



P. M. Moore, sculp. 1824.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQ.

Gen. Secy. of the Historical Society.

From a miniature painted in 1824.

Engraved for the American Quarterly Register.

COLLECTIONS

5-2064

OF THE

NEW-HAMPSHIRE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

VOLUME VI.

CONCORD:

PRINTED BY ASA McFARLAND, FOR THE SOCIETY.

1850.

**WILLIAM COGSWELL, NATHANIEL BOUTON AND AL-
EXANDER LADD,
PUBLISHING COMMITTEE.**

**WILLIAM COGSWELL,
EDITOR.**

DEATH OF REV. DR. COGSWELL.

As the last pages of this volume were about to be put to press—having received the corrections of its able and indefatigable Editor, Rev. WILLIAM COGSWELL, D. D.—tidings were received of his death. He had, it is understood, been affected for a considerable period with a disease of the heart. He expired at Gilmanton on the morning of the 18th April, 1850, in the 63rd year of his age. His funeral was attended on Sabbath, 21st, and a discourse preached on the occasion by Rev. Daniel Lancaster.

Dr. Cogswell was born at Atkinson, N. H., 5th June, 1787;—son of Doctor William Cogswell. His mother was Judith Badger, daughter of Gen. Joseph Badger, of Gilmanton. His preparatory studies were under the direction of the Hon. John Vose, Preceptor of Atkinson Academy. After graduating at Dartmouth College, 1811, he instructed a year in each of the Academies at Atkinson and Hampton. He studied theology with the Rev. Mr. Webster, of Hampton, and the Rev. Drs. Dana, of Newburyport, and Worcester, of Salem, Ms.—principally with the last named clergyman. He was settled over the South Church in Dedham, Ms., April 26, 1815. There he remained nearly *fourteen years*—until he was appointed General Agent of the American Education Society, June 27, 1829. He accepted the appointment, and, August 20th, entered upon the discharge of the duties of the office. Jan. 25, 1832, he was elected Secretary and a Director of the Education Society, in the place of the Rev. Dr. Cornelius, who had resigned. In this service he con-

tinued until April 14, 1841, when, having been elected Professor of History and National Education in Dartmouth College, he resigned his offices in connection with the Education Society, and accepted the appointment at the College, where he remained nearly three years, when he was elected President of Gilmanton Theological Seminary, and also Professor of Christian Theology. In 1837 he was elected a Trustee of the Theological Seminary, Andover.

Dr. Cogswell was the author of various publications; as, *Manual of Theology and Devotions*, *Christian Philanthropist*, *Theological Class-Book*, *Letters to Young Men preparing for the Christian Ministry*, *Catechism on the Doctrines and Duties of Religion*, occasional *Sermons*, *Reports of the American Education Society* and of the *Northern Academy of Arts and Sciences*. He was also editor of the *American Quarterly Register*, *New-Hampshire Repository*, and *New-England Historical and Genealogical Register*.*

It is understood that he had in his possession a valuable collection of books and manuscripts, a part of which he devised by will to the *New-Hampshire Historical Society*. We trust that an extended and accurate *Memoir of Dr. Cogswell* will be prepared, for a future volume of the *Society's Collections*.

N. B.

*See *Biographical Notices of the Class of Alumni of Dartmouth College in 1811*.

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☞ The following names should be added to the List of Members of the New-Hampshire Historical Society, p. 29, viz. :

Ira Perley, Esq., elected June, 1837.

Albe Cady,* Esq., elected June, 1838.

Mellen Chamberlain,† Esq., elected June, 1843.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE NEW-HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.*

[Prepared at the direction of the Society, by the Rev. NATHANIEL BOUTON.]

THE New-Hampshire Historical Society is of so recent an origin, that all the important facts relating to it can be stated with much precision. For the sake of perspicuity these facts will be arranged under the following heads :

- I. THE ORIGIN.
- II. THE OBJECTS.
- III. THE RESULTS.
- IV. THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

I. THE ORIGIN. Previous to the formation of the New-Hampshire Historical Society, in 1823, Historical Societies had been instituted in Massachusetts, New-York, Maine, and Rhode-Island, which, no doubt, suggested the idea of instituting a society of similar name and objects in this State. Nor are we at a loss as to the individuals who had a principal agency in devising and maturing the plan for such a society. As early as the year 1813, JOHN FARMER, Esq., then of Amherst, N. H., was a contributor to the publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society ; and in 1820, published, in a pamphlet form, "An Historical Sketch of Amherst, N. H." In answer to a letter which Mr. Farmer wrote August 18, 1821, to JOHN KELLY, Esq., then of Northwood, who had just published some valuable "Memoranda, relating to the Churches and Clergy of New-Hampshire," Mr. Kelly says, "I gathered a considerable part of my infor-

* This Article, and the Memoir of John Farmer, Esq., printed in this volume, prepared by vote of the Society and designed to be published in its Collections, were published by request in 1838-9 in the American Quarterly Register, a periodical at that time issued in Boston. The Author of the Account of the Society has, in carrying out his design, brought down its History to the present time ; and a few verbal alterations, in order to correspond with existing facts, are made in the Memoir.—~~Editor.~~

mation relative to the clergy of Hillsborough county, from your communications to the Massachusetts Historical Society; and I very much wish that that Society had as industrious and valuable a correspondent in each of our counties." In the same letter Mr. Kelly says, "I have once or twice consulted some of my friends upon the expediency of forming such a society in this State. The prevailing opinion seems to be that there are not sufficient suitable materials among us to form it. I should be gratified in having your opinion upon this subject, as well upon the expediency of forming such a society, as on the probability of obtaining a sufficient number of members, who would be *disposed* and *qualified* to be *active* and *useful*."

The steps which followed, until the New-Hampshire Historical Society was instituted, are stated in the following communication from JACOB B. MOORE, Esq., of Concord, now Librarian of the Society.

"During the winter of 1821, and most of the year 1822, JOHN FARMER, Esq. and myself employed our leisure hours in the preparation of a Gazetteer of New-Hampshire, intended to embrace accurate descriptions of all the towns and places in the State, with notices of its geology, mineral localities, natural curiosities, and such other matters as would be useful, and could be compressed within the limits of a small volume. We issued our prospectus of that work in January, 1822; but such was the difficulty encountered in procuring the necessary data, and the labor indispensable to *reduce* the accumulation into the proper compass, that the book was not published until the summer of 1823. Soon after we had become engaged in this undertaking, the idea of publishing a *periodical*, devoted principally to historical researches, presented itself to our minds. I was at that period associated with the present Gov. HILL in the New-Hampshire Patriot; and though he discouraged our project, as likely to prove unprofitable, (as it did, in fact, to *me*,) still my own zeal, and my confidence in the indefatigable industry of Mr. Farmer was such, that I determined to proceed. Accordingly we got up the first number of our periodical, entitled, "*Collections, Topographical, Historical, and Biographical, relating principally to New-Hampshire*," which was published on the fifteenth of April, 1822. In the preface to that number were stated the purposes which we proposed to accomplish, and among others the following:

“ ‘Another object is, to excite the attention of those versed in the unwritten history of our State to the formation of a society at the seat of government, embracing the general plan of the Historical Societies in Massachusetts and New-York.’—*See Preface to 1 F. & M. Collections*, p. 4.

“ The first volume of our work comprised five numbers, making a volume of about 300 pages, ending with December of that year. The encouragement received was such as to induce me to continue the work a second and ultimately a third year, and to issue the numbers monthly. The project of getting up an Historical Society was frequently talked over by Mr. Farmer and myself, and received with favor by those whom we addressed on the subject.

“ In January, 1823, I addressed the late estimable and lamented NATHANIEL A. HAVEN, Jun., Esq., of Portsmouth, on the subject of the Collections, and also suggesting to him the expediency of forming an Historical Society. In his reply to my letter, dated the 14th of February, 1823, he says :

“ ‘I owe you an apology for not having sooner answered your letter. The truth is, I deferred writing, from day to day, that I might be able to offer you a stronger proof of my interest in your work, than merely empty praise. I have in my possession a good part of the private and confidential correspondence of Gov. Belcher with his friends in this State, from 1730 to 1742.* It was my intention to have made some selections from these letters, and to have sent them to you. * * * I wish also to communicate with you on the subject of forming an historical society, or some literary society, that shall embrace all the men of letters in the State, at least all who are disposed to make any exertion in the cause of literature. In the mean time you have my sincere thanks for the example you have set of literary enterprise.’

“ In the February number of the Collections, issued on the first of the month, we had renewedly called the attention of the public to the same subject.

“ ——— ‘As a favorable time for the formation of an Historical Society in this State, we would suggest the approaching anniversary,

* This correspondence is now deposited among the Society's Collections.

the completion of two centuries since the settlement of the State. *This period should be celebrated*; and we cannot but hope that measures will be immediately taken to that effect.'—2 *F. & M. Collections*, p. 52.

"On the evening of the 28th February, 1823, at a meeting of a literary society in Portsmouth, it was resolved to commemorate the first settlement of New-Hampshire by a public celebration; and a committee of eighteen gentlemen, from among the towns first settled in the State, were then selected to make the suitable arrangements."

The proceedings at this, and subsequent meetings, were soon communicated, in a circular, to members of the committee who were absent, of which the following is a copy:

"Portsmouth, N. H., March 3, 1823.

"TO JOHN FARMER, Esq.

"Sir,—On the evening of the 28th February, at a meeting of a Literary Society in this town, at which a number of gentlemen from other towns were present, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That a commemoration of the first settlement of our country is a duty which we owe to the memory of our ancestors.

"*Resolved*, That the anniversary which completes TWO HUNDRED YEARS from the first settlement of New-Hampshire, will be a period too remarkable to be passed without some public celebration.

"*Resolved*, That a committee of eighteen persons, from Portsmouth and other towns in the State, be appointed to take such measures as may be necessary in order that a public celebration be made of the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of New-Hampshire; and that the committee appoint such time, and place, and manner of making the celebration, as they may think best adapted to promote the object.

"*Resolved*, That the following gentlemen constitute the committee:

ICHABOD BARTLETT,	} of Portsmouth.
ALEXANDER LADD,	
TIMOTHY UPHAM,	
NATHANIEL A. HAVEN, JR.,	
CHARLES CUSHING, of Little-Harbor.	

ANDREW PEIRCE,
 JAMES BARTLETT;
 CHARLES W. CUTTER, } of Dover.
 STEPHEN MITCHELL, of Durham.
 DAVID BARKER, JR., of Rochester.
 JOHN KELLY, of Northwood.
 WILLIAM SMITH,
 OLIVER W. B. PEABODY, } of Exeter.
 PETER CHADWICK,
 SAMUEL D. BELL, of Chester.
 JACOB B. MOORE,
 JOHN FARMER, } of Concord.
 RICHARD BARTLETT,

"Resolved, That the committee have power to associate with themselves such persons, in other parts of the State, as they may think necessary or proper for the purpose of giving full effect to the design of their appointment.

"And afterwards, at a meeting of such members of the committee as could be assembled at Portsmouth, on the 3d March, instant, it was—

"Voted, That a meeting of the committee be held at EMERY'S TAVERN, in EXETER, on Thursday, the 13th day of March, instant, at 12 o'clock at noon, and that every member of the committee be requested to attend.

"By order of the committee,

"ICHABOD BARTLETT, Chairman."

In the foregoing circular nothing is said about the formation of a Historical Society; but that such a design was in contemplation, will appear from the subjoined answer to it, sent by Mr. Farmer to Nathaniel A. Haven, Jun.

"Concord, March 11, 1823.

"Dear Sir,—I am much pleased that our eastern brethren are adopting measures for the celebration of the second centennial anniversary of the settlement of New-Hampshire. I feel myself much honored in being appointed one of the committee for making arrangements, &c., and very much regret that the state of my health at this time prevents my meeting the respectable gentlemen named in the circular you directed to me. The subject of a celebration will, it is

believed, meet the cordial approbation of many in this quarter, who, if they should not attend it, will approve of its objects, and some will be found who will cheerfully unite in the measures which may be taken towards the formation of an Historical Society.

"Enclosed is a copy of the Charter, Constitution, and Circular of the Rhode-Island Historical Society, which, with those of the Historical Societies of Massachusetts, New-York, and Maine, might be consulted in drawing up suitable ones for a society of a similar kind in this State. We should, if practicable, combine the advantages of them all.

"The antiquities of New-Hampshire, and most of the ancient records and memorials of the fathers of the State, are in your region, and it is possible, from this and other circumstances, you may advance claims in having the *library* and *cabinet* among you. But it may be doubted whether such a measure may not circumscribe our operations, and prevent donations which might be made were these more central, and also prevent us from securing the coöperation and services of men of suitable qualifications in the northern portions of the State.

"In respect to the precise time of the proposed celebration, I have spent some hours in the examination of our old historians, to ascertain the *day* when the first settlers arrived, but find nothing satisfactory. In the calendar pages, however, of Thomas's Almanac, for 1801, I find 'New-Hampshire settled 16 April, 1623,' and the same appears in an Almanac without title page, and several of the first pages missing, for the year 1794.

* * * * *

"I am, Sir, with respect, your obedient servant,

"JOHN FARMER.

"NATHANIEL A. HAVEN, Jun., Esq."

The meeting of the committee was held in Exeter at the time proposed, all being present except Mr. Farmer, of Concord, and Mr. Bell, of Chester; Prof. Hosea Hildreth, then of Exeter Academy, having been added. Hon. ICHABOD BARTLETT was chosen Chairman, and HOSEA HILDRETH, Secretary; when it was—

"*Voted, That we form ourselves into an Historical Society.*"

Messrs. Hildreth, Kelly, Haven, Moore, and Cutter were appointed a committee to prepare a constitution, and report at a future meeting. They were also "authorized to invite ten persons to attend the next meeting of the Society as members thereof." Accordingly the following gentlemen were invited :

William Plumer, Jun., of Epping.	Charles Burroughs, of Portsmouth.
Levi Woodbury, of Portsmouth.	Parker Noyes, of Salisbury.
Nathaniel Adams, of Portsmouth.	Asa Freeman, of Dover.
Nathan Parker, of Portsmouth.	George Kent, of Concord.
Israel W. Putnam, of Portsmouth.	

An adjourned meeting of the Society was holden at Portsmouth on the 20th May, the day before that fixed upon for the celebration. Twenty-one members were present. A constitution was then reported by Mr. Haven, of the committee appointed for the purpose, and accepted; the necessary officers were chosen to serve until an act of incorporation could be obtained and a permanent constitution adopted. The officers chosen at this meeting were—

Ichabod Bartlett, *President*.
 William Plumer, Jr., *Vice President*.
 Hosea Hildreth, }
 Jacob B. Moore, } *Standing Committee*.
 Nathan Parker, }
 John Farmer, *Recording Secretary*.
 John Kelly, *Corresponding Secretary*.

Mr. Haven, member elect to the legislature for that year, was appointed to prefer a petition for incorporation, in behalf of the society. The act of incorporation received the approbation of the governor on the 13th of June, 1823.

The following is the act of incorporation :

"Whereas the persons hereinafter named have associated for the laudable purpose of collecting and preserving such books and papers as may illustrate the early history of the State, and of acquiring and communicating a knowledge of the natural history, the botanical and mineralogical productions of the State, as well as for the general advancement of science and literature : and whereas the object of their association is of public utility, and deserves public encouragement, therefore,

"SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court convened,* That Ichabod Bartlett, Wil-

Sam Plumer, Jun., Bennet Tyler, Jeremiah Smith, Jeremiah Mason, Richard Bartlett, James Bartlett, Jacob B. Moore, Andrew Peirce, William Smith, Jun. and Nathaniel A. Haven, Jun., with their associates, and such other persons as shall from time to time be admitted members of said association, according to such by-laws as the members of said association may establish, be, and they hereby are created a body politic and corporate, and shall forever hereafter continue a body politic and corporate, by the name of the *New-Hampshire Historical Society*, and for the purposes aforesaid; and with all the powers, privileges and liabilities incident to corporations of this nature.

“SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the said corporation may receive and take by gift, grant, devise or otherwise, and hold, possess and enjoy, exclusive of the building or buildings which may be actually occupied and used for the safe keeping of their books, papers and records, and of their cabinets of natural history and mineralogy, and exclusive of their books, papers and cabinets aforesaid, real and personal estate, the yearly value of which shall not exceed three thousand dollars; provided, always, that the estate aforesaid be appropriated for the purposes aforesaid.

“SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That the said corporation shall have full power and authority to determine at what place their library and cabinets shall be established; at what times and places their meetings shall be holden; and in what manner the members shall be notified of such meetings; to elect from among the members of said corporation such officers, with such powers and duties, as they shall judge expedient; and also to ordain and enact any by-laws for the government of said corporation, provided the same be not repugnant to the constitution and laws of this State.

“SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That the said Ichabod Bartlett, William Smith, Jun. and Nathaniel A. Haven, Jun., or any two of them, shall have power to call the first meeting of said corporation, at such time and place, and may notify the members of said association in such manner, as they may deem expedient.”

The same day the Society was incorporated, it met at the capitol in Concord, accepted their charter, adopted a constitution, and elected their first officers under its provisions.

" Constitution of the New-Hampshire Historical Society.

" 1. The object of the New-Hampshire Historical Society shall be to discover, procure and preserve whatever may relate to the natural, civil, literary and ecclesiastical history of the United States in general, and of this State in particular.

" 2. The Society shall consist of resident and honorary members, the former to be persons residing in the State of New-Hampshire; the latter, persons residing elsewhere. The number of resident members shall not exceed fifty;* the number of honorary members shall not exceed the number of the resident.

" 3. The election of members shall be by ballot, at the annual meetings. No member shall hereafter be elected by less than six votes; and, in all cases, the votes of two thirds of the members present shall be necessary to a choice.

" 4. Each member (honorary members excepted, with whom it shall be optional) shall pay, before the annual meeting next following his election, the sum of five dollars. The Society may assess taxes, at the annual meetings, on each resident member, not exceeding three dollars in one year. Any person neglecting to pay the aforesaid sum of five dollars, or any tax, for the term of two years, shall cease to be a member.

" 5. The annual meeting of the Society shall be holden at Concord, on the second Wednesday in June. Other meetings may be held at such times and places as the Society may from time to time direct. It shall be the duty of the President, and, in his absence, of one of the Vice Presidents, upon the application of three members, to call a special meeting of the Society, of which notice shall be given in a newspaper printed in Concord, and another printed in Portsmouth, at least fifteen days before the meeting.

" 6. The officers of the Society, to be elected at the annual meeting and by ballot, shall be—a President, two Vice Presidents, a Treasurer, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Librarian, who shall hold their offices for the term of one year, and until others are elected in their places; provided, that the first

* June 13, 1832, *Voted*, That the word *fifty* be erased, and the word *seventy-five* be inserted.

election of officers under this Constitution shall be made at such time and place as the Society may direct.

"7. The Constitution may be amended at any annual meeting, as the Society shall deem proper, by the votes of two thirds of the members present; provided, notice of the proposed amendment shall be given in writing, and entered on the journal at the preceding annual meeting."

II. THE OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY. These are indicated by its name, and expressed in the first article of its Constitution, viz: "to discover, procure and preserve whatever may relate to the natural, civil, literary and ecclesiastical history of the United States in general, and of this State in particular." These are more fully stated in the following list of "Articles on which the Society wish for information."

"Among the subjects to which the members of the New-Hampshire Historical Society will direct their attention, and on which they request information, may be enumerated the following:

"1. The circumstances attending the early settlements formed in New-Hampshire; the history of the settlement of each town; the number and condition of the first settlers; the names of the principal persons and their biography; the contests with the aboriginals, and all the important events which have occurred since the first settlement.

"2. An account of ecclesiastical transactions;—the time when the churches of different religious denominations were formed; the names of all the ministers who have had pastoral charges; the dates of their settlement and removal, whether by death or otherwise; the name of the college at which they were educated, the year, and their literary publications.

"3. The time when schools and other seminaries of learning were instituted; their funds and patrons;—the different literary publications by residents of the several towns; the time and place when and where printed; the form and number of pages. Under this article may be comprised all information relating to libraries and the publication of newspapers.

"4. Information concerning the Indian tribes inhabiting different

parts of the State ; their number and condition when first visited by the whites ; their trades, disputes, wars, and treaties, either among themselves or with the white people ; their character, customs and general history ;—the Indian names of mountains, rivers, lakes, and every Indian word which can be recovered.

“ 5. Any remarkable laws, customs, or usages, either local or general at early periods of our colonial establishment ; all ancient documents and manuscript letters illustrative of the habits of the early settlers.

“ 6. Records of the state of the atmosphere ; the influence of the climate and seasons on the human constitution ; observations on diseases ; accurate bills of mortality, showing the number of deaths each month, the sex, age, disease ;—instances of longevity over ninety years.

“ 7. Descriptions, drawings, or other communications concerning ancient fortifications, caverns, mountains, or any natural curiosities, together with minute information concerning the dates of their discovery, or of any remarkable events respecting them, and in general every fact which may throw light on their origin and history.

“ 8. Topographical descriptions of the several towns, including an account of the mountains, rivers, ponds, animals, vegetable productions ; their mineralogy and geological appearances.

“ 9. Copies of the early records of the four first towns settled in the State, viz. Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter, and Hampton, would probably furnish many interesting facts, and would be highly acceptable to the Society.

“ Books, Pamphlets, &c. wanted by the Society.

“ In order to promote the objects for which the Historical Society was instituted, the members are anxious to collect the materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of the country. Among the books, &c. which the Society wish to collect and preserve, may be mentioned—

“ Books of every kind, printed in this or other countries, which may be worthy of preservation ; especially every publication, of whatever description, issuing from the press in New-Hampshire, and also in other States ; together with copies of rare books in the Civil or Ecclesiastical History of this State, or of the United States.

“SERMONS, on the discovery of America ;—on the completion of one century from the discovery or settlement of any State, town, or other place in the United States ;—delivered before the general Court ;—at the anniversary conventions of the clergy, Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, or Baptist ;—on annual and special fasts and thanksgivings ;—to militia companies or to troops in camp ;—on victory or defeat in war ;—on the return of peace ;—on remarkable events, as fires, earthquakes, epidemic sickness, &c. ;—at town meetings and on other popular occasions.

“ORATIONS, SERMONS, or POEMS, on the anniversary of the first landing of our ancestors at Plymouth ;—on the anniversary of the 5th of March ;—on the anniversary of the 4th of July ;—on the death of eminent characters in church or state, or before any literary society.

“JOURNALS, LAWS, RESOLVES, and PROTESTS of Congresses, Assemblies, Conventions, and other legislative and deliberative bodies.

“CONFERENCES and TREATIES of public Commissioners, appointed to treat with Indians.

“TAX ACTS of an older date than 1775.

“PROCLAMATIONS by authority, and other single printed sheets.

“PROCEEDINGS of Episcopal conventions, Ecclesiastical councils, presbyteries, synods, general assemblies, Baptist associations ; circular letters of the Society of Friends, and of other denominations of Christians.

“INDIAN EXPLOITS, speeches, anecdotes, &c.

“NARRATIVES of battles with the Indians ;—of captives, their exploits, sufferings, escapes, &c. ;—of missionaries and itinerant preachers of all denominations.

“JOURNALS of voyagers and travellers, for discovery, curiosity, or other causes.

“MINUTES, or other doings of *political clubs*.

“MAGAZINES, MUSEUMS, NEWSPAPERS, &c.”

In pursuance of the main object, the Society, at its annual meeting in June, 1826, appointed Messrs. PLUMER, Jun. and FARMER, a committee to “assign subjects to the several members, for their particular investigation ;” and the following subjects were accordingly assigned :—

"1. The History of the Practice of Law in New-Hampshire, and Biographical Sketches of the most eminent Lawyers who have died in this State. To Hon. Jeremiah Smith, LL. D.

"2. The History of the Judiciary of New-Hampshire, with Sketches of the several deceased Judges under the Provincial Government, from 1680. To Hon. Levi Woodbury, LL. D.

"3. Biographical Sketches of deceased Senators and Representatives in Congress from New-Hampshire, under the Federal Constitution. To Hon. Ichabod Bartlett.

"4. Annals of the Town of Dover, from 1623 to 1823. To James Bartlett, Esq.

"5. The History of the Town and Church of Exeter. To William Smith, Esq.

"6. Biographical Sketches of deceased Clergymen in Portsmouth, and Catalogues of their publications. To Rev. Messrs. Parker and Putnam.

"7. Biographical Sketches of deceased Lawyers in the County of Hillsborough. To Hon. Charles H. Atherton.

"8. Biographical Sketches of deceased Lawyers in the County of Rockingham. To Hon. William Plumer, Jun.

"9. Biographical Sketches of deceased Lawyers in the County of Strafford. To Stephen Mitchell, Esq.

"10. The History of Hanover. To James F. Dana, M. D.

"11. The History of Hopkinton. To Hon. Matthew Harvey.

"12. The History of Chester. To Samuel D. Bell, Esq.

"13. A Genealogical Account of the Family of Edward Hilton. To John Kelly, Esq.

"14. The History of New-Hampshire Newspapers. To Jacob B. Moore, Esq.

"15. The History of the Town of New-Castle. To Col. C. W. Cutter.

"16. The History of Rochester. To David Barker, Jun., Esq.

"17. A List of those who have been admitted to practice at the Superior Court in New-Hampshire for the County of Rockingham, with the times of their admission and places of settlement, &c. To Nathaniel Adams, Esq.

"18. A similar List for the County of Strafford. To Andrew Peirce, Esq.

- "19. A similar List for the County of Cheshire. To Hon. Salma Hale.
- "20. The History of Durham. To Rev. Federal Burt.
- "21. The History of the Church and Town of Milford. To Rev. Humphrey Moore.
- "22. The History of Lancaster. To Hon. John W. Weeks.
- "23. The History of Meredith. To Stephen C. Lyford, Esq.
- "24. The History of Warner. To Hon. H. B. Chase.
- "25. A Genealogical Account of the Waldron Family. To Maj. R. R. Waldron.
- "26. On the Revenue, Expenses, and General Polity of the Provincial Government of New-Hampshire, from 1680 to 1775. To Richard Bartlett, Esq.
- "27. Biographical Sketches of the deceased Chief Magistrates of New-Hampshire. To George Kent, Esq.
- "28. Historical Notes on the Provincial Literature of New-Hampshire. To Rev. Charles Burroughs.
- "29. History of the Literature of New-Hampshire since 1775, with Sketches of those who have contributed most to its advancement by their writings or influence. To Prof. Ebenezer Adams.
- "30. The History of Poetry in New-Hampshire, containing Notices of the different poetical productions published by persons residing in this State, and Sketches of the lives of the authors. To O. W. B. Peabody, Esq.
- "31. A Discourse on the National Origin, Early Difficulties, and Domestic Habits of the first settlers of New-Hampshire. To Prof. C. B. Haddock.
- "32. List of Publications of persons resident in Hillsborough County. To John Farmer, Esq."

A circular letter was addressed by the same committee to each of the gentlemen above named, in which the importance of investigating the subjects respectively assigned them, was strongly urged. "There is," say the committee, "you are aware, in the collection of suitable materials, much to be found in the recollection of our aged citizens; much in the scattered masses of public records belonging to our churches, towns, and proprietaries; and in pamphlets, newspapers, and manuscripts, belonging to ancient families. Even our

burying grounds, the sacred enclosures where the venerable 'forefathers of the hamlet sleep,' contain memorials of the 'days of other years.' The fading inscription of their monuments should be retraced with faithful diligence. Without all the zeal of 'Old Mortality,' we believe that beneath the mosses and the weeds that now conceal them, much may be discovered to rescue from forgetfulness the memory of the men who laid the foundations of civil society, and whose important labors entitle them to the lasting gratitude of their posterity."

III. THE RESULTS OF THE SOCIETY'S OPERATIONS. These are, that the attention of a very considerable number of the most literary and intelligent men of New-Hampshire has been directed to the important subjects of inquiry embraced by it; numerous facts have been collected, which will be of great value to a future historian, which otherwise would have been lost; the Society has published five volumes, octavo, of about 300 pages each,* in which, among other important matter,† are sketches or annals of the following towns, viz.: in Vol. I., of Concord, Bedford and Enfield; in Vol. II., of Keene; in Vol. III., of Northwood and Warner; in Vol. IV., of Canterbury and Antrim; and in Vol. V., of Amherst, Durham, New-Ipswich and Hampstead. These "Sketches" are for the most part specimens of what the Society wish and aim to obtain, of all the towns in the State. They embody facts in detail, which are not only of great local interest, but which constitute the material for correct general history.

At its annual meeting in June, 1826, the Society "*Voted*, That it is expedient, on the death of any member of the Society, to publish in the next volume of the Society's Collections some sketch of his life and character." In accordance with this vote there have been published interesting sketches of the life and character of NATHANIEL A. HAVEN, Jun., Esq., of Portsmouth, one of the founders of

* The three first of these volumes were published at the expense and risk of Jacob B. Moore, Esq., the Society subscribing for 100 copies of each volume at their actual cost. The fourth volume was published by Marsh, Capen & Lyon, on similar terms, and the fifth solely at the expense of the Society. It may be stated, that the sale of the first four volumes did not indemnify the publishers.

† For the principal contents of these volumes, see November No. of Am. Quart. Reg. 1837, pp. 181, 182.

the Society—"a man of high attainments, of eminent talents, of stainless virtue—a learned lawyer, an enlightened and practical statesman, an amiable, an honest, and a pious man;"* of JAMES FREEMAN DANA, M. D., a native of Amherst, Professor of Chemistry at Dartmouth College, and, at the time of his death, Professor in the College of Physicians and Surgeons in the University of New-York; of Rev. FEDERAL BURT, of Durham; of Rev. NATHAN PARKER, D. D., of Portsmouth, and of Hon. DAVID BARKER, Jun., of Rochester.

The usefulness of the Society is enhanced by holding its annual meetings in the hall of the House of Representatives during the session of the Legislature; at which time an address is usually delivered by some member previously appointed. On these occasions, addresses have been delivered by Hon. Ichabod Bartlett, 1827; Hon. Salma Hale, 1828; Hon. C. H. Atherton, 1831; Rev. Nathaniel Bouton, 1833; Prof. Daniel Oliver, 1836; Hon. Nathaniel G. Upham, 1841; Rev. Charles Burroughs, D. D., 1843; Hon. Levi Woodbury, 1845; Samuel Webber, M. D., 1846; Prof. Charles B. Haddock, D. D., 1847; and by Hon. Samuel D. Bell, 1849. Some of these addresses are published in the Society's Collections.†

The publications of the Society, besides being distributed among the members, have been sent to kindred institutions both in this country and in Europe, and to individuals distinguished for antiquarian and literary research, and the publications of such institutions and individuals received in return.‡

* Mr. HAVEN delivered the Centennial Oration at Portsmouth, 21 May, 1823, two hundred years from the landing of the first settlers. A copy of this was requested for the first volume of the Society's Collections by the publishing committee, but it was declined. In a letter dated 22 March, 1824, addressed to J. Farmer, Esq., Mr. Haven says, "After *mature* consideration (I do not hesitate now to use the word) my opinion of the Centennial Address remains unchanged. It was a hasty declamation prepared for temporary effect; and however successful it may have been in producing that effect, it would be entirely out of place in a collection of grave historical dissertations. I have read it carefully within the last ten days, to see if any slight alterations could fit it for publication at the present time; but I think it cannot be improved without being written anew." A different opinion of its merit, however, prevailed with the editor of Mr. Haven's "Remains," where this very creditable performance forms the first article of that work.

† Mr. Bouton's was also published in a pamphlet form by vote of the Society.

‡ A copy of the first volume was sent to the Maine Historical Society, Essex do., Massachusetts do., New-York do., Rhode-Island do., to the American Antiquarian Society, and American Philosophical Society; also, to Dartmouth College, Yale, Harvard University, and to Phillips Exeter Academy. A copy of the

The Society has exerted an important agency in collecting, from various sources, ancient acts and documents relating to New-Hampshire. Deposited in its library, "are a considerable number of papers and documents formerly belonging to the Rev. Dr. BELKNAP, and used by him in the compilation of the second and third volumes of the History of New-Hampshire," which were transmitted to the Society by the direction of John Belknap, Esq., son of the late reverend historian, and by the President of the Massachusetts Historical Society. In June, 1827, the Society appointed a committee to prepare and present to the Legislature of New-Hampshire, "a memorial, stating the deficiencies of our early records, and requesting that copies of all public acts and documents having special reference to New-Hampshire, from 1641 to 1680, and from 1689 to 1692, may be procured at the public expense from the records and files of Massachusetts; and that measures be taken by our government to procure such of the ancient Norfolk county records as relate to New-Hampshire." In June, 1830, the Society addressed a petition to Congress, "praying that proper measures may be adopted by that body to procure, from the public offices in England, copies of papers and documents illustrative of the history of America."

The usefulness of the Society has been greatly extended by the correspondence of the late Corresponding Secretary. Among other valuable letters which have been received by him from distinguished individuals, is one from Professor C. C. RAFFN, Secretary of the Royal Northern Society of Antiquaries of Denmark, &c. dated Copenhagen, 1828, June 3; of which the following extract is presented, both to show a curious specimen of imperfect English, and the light which the researches of that Society are throwing on the early history of America: "It is known that the inhabitants in the north of Europe have long before Columbus's time visited the countries on the coast of North America. The greatest part of the informations concerning the same have not hitherto been published, and for that reason but little known."

"At a time when the researches about the former times of Amer-

second volume to Joseph Willard, Esq., Nathaniel H. Carter, Esq., Francis Jackson, Esq., Joseph E. Worcester, Esq., and Joshua Coffin. The five volumes of the Society's publications have been given to the library of the American Education Society, in exchange for the nine volumes of their American Quarterly Register.

ica, by several learned men's fortunate examinations, have gain'd a greater interest, durst then the undertaking of bringing for the light these accounts expect the approbation of the American Antiquaries? I have had a mind for a long time to employ myself on this object, but my important work, as Secretary to the Royal Northern Society of Antiquaries, has partly detained me from it, so that I first last winter got opportunity for the same. I have now gone through all the manuscripts belonging to the same, of which a part is on parchment, and made a complete collection of the several pieces contain'd in the same, which illustrates the knowledge that the old Scandinavians had of America.

"These pieces are taken partly of the Sagas—the old northern histories—partly of the old geographical works and of the annals, and makes with the illustrations about 50 sheets.

"The researches which are built on these relations, lead to some particular surprising results, and in them contain rich stuffs for a continuation of examinations. They contain a series of certain testimonies of, that the countries on the coasts of North America have not only been, immediately after the discovery of Greenland by the Icelanders, discovered at the conclusion of the 10th cen'y by the Scandinavians, a part of which remained there, and in the next place navigated by the same repeated times in the 11th cent'y, and visited in the 12th cent'y, yea, at the conclusion of the 13th cent'y again found and visited, but that also Christianity has [had?] been introduced there, not only amongst the Scandinavians, but likewise amongst others earlier or at that time peopled settled there."

The Society's library contains about 1500 volumes; a considerable collection of pamphlets and newspapers—a small collection of minerals—some valuable manuscripts, ancient coins and Indian relics—the whole forming a valuable beginning.*

The late CYRUS P. BRADLEY, of Concord, a young man of remarkable talents and acquirements, who deceased 5 July, 1838, aged 19, expressed a wish, a few days before his death, that his cabinet of minerals and curiosities, his collection of coins and autograph memorials, should be deposited in the Society's Hall. And at the

* From 1823 to 1837 the library and cabinet of the Society were kept by special leave of the Legislature in a room of the State House; but they are now kept in the hall over the Merrimack County Bank.

request of his father, himself since deceased, the donation has been placed in a portion of the room by itself, and is contained in the original cabinet used by the lamented Bradley.

The principal donors to the Society have been the Hon. WILLIAM PLUMER,* of Epping, its first president, and the late Hon. RICHARD BARTLETT,† of New-York, formerly Secretary of State, New-Hampshire, and one of the founders of the Society. It is with melancholy pleasure we state, that the valuable article in the last volume of the Society's Collections—"*Remarks and Documents relating to the preservation and keeping of the Public Archives,*" was prepared by Mr. Bartlett, at great labor, and during his last distressing sickness. When the Society received the manuscript from him for publication, they *resolved unanimously*, "That the thanks of the New-Hampshire Historical Society be presented to Richard Bartlett, Esq. for '*Remarks and Documents relating to the Preservation and Keeping of the Public Archives.*' Also, that their sympathies be tendered him in the severe sufferings and declining health under which his very important labors have been prosecuted."

It becomes our painful duty to add, that the indefatigable Secretary, JOHN FARMER, Esq., one of the founders, and a chief supporter of the Society from the beginning, deceased, after a lingering illness, 13th Aug., 1838, aged 49. To a friend who was with him in the latter hours of his life, he intimated a wish to leave for the Society some of his valuable collection of books and manuscripts. He did not live, however, to execute a will; and the property, consequently, including all his papers and books, was divided among his heirs. His administrator, Isaac Spalding, Esq., of Nashua, purchased and presented to the Society Mr. Farmer's collection of Town Histories, comprised in 23 volumes, some of which have notes and corrections in Mr. Farmer's hand writing; and the Librarian has received of Mr. Spalding 36 old volumes of miscellaneous books. The Standing Committee of the Society further authorized the purchase of Mr. Spalding of several other volumes and MSS. originally belonging to Mr. Farmer.‡

* Mr. Plumer's donation consists of several hundred volumes of American State papers, arranged with a copious manuscript index by himself.

† Mr. Bartlett's donation consists of his private library, a part of the library of the late Hon. Nathaniel Peabody, and a portfolio of autograph MS. letters, amounting to about 200 in all.

‡ Records of Society, June, 1839.

At the next annual meeting of the Society after Mr. Farmer's decease, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :

"Resolved, That this Society have a high opinion of the character and worth of the late John Farmer, Esq., Corresponding Secretary, and of his very valuable services in that office ; and of his efficient and faithful labors to promote the general interests of the Society ;—and that they deeply lament his death.

Resolved, That Jacob B. Moore, Esq. be requested to prepare a suitable notice of the deceased, to be published in the next volume of the Society's Collections."

MEMBERS OF THE NEW-HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

The following are those who originally associated.

*Benjamin Abbot, LL. D., Exeter.	*Hon. Jeremiah Mason, LL. D., Portsmouth.
*Ebenezer Adams, M. A., Hanover.	*Stephen Mitchell, Esq., Durham.
*Nathaniel Adams, Esq., Portsmouth.	†Jacob B. Moore, Esq., Concord.
*Hon. David Barker, Rochester.	Parker Noyes, Esq., Salisbury.
Hon. Ichabod Bartlett, Portsmouth.	*Rev. Nathan Parker, D. D., Portsmouth.
*Hon. James Bartlett, Dover.	*Oliver W. B. Peabody, Esq., Exeter.
*Hon. Richard Bartlett, Concord.	Hon. Andrew Peirce, Dover.
*Peter Chadwick, Esq., Exeter.	Hon. William Plumer, Epping.
Charles W. Cutter, Esq., Dover.	Hon. William Plumer, Jun., Epping.
*John Farmer, Esq., Concord.	†Rev. Israel W. Putnam, Portsmouth.
Asa Freeman, Esq., Dover.	*Hon. Jeremiah Smith, LL. D., Exeter.
*Nathaniel A. Haven, Jun., Esq., Portsmouth.	*William Smith, Jun., Esq., Exeter.
*Rev. Hosea Hildreth, Exeter.	†Rev. Bennet Tyler, D. D., Hanover.
Hon. John Kelly, Northwood.	†Gen. Timothy Upham, Portsmouth.
†George Kent, Esq., Concord.	His Exc. Levi Woodbury, LL. D., Portsmouth.†
Alexander Ladd, Esq., Portsmouth.	

The following persons have been elected since the Society was formed. The residence (as also with the preceding) is given as it was at the time they became members. The Society cannot exceed seventy-five resident members at the same time.

<i>Elected June 9, 1824.</i>	*Hon. Samuel Sparhawk, Concord.
Hon. Charles H. Atherton, Amherst.	*Hon. William M. Richardson, LL. D., Chester.
Hon. Henry B. Chase, Warner.	†Maj. Richard R. Waldron, Portsmouth.
*Prof. James F. Dana, M. D., Hanover.	
Hon. Salma Hale, Keene.	

*Dead. † Out of the State.
whose memberships are forfeited.

‡ Besides the preceding, were two others,

Elected June 8, 1825.

His Exc. Matthew Harvey, Hopkinton.
*Rev. Federal Burt, Durham.

Elected June 14, 1826.

Samuel D. Bell, Esq., Chester.
Stephen C. Lyford, Esq., Meredith.
Hon. John W. Weeks, Lancaster.

Elected June 15, 1827.

*Samuel Abbot, Esq., Wilton.
His Exc. Henry Hubbard, Charlestown.
*Prof. Daniel Oliver, M. D., LL. D., Hanover.
Hon. William Prescott, M. D., Gilmanton.

Elected Dec. 10, 1828.

Hon. Levi Chamberlain, Fitzwilliam.

Elected June 10, 1829.

Samuel E. Cones, Esq., Portsmouth.
Rev. Jaazaniah Crosby, Charlestown.
*Moses Eastman, Esq., Concord.
*Hon. Stephen P. Webster, Haverhill.

Elected June 9, 1831.

Hon. Daniel Adams, M. D., Mont Vernon.
Rev. Nathaniel Bouton, Concord.
†Moses Long, M. D., Warner.
†Hon. Joel Parker, LL. D., Keene.
†Rev. Moses G. Thomas, Concord.

Elected Dec. 12, 1832.

†Hon. James H. Bingham, Claremont.
*His Exc. Samuel Dinsmoor, Keene.
†Samuel Fletcher, Esq., Concord.
*Charles C. P. Gale, M. A., Derry.
Hon. Phineas Handerson, Keene.
His Exc. Isaac Hill, Concord.
†Prof. Reuben D. Mussey, M. D., Hanover.
†Rev. George Punchard, Plymouth.
Amos Twitchell, M. D., Keene.

Elected June 12, 1833.

Asa Alford Tufts, Esq., Dover.
Hon. Nathaniel G. Upham, Concord.

Elected June 11, 1834.

Abner B. Kelly, Esq., Concord.
Rev. John M. Whiton, D. D., Antrim.

Elected June 10, 1835.

*Hon. Philip Carrigain, Concord.
Thomas Chadbourne, M. D., Concord.
Wm. H. Y. Hackett, Esq., Portsmouth.

Elected June 14, 1837.

†Rev. John N. Brown, Exeter.
Rev. Ebenezer E. Cummings, Concord.

*Hon. William A. Kent, Concord.
Rev. Nathan Lord, D. D., Hanover.
Mr. Gardner P. Lyon, Concord.
Mr. Asa McFarland, Concord.

Elected June, 1838.

Richard Bradley, Esq., Concord.
Rev. Levi W. Leonard, D. D., Dublin.
*Zachariah G. Whitman, Esq., Boscawen.
†Francis Cogswell, Esq., Dover.

Elected June, 1839.

Isaac Spalding, Esq., Nashua.
*Rev. Petrus Stuyvesant Ten Broeck, Concord.
*Charles J. Fox, Esq., Nashua.

Elected June, 1840.

Joseph Dow, M. A., Hampton.
Rev. Eli B. Smith, D. D., New-Hampton.
Rev. Chas. Burroughs, D. D., Portsmouth.

Elected June, 1841.

Rev. William Cogswell, D. D., Gilmanton.
Prof. E. D. Sanborn, Hanover.
Rev. Abiel A. Livermore, Keene.

Elected June, 1842.

Hon. Franklin Pierce, Concord.

Elected June, 1843.

Ichabod Goodwin, Esq., Portsmouth.
Charles W. Brewster, Esq., Portsmouth.

Elected June, 1844.

Prof. Chas. B. Haddock, D. D., Hanover.
Rev. Edmund Worth, Concord.
John W. Foster, Esq., Portsmouth.
John Prentiss, Esq., Keene.
Hon. Lyman B. Walker, Meredith Bridge.

Elected June, 1845.

Chandler E. Potter, Esq., Manchester.
Hon. Charles G. Atherton, Nashville.
Rev. Zedekiah S. Barstow, D. D., Keene.
His Exc. John H. Steele, Peterborough.
Ebenezer S. Towle, Esq., Concord.
Joseph B. Walker, Esq., Concord.
Hon. Andrew S. Woods, Bath.
Prof. Edmund R. Peaslee, M. D., Hanover.
Dixi Crosby, M. D., Hanover.
†Enos Hoyt, M. D., Northfield.
Hon. Charles H. Peaslee, Concord.
His Exc. Jared W. Williams, Lancaster.

Elected June, 1846.

Abiel Walker, Esq., Concord.
Jeremiah Elkins, Esq., Meredith.
Rev. Daniel Lancaster, Gilmanton.

Elected June, 1847.

Hon. Francis N. Fisk, Concord.

Elected June, 1848.

Joshua W. Pierce, Esq., Greenland.

Alfred W. Haven, Esq., Portsmouth.

*Total, 124.**Elected June, 1849.*

N. B. Baker, Esq., Concord.

J. M. Rix, Esq., Lancaster.

Albert R. Hatch, Esq., Portsmouth.

Prof. James Upham, New-Hampton.

Rev. John K. Young, Meredith Bridge.

Prof. Richard S. Rust, Northfield.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

[The number of Honorary Members shall not exceed the number of Resident Members.]

Elected.

*Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D., LL. D., Cambridge, Massachusetts, . . . June 8, 1825.
 Rev. William Allen, D. D., Brunswick, Maine, . . . June 8, 1825.
 Hon. Daniel Webster, LL. D., Boston, Massachusetts, . . . June 8, 1825.
 Hon. James Savage, LL. D., Boston, Massachusetts, . . . June 8, 1825.
 *Nathaniel Hazeltine Carter, M. A., City of New-York, . . . June 8, 1825.
 *Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, D. D., Dorchester, Massachusetts, June 14, 1826.
 *Rev. Timothy Alden, President of Alleghany College, Meadville, Pennsylvania, . . . June 14, 1826.
 Francis Jackson, Esq., Boston, Massachusetts, . . . June 14, 1826.
 His Exc. Edward Everett, LL. D., Charlestown, Massachusetts, . . . June 15, 1827.
 *His Exc. Enoch Lincoln, Portland, Maine, . . . June 15, 1827.
 *Ichabod Tucker, Esq., Salem, Massachusetts, . . . June 15, 1827.
 Prof. C. C. Rafn, P. D., Copenhagen, Denmark, . . . Dec. 10, 1828.
 Joseph Emerson Worcester, LL. D., Cambridge, Massachusetts, . . . Dec. 10, 1828.
 Hon. Francis Baylies, Taunton, Massachusetts, . . . June 9, 1831.
 Hon. Lewis Cass, LL. D., Washington City, District of Columbia, . . . June 9, 1831.
 *Hon. John Davis, LL. D., Boston, Massachusetts, . . . June 9, 1831.
 *James Bowdoin, M. A., Boston, Massachusetts, . . . June 9, 1831.
 Lemuel Shattuck, Esq., Boston, Massachusetts, . . . June 9, 1831.
 Mr. Thomas Waterman, Boston, Massachusetts, . . . June 9, 1831.
 Prof. Thomas C. Upham, D. D., Brunswick, Maine, . . . June 9, 1831.
 Joseph Gilbert Waters, Esq., Salem, Massachusetts, . . . June 9, 1831.
 Hon. William R. Staples, Providence, Rhode-Island, . . . June 9, 1831.
 *James Thacher, M. D., Plymouth, Massachusetts, . . . Dec. 12, 1832.
 *Rev. Benjamin B. Wisner, D. D., Boston, Massachusetts, . . . Dec. 12, 1832.
 *Christopher Columbus Baldwin, Esq., Worcester, Massachusetts, Dec. 12, 1832.
 Rev. Carlton Chase, D. D., Bellows Falls, Vermont, . . . Dec. 12, 1832.
 Joshua Coffin, M. A., Boston, Massachusetts, . . . June 12, 1833.
 Mr. Samuel G. Drake, Boston, Massachusetts, . . . June 12, 1833.
 Hon. John Pickering, LL. D., Boston, Massachusetts, . . . June 10, 1835.
 Rev. Charles W. Upham, Salem, Massachusetts, . . . June 10, 1835.
 Rev. William Cogswell, D. D., Boston, Massachusetts, . . . June 14, 1837.
 Prof. James L. Kingsley, LL. D., New-Haven, Connecticut, . . . June 14, 1837.
 Hon. Prentiss Mellen, LL. D., Portland, Maine, . . . June, 1838.
 Prof. Ralph Emerson, D. D., Andover, Massachusetts, . . . June, 1838.
 *Samuel A. Bradley, Esq., Portland, Maine, . . . June, 1838.
 Hon. William H. Prescott, LL. D., Boston, Massachusetts, . . . June, 1839.
 Hon. George Bancroft, LL. D., Boston, Massachusetts, . . . June, 1839.
 Prof. Bela B. Edwards, D. D., Andover, Massachusetts, . . . June, 1839.
 Hon. Richard Fletcher, LL. D., Boston, Massachusetts, . . . June, 1840.
 Hon. Thomas Day, LL. D., Hartford, Connecticut, . . . June, 1840.
 Count Jacob Graberg Hemso, His Swedish Majesty's Consul at Firenze, . . . June, 1840.
 George Folsom, Esq., New-York City, . . . June, 1840.

Elected.

Rev. Joseph B. Felt, Boston, Massachusetts, ...	June, 1841.
John Wingate Thornton, Esq., Boston, Massachusetts, ...	June, 1843.
Benjamin B. French, Esq., Washington City, ...	June, 1843.
Luther V. Bell, M. D., Somerville, Massachusetts, ...	June, 1844.
Herman E. Ludwig, Esq., New-York City, ...	June, 1846.
Prof. Benjamin Silliman, Jr., M. D., New-Haven, Connecticut, ...	June, 1846.
Prof. Romeo Elton, D. D., Providence, Rhode-Island, ...	June, 1846.
Hon. Edmund Burke, Washington City, ...	June, 1846.
Rev. E. E. Adams, Havre, France, ...	June, 1846.
Hon. Thomas H. Benton, Missouri, ...	June, 1849.
Hon. John A. Dix, New-York, ...	June, 1849.
Nathaniel Hawthorne, Esq., Massachusetts, ...	June, 1849.

Total, 54.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY FROM ITS ORGANIZATION.

PRESIDENTS.

William Plumer,	1823—1825.
Levi Woodbury,	1825—1826.
Ichabod Bartlett,	1826—1830.
Salma Hale,	1830—1832.
Matthew Harvey,	1832—1834.
Charles H. Atherton,	1834—1838.
Joel Parker,	1838—1842.
Nathaniel Bouton,	1842—1844.
N. G. Upham,	1844—1847.
Samuel D. Bell,	1847—1849.
Charles Burroughs,	1849—

FIRST VICE PRESIDENTS.

Levi Woodbury,	1823—1825.
William Plumer, Jun.,	1825—1829.
Salma Hale,	1829—1830.
Matthew Harvey,	1830—1832.
Charles H. Atherton,	1832—1834.
Joel Parker,	1834—1838.
Nathaniel Bouton,	1838—1842.
N. G. Upham,	1842—1844.
Samuel D. Bell,	1844—1845.
Henry Hubbard,	1845—1846.
Levi Chamberlain,	1847—1848.
Charles H. Peaslee,	1849—

SECOND VICE PRESIDENTS.

Bennet Tyler,	1823—1826.
Salma Hale,	1826—1829.
Matthew Harvey,	1829—1830.
Charles H. Atherton,	1830—1832.
Parker Noyes,	1832—1834.
Nathaniel Bouton,	1834—1838.
N. G. Upham,	1838—1842.
Samuel D. Bell,	1842—1844.
Levi Chamberlain,	1844—1846.
Jared W. Williams,	1846—1848.
Edwin D. Sanborn,	1849—

RECORDING SECRETARIES.

John Kelly,	1823—1831.
Moses Eastman,	1831—1834.
Moses G. Thomas,	1834—1841.
Asa McFarland,	1841—1842.
Franklin Pierce,	1842—1845.
Edmund Worth,	1845—1849.
Joseph B. Walker,	1849—

CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES.

Nath'l A. Haven, Jr.,	1823—1825.
John Farmer,	1825—1840.
Ira Perley,	1840—1841.
Moses G. Thomas,	1841—1844.
N. Bouton,	1844—

TREASURERS.

George Kent,	1823—1825.
Samuel Sparhawk,	1825—1830.
George Kent,	1830—1837.
Samuel Fletcher,	1837—1839.
Asa McFarland,	1839—1844.
E. E. Cummings,	1844—1845.
E. S. Towle,	1845—

LIBRARIANS.

Jacob B. Moore,	1823—1830.
Moses Eastman,	1830—1834.
Abner B. Kelly,	1834—1837.
Jacob B. Moore,	1837—1839.
Albe Cady,	1839—1841.
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MEMOIR OF JOHN FARMER, M. A.,

LATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY OF THE N. H. HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

[By Jacob B. Moore, Esq.]

JOHN FARMER, the distinguished New-England antiquary, was born at Chelmsford, Ms., 12th June, 1789. He was the eldest son of John Farmer, of that place, and a lineal descendant of Edward Farmer, who emigrated to this country from Ancely, in Warwickshire, England, about the year 1670, and settled at Billerica. The youngest son of Edward Farmer was Oliver, born 2 Feb., 1686, from whom, of the fourth generation, the subject of this notice descended.* "There seems," says a late writer, "to be implanted by nature in the human mind a strong desire to become acquainted with the family history of our ancestors. Hence Sir Isaac Newton left in his own hand-writing a genealogical account of the pedigrees of his family, made in the 63d year of his age, and caused the result to be entered on the books of the herald's office. Such also was the curiosity of Dr. Franklin, who, while in England, as he himself informs us, undertook a journey to Eaton, in Northamptonshire, for the purpose of obtaining information." The late Mr. Farmer was exceedingly curious in matters of this sort, not only respecting his own ancestors, but those of every family of note in New-England. He traced his own ancestry as far back as the reign of Henry VII.; and it may possibly interest some of his surviving friends to have a more particular notice of his family.

The family of the Farmers, from whom the first who settled at Billerica descended, were living, about the year 1490, at a village called Ratcliffe-Cuiley, which is in Leicestershire, adjoining the counties of Warwick and Strafford. One of them was a Judge in the common pleas courts, and another† was Chancellor of the Cathe-

* The writer would here take occasion to acknowledge his obligations for a portion of the facts he has embodied, to the Address of the Rev. Nathaniel Bouton, of Concord, at the funeral of Mr. Farmer, and to a well written notice, (presumed to be from the pen of Joseph Willard, Esq., of Boston, Ms.,) in the Worcester *Aegis*, of 22 August.

† Mentioned by Anthony Wood, in vol. i. p. 672, of his *Athence et Fasti Oxonienses*.

dral Church at Salisbury.* The name of the Chancellor was Edward Farmer,—a name which has been perpetuated in the family for three centuries, and he is the most remote ancestor of whom on this side the Atlantic there is any account. He succeeded to the chancellorship in December, 1531, and retained that dignity until his death, in 1538. Of the intermediate ancestors between him and John Farmer, who was living at Ancely in 1604, we have no record. John Farmer, of Ancely, the father of Edward, died prior to 1669. His wife after his decease came to New-England, where she married the Rev. Thomas Wiswall, of Cambridge-Village, [Newtown]; and after his death, which occurred 6 Dec., 1683, she removed to Billerica, and there died 21 May, 1686.

Edward Farmer, son of John, was born at Ancely about 1640, and emigrated to New-England prior to 1671. He fixed his residence at Billerica, where he was "admitted to town rights and privileges," 11 Jan., 1673. He was a resident for a year or two at Woburn, and one of his children was born at that place. He possessed a large landed property in Billerica, of which the homestead farm he gave to his youngest son, Oliver, and we believe it still remains in possession of some of the family. Edward Farmer was a man of some distinction in his day; and, at a time when it was an honor to receive a municipal trust, he was chosen to several of the most important and responsible offices of the town in which he lived. He died at Billerica, 27 May, 1727, aged about 86.

Oliver Farmer, the youngest of the eight children of Edward, was born 2 Feb., 1686, and married Abigail Johnson on the 24 Jan., 1717. She was daughter of Ebenezer Johnson, who was son of Hon. William Johnson, and grandson of Capt. Edward Johnson, author of the book entitled "Wonder-Working Providence," &c., and was born in that part of Woburn now Burlington, 13 June, 1697. Oliver lived on the homestead farm, and died at Billerica 23 Feb., 1761, aged 75. His widow, after having married a second husband, Capt. James Lane, of Bedford, died there, 25 Feb., 1773, aged 75.

* The duties of a Chancellor of a Cathedral were, "to hear lessons and lectures read in the church, either by himself or his vicar; to correct and set right the reader, when he reads amiss; to inspect schools, to hear causes, apply the seal, write and despatch the letters of the chapter, keep the books, take care there be frequent preachings, both in the church and out of it, and assign the office of preaching to whom he lists."

Oliver, son of the preceding, was born 31 July, 1728; married, 5 April, 1757, Rachel Shed, of Pepperell, who was born 29 Jan., 1736, and died 23 Sept., 1764, leaving three children. Oliver married a second wife, by whom he had three other children, and died at Billerica, 24 Feb., 1814, aged 85.

John Farmer, son of the last named Oliver, by his first wife, was born 1 Dec., 1762, and married, 24 Jan., 1788, Lydia Richardson, daughter of Josiah Richardson, who was son of Capt. Zachariah Richardson, son of Josiah, son of Capt. Josiah Richardson, all of Chelmsford. The last named was son of Ezekiel Richardson, who came over in the fleet with Gov. Winthrop, and in 1635 was representative of Charlestown. She was born 7 Dec., 1763. The family resided at Chelmsford, where all their children were born, until Sept., 1803, when they removed to Lyndeborough, N. H. From the last named place they removed to Merrimack, in the same State, where he died, 17 Nov., 1814, aged 52. He was deacon of the first church in Chelmsford from 1797 until the period of his leaving town. His eldest son, JOHN, was the eminent antiquary.

The male descendants of Edward Farmer, particularly those who have resided at Billerica, have been nearly all engaged in the business of agriculture. Though the family of the patronymic name, in its several branches in England, has produced a number of eminent literary characters, it is believed that but one individual* of the Billerica family has received a college education. There have been several, however, in the female line of descent, who have had superior literary advantages, and who have made considerable figure in the world. Of the same stock with Edward Farmer, having John as the common ancestor, was the learned Richard Farmer, D. D., Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who died 8 Sept, 1797.†

* Rev. William Farmer, grad. Harv. Coll. 1819; ord. at Belgrade, Me., 18 May, 1831; is great-great-grandson of Edward, of Billerica.

† He was distinguished as a scholar, and for skill as a critic; and on the publication, in 1766, of his celebrated "Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare," in which he undertook to show that in the time of the bard there existed translations of most classical writers, and that Shakspeare knew little or nothing of the ancients but by translations,—he received from Dr. Johnson the following compliment upon that work: "Doctor Farmer," said Johnson, "you have done that which was never done before; you have completely *finished* a controversy beyond all further doubt." "I thank you," answered Doctor Farmer, "for your flatter-

The celebrated Dr. Samuel Parr, who entered Emmanuel College while Dr. Farmer was tutor, and was well acquainted with him, made this remarkable observation concerning Dr. Farmer: "With much seeming negligence, he understands more, and remembers more, about common and uncommon subjects of literature, than many of those who would be thought to read all the day and meditate half the night. In quickness of apprehension and acuteness of discernment I have not often seen his equal." The same observation, with this alteration only, that he was never negligent in person or in his duties, might be applied to the late JOHN FARMER.

Mr. Farmer inherited a feeble constitution of body. He was of middling stature and erect in person, though to the eye of the stranger he presented, for more than half of his life, the figure of a consumptive person in the last stages of emaciation. From earliest youth he was fond of books and study; ever diligent as a scholar, and excelling most of his school fellows in his acquisitions. Hours which, during recess or vacation, the more hardy and robust would spend in athletic games and youthful sports, he was wont to employ in poring over books of history, geography and chronology, inquiring after ancient records and papers, looking into the genealogy of families, and copying out and treasuring up anecdotes and traditions of Indian and Revolutionary struggles. A favorite with the clergyman and literary people of his native town, he was allowed free access to their books and papers; and he there imbibed those impressions of filial respect for ministers of the gospel which he exhibited on all occasions throughout life. He regarded, almost with reverence, the clerical profession—looking upon the ministers of the Cross as indeed "the messengers of God," and "legates of the skies." Mr. Farmer may be said, in the strictest sense, to have been a self-educated man. The common schools, which, in the present day, under improved systems and better skill in the business of instruction, are exerting wide-spread and powerful influences on society, were forty years since comparatively feeble. The minds of magistrates and citizens were not then, as at the present time, employed in devising the best means for the general education of the people. Patriots and public

ing opinion of my work, but still there are some critics who will adhere to their old opinions; certain persons that I could name." "Ah!" said Dr. Johnson, "that may be true, for the limbs will quiver and move after the soul is gone."

men of that day were almost exclusively engaged in fitting the mosaic of our civil institutions, in bringing together a great people, and uniting them under the restraints of wholesome and equal laws. Upon the ministers of the cross, until the opening of the nineteenth century, devolved almost exclusively the superintendence of our public schools ; and to their pious zeal and untiring efforts it is in a great degree owing, that the philanthropist, the moralist, the statesman and political economist, now meet upon common ground, to unite with enlightened Christians in measures for the education of the people. And when the History of Education in New-England shall be truly written, the diligent and faithful labors of her clergy will be known and appreciated.

Young Farmer, notwithstanding his limited advantages, made rapid improvement. In his fondness for writing, and copying curiosities in literature, he almost insensibly acquired a beautiful style of penmanship, which gave to all his manuscripts a peculiar air of neatness and grace. We have said that Mr. Farmer was self-educated. He was a respectable scholar, familiar, not only with works of history, but with standard works in other branches, and the literature of the day. His praiseworthy example may serve to show how much can be accomplished by perseverance, even under extreme bodily infirmity and disease. Had he been favored with greater advantages, more liberal culture, and vigorous health, he might have taken a high standing in any department, but would not probably under their influence have become so distinguished as he ultimately rose to be in his peculiar department.

At the age of 16 we find him entered as a clerk in a store at Amherst, N. H., and an inmate of a highly respectable family there, between whom and himself the most cordial and affectionate friendship subsisted until the period of his death. Here he remained five years, rendering diligent attention to the affairs of his employer, and giving up his leisure hours to literary studies and correspondence. In a letter to the Rev. Dr. Packard, of Wiscasset, who had been his teacher before he went to Amherst, Mr. Farmer spoke with affection and gratitude of his early instructor ; and in a reply, dated 4 Dec., 1809, the Doctor says : " If any of my friendly and religious counsels, or any books I put into your hands made deep and lasting impressions upon your tender mind, you will join me in giving praise

and glory to God and the Redeemer. I can truly say of my pupils as St. John did of those he had converted to the Christian faith, 'I have no greater joy than seeing them walking in the truth.' I am much pleased with the account you give of your industry and progress. If you have no idea of a college education, it might perhaps be as useful to you to become more familiar with your favorite branches—geography, history, the constitutions of our State governments, and that of our common country, as well as with the origin and progress of wars and other calamities of the eastern world." No pupil, perhaps, ever more highly valued an instructor, than did young Farmer, and that he placed a high estimate upon the teachings of Dr. Packard is sufficiently shown by his affectionate remembrance of him, and by his pursuits in after life, and the results of his many labors.

In the course of the year 1810, finding the labors of his station too arduous for his feeble health, Mr. Farmer left the store and engaged in teaching school—an employment in which he is said to have greatly excelled. Two or three years previous to this, a literary association for mutual improvement was formed at Amherst—the members of which met weekly for debate, the rehearsal of pieces, and reading of original compositions. Of this society Mr. Farmer was for about eleven years the chief supporter, contributing largely to the interest and usefulness of the meetings by his own performances, and by inviting and attracting to it the young men of promise that were about him. The neighboring clergy were made honorary members, and frequently attended their meetings and participated in the discussions.*

While engaged in school keeping, Mr. Farmer cultivated his natu-

* As this was one of the earliest literary associations of the kind in New Hampshire, and one to which Mr. Farmer often adverted with evident pleasure in subsequent life, it may not be irrelevant here to give the names of the active members, especially as several of them have since risen to distinction in public life.

Samuel Abbot, Herman Abbot, Abraham Andrews, Charles H. Atherton, John P. Batchelder, John Burnham, Joseph Bell, William Claggett, Nathan K. Clough, Joseph Cushing, Elisha E. Elam, Caleb Emerson, Luther Farley, John Farmer, Allen Fisk, Benjamin F. French, William Gordon, Alonzo S. Grenville, Levi Hartshorn, Isaac Hill, Jacob Holmes, Joshua Holt, Eugene Hutchinson, George Kimball, Joseph B. Manning, David M'G. Means, William F. Morrison, Harrison G. Otis, jr., Edmund Parker, James Perkins, Robert Read, David Secombe, Matthias Spalding, Gustavus Swan, Ebenezer Taylor, Henry J. Tudor, Andrew Wallace.

ral taste, and pursued with great industry his historical inquiries. In 1813, becoming known to some of the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, he was elected a corresponding member, and immediately became a contributor to their published Collections. In 1816 he published in pamphlet form his Historical Sketch of Billerica, and contributed many valuable facts towards the materials for the History of Chelmsford, afterwards published by the Rev. Mr. Allen. In 1820 he published "An Historical Sketch of Amherst, from the first settlement of the town," in pamphlet form. In these two publications the marked peculiarities of his mind were strongly exhibited. He evinced a memory wonderfully tenacious of particular fact, dates and names, sound judgment in collecting, selecting and arranging his materials, and an exquisite niceness and exactness in all the details of his history.

About this time, Mr. Farmer commenced the study of medicine with Dr. Matthias Spalding, an eminent physician of Amherst; but after a few months, foreseeing that he should be unfitted to discharge the laborious duties of the profession, he relinquished the study, and in 1821 removed to Concord. He there formed a connection in business with Dr. Samuel Morril, and opened an apothecary store, whence he received the title of *Doctor*, though he never entered the medical profession.

From the period of his removal to Concord Mr. Farmer devoted himself principally to what had become his favorite studies and pursuits. His feeble health not allowing any kind of hard manual labor, or exposure to the changes of weather out of doors, he, partly of necessity and partly of choice, adopted a very sedentary mode of life. He was rarely away from his place of residence. He deemed it hazardous for him to leave home. In 1836, however, after a lapse of eighteen years, he visited Boston, where he was treated with marked respect and attention by the literati of that city, but was quite ill while there, and unable to enjoy very much of what he expected from his visit. He soon after returned home, restored to comparative health.

From the time of his removal to Concord, in the most quiet and retired dwelling he could select, he pursued his unpretending labors. He gathered together books of ancient date, early records of the towns, and notices of the first settlers of the country; inquired into

the names, ages, characters and deaths of distinguished men of every profession ; and entered into extensive correspondence with men who might be able to furnish him with facts relating to the subjects of his inquiry. In short, he soon became known as an ANTIQUARY, distinguished beyond most of his fellow-citizens for exact knowledge of facts and events relative to the history of New-Hampshire, and in general of New-England. His mind was a wonderful repository of names, and dates, and particular incidents ; and so general and well established was his reputation for accuracy of memory, that his authority was relied on as decisive in historical and genealogical facts.

In 1822 Mr. Farmer became interested, with the writer of this Memoir, in the publication of a periodical miscellany, devoted principally to the collection and preservation of historical facts, anecdotes and memoranda illustrating in particular the history of New-Hampshire. The first number was issued in April of that year ; and though the patronage received never remunerated the publisher, the work was continued until three volumes were completed, embracing a great variety of rare and curious matter. To these volumes Mr. Farmer contributed his full share of original and selected matter. During the same period, he was also associated with the writer in preparing for publication a Gazetteer of New-Hampshire, intended to embrace, not mere skeleton sketches, but to comprehend, 1. A concise description of the several towns in the State, in relation to their boundaries, divisions, mountains, lakes, ponds, &c. 2. The early history of each town ; names of the first settlers, and what were their hardships and adventures ; instances of longevity, or of great mortality ; and short biographical notices of the most distinguished and useful men. 3. A concise notice of the formation of the first churches in the several towns ; the names of those who have been successively ordained as ministers, and the time of their settlement, removal or death. Also notices of permanent charitable and other institutions, literary societies, &c. For this work, which, for its size, was one of immense labor, Mr. Farmer furnished sketches of the towns embraced in the counties of Hillsborough, Cheshire and Grafton, and many useful facts and dates towards the history of the other towns. The work, though considerably delayed in its publication, was well received by the New-Hampshire public, and favorably noticed elsewhere. " To have completed it (say the editors in their preface) at an ear-

her period, was originally our intention ; but it was not until several months of diligent inquiry had passed, that we understood the difficulty of the task in which we had engaged. Though in many cases we have had prompt and able assistance, the difficulty of procuring the necessary information in others, has caused no inconsiderable anxiety and delay. Few men are intimately acquainted with the early history of their own towns—the generation active in the first settlements having passed away, and little pains being taken to preserve their history. Fewer still have the leisure or patience necessary to pore over musty records or ancient files, for the gratification of their curiosity, or the mere chance of finding perhaps some single fact, buried like the diamond in a mass of rubbish. While, on the one hand, our anxiety increased to finish the work and be rid of its labor ; we felt, on the other, a strong obligation to retain it in our hands until we could give it at least a tolerable degree of accuracy. The book is at length completed ; and embracing, as it does, a great variety of information, we cannot but hope it may be useful to the public.”

In 1822 Mr. Farmer received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from Dartmouth College, and in the following year he was complimented with the appointment of Justice of the Peace for the newly constituted county of Merrimack, but he did not deem the office of sufficient importance ever to act under his commission.

The New-Hampshire Historical Society was established on the 20th May, 1823, and although Mr. Farmer was unable to be present at any of the early meetings of its founders, he took a deep interest in its establishment, and contributed much towards its organization and success. Through life Mr. Farmer was never more than once or twice present at the meetings of the Society, but never failed to communicate with the members, by letter or otherwise, on such occasions. He was chosen Recording Secretary on the first establishment of the Society,—an office which he declined to accept when an organization took place under the charter. But in 1825, the late lamented Nathaniel A. Haven, Jr. Esq. of Portsmouth, having resigned that office, Mr. Farmer was elected Corresponding Secretary of the Society—an office which he filled and the duties of which he discharged with rare ability and fidelity until the period of his last illness. Of the five volumes of Collections published by that Society, Mr. Farmer was on the publishing committee of four of them.

The fifth volume was wholly compiled by him, and all the preceding volumes are enriched by his contributions.

Mr. Farmer's published works were numerous ; and, considering his infirm state of health during the whole seventeen years of his residence in Concord, those who best knew him were surprised at the extent and variety of his labors. The following is believed to be an accurate list of his productions, with the exception of his occasional contributions to the newspapers, or other ephemeral publications.

1. A Family Register of the Descendants of Edward Farmer, of Billerica, in the youngest branch of his family. 12mo. pp. 12. Concord, 1813 ; with an Appendix, 12mo. pp. 7. Concord, 1824. The same work, with some additions, was reprinted at Hingham, Ms., in 1828.

2. A Sketch of Amherst, N. H., published in 2 Coll. Ms. Hist. Soc. ii. Boston, 1814.

3. A Topographical and Historical Description of the County of Hillsborough, N. H. : published in 2 Coll. Ms. Hist. Soc. vii. Boston, 1818.

4. An Historical Memoir of Billerica, Ms., containing notices of the principal events in the Civil and Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Town, from its first settlement to 1816. 8vo. pp. 36. Amherst, 1816.

5. An Historical Sketch of Amherst, N. H., from the first settlement to 1820. 8vo. pp. 35. Amherst, 1820. A second edition, much enlarged, was published at Concord in 1837. pp. 52. 8vo.

6. An Ecclesiastical Register of New-Hampshire, containing a succinct account of the different religious denominations, their origin and progress, and present numbers ; with a Catalogue of the Ministers of the several Churches from 1638 to 1821 ; the date of their settlement, removal or death, and the number of communicants in 1821. pp. 36. 18mo. Concord, 1822.

7. The New Military Guide ; a compilation of Rules and Regulations for the use of the Militia. pp. 144. 12mo. Concord, 1822.

8. The New-Hampshire Annual Register and United States Calendar, published annually at Concord, from 1822 to 1838 inclusive, seventeen numbers, each consisting of 144 pages, 18mo., excepting those for 1823 and 1824, which were in 12mo., pp. 152, 132.

9. A Gazetteer of the State of New-Hampshire, with a Map and

several Engravings, (in conjunction with Jacob B. Moore,) 12mo. pp. 276. Concord, 1823.

10. Collections, Historical and Miscellaneous, (in connection with Jacob B. Moore,) 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 302, 388, 388. With an Appendix to vols. II. and III. pp. 110, 97. Concord, 1822, 1823, 1824.

11. Memoir of the Penacook Indians; published in an Appendix to Moore's Annals of Concord. 1824. pp. 7. 8vo.

12. A Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of New-England, &c. To which are added various Biographical and Genealogical Notes. 8vo. pp. 351. Lancaster, Ms., 1829.

13. A Catechism of the History of New-Hampshire, from its first settlement. For Schools and Families. 18mo. pp. 87. Concord, 1829. Second edition. 18mo. pp. 108, in 1830.

14. The Concord Directory. 12mo. pp. 24. 1830.

15. Pastors, Deacons, and Members of the First Congregational Church in Concord, N. H., from 18 Nov. 1730, to 18 Nov. 1830. pp. 21. 8vo. Concord, 1830.

16. An edition of the Constitution of New-Hampshire, with Questions; designed for the use of Academies and District Schools in said State. 18mo. pp. 68. Concord, 1831.

17. A new edition of Belknap: containing various corrections and illustrations of the first and second volumes of Dr. Belknap's History of New-Hampshire, and additional Facts and Notices of Persons and Events therein mentioned. Published in one vol. 8vo. pp. 512. Dover, 1831.

18. Papers in the second and third series of the Massachusetts Historical Collections.

19. Papers in the five published volumes of Collections of the New-Hampshire Historical Society.

20. Papers in the American Quarterly Register, viz.: Sketches of the First Graduates of Dartmouth College, from 1771 to 1783; List of the Congregational and Presbyterian Ministers of New-Hampshire, from its first settlement to 1834; List of the Graduates of all the Colleges of New-England, containing about 19000 names; List of eight hundred and forty deceased ministers who were graduated at Harvard College from 1642 to 1826, together with their ages, the time of their graduation, and of their decease; Memoirs of Ministers who have graduated at Harvard College, to 1657.

It will be obvious that these works required severe labor and unwearied care in the preparation. Of his edition of the historical portion of Belknap's History of New-Hampshire, it is sufficient to say, that this truly classical work is very much improved by the annotator, who has embodied a great mass of valuable matter in his notes, relative to the subjects treated of in the text. It was Mr. Farmer's intention to have prepared a second volume for the press, and he had collected a mass of materials for the work, but did not live to accomplish his design.

The Genealogical Register is a wonderful monument of patient industry. It may be called his great work, both on account of the quantity of matter which it contains, and the difficulty of tracing out branches of families, where we have no regular genealogy. It embraces many thousands of names of persons, with dates of birth, death, offices sustained, place of residence, &c., chiefly through the seventeenth century. For one who is fond of genealogical investigations, there is no treasure-house like that; for he will find, on examination, that there are but few names of the men of New-England, during the two centuries of our existence, that may not there be found. Had Mr. Farmer published nothing else, this would remain a lasting monument of his patient research and marvellous accuracy. In his preface to this work, he says: "We are all anxious to know something respecting those who have preceded us on the stage of action; and there has begun a curiosity among many of the present generation, to trace back their progenitors in an uninterrupted series to those who first landed on the bleak and inhospitable shores of New-England. It is not improbable that the arrival of the Puritan fathers of New-England will form a more memorable epoch in history than the conquest of England does in that country, and that posterity a few centuries hence will experience as much pleasure in tracing back their ancestry to the New-England colonists, as some of the English feel in being able to deduce their descent from the Normans." Mr. Farmer has left a corrected copy of his Register, greatly enlarged by successive additions, corrections and illustrations. He has also left several manuscripts, more or less complete, containing Sketches of deceased Lawyers, Physicians, Councillors and Senators in New-Hampshire; Tables of Mortality and Longevity, &c., of which the public we trust will hereafter reap

the advantage ; List of the Graduates at the Colleges in the States of New-York and New-Jersey ; (this list was not entirely completed by him ;) also, ten bound volumes, of duodecimo size, of Memoirs of more than two thousand graduates of Harvard College ; and two bound volumes, of duodecimo size, of Memoirs of graduates at Dartmouth College.*

A great labor, and the one on which Mr. Farmer had been engaged for a considerable time previous to his death, was the examining and arranging the State Papers at Concord. Under a resolution of the Legislature of New-Hampshire, approved Jan. 3, 1837, he was appointed to "examine, arrange, index, prepare for, and superintend the binding, and otherwise preserving, such of the public papers in the archives of the State as may be deemed worthy of such care." Of this species of labor no one knows the extent and difficulty unless he has either himself been versed in it, or has frequently watched its progress when undertaken by others. Mr. Farmer, in a letter to a distinguished literary friend in Massachusetts, written in August, 1837, says, in reference to it, "that he has had a great burden resting on him for the last four or five months : " and adds, "the records and files were in great confusion, no attempt having been made for arranging and binding a regular series of the former, or for properly labelling and classifying the latter. In a few cases, I believe, there were papers of three centuries in the same bundle. This will serve to give you an idea of the confusion in which I found them. I began first with the Province Records, arranged under three different heads :—1. Journals of the House ;—2. Journals of the Council and Assembly ;—3. Journals of the Council. The Journals of the House received my first attention. These I found to commence in 1711, and from that time to 1775 they existed in twenty different portions, some in leaves, and in mere paper books, of a few sheets each. Only three or four were bound volumes. I arranged the whole so as to make eight volumes ; copying about three hundred pages, which would not conform in size. These have been bound in Russia leather, with spring backs, and make a handsome array of folios, containing 3813 pages. The Council and Assembly

* These Memoirs of graduates at Harvard and Dartmouth Colleges, are, agreeably to the desire of Mr. Farmer, placed in the hands of the Rev. Dr. Cogswell, for his disposal.

Records, beginning in 1699 and ending in 1774, in five volumes, large folio, and containing 2260 pages, next were arranged, and are now ready for the binder. The Council Records are imperfect, and it will be necessary to copy much from the files before they are ready to bind. Besides these, I have collected the speeches and messages of the Provincial Governors, from 1699 to 1775, arranged them in chronological order, and have had them bound in three handsome volumes of about 1500 pages. I will not mention the amount of papers in files which I have been over, new folded, and labelled."

Gov. Hill, in his annual message to the Legislature in June, 1837, says:

"Under the resolution of the last session, John Farmer, Esq., has for several weeks been engaged in arranging for binding and preservation the scattered records and public papers in the archives of this State. The Records of the Assembly, by copying from decayed portions, and from sheets of large size, which could not well be bound in volumes, to the amount of about 300 pages, have been made up in eight good sized volumes, containing upwards of 3400 pages, and embracing the period from 1711 to the dissolution of the British government. The Council and Assembly Records are contained in five folio volumes, of large size, and fill up 1768 pages, extending from the year 1704 to 1774; but from the year 1731 to 1742 they are missing, although it is believed the papers on file will be sufficient to fill this hiatus. The Council Records, extending from 1704 to 1774, although from 1722 to 1742 they exist only in the files, the books having been lost, and very probably for the greater part of the period they were consumed when Secretary Waldron's house was burnt in 1736. It is highly desirable that the Council Records and the Council and Assembly Records, as well as the Assembly Records, should be made up entire from 1704. This it is supposed may be done by copying those portions which are on the files.

"Perhaps a century may occur before another person, with the peculiar tact and talent of Mr. Farmer, shall present, to undertake this work. Although of extremely feeble health, there is not probably any other person in the State who can readily perform so much—none so well versed in its history, and who has like him traced from the root upwards the rise and progress of government in the land of

the Pilgrims, and the origin and spread of every considerable family name in New England."

And in his message of June, 1838, Governor Hill thus speaks :

"In my last annual communication to the legislature, the progress made in the examination and arrangement of our public archives by Mr. John Farmer, was mentioned. Since that time, with a method and perseverance deserving high praise, Mr. Farmer has prosecuted his labors, until the appropriation then made has been exhausted, and a small additional expense incurred. It can hardly be necessary, although it might show the great difficulties which presented themselves at the commencement of the enterprise, to describe the scattered condition of the early records, and the confused state of the Province and Revolutionary papers, and the perplexity experienced in reducing them to some sort of order and method. Nearly ten thousand separate papers, of all kinds, have been more or less examined ; but the examination has been principally confined to the Province and Revolutionary papers. Besides those selected for binding, a great portion has been new folded and labelled, and done up in bundles of nearly uniform size. Twenty-three volumes have been bound in a neat and substantial manner. Fourteen of these are Province Records in large folio, containing the Assembly Records from May 9, 1711, to July 18, 1775, in eight volumes of 3813 pages ; the Council and Assembly Records from October 4, 1692, to June 8, 1774, in five volumes of 2458 pages ; and one volume of Council Records from Nov. 3, 1696, to March 13, 1722, of 479 pages. The other nine volumes contain 8650 pages, making the whole number of pages bound to be 10400. Among the last named volumes, is one containing the Associated Test Returns, which has the original signatures of 8199 citizens of this State, above the age of twenty-one years, who 'solemnly engaged and promised that they would, to the utmost of their power, at the risk of their lives and fortunes, with arms, oppose the hostile proceedings of the British fleets and armies, against the united American colonies.' This pledge, it should be remembered, preceded the Declaration of Independence several months. It was, therefore, in the language of a note prefixed by Mr. Farmer to this volume, 'a bold and hazardous step, in subjects, thus to resist the authority of one of the most powerful sovereigns in the world. Had the cause in which these men pledged lives and fortunes failed,

it would have subjected every individual who signed it to the pains and penalties of treason ; to a cruel and ignominious death.'

"There have been nearly 1000 pages copied, and there remain several hundred more to be copied, to complete the series of Council Records, and then our Province Records, although the portion previous to 1692 is still missing, will probably be more perfect than any others of the kind in the country. The Revolutionary Papers, among the most valuable in our State archives, now nearly arranged, remain to be bound. A large mass of other papers, the value of which can be hardly estimated, are selected, and many of them nearly prepared for binding.

"In my opinion, the cost to the State of this enterprise, by the man of all others best qualified for such an undertaking, bears no comparison to its importance : it is hoped the Legislature will direct Mr. Farmer to persevere until he completes the work. Let every fragment of our history be preserved ; let us suffer nothing to be lost."

The Legislature wisely responded to the suggestions of the Governor. Mr. Farmer was continued in the work ; and his life was prolonged until he had accomplished the most difficult portion of the task confided to him.

We know that Mr. Farmer placed a humble estimate upon his labors. He well understood the general indifference of the public to pursuits of this nature. The direction of the living and moving crowd is onward ; and he who busies himself in gathering up the memorials of the past, will be left behind,—himself, and his labors, too, generally unrewarded and forgotten. Mr. Farmer has done perhaps more than any other individual in collecting and preserving the materials for our local history, and establishing accuracy in its details. He investigated faithfully—took nothing upon trust—and rested on reasonable conclusions only where absolute certainty could not be attained. Many have expressed surprise that Mr. Farmer could have been so indefatigable and pains-taking in his pursuits ; but the fondness for these investigations grows with indulgence. Success in establishing an old fact, is a triumph over time. Facts established, are the warp and woof of history ; and the diligent antiquary thus gives to history its main materials, veracity and fidelity—when enlightened philosophy steps in and completes the work.

We have already mentioned that Mr. Farmer was one of three or four gentlemen only in New-Hampshire who have been elected Corresponding Members of the Historical Society of Massachusetts. He was also a Corresponding Member of the Rhode-Island and Maine Historical Societies, and of the American Antiquarian Society. He was also elected, in August, 1837, a member of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen.

There was scarcely a lovelier or more prominent trait in his character, than the ever fresh and affectionate interest which he took in the intellectual improvement and moral culture of the young. Having no family and children of his own to engage his kind and generous affections, a chief source of happiness to him seemed to be, to act the part of a father and teacher to all the youth who were about him. He encouraged lyceums, and literary associations for mental improvement; often heard recitations in private; examined compositions written by his own suggestion; and directed the studies of such as applied to him. And such was his suavity of manners, his instructive conversation, and inexhaustible store of historical anecdote, that he scarcely ever failed to inspire his pupils and intimate acquaintances with a portion of his taste for literary and historical pursuits. Those who knew him, respected him. Those who knew him intimately, and were his friends, loved him. He was no dogmatist—never a violent partisan—although decided in his opinions on whatever subject he expressed them. He possessed native delicacy and refinement of character. No harsh expressions fell from his lips or proceeded from his pen. He was, nevertheless, quick and sensitive to the distinctions between right and wrong, and steadily threw his influence into the scale of truth. His was a gentle spirit, seeking quiet and affection, like Cowper's, though without his vein of melancholy; and though instinctively shrinking from vice, he was not disposed harshly to visit the offender. He had zeal, but it was the zeal of a catholic spirit, and of kind affections—the spirit of the Christian and gentleman, which respected the feelings of others, in whatever situation or circumstances of life.

The last conversation which the writer had with the deceased was but a few days before he was seized with his fatal illness. He then seemed in as good health as usual, and in good spirits, and was more than usually animated in his conversation. He spoke with evident

pleasure of his success in restoring to order and method the Public Records ; enlarged upon their inestimable value ; and expressed the most earnest wish that the Legislature should complete the good work they had so liberally begun, by providing a fire-proof building for the safe-keeping and preservation of the public records and papers. He spoke of the great enterprises of the day—particularly that which points to the total abolition of slavery in our country. On this subject he exhibited a zeal and ardor which he was not wont to express on any other. His whole soul seemed to be enlisted in behalf of the slave. The cause of Abolition never had a more faithful laborer or more discreet champion. He was until his death the Corresponding Secretary of the New-Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society ; and to the cause in which he felt so deep an interest, it was his dying wish to appropriate a portion of the moderate property which he had accumulated.

All who were acquainted with Mr. Farmer will respond to the affectionate and just tribute which fell from the lips of the Rev. Mr. BOUTON, on the occasion of his funeral :—" We believe our departed friend and fellow-citizen possessed the spirit of a Christian. Owing to bodily weakness and infirmities, he could not attend public worship on the Sabbath, or be present at any public meeting. But we know he was a firm believer in the doctrines of Christianity ; a regular contributor to the support of divine worship ; an intelligent and frequent reader of the Holy Scriptures ; and that he ever cherished and manifested the profoundest reverence for the institutions and ordinances of religion, and particularly a respect for Christian ministers of every denomination, whose conduct became their profession. His spirit and views were eminently catholic. He loved the good of every name, and cheerfully united with them in all approved efforts and measures for the advancement of truth and righteousness." He annually contributed to the Bible, Missionary, and other charitable societies ; and no man living perhaps felt a deeper interest in the success of the great enterprises of Christian benevolence, than did Mr. Farmer.

His last sickness was short. Few of his friends were aware of his danger, till it was evident he could not long survive. Many gladly offered their services to wait upon him and watch around his dying bed ; but the privilege of this was reserved to a few, early-

chosen friends. He wanted to be still and tranquil. To a dear friend, who stood by him, to watch every motion and meet every wish, he expressed peace of mind, and consolation in the hope of eternal life through Jesus Christ. On the evening of the Sabbath before he died, he desired the same friend to sing to him a favorite hymn, which she did. His reason remained unclouded to the last, and he gently fell asleep in death, at a few minutes past 6 o'clock, on Monday morning, the 13th of August, 1838, in the 49th year of his age.

LETTERS OF DR. FRANKLIN TO HIS SISTER,
NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

London, Dec. 30, 1770.

Dear Sister,

This Ship staying longer than was expected, gives me an Opportunity of writing to you, which I thought I must have miss'd when I desir'd Cousin Williams to excuse me to you.—I received your kind Letter of Sept. 25, by the young Gentlemen who, by their discrete Behaviour have recommended themselves very much to me and many of my Acquaintance. Josiah has attained his Heart's Desire of being under the Tuition of Mr. Stanley, who, tho' he had long left off Teaching, kindly undertook at my Request to instruct him, and is much pleas'd with his Quickness of apprehension and the Progress he makes; and Jonathan appears a very valuable young Man, sober, regular, and inclin'd to Industry and Frugality, which are promising Signs of Success in Business. I am very happy in their Company.

As to the Rumour you mention (which was, as Josiah tells me, that I had been depriv'd of my Place in the Post Office on Acct. of a Letter I wrote to Philadelphia) it might have this Foundation, that some of the Ministry had been displeas'd at my Writing such Letters, and there were really some Thoughts among them of shewing that Displeasure in that manner: But I had some friends, too, who, unrequested by me, advis'd the contrary. And my Enemies were forc'd to content themselves with abusing me plentifully in the Newspapers, and endeavouring to provoke me to resign. In this they are not likely to succeed, I being deficient in that Christian Virtue of Resignation. If they would have my Office, they must take it. I

have heard of some great Man, whose Rule it was, with regard to Offices, *Never to ask for them, and never to refuse them*: To which I have always added, in my own Practice, *Never to resign them*.—As I told my Friends, I rose to that Office thro' a long Course of Service in the inferior Degrees of it. Before my time, thro' bad Management, it never produc'd the Salary annex'd to it; and when I receiv'd it, no Salary was to be allow'd if the Office did not produce it. During the first four Years it was so far from defraying itself, that it became 950£ sterling in debt to me and my Colleague. I had been chiefly instrumental in bringing it to its present flourishing State, and therefore thought I had some kind of Right to it. I had hitherto executed the Duties of it faithfully, and to the perfect satisfaction of my Superiors, which I thought was all that should be expected of me on that Acct. As to the Letters complain'd of, it was true I did write them, and they were written in Compliance with another Duty—that to my Country; a Duty quite distinct from that of Postmaster. My Conduct in this respect was exactly similar with that I held on a similar Occasion but a few Years ago, when the then Ministry were ready to hug me for the Assistance I afforded them in repealing a former Revenue Act. My Sentiments were still the same, that no such Acts should be made here for America; or, if made, should as soon as possible be repealed; and I thought it should not be expected of me to change my Political Opinions every time His Majesty thought fit to change his Ministers. This was my Language on the Occasion; and I have lately heard, that tho' I was thought much to blame, it being understood that every Man who holds an Office should act with the Ministry, whether agreeable or not to his own Judgment; yet in consideration of the goodness of my private Character (as they are pleas'd to compliment me) the Office was not taken from me. Possibly they may still change their Minds, and remove me; but no apprehension of that sort will, I trust, make the least Alteration in my Political Conduct. My Rule, in which I have always found Satisfaction, is, *Never to turn aside in Public Affairs thro' Views of Private Interest*; but to go straight forward in doing what appears to me right at the time, leaving the Consequences with Providence. What in my younger Days enabled me more easily to walk upright, was, that I had a Trade, and that I knew I could live upon little; and thence (never having had Views of making a Fortune) I was free from Avarice, and contented with the plentiful Supplies my Business afforded me. And now it is still more easy for me to preserve my Freedom and Integrity, when I consider that I am almost at the End of my Journey, and therefore need less to complete the Expence of it; and that what I now possess, thro' the Blessing of God, may, with tolerable Economy, be sufficient for me, (great Misfortunes excepted) tho' I should add nothing more to it by any Office or Employment whatsoever.

I send you by this Opportunity the two Books you wrote for. They cost 3s. apiece. When I was first in London, about 45 Years since, I knew a Person who had an Opinion something like your Author's. Her name was *Hive*, a Printer's Widow. She dy'd soon after I left England, and by her Will oblig'd her Son, to deliver publicly in Salter's Hall a solemn Discourse, the purport of which was to prove that this World is the true Hell, or Place of Punishment for the Spirits who had transgress'd in a better State, and were sent here to suffer for their Sins in Animals of all sorts. It is long since I saw the Discourse, which was printed. I think a good deal of Scripture was cited in it, and that the Supposition was, that tho' we now remember'd nothing of such preëxistent State, yet after Death we might recollect it, and remember the Punishments we had suffer'd, so as to be the better for them; and others, who had not yet offended, might now behold and be warned by our Sufferings. In fact, we see here that every lower Animal has its Enemy, with proper Inclinations, Faculties and Weapons, to terrify, wound and destroy it; and that Men, who are uppermost, are devils to one another; so that on the establish'd Doctrine of the Goodness and Justice of the great Creator, this apparent state of general and systematical Mischief seem'd to demand some such Supposition as Mrs. Hive's, to account for it consistent with the Honour of the Deity. But our reasoning Powers, when employ'd about what may have been before our Existence here, or shall be after it, cannot go far for want of History and Facts: Revelation only can give us the necessary information, and that (in the first of these Points especially,) has been very sparingly afforded us.

I hope you continue to correspond with your Friends at Philadelphia, or else I shall think that there has been some Miff between you; which, indeed, to confess the Truth, I was a little afraid, from some Instances of others, might possibly happen, and that prevented my ever urging you to make such a Visit, especially as I think there is rather an over-quantity of Touchwood in your Constitution.

My Love to your Children, and believe me ever,

Your affectionate Brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

Let none of my Letters go out of your Hands.

Philad'a, Nov. 4, 1787.

Dear Sister,

I received a kind Letter from you lately, which gave me the Pleasure of being inform'd that you were well. I am glad you have made the Provision against the Winter which I mention'd to you. Your Bill is honour'd. It is impossible for me always to

guess what you may want, and I hope therefore that you will never be shy in letting me know wherein I can help to make your Life more comfortable.

It was my Intention to have declin'd serving another Year as President, ~~that~~ I might be at Liberty to take a Trip to Boston in the Spring; but I submit to the unanimous Voice of my Country, which has again placed me in the Chair. I have now been upwards of Fifty Years employ'd in public Offices. When I inform'd your good Friend Dr. Cooper that I was order'd to France, being ~~than~~ 70 Years old, and observ'd that the Publick, having as it were eaten my Flesh, seem'd now resolv'd to pick my Bones, he reply'd that he approv'd their Taste, for that *the nearer the Bone the sweeter the Meat*. I must own that it is no small Pleasure to me, and I suppose it will give my Sister Pleasure, that after such long Trial of me I should be elected a third Time by my Fellow-Citizens, without a dissenting Vote but my own, to fill the most honourable Post in their Power to bestow. This universal and unbounded Confidence of a whole People, flatters my Vