town; its original settlement and the character and purposes of its founders, its early growth, its contests with the natives, at first mild and hospitable, afterwards hostile and determined on the extermination of the white man. Consider, not only here and now, but elsewhere should any suggestions here made be found a worthy basis of reflection, what were the characteristics of its several epochs, from its original settlement to its destruction and temporary abandonment; from its re-settlement up to, and including, the War of the Revolution; from the close of the War of the Revolution up to, and including, the War of the Great Rebellion; three epochs of local history, during which I think we shall agree that patriotism and public virtue grew, that intelligence diffused itself with time, that increasing social order marked all the eras of our history; that, though

there have been occasional failures to come up to the high standard of the duty of the hour, there never has been degeneracy, and that this statement finds fullest illustration in the record of honorable resolve and action which closes the story of each of the last two epochs.

Most ancient of the sister townships of this county, honorable as the gentle mother from whose loins of virtue eight daughter municipalities have sprung who now arise and call her blessed, dignified in her age yet wearing it hale and green, rejoicing not in the mere elements of material growth and prosperity, but rejoicing rather in what she has brought into the world, so that instead of illustrating the swarming growth of population within her borders, she has won the proud title of "Mother of Towns," beautiful in the calm repose of natural attraction as when her wondrous charm first revealed itself to the ardent gaze of the adventurous King, who, first of white men, from the neighboring summit, like Balboa "silent upon a peak in Darien" surveyed this lovely valley, our native town bids us welcome to her borders to-day, and invites us to read anew her simple, yet honorable, annals.

And first of all, before entering upon even this brief historic sketch, must full acknowledgment be made of what has been accomplished for the writer or speaker of to-day by the faithful and untiring

labors of Willard. His exhaustive research has left little to be discovered by those whose task it is, *non passibus æquis*, to follow him. It was my privilege to know him, and in the years of my own professional study which were the later years of his life of usefulness and honor, to call him my friend. From him I learned to read the lesson of the past, and enjoy its contemplation. Unallured by the sordid from the intellectual, his delight was in historic studies and he found in them a full and rich reward. He loved this town, the home of his early manhood, where he passed happy years of study and practice relieved by the pleasures of historic and antiquarian research. What he has done to perpetuate its history is itself a part of that history. And it is but justice to his memory to make the admission that, in my own researches upon this subject, I have found little which he has not somewhere stated, or to which his memoranda have not given a clue. Unworthy the orator who attempts to arrogate to himself the credit of others' labors, or who, if obliged from the very necessities of the situation to appropriate their results, does not emphatically and unreservedly make all acknowledgment, and pay his cheerful tribute of gratitude.

"*The persons interested in this plantation being most of them poor men, and some of them corrupt in judgment, and others profane, it went on very*

slowly, so that in two years they had not three houses built, and he whom they had called to be their minister left them for their delays." Harsh words, if taken in their literal sense, to fall from the lips of the generous and high-souled Winthrop, who judged so kindly, and whose life was the embodiment of almost every Christian and statesmanlike grace; and they were spoken, and not uncharitably, of the men who first undertook the foundation of this plantation of Nashaway, reaching out from the comparative wilderness of Watertown and Cambridge, to grasp possession of an absolute wilderness, never trodden before by the foot of white man, but which their successors, in another century, converted into a garden of bloom and fruit. And I quote this declaration of Winthrop in the outset, as an earnest of my purpose to deal justly with the past in what is to be said of our local history, nor accord it an undue glory from its being far.

But while it is certain that Winthrop would consciously do no injustice to these men, it is fair to claim that his judgment of them might have been colored by his own higher social relations, and by a degree of impatience at their failures. These were not of the highest class of the men who founded Massachusetts. No names like those of Winthrop and Saltonstall and Endicott are found upon the early records of this town, and it was reserved for a

succeeding generation to make even one of them illustrious. That they were plain men is obvious. Their callings were humble and obscure. They were no doubt "corrupt in judgment" and "profane," in the sense that they were not connected with the church, and to that sense, I believe, the expressions of Winthrop may be fairly limited. Nor will I claim for them in their settlement of Lancaster any of the exalted purposes which led the men of 1620 or those of 1630, to the remote and barren shore of Massachusetts. Thomas King was the first Englishman, so far as can at this day be discovered, who saw the valley of the Nashaway; and he saw it, judging from subsequent events, rather with the eye of the speculator than of the religious or political enthusiast. The history of the settlement may be concisely set forth. Sholan, the chief of a small and peaceful tribe, ruled in this valley, having his home between the Waushakum lakes. Unembarrassed by that dignity which in riper civilizations becomes a monarch, he was in the habit of making trips to Watertown, carrying his rude merchandise to a market of consumption or distribution. There he met King, who was induced by his representations to visit this valley. Imagination may portray in glowing language, if it will, his feelings and resolves as he gazed upon its beauties. The record only is that he, with his associates, purchased

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Warhaum

a large tract of land of Sholan, had a deed of it made to himself and them, never came here to reside, though he with others built a trucking-house, relapsed into the obscurity from which history rescues him for the purpose of recognizing him as the original founder of this town, and disappeared in due season from among men.

It is obvious that my present purpose only allows me to pass in rapid review the men or the events of this early day of our municipality. I must remind you of the chief points and characters in our local history, leaving further illustrations to be set forth in notes, should such further illustrations eventually be deemed necessary. For the exact and full details of any of the epochs, or even its signal events, the hour for which I can reasonably ask your attention would not suffice, and I must dwell more particularly upon this occasion on the relations of our fathers here to the great crisis of the Revolution.

The first epoch, then, can only briefly be considered, in respect of the founding and building up of the town as a settlement and a municipality, and of its relations with the aboriginal tribes. As King is entitled to be remembered as its discoverer, Prescott has the higher distinction of being the first of the associates to become a permanent settler. A plain man too, following the unpretending calling of a blacksmith, he had yet strong lines of character

and a tenacity of purpose which no considerations of convenience or comfort could shake. His name is associated, through one illustrious descendant, with the highest walks of American literature, and through another with the glories of Bunker Hill. Silently, with no voice of eloquence to be listened to by an earthly eternity of scholars and men of letters, called to no share in the great contests for personal and political independence, honorably, as discharging all his duties here of primitive pioneer, faithfully, as swerving never from his deliberate and chosen purpose, he lived and died in this valley, an example for all generations of his successors here, of true single-hearted manliness.

You see I am speaking of plain men, and the language of eloquent panegyric or stately eulogium has no place here. They were the rude forefathers of this hamlet. Not one of them held a position in church or state which makes his name familiar to later generations, even of those who dwell within the precincts of his valley home. The story of their life and effort here is of the simplest. It was in 1643 that Sholan gave the deed to King and his associates, and the deed was approved by the General Court. King, a real estate speculator × after all, sold out his interest to his associates. They signed mutual covenants with each other to begin the plantation within a given

× This seems a harsh judgment. It is based on Harrington's statement & I find no other authority for it. King died Dec. 3. 1644. Symonds, his partner in trade, died Sept 1643. Isaac Walker married Symonds widow & James Cutter married King's widow, & they both certainly appear as proprietors among the petitioners of 1645 –

time. But none of them came save Prescott, and even his coming was delayed. The effort at settlement in 1644 failed, as recorded by Winthrop. Further effort was made, under the auspices of the General Court, in 1645, but this failed also. The "undertakers" even petitioned the General Court to take in the grant, but that body, impressed with the importance and value of the location, decreed that the plantation should not be destroyed, but rather encouraged, that it should remain in the power of the Court to dispose of the planting and ordering of it, the difficulties being attributed to the fact that the persons engaged in the business were "so few and so unmeet for such a work."

Thus the enterprise feebly struggled on till 1653. Omitting details and names, this is the abstract and brief chronicle of that early time. Ten years of intermittent struggles had however resulted in the establishment of nine families in the town, and the liberty of a township was granted, not by formal act of incorporation, but liberty of a township under certain conditions, to be subsequently enlarged to full liberty of a township according to law, on fulfilment of the conditions.

This "liberty" may be found in an early volume of the Colonial Records. It is curious, as illustrating not only the manner of legislation at that time but the stress laid on Religion and Loyalty as the

conditions of the life of a municipality. The Court, among other things, ordered that "a Godly minister be maintained among them, that no evil persons, enemies to the laws of this Commonwealth, in judgment or practice, be admitted as inhabitants, and none to have lots confirmed to them but such as take the oaths of fidelity." Even those who claim that this exclusion for matter of opinion is inconsistent with the ideas of the present day of political and religious toleration will not withhold a meed of respect from that legislative body in Massachusetts which made thus a due regard for the claims of religious faith and political loyalty conditions precedent to a mere municipal existence.

In the first year, 1653, this community, infant-like, only crept. Not entitled to the full liberty of a township, the inhabitants laid out their lots, and made and subscribed their covenant, a code of regulations, quaint and primitive, but looking to the peace and good order of the community. And now the story of their progress is that of the attempt of the infant to reach out for itself, to try to walk, to make up its own judgments as to what course to follow, and then, despairing, turn for solace, support and guidance to the maternal arms. For they could not use that liberty wherewith the General Court had made them free, and in 1657 petitioned for a guardian, frankly admitting that they were unable

to manage their own affairs. Their prayer was granted. Commissioners were appointed to arrange their affairs for them. Under their authority, the needful municipal regulations were established, grievances remedied, bridges erected, water power utilized, a ministry established, the boundaries of the town fixed, restrictions limiting the number of inhabitants removed, until in 1663, confident in their strength, self-reliant, and now justified in that confidence, they asked again for liberty of self-government, and were again invested with full township liberties. And now peace prevailed, and a well-ordered community labored together for the common good. The earth yielded a rich harvest to the earnest toiler of the valley. Population began to increase, and a future of prosperity seemed as secure as was the actual achievement of the past.

And yet a more than Assyrian desolation was at hand.

The recent carefully prepared and instructive address delivered within these walls makes it unnecessary to do more than allude to the calamity which befell this town at the close of its first epoch of history. It may be truthfully claimed for our ancestors here, that their policy toward the red man was not aggressive, nor did they provoke by any acts of theirs the storm of war which broke upon them two hundred years ago, and overwhelmed them in its ruins.

Yet the flaming torch of Philip spared not in its avenging career this peaceful settlement, and the ripe fruit of a score of laborious years was blighted in a day. That savage soul made no discrimination in its judgment between communities, if only they were made up of white men. And in a single winter morning this town disappeared from the face of the earth ; and thus he made a solitude and called it peace. Peace returned to Massachusetts, six months later, when Philip died, but still the solitude of this valley was unbroken,—a solitude more profound than when King first looked upon it from the Wattaquodoc. Three years passed, and not an inhabitant returned. At length, in 1680, the re-settlement was undertaken—new families came, as well as those who had before formed an attachment here by residence, and the second epoch in our local history was begun.

It was begun in poverty and privation, but resolutely, and this time no man looked back. It was begun, too, on the eve of Indian warfare, and the close of the seventeenth and the first years of the eighteenth century are marked by a succession of incursions and depredations which paralyzed industry and kept even the hope of prosperity in long abeyance. The blood of those early martyrs, Whiting and Gardner, ministers of this church, was shed for their people. Death and captivity, in

equal though varying horror, hourly lay in wait, or pursued with stealthy step each movement of that people beyond the walls of their garrisons. The details of their sacrifices are found in Willard. Not till the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, did these horrors cease.

With the establishment of peace, population and wealth again increased, and with them intelligence and influence. In 1721, the people of "the poor distressed town of Worcester" asked the favor of the representative of this town to use his influence in the General Court in their behalf. Harvard was born,—then Bolton, then Leominster. When the war against Spain was declared, in 1739, the men of Lancaster responded with alacrity to the appeal, and their whole quota perished before Jamaica or on the expedition. The men of Lancaster lay in the trenches before Louisburg, and one of her sons commanded a regiment in that memorable siege. Throughout the French war, the town was constantly furnishing material resources and recruits, and it is stated that a large proportion of its able-bodied men were in the field. Lake George, Ticonderoga and Crown Point bore witness to their valor, (nor were they wanting in the last crowning hour of trial and victory on the Plains of Abraham.) It has been asserted that a Harvard man was there, but who?

? who of L. was there?

Note how the successors of those few feeble and

"unmeet" men of our first epoch had grown, before the close of the second, in strength and influence. Yet a greater trial of their courage and determination was at hand. The war of the Revolution, with its mighty possibilities of weal or woe, was before them, to close the second epoch.

I call your attention to the history of this town during the period we have now reached, as disclosed by its record, with satisfaction and pride. You have listened to the grand enunciation of political truths contained in the Declaration of Independence, and your hearts have thrilled anew as you heard once more those noble and familiar words. But their simple grandeur and impressiveness find fit prelude and introduction in the declarations of the inhabitants of this town as I find them set forth in the original records of its town meetings, when the morning of the Revolution was dawning. And in these declarations, antedating by more than three years the Declaration of Independence, you will perceive an aspiration as lofty and purposes as determined, proclaimed by plain men, probably not one of them known beyond the limits of Massachusetts, as were uttered one hundred years ago by Jefferson and Adams.

These brave words of theirs had in them, I think, the significance of an ultimate determination to be independent of a government in which they had no

representation. Few in America had at this early day contemplated a separation from the mother country. Even after hostilities had actually begun, the Continental Congress declared, "We have not raised armies with the ambitious design of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent States." They evince, at all events, a resolute purpose to obtain a redress of grievances under the existing government. The relation of the towns of Massachusetts to the early stages of the formation of the sentiment for independence was most intimate. I do not claim that our own town was exceptional to others, nor was her determination announced in more absolute terms. Her declarations serve to illustrate the general subject, and so set forth her own position at the time, and that of similar communities throughout the State. How the towns were brought into correspondence upon this subject must be briefly stated, as necessary to an understanding of the votes and resolutions of Lancaster.

The head and front of the whole movement was Samuel Adams, years before the sentiment of the Congress just quoted was announced. Against the opposition of all his colleagues, he proposed and carried through his plan of Committees of Correspondence, to be appointed by meetings in the towns. Of Adams, Governor Hutchinson wrote

that he was "the first person that openly and in any public assembly declared for a total independence." Hutchinson denied the right of the towns to discuss in their meetings public questions of general interest. The town of Boston, inspired by Adams, maintained that right, and in town meeting, in November, 1772, voted :—

"That a Committee of Correspondence be appointed, to consist of twenty-one persons, to state the rights of the colonists and of this province in particular, as men, as Christians, and as subjects, to communicate and publish the same to the several towns in this province and to the world as the sense of this town, with the infringements and violations thereof that have been or from time to time may be made."

The Committee reported to town meeting, setting forth their rights and grievances. These last form part of the history of those towns, and are familiar to all students of that history. The Boston town meeting voted to make an appeal, by means of Committees of Correspondence, to all the towns in the colony, "that the collected wisdom and fortitude of the whole people might dictate measures for the rescue of their happy and glorious constitution."

The responses of the towns were unreserved and emphatic. The spirit of resistance was awakened throughout the land. Many of these responses are preserved in the records of the Boston Committee, and sound the clearest notes of American Liberty. It would be interesting to quote them here, for the

action of our towns, acting in their distinctly municipal character, in contributing to the formation of a revolutionary sentiment throughout the land has not been so widely understood as it ought, nor so fully appreciated. But the action and resolves of Lancaster are typical of them all.

Judge of the spirit which prevailed here, by this warrant for town meeting, for the first Wednesday of January, 1773:—

"Worcester, ss. To the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Lancaster legally qualified to vote in town affairs, Greeting:

In his Majesty's name, you are hereby required to meet at the meeting house in the second precinct in Lancaster, on the first Wednesday of January next, at ten of the clock in the forenoon, then and there to act on the following articles, viz:

1. To choose a moderator for the government of said meeting.

2dly. To take into consideration the Dangerous condition of our Public Affairs, in particular the Independancy of our Superior Judges, and to take such measures as shall be thought proper.

3dly. To choose a Committee to draw up our grievances and Infringements upon our Liberties, and to lay them before the Town, when the Town shall so order.

4thly. To consider and act upon the request from Boston Committee.

5thly. To give our Representative such Instructions as the Town shall think proper, Relative to our Privileges.

6thly. To choose a Committee to return an answer to Boston Committee and to correspond with any other Committee Relating to our Privilege and to inform the town of their Transactions from time to time.

7thly. To act and do anything that the town shall see proper to withstand the Present Progress of our Enemies in Indeavoring to take away our Privledges.

Dated at Lancaster, Dec. 22, 1772, and in the thirteenth year of his Majesty's reign." By order of the Selectmen - Entered by Daniel Robbins Town Clerk.

At the meeting:—

"On the third article, voted to choose a Committee to Draw up our Grievances and the Infringements upon our Liberties and to lay them before the Town when the Town shall so order.

Voted, to choose seven men for the Committee.

Voted, to choose Wm. Dunsmoor, Messrs. John Prescott, Aaron Sawyer, Jonah Kendall, Joseph White, Nathaniel Wyman, Ebenezer Allen.

Voted, to adjourn this meeting to Tuesday, the nineteenth of this instant January, to the meeting house in the first precinct of Lancaster, at ten o'clock, to receive the report of the Committee.

On the adjournment from the first Wednesday of January to Tuesday, the nineteenth of the same, then voted to Receive the above said committee's report. Oliver Moor Moderator

On the sixth article, voted, that the above Committee be the Committee to make a return to Boston Committee of the proceedings of the town of Lancaster.

On the fifth article, voted to give our Representative Instructions as Followeth:

As you are chosen to represent this town in the general assembly of this Province, we take this opportunity of informing you of our sentiments relative to the unhappy state of our Publick Affairs. You will Perceive by the Resolves which are herewith sent to you, the light in which we view the encroachments made upon our Constitutional Freedom. Particularly you will observe our serious opinion of a Dependancy of the Judges of the Superior Court on the Crown for their support, that they are already so dependant, or that it is in contemplation to make them so. We have great reason to fear also an act passed in the late session of the British Parliment, intituled an act for the better preservation of his Majesties Dock Yards, &c., Does in a most essential manner infringe the rights and Liberties of the Colonies, as it puts it in the power of any wicked tool of administration, either from malice or policy to take any Inhabitant from the Colonies and carry him to Great Britain, there to be tried, which by the expense and long detention from his occupation would be the

* Capt. Asa Whitcomb

destruction of almost any man among us, altho his innocence might finally appear in the clearest manner, and further the late commissions for taking persons in our sister colony Rhode Island, and sending them to Great Britain, there to be tried upon suspition of burning his Majesties scooner Gaspie, is an invasion of the rights of the Colonies and ought to excite the attention of the whole contenant.

We expect that you will use your utmost efforts this session of our general assembly, to obtain a Radical Redress of our grievances, and we wish you success in your endeavours, and which we cannot but flatter ourselves from the late happy change in the American Department you will meet with. We confide in your ability and firmness in all matters which may come before the General Court, assuring you of the support of this Town in all your legal proceedings, and earnestly praying that the Great Governor of the world may Direct and bless you in all your ways."

The Committee at an adjourned meeting, reported the following Resolves and Instructions:—

1. Resolved, that this and every other Town in this Province have an undoubted right to meet together and consult upon all matters interesting to them when and so often as they shall judge fit, and it is more especially their duty so to do when infringement is made on their Civil or Religious Liberty.

2dly. Resolved, that the raising a Revenue in the Colonies without their consent either by themselves or their representatives, is an Infringement of that Right which every freeman has to dispose of his own Property.

3dly. Resolved, that the granting a sallary to his excellency the Governor of this Province out of the Revenue unconstitutionally raised by us is an Innovation of a very alarming Tendancy.

4thly. That it is of the highest importance to the security of Liberty, Life and Property that the Publick Administration of Justice should be Pure and Impartial, and that the judges should be free from every Byass, either in favor of the crown or the subject.

5thly. That the absolute Dependancy of the Judges of the Superior Court of this Province upon the Crown for their support

would, if it should ever take place, have the strongest tendancy to Byass the minds of the Judges, and would weaken our confidence in them.

6thly. Resolved, that the extension of the power of the court of vice admiralty to its present enormous proportions is a great grievance and deprives the subject in many instances of that noble privilege of Englishmen, Trials by Juries.

7thly. Resolved, that the Proceedings of this Town be transmitted to the Town of Boston."

Dr Wm Dunsmoor Josiah Kendall Walt Wyman
John Prescott Ebenezer Allen Joseph White
Daniel Robbins Town Clerk Aaron Sawyer

I make no apology for producing at length before you these most interesting and original contributions to our local history. It is remarkable that they should never before have seen the light, since they illustrate so fully and effectively the tone and spirit of our fathers.

The warrant for town meeting Sept. 5, 1774, shows still further the current of thought and opinion in the community, soon after the passage of the Boston Port Bill.

The second article is

"To see if the town will do anything towards the relief of the suffering Poor of the town of Boston, occationed by a late act of Parliment, for blocking up the Port of said Town or to act or Transact anything relating thereto.

3dly. To see if the town will come into any agreement for non-Importation and non-Exportation of Goods to or from Great Britain, or to act or transact anything relating thereto.

4th. To choose a Committee or Committees to act or do any thing or things that the town shall think proper to be done or acted, by any agreement with any other town or towns in order to get relief in the best and most easy way from our present Difficulty inflicted on us by the late Act of Parliment, and to act and do any matter or thing that the town shall see needful to be done, and Report to the Town from time to time what they have done, and to receive the Town's orders to act and do what the Town shall think proper to be done and acted. * * *

Both the Resolves & Instructions to the Representative (Capt. Asa Whitcomb) were published at the time, May 17, 1773, in the Boston Gazette - Jos. Willard moreover, has the "Resolves" on p. 51 of his History of Lancaster.

9th. To pass such votes as the Town shall think Propper to be done to get Releaf from those oppressive acts of Parliment which hath been inflicted on us lately, and to act any thing that said Town shall think needful Relating to the Congress and to accept and Ratify what they shall do if sd town thinks fit.

10th. To pass any vote or votes that may be thought needful in order to get Releaf in our present Distressed circumstances, by our just rights and privileges, as we think, being taken from us.

11th. To see if the Town will vote to abide by our Charter Rights and Privileges." By order of the Selectmen of Lancaster Lancaster July 30th AD 1774 Joseph Allen Constable

At the meeting it was voted

"To choose a committee of seven persons to be a committee of correspondence for sd county." Deacon David Wood, Capt Hezekiah Gates, Aaron Sawyer, John Prescott, Capt. Asa Whitcomb, Ephraim Sawyer

And the Committee was chosen accordingly, of which Wm. Dunsmoor was the chairman.

"Voted, that the above Committee make report to the Town of their doings from time to time, as expressed in the warrant.

Voted, that any number, even less than a majority of the above committee, shall be sufficient to represent the town as a Committee of Correspondence.

Voted, That the Town will Indemnify the Constable for not returning a list of the Freeholders for Juries, under the late act of Parliament.

Voted, to raise fifty pounds, for to buy ammunition with, to be a town stock." × ×

Hezekiah Gates Moderator
Attest Sam'l Ward Town Clerk

At an adjournment of this meeting it was further

"2d. Voted, that there be one hundred men raised as volunteers to be ready at a minute's warning to Turn out upon any emergency, and that they be Formed into two companies and choose their own officers.

3d. Voted, that the said volunteers shall be reasonably paid by the Town for any services they may do us in defending our Libertys and Privileges.

4th. Voted, that Dr. Wm. Dunsmoor be empowered to enlist 50 men in the old Parish to serve as volunteers.

5th. Voted that Capt. Asa Whitcomb be impowered to enlist 50 men in the second parish to serve as Volunteers.

6th. Voted, to buy one field piece for the use of the town."

At another adjournment, September 28th, it was

"Voted to authorize two field pieces instead of one, and to send one man for the Proposed Provintial Convention to be held at Concord on the second Tuesday of October."

And on December 12, 1774, it was

"Voted, to choose a committee of 3 persons to draw up an Association League and Covenant for non-consumption of goods, &c., for the Inhabitants to sign," and Capt. Gates and Capt. Whitcomb were chosen."

At another adjournment,

"Voted, to buy 5 hundred wt. of ball suitable for the field pieces."

"Voted, to buy 3 hundd wt. of Grape Shot."

On the 31st October, 1774, this town

"Voted to choose a Committee to post up all such Persons as continued to buy, sell, or consume any East India Teas at some Publick Place in Town, and that Doct. Josiah Wilder, Ephraim Sawyer and Aaron Sawyer be a Committee for the above Purpose."

On the 2d January, 1775, it was

"Voted to choose a committee to receive subscriptions and donations for the suffering Poor of the Town of Boston, occasioned by the late Boston Port Bill, and to carry in the donations to some one of the Committee in a fortnight from this day."

Also,

"Voted, to adopt and abide by the spirit and sense of the association of the late Continental Congress held at Philadelphia to choose a committee to see that the said association be kept and observed by the Inhabitants of said Town.

"Voted, that the above committee have no pay, but do the business gratis."

Other votes were passed from time to time, in

accord with the spirit of these. Thus I have allowed these men to describe themselves to you. Ye shall know them by their fruits, for thus they resolved, nor did their resolves fail to find embodiment in action when the time for action came. Their wise prescience foresaw the crisis which must be approaching, and provided means for meeting it with vigor. The morning of the 19th of April, 1775, brought its summons, and the company of minutemen, of which I have cited the formation, was instantly set in motion towards Lexington. The company of horse repaired to Cambridge to assist in checking the anticipated advance of the British into the country. Thus early in the field in defense of that liberty they had resolved must be maintained, our fathers did not cease from their patriotic exertion till liberty was won. Two of them fell at Bunker Hill, the first martyrs of the town in the cause of independence, and few were the regiments of the Continental army from this section of the country, in the ranks of which the men of Lancaster were not found, or in which they did not exercise commands of more or less dignity. Time will not allow me to enumerate them. The names of all the fathers of the town are found on the rolls, and Willard gives a catalogue of not less than ninety-two persons in the service who thus represented the early settlers. Exclusively of Lexington and

Bunker Hill, more than three hundred, all, or nearly all the able bodied men of the town, were in actual service in the field. The town encouraged them by generous bounties, as its records show. There was a delay in the response to one of the later calls which seemed like a momentary faltering. It was in 1780, and a leading patriot of the town declared that response to the call was impossible, as the repeated demands of the country had exhausted the power and resources of the town. But the spirit of sacrifice shrank not finally before this exigency. The men were furnished, liberal bounties were granted them, and they hastened to the field.

Josiah Kendall.

I do not think it can be claimed that the town furnished great military leaders, or that any of its citizens held high commands. Yet the names of Whitcomb and Haskell deserve honorable remembrance among the brave heroes of that day. Of Whitcomb a contemporary relates an anecdote which illustrates the true greatness of his character.

[From the *New England Chronicle*, Jan. 11, 1776.] Copied from New London Gazette

"Deacon Whitcomb of Lancaster, (who was a member of the Assembly of Massachusetts-Bay till the present war commenced, had served in former wars, and been in different engagements;) served as a Colonel in the Continental Army; but on acconnt of his age was left out upon the new regulation. His men highly resented it, and declared that they would not list again after their time was out. The Colonel told them he did not doubt there were sufficient reasons for the regulation, and he was satisfied with it; he never blamed them for their conduct, and said he would enlist as a private. Colonel Brewer heard of it, and offered to

See also Hildreth's History of the U.S. III. 103

Washington's order may be found in note to Sparks' "The Writings of George Washington" III pp 160-1.

resign in favor of Colonel Whitcomb. The whole coming to General Washington's ears, he allowed of Colonel Brewer's resignation in Colonel Whitcomb's favor, appointed the former Barrack-master till he could further promote him, and acquainted the army with the whole affair in general orders. Let antiquity produce a more striking instance of true greatness of ~~soul~~. "mind"

Henry Haskell served honorably as a Colonel, and of Andrew Haskell, a Captain, Willard gives a brief and pleasing sketch, showing him to have been possessed of a spirit of patriotism which rose superior to personal considerations. These were the officers of highest rank who served in the war of the Revolution from this town ; but there were several Lieutenants and subalterns, and their record, as well as that of the enlisted men, seems to have been one of honor.

Meanwhile the spirit of patriotism was maintained at home, and displayed itself occasionally in a striking manner. The town records show that black lists were prepared of persons who used articles of importation, and of persons supposed to be unfriendly to the patriot cause. A committee was appointed to collect evidence against "such persons as shall be deemed to be internal enemies to the State." These names stand upon the records of the town to-day. I will not recite them, but it is worthy of note that the name of the minister of the town is found there, though afterward stricken off, on his earnest protestation that his country had no better friend than he.

I have thus displayed, drawn from original sources,

though with a brevity adapted to the occasion, the record of this town in the war of the Revolution. It is one of devotion and sacrifice, early begun and continued to the end. The articles of confederation and perpetual union between the colonies were accepted by the town in 1778, and the Constitution of the Commonwealth in 1780. The second epoch of our history ended in peace, though in extreme poverty and distress, and the third epoch began.

Almost its first public event illustrates the single step from the sublime to the ridiculous. The General Court granted permission for a lottery, upon the petition of the town, to enable it to raise money to repair its bridges. And the men who in 1773 uttered the lofty resolves and instructions to their Representative which have been read, in 1783 accepted the benefit of the provisions of an act which not only conferred on them powers of folly, but, in the scope of its provisions contemplated penalties of infamy. On the 15th of February, 1783, this act was passed, and was approved by John Hancock, then Governor. The penal section is as follows:—

"And it is also further enacted if any persons shall forge, counterfeit or alter a Ticket any and every person so convicted shall be set on the gallows for the space of one hour with a rope round his neck, or shall pay a fine not exceeding one hundred pounds to the use of the Commonwealth, or shall be imprisoned not exceeding twelve months, or be publicly whipped not exceeding thirty-

nine stripes at the discretion of the Justices of the same Court who are also hereby empowered to inflict one or more of the said punishments on such offenders if they see fit.

Feb. 15th, 1783.

In the House the bill having had three several readings passed to be enacted.

TRISTRAM DALTON, Speaker.

IN SENATE, Feb. 15, 1783.

This bill having had two several readings passed to be enacted.

SAMUEL ADAMS, Prest.

Approved.

JOHN HANCOCK."

Surely it is an instance of something like relapse and temporary degeneracy, that from 1782 to 1790 fourteen classes of this lottery were drawn, with a result upon the whole unfavorable to the cause directly in hand, and greatly injurious for the time to the general industry and morals of the community.

Doubtless the temptation was great to resort to any means which promised favorably for meeting a public and exceptional expense. Doubtless this portion of the country was utterly exhausted by the war. Moreover, a sound circulating medium, that indispensable basis of commercial prosperity, was wanting. Yet the lottery consumed instead of adding to the general wealth, and provided a remedy which aggravated, instead of alleviating, the community's disease.

I have left myself no time to dwell upon the

details of the third epoch, and, indeed, my object has been, in great measure, to bring before you the relations of this town to the war of the Revolution. This last epoch also had its alternating scenes of peace and war, though, till towards its close, the presence of the latter was not felt in a degree of severity comparable to that of the Revolution. The causes which led to the rebellion known as Shays' war, in 1786, in which Lancaster played an honorable and patriotic part, are set forth simply and philosophically in the pages of Rev. Mr. Thayer's address. A reasonable number of our citizens joined the forces under General Lincoln, and remained with him to the end of the controversy. In the war of 1812, also, the men of Lancaster were found faithful in arms, and loyally and patiently bore such sacrifices as that war entailed upon them.

It was at the close of this epoch that the crowning proof was given that the spirit of the fathers lived in the sons. Nearly two hundred of our best and bravest, the flower of our youth, went forth from their peaceful homes to defend our liberties on the field of battle, and to die if need be, that the republic might live. The history of the Great Rebellion is yet to be written, and the day has not come for it to be written in the full impartial light which lapsing time throws on past

events. It will be a history filled with the story of great battles, and long campaigns, and valor individual and collective such as few histories have disclosed. In that history, we remember with pride to-day, no word can be written which will reflect discredit on any of the sons of Lancaster who marched forth to battle beneath our country's radiant flag. You were the witnesses of the devotion with which they dedicated themselves to that great and holy cause. You saw them press forward to that mighty conflict, not gaily "as to a festival," but earnestly, as to the discharge of the noblest duty of the citizen and the soldier. Your prayers and benedictions followed them. You were witnesses of their departure to the field, and you welcomed back the survivors of that gallant band with tears of grateful joy.

But other tears fell for those who went forth, and returned not when battles were over and victory won. The homes that knew them in their day of youth and bloom, know them no more forever. Yet if to the spirits of the departed is granted some cognizance of what is done in this earthly home of their affection from which they have passed to higher spheres, the knowledge of our gratitude may form a part of their rich and heavenly reward to-day. They died for us, and yonder memorial speaks to us tenderly of the story of their heroic

deeds, and tells us how lofty a calling it is to die that our fellow-men may live, and live not only, but be free. Nor was it death, but life and immortality which waited for them and received them, when they seemed to us to die. For, in the poet's words, so fitly chosen for inscription on the tablet which pious gratitude has erected to their memory :—

> "We never can be deathless till we die.
> It is the dead win battles. No, the brave
> Die never. Being deathless they but change
> Their country's vows for more, their country's heart."

This was chosen by Rev. Geo. M. Bartol, who found it in a newspaper, the author not given. It is however, from Philip James Bailey's "Festus"

Courant 1876

The Fourth in Lancaster.

The celebration here was on a larger scale than usual, in accordance with the prevalent "spirit of '76" that moves to greater patriotic feeling and display on this our centennial Fourth of July.

Old Prob. did his best for the occasion, and gave us a brilliant sun and a cloudless sky. The principal street lay in the shade of those majestic elms as beautiful as ever, and from many of the adjacent houses depended tasteful decorations of patriotic bunting. The day began with the usual ringing of bells, firing of crackers, and braying of horns. Early in the morning a body of Clinton gentry marched through the streets, amusing lookers-on with their appearance, which was "horrible" indeed. Some arrangement had been made for receiving them, but, as they came somewhat earlier than they were expected, the intended reception was rendered impracticable.

The Lancaster band being absent the West Boylston brass band was engaged for the occasion. They arrived about half past eight and proceeded to announce their presence by playing several stirring pieces under the trees near the church. After an hour's entertainment by the band, Marshal W. A. Kilbourne proceeded to form the procession into line. Following the band were the town officers, orator of the day, committee of arrangements, returned soldiers and sailors, schools, under escort of their teachers, and the citizens of Lancaster, in their above order. The procession having formed, moved around the green which surrounds the church thence passing inside, to the music of the band, were seated in order. The public was welcomed with free lemonade served at the entrance to the church. The interior decorations were profuse and elaborate. A large flag was arranged behind the pulpit with the usual "1876" on one side and "1776" on the other. A raised platform surrounded the pulpit with chairs and stand for the convenience of the committee and the orator. This was draped with the national colors and beautifully arranged with evergreen and flowers. The gallery was surrounded by evergreen, and numerous boquets were suspended from it. The floral decorations were under the charge of Mr. J. G. Chandler, Miss Hannah Mallard, and Miss Annie E. Emerson.

At ten o'clock, after an organ voluntary and the singing of "America" by the audience, Rev. Mr. Bartol, the chairman of the committee offered the programme which should follow as the result of the committee's work. He stated that the next number upon the programme had been decided upon before the proclamation of President Grant recommending special religious services of praise and prayer upon this day, deeming it eminently appropriate to the occasion he proceeded to read it before the audience, afterwards introducing the Rev. Dr. Whittemore who offered an appropiate and earnest prayer.

Mr. Benjamin B. Whittemore then read an original hymn which was sung by the choir.

Rev. Mr. Bartol remarked that he had found in the record of the town meeting of October 7, 1776, an order from the authorities of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, to print copies of the declaration of independence lately framed at Philadelphia, and send them to every minister of whatever denomination, to be read before his congregation at the close of the afternoon service, and then sent to the clerk of the town to be preserved as a perpetual memorial. To keep in mind the principles of this immortal document, it would be read at this time. The secretary of the committee, Mr. Henry S. Nourse, performed this service.

The following ode by Mrs. Julia A. Fletcher Carney, was then read by Rev. Mr. Bartol, who remarked it as unfortunate that the authoress was not present to read it, and also that it had not been long enough in the possession of the chorister to have suitable music adapted to it. The allusions in the ode are explained as follows: In the early part of the war our privateers carried as an emblem the flag of Massachusetts Bay, which was a white ground with the device of a pine tree upon it; it bore the motto "Appeal to Heaven!" The stars and stripes were not adopted till the 14th of June, 1776. Hosanna means "Save now (we beseech thee)."

One hundred years ago, our sires
  Unfurled the starry banner,
And lighting Freedom's signal fires
Even from their own funereal pyres,
  Shouted in glad Hosanna!
Old Massachusetts led the way!
  Her pine tree flag unfurling
Wherever,—on the battle day,—
Thickest and darkest, o'er the fray,
  The smoke of death was curling.

The snowy flag beside the blue
  Still said, "Appeal to Heaven!"
Dark and yet darker grew its hue,
As mid the battle smoke it flew
  Till victory was given.
God of our sires, Thou still art here!
  We still, to Thee appealing,
Ask that this proud Centennial year
May leave us nobler, purer, freer
  From foes around us stealing.

Save we beseech! Our nation's heart
  A myriad foes doth cherish!
Low men in places high have part,
A selfish greed doth fill each mart,
  Help! lest our country perish!
In olden time, against one foe
  Forth went our snowy banner;
Our newer flag, today doth know
No foeman for its mailed arm's blow,
  Yet still we cry, Hosanna!

The orator of the day, Hon. John D. Washburn, was then presented as a gentleman who needed no introduction.

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May 1881 Clinton Courant.

Mr. Editor: I am unwilling that Dr. Cummings should pass away from our community without a more extended notice of his life than has hitherto been given.

His character was very remarkable in this particular, that he carried out the law of love to the neighbor with a completeness not often to be found in our day. Had he lived in the middle ages he would probably have taken his place among those pious devotees, who went about doing good to the rich and suffering, and would perhaps have won the title of "Saint" in the Catholic church. There are those living among us, of that faith, who relate with tears of gratitude the kindness they have received at his hands.

I am not sure of the date, but it was about 1846, when the W. & N. R. R., was in process of construction, and many Irish laborers were employed upon it, who brought their families here and established them in shanties along the track of the proposed road.

In those days emigrant ships were not arranged with as much regard to the health of passengers as now, and ship fever often resulted from the foul air of the steerage, which they were forced to breathe for several weeks in the old sailing vessels.

Several persons, men, women and children, were landed in Boston in a wretched state of filth and exhaustion, and brought directly to Lancaster. Almost immediately ship fever of a very virulent type broke out among them. They were taken to the alms-house for treatment; but there were so many of them that the persons in charge of the building could not give proper attention to them, and their Irish friends were so much afraid of contagion that they would do nothing for them.

Dr. Cummings was their physician at the alms-house, and his compassion was so much excited by the suffering of these poor strangers that he gave himself up to the care of them. He hesitated at nothing that needed to be done; he not only acted as physician and nurse, but cooked for them and washed their clothes with his own hands. With all this care several died, but without it probably very few, if any, would have recovered.

At last Dr. Cummings took the disease himself and went home to his bed, where he lay for several weeks trembling between life and death, but at last recovered, under the treatment of the late Dr. Lincoln, who was his intimate friend.

Dr. Cummings' simplicity of character was such that I do not suppose it ever occurred to him that he had done anything heroic, or even remarkable. Those who knew him can readily believe that appearing among the ranks of the blessed he will be one of those who, illustrating the parable of our Lord, will ask in wonder: "When saw we Thee sick, or hungry, or naked and ministered unto Thee?"

M. G. Ware

August of 1880.

The completed returns of the census show a gain of 51 since 1875 and 163 since 1870, the present number being 2008. Of these 924 are males and 1084 females. There were born in

Maine,	57	Virginia,	6
New Hampshire,	124	Georgia,	3
Vermont,	48	Mississippi,	1
Massachusetts,	1317	Tennessee,	1
Rhode Island,	15	Ohio,	2
Connecticut,	12	Indiana,	1
New York,	30	Illinois,	2
New Jersey,	12	Kentucky,	1
Delaware,	1	Unknown,	1
Pennsylvania,	1		
Maryland,	2	Total in U. S.,	1637
Canada and British Provinces,	133	Sweden,	1
England,	23	Fayal,	1
Scotland,	8	St. Helena,	1
Ireland,	190	Total Foreign,	371
Germany,	14		

Grand total,.....2008

There are three between 90 and 100, viz: Susannah Bennett (since deceased), 96 yrs. 9 mos.; Right Cummings, 93 yrs. 8 mos., and Nancy Laughton, 91 yrs. There are between 80 and 90, 36; 70 and 80, 89; 60 and 70, 140; one year and under, 51.

The average age of the whole population is very nearly 32 years.

There were during the census year (June 1, 1879 to May 31, 1880) 26 deaths at an average age of 50 years and 10 months. Four of these were above 80 years, five between 70 and 80, seven between 60 and 70, and two 1 year and under.

There were enumerated 149 farms, reporting 259 horses, 692 cows, 12 oxen, 336 swine, 57 sheep and one *mule*. 5093 hens are said to have laid 39,840 dozen eggs in 1879, and have promised to do better in 1880. There were produced 177,252 gallons of milk, and 30,876 pounds of butter, 2892 tons of hay, 6877 bushels of corn, and 13,627 bushels of potatoes. Houses 305 Families 425

The enumerator desires to express his appreciation of the uniform courtesy with which he was met during his canvass of the town, which made the duties of the office a pleasure rather than a burden.

S. R. Merrick M.

MAP OF LANCASTER MASS.

1879.

THE HELIOTYPE PRINTING CO. 220 DEVONSHIRE ST. BOSTON

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THE HILLSIDE CHURCH.

In addition to what has already been said about this church, we add that Rev. Dr. Chickering, its first pastor, was succeeded by Rev. Mr. Davenport, who remained there three or four years, and he by Rev. Henry Adams, afterwards of Berlin, who ministered here some two years. We also append a copy of a letter, written to Mr. S. V. S. Wilder in 1831, and signed by the names of forty-four citizens of the town, (not entirely of the "South Village"), some of whom are still living. We omit the signatures.

AUGUST 20, 1831.

To Sampson V. S. Wilder:—The undersigned inhabitants of the South village in the town of Lancaster, deeply impressed with a just sense of that duty which they owe to their families, to the rising generation and to society in general, and believing it to be a paramount duty incumbent on them to use all honorable means in their power to preserve and transmit to posterity unspotted and uncontaminated those blessings which they so highly appreciate: religion, morality and public order, which they have hitherto rationally and peaceably enjoyed—therefore, entertaining these views of those sacred privileges which have been transmitted to them, they cannot refrain from expressing their abhorence and solemnly protesting against everything which tends to corrupt those principles and virtues and to disturb that peace and harmony which can alone adorn the human character.

Having long watched with painful anxiety the unhappy effects produced by your fanaticism and zeal, we feel it our duty to inform you that we look upon your coming and view your presence among us as a calamity of no ordinary kind; that we believe that the course you are pursuing is productive of little or no good, but much evil; that we think it calculated to corrupt the morals and disseminate vice among the people; that you are sowing contention, hatred and discord where peace, happiness and good order has hitherto prevailed; that family hatred, strife and abuse of every kind have been the effect in every family where you have made proselytes, and we look upon the *fruit* of your zeal as worse than the pestilence that stalketh at noon-day. We pity your ignorance so far as that directs your zeal, but we fear something worse than ignorance guides your operations against the peace and harmony of this town. (N. Thayer) ?

We look upon the course you are pursuing towards the inhabitants of this place as insulting in the highest degree, and if we were to form an opinion from your conduct, we should think you a fit person to inhabit a mad or a work house.

In short, we view your character and conduct as disgraceful to any person professing decency and common sense, and we shall hail your departure from this section of the country as a blessing to the people, which we hope may long be continued to them. J. & T.

August 7, 1880

For the Courant.

Elizabeth How.

What became of Elizabeth How? must have awakened curiosity in the minds of many readers of the various historical sketches of Lancaster. Rev. Timothy Harrington, in his "Century sermon," preached in 1753, when the town was one hundred years old, says that "on the 18th of July, 1692, the Indians assaulted the house of Mr. Peter Joslyn, who was at his labor in the field, and knew nothing of it till entering the house found his wife and three children, and a woman that lived in his family, barbarously butchered by their hatchets, and weltering in their gore. His wife's sister—Elizabeth How—with another of his children, were carried into captivity. She returned but that child was murdered in the wilderness."

"She returned," says the narrative, and stops there; but according to statements in the recently published geneaology of the Keyes family, Miss How, who was about sixteen years old at the time of her capture, was taken to Canada, where she was detained four years, or until 1696. Her situation and experiences while there are not given; but must have been entirely different from that of several children who were carried from Groton to Canada, where they became Roman Catholics, married, and left numerous descendants. Perhaps the fact that Elizabeth How was engaged to young Thomas Keyes, of Sudbury, had some influence over her character and fortunes. She was redeemed by government in 1696, returned home, and two years later was married to Mr. Keyes. He settled, with his wife, on a new farm in the east part of Marlboro, "where they resided during their lives." The place is still in possession of the descendants of their daughter Dinah, who married John Weeks. Mr. Keyes became deacon, and lived to the year 1742. The descendants of Thomas Keyes and Elizabeth How, the captive maid, are numerous in different parts of the country.

Here is a field for the writer of romance. A person of average imagination could conceive and picture the exposures and privations of the maiden while among the French and Indians, and also the tortures of suspense which were endured by both herself and her lover during the slow moving years of her absence. Marvin.

New Jerusalem Chapel -

Order of Exercises at the Dedication,

December 1st, 1881.

I. DEPOSITING THE HOLY WORD.
Rev. JOSEPH PETTEE.

II. CHANT—"Praise ye Jah."

III. READING THE WORD FROM THE PULPIT.
Rev. JOSEPH PETTEE.

IV. THE LORD'S PRAYER.

V. CHANT.

VI. DEDICATORY ADDRESS.
Rev. THEODORE F. WRIGHT.

VII. HYMN.

VIII. SERMON.
Rev. JAMES REED.

IX. HYMN.

Written for the occasion. TUNE—*Coronation.* Page 203.

1. With hearts aglow with gratitude,
And lips attuned to praise,
Our Heavenly Father unto Thee
A song of thanks we raise.

2. Rejoicing in sweet hopes fulfilled,
We ask the Lord to be
A loving presence in this house,
We dedicate to Thee.

3. Here may thy Truth alone be taught;
Here may our souls be blest,
And may thy sweetest joy and peace
Upon our Pastor rest.

X. INSTALLATION SERVICE.
Rev. JOSEPH PETTEE.

XI. CHANT.
The spirit of the Lord Jehovah is upon Me.

XII. BENEDICTION.
THE PASTOR.

country as a blessing to the people, which we hope may long be continued [illegible] them. J. & T.

COLONEL WILLIAM PRESCOTT.

To the Editors of the Boston Daily Advertiser:—

Today the fame of Colonel William Prescott receives at the hands of his countrymen just and well-deserved recognition. Henceforward, from the heights he fortified and defended, he fittingly typifies the determined energy, undaunted courage and stern fidelity characterizing the men of the Revolutionary period. It is not our purpose to enter into any eulogium as to his character or merits, but simply to make known the fact that nineteen years previous to the battle of Bunker Hill, as an officer in the military company at Groton, he marched to the defence of the old town of Boston.

France, stung and mortified by the capitulation of Louisburg to an army of undisciplined mechanics, farmers and fishermen of New England, planned recovery and retribution through the armament commanded by the Duke d'Anville, and in the latter part of September, 1746, Boston daily expecting an attack from this fleet, called upon the adjacent country for assistance; in response some 8000 to 10,000 men rallied to its defence, one company from Brookville travelling seventy miles in two days, with provisions estimated at the weight of a bushel of corn upon their back.

From muster-rolls now in the possession of James L. Bass of this city, it appears that Captain William Laurence, with the Groton company, and in command likewise of many men from Lancaster and Littleton, marched for Boston, September 23, 1746, said company's officers being as follows:—

William Laurence, captain.
James Prescott, lieutenant.
John Woods, lieutenant.
Obadiah Parker, sergeant.
Hezekiah Sawtell, sergeant.
Amos Laurence, sergeant.
William Prescott, clerk.
John Pratt, corporal.
Joseph Page, corporal.
Israel Hobart, corporal.
Jonathan Longley, sentinel.

The alarm was of short duration, the term of individual service varying from two to twelve days. Wm. Prescott's service was for five days, for which he received the sum of 5s. 10d.—one shilling two pence per day, as his signature upon the back of the roll testifies.

Captain Laurence was a brother-in-law of the young clerk, and later commanded the regiment, was judge of the court of common pleas, etc. Lieutenant James Prescott was a brother, and likewise, in time, colonel and judge. Sergeant Amos Laurence was a brother of the commanding officer, and the progenitor of the distinguished Boston families. In fact, the company appears to have been officered by men of far more than ordinary ability. Among the rank and file we note the name of Thomas Laurence, a nephew of the captain, a man of giant size and strength, with courage to match his physical proportions, who was killed by the Indians at Half-way Brook, July 20, 1758, while in command of a company raised for the reduction of Canada. J. L. B.

"RANSOM ROCK"—A REMINISCENCE.

[From the Worcester Spy] June 1881

Following the lead of some Massachusetts papers the Chicago Inter-Ocean tells the following story:—

"Senator Hoar had a great-grandmother with a record. She was the wife of a minister named Joseph Rowlandson, and lived in the beautiful village of Lancaster, in the valley of the Nashua, Massachusetts. This was some time ago. Sholan, the sachem of the Nashua tribe, was a friend of Parson Rowlandson, but in an evil hour King Philip, evidently the Blaine of the time, persuaded him to join the Narragansetts in an attack upon the peaceful town. The men were slaughtered, the houses were burned, and Mrs. Rowlandson and other women were carried away captive by the merciless savages. At this time Parson Rowlandson was at Boston soliciting supplies and arms for the frontier settlers, and, upon hearing of the calamity that had overtaken his parish, he went at once in search of his friend, Chief Sholan, who arranged that the parson's wife should be released upon the payment of a ransom of £20. The money was raised, and the negotiating parties met at a large rock at the base of Mount Wachusett, near Princeton, Mass. It is almost two hundred years since this event took place, and the anniversary, soon to occur, is to be properly celebrated under the direction of Senator Hoar, who has enclosed the 'Ransom rock' with an iron fence, and erected a suitable monument with an inscription reciting this page of history."

Senator Hoar had a great-grandmother, it is true, four of them in fact, but the wife of Joseph Rowlandson was not one of them. The story of Mrs. Rowlandson's captivity is told without important departures from the truth; but Senator Hoar's special interest in it comes through his descent, not from the captive, but from her rescuer. John Hoar, an ancestor of the senator, was a friend of Eliot, "the apostle to the Indians," and seconded him in his efforts to convert them to Christianity. He volunteered to seek out the hostile party and endeavor to ransom Mrs. Rowlandson. With no white companion, but with one or two friendly Indians as guides, he penetrated the wilderness, found the savages encamped near the rock above mentioned, and accomplished the object of his mission. Senator Hoar has bought the rock and enclosed it, but has erected no monument. The inscription is cut on the face of the rock itself, which is about fifteen feet high. The event commemorated occurred more than two hundred years ago, in 1676, in the second year of King Philip's war.

As historical writing, the above is amusing as a fair sample of the way Lancaster annals are treated by even more pretentious writers. Sam or Shoshanim was chief in 1676 over the Nashaways. Sholan had been dead 20 years, and Rowlandson probably never saw him, as he came to Lancaster in 1654, the year that Sholan died.

The Thayer Family.

Nathaniel Thayer is one among the more munificent benefactors of Harvard college who have chosen to bestow their valued gifts during their own lifetime, having the privilege of witnessing the good uses which they serve; his direct benefactions to Harvard University, represented by buildings, endowments and permanent deposits, exceed a quarter of a million of dollars, and include his expenditures on Thayer hall, Thayer Commons hall, Gray herbarium, and the Thayer expedition.

Thayer hall, erected in 1870, and whose full cost exceeded $100,000, was designed by him as a memorial gift commemorative of his father, Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, D. D., and of his brother, John Eliot Thayer. His father, Rev. Dr. Thayer, was the honored and revered minister of the beautiful town of Lancaster, in the fair valley of the Nashua, for nearly half a century. Dr. Thayer of Lancaster, himself the son of a country minister who had graduated at Harvard in 1753, and a lineal descendent, on the maternal side, of the famous John Cotton of the old and the new Boston, was a classmate and lifelong friend of President Kirkland, of the class of 1789. He belonged to a fellowship of divines very remarkable in their period for weight of professional character, enlarged liberality of views, thorough scholarly culture, and a high tone of life, including such men as Kirkland, Freeman, Buckminster, Thacher, Bancroft, Channing and Ware. He was for many years the sole minister of a town of about 2000 population, and was held in true esteem and love by all his people. Nathaniel Thayer, in partnership with his deceased brother, constituted the firm of John E. Thayer & Bro. The surviving member of the firm has joined the memory of his elder brother with that of his father in the name of the hall.

John E. Thayer, in the munificent foundation which he made for scholarships, was himself a benefactor of the college, as will be seen from the following extract from his will, executed in 1855, to three trustees named, and their successors: "I give the sum of $50,000, to pay the income of and from the said sum to the ten most meritorious scholars in Harvard University every year," etc.

Nathaniel Thayer performed for the college a service at the time most needful and helpful in providing, in accordance with a plan suggested by Rev. Dr. Peabody, a place and means for such students as wished to avail themselves of a commons hall for boarding in company and at reasonable charges, after the former arrangements for the purpose had been given up, and before the dining room in the Memorial hall served for use. He enlarged considerably and, in large part, furnished the former station of a branch of the Fitchburg railroad in Cambridge, as the Thayer Commons hall. This was in 1865, and it was successfully occupied for ten years, till the splendid new hall gave to the students the grandest room in Christendom for that purpose. It was understood that Mr. Thayer expended more than $8000 in securing and fitting his Commons hall. Its affairs were managed by the students who there took their meals, the expense to them being simply the cost of the materials for their food and its preparation. Many of the students who sat at those tables were doubtless the guests of the host.

It was, substantially, in the service of the university that Mr. Thayer so generously assumed the whole cost of Prof. Agassiz' vigorous and most fruitful visit of exploration and research to South America, known as the "Thayer expedition." This was in the interest of high science, and it has proved the basis and instigation of advanced stages already reached, and of infinite progress still inviting its pupils. It is believed that the only hesitancy in facing the known and possible obligations to which Mr. Thayer committed himself in this enterprise was in his humorous lament to Prof. Agassiz as to the enormous amount of alcohol needed to preserve the fishes, of which he appeared to empty the ocean.

Another of the admirable provisions made by Mr. Thayer, through his friend Prof. Gray, in meeting the ever-multiplying needs of the university, was in erecting and furnishing, in 1874, at a cost of over $15,000, the fire-proof herbarium on the grounds of the botanic garden.—*Harvard Register.*

REMINISCENCES.

By Amory Carter.

Sept. 13, 1879

NUMBER 9.

It may be interesting to my readers to know what military organizations were on the last muster field proper, of the old Lancaster regiment. There were sixteen military companies belonging to what was once the old town of Lancaster. Four towns, viz: Sterling, Leominster, Harvard and Bolton having been set off from Lancaster, and Berlin had been set off from Bolton. Thus Lancaster had four daughters and one granddaughter represented on that last old muster field, by military companies as follows: Sterling had "The Sterling Light Infantry," the "Sterling Guards," or "Blues" as they had been called, and the old "Militia" company. Leominster had the "Leominster Light Infantry," Leominster Artillery and old Militia company. Harvard had "Harvard Light Infantry," Harvard Rifles and Militia company. Bolton had "Bolton Rifles" and Militia company. Berlin had a Militia company equal to any enlisted. Lancaster proper had "Lancaster Light Infantry," Lancaster Artillery, and Lancaster Militia company. The old troop had already been disbanded. Three additional towns on the west completed the regiment. Ashburnham had the "Ashburnham Light Infantry," and a Militia company. Princeton had the "Princeton Light Infantry," and Militia company. The infantry had been designated "The Princeton Blues," having the same kind of uniform as the Sterling Blues, and were only distinguishable to strangers by the initials on their knapsacks, both having the same tall white plumes gracefully waving above their caps while on the march. Fitchburg had the "Fitchburg Light Infantry," the Fitchburg Fusileers and Militia company.

The old Militia companies had received the pet name of "Slambangs," the best material having been drawn into the enlisted companies. What I am now describing was the last appearance of the old Slambangs on military duty. A law was passed relieving them from such duty, and they were placed on the same footing with the thirty-five and forty-five year men, viz: they were required to carry their arms and equipments on the first of May to be inspected by their commanding officer, after which they could doff their sheep's-wool beavers and retire till the next May. Thus ended the old military system.

Previous to this event there had been caricaturing of the old militia system by fantastic parades, such as coming out on May training days dressed in old coats, old hats with the crowns hanging out, with mop-handles and broom-handles to imitate weapons, tin horns and trumpets for music, tin pans for drums, officered by men—no, by boys, who should have been men,—and if they did not make the woods hideous it was because they were not where they should have been; for if on such disgraceful business they should have been in the woods out of sight and hearing. But that was the result of the old forced military system. It had its birth, its age of glory, and its decline and death, and a new system was to succeed it.

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Mass. Spy of Sept. 16. 1846

THE LANCASTER OUTRAGE. It seems that the report which we spoke of in our paper of Saturday, of the attempt to murder C. T. Symmes Esq., Cashier of the Lancaster Bank is but too true, though the particulars are somewhat different from what is there stated. An investigation has taken place, and it appears from the testimony of Mrs. Symmes that about two o'clock she was awakened by her husband, who spoke to her, when by a light which the burglar had brought into the room, they both perceived a man, with his back toward them, at work at the bureau. The villain immediately turned and caught Mr. S. by the throat, telling him to give him that hundred dollars. [Deacon Parker, of Southboro', had paid Mr. Symmes this money the previous evening, and in the presence of the assassin.]

A violent scuffle ensued between them, which lasted some ten minutes, during which time the burglar made an attempt to kill Mr. S. with a razor, by cutting his throat. He succeeded in inflicting a very severe wound in the right side of the throat, about three inches long, striking the windpipe, barely escaping the jugular vein and carotid artery. Mrs. S. also received a cut upon the throat, about two inches long, as well as several others of a slight nature about her arms and person, of which there is no danger of loss of life. Mr. S. is very much exhausted, but will probably recover.

Mr. S. succeeded in getting one or more of the villain's fingers into his mouth, which he bit with such force as to loosen all his front teeth.

The scoundrel is well known to both Mr. and Mrs. S. but neither of them would tell his name, as they both took a solemn oath not to say who it was, if he would spare their lives. From the account given by them however, and from other circumstances, it was well understood that the rogue is a young German, who formerly resid d in Lancaster but lately in Pepperell. His name is OTTO SUTOR. The Selectmen of Lancaster thereupon offered a reward of three hundred dollars for the arrest of Sutor, and he was arrested in Boston on Saturday morning by ConstableClapp at a German Coffee House, kept by Mr. Pfeff, near the Depot of the Providence Railroad, and was brought to this town by the first train Saturday afternoon. He confesses the deed, and waits with stolid indifference, his fate.

Since the above was written, we learn that Sutor did not break into the house, but was a lodger for the night. He had formerly been in the habit of coming to the house to assist some of the family in the acquisition of the German language. He had received repeated kindnesses from them, and was under pecuniary obligations to them at the time of this savage act. It seems he had deliberately prepared himself with a razor, to be used for attack or defence, as occasion might require. He is a stout athletic man.

History of Three Old Chairs.

July 1883

On exhibiteon in the window of a Chicago store are three chairs which have a history. They are the property of Mr. W. Williams, a music teacher, of that city, and are two hundred and sixty-three years old. They originally belonged, in England, to a family named Dorr, a descendant of whom emigrated to this country in or about 1684, bringing these chairs with him and settling in Boston. This Dorr claimed they were made in 1620, and had been in the family during three generations. On June 12, 1696, John Bigelow, of Watertown, Mass., a friend of Mr. Dorr, was united in marriage to Miss Jerusha Garfield, also of Watertown, belonging to the family of Garfields from which the late president descended. To the newly married couple these chairs were presnted by Mr. Dorr as a wedding present. This John Bigelow and wife settled in Marlboro, Mass. Nine years later (1705) John, with two other persons, were taken captive by the Indians and conveyed to Canada, where he remained nearly two years, building while there the first saw-mill run in the Provinces, after which the French Governor set him free, and he returned safely home. A letter written by the wife to her husband during his captivity (Aug. 22, 1706) is shown in the frame in connection with the chairs. John Bigelow lived to a remarkable old age, dying in 1769, in his ninety-fifth year. His wife died in 1758, aged 81. Gershom Bigelow, his son, next inherited the chairs. He lived to be 96, and died in 1812. Timothy Bigelow, a son of Gershom, then became their possesor, and dying in 1817 was succeeded by his son Ephraim, who died in 1843. Previous to his death, Ephraim Bigelow gave the chairs to his sister, Lovinia, and she in turn gave them to her daughter, who was the mother of the present owner.—*N. Y. Observer.*

Humphrey Junior dt. 1862. record in Catalogue correct.
Still living.

Lane Anthony 1806. Died in Lancaster 1869.

Lane Sarah 1814. Died in Lancaster

Lane Jonas Hy. 1814. record in Cat^e complete.

Tenth

Wilder, Sampson Veyling Stoddard son of Levi & Sally
born Lancaster May 20. 1780. died 1864 in New Jersey

Lawrence Academy Students from Lancaster

Atherton, Chas. 1800; "died 1852". Nothing more known by me

Bancroft, Tarbell. 1811; died 1872 in Lancaster, Oct. 6, Deacon.

Barnard, Thomas, 1802. No record of him in Lancaster.

Billings, Josiah 1838. Family from Groton. Horace a brother yet living on Commonwealth Avenue in Boston. Josiah died some years ago.

Brigham, Geo. H. 1842. I find no record in L. Perhaps family of Marlboro

Accountant Lancaster Mass — Carleton, Albert S. 1821 — died in Brownville, N.Y. about 9 yrs 73 ago

Carter, Ann Eliza. 1850 – #1882 a teacher at Norton. daughter of James G. Carter

Carter Frank H. 1866 – Lives at Dorchester – Dealer in Crackers – Boston

Carter, James 1796 — Died March 12. 1814.

Carter, Susan 1803, m David Howe of Leominster – Nothing more known

Cook, Chas. D. 1841 } Left Lancaster for Leominster soon after 1841
Cook, Henry A. " } & I think went West. Charles was a dentist. There are Cooks in Leominster now.

Dyer, Albert, Harrison & Warren H. 1828–2, were brothers and disappeared from Lancaster. I know not whither.

Farnsworth, B. F. 1848 – Died in Lancaster 1892

Farnsworth, Caroline 1823. m. Montague —

Sisters { Fisher, Charlotte 1838. Yet lives in Lancaster unmarried
Fisher, Sarah 1837. m Thomas Howe & died in Brooklyn July 13 1880

Fitch, Helen Sophronia 1852 } Sisters. married twice, died Rutland Vt
Fitch, Harriet L, 1853 } Living in Fitchburg. married Bill Bailey 1893. Marthas L. Wheeler Fitchburg

Flagg, Wm B. 1797. Not found in L. records

Fuller, Wm A. 1853 Living in Chicago – lumber dealer. very rich.

Hamblet, Lucinda 1809. m Tarbell Bancroft, died in Lancaster 1874

Hayford Howard 1850. Not known here. I never heard of this family name in L.

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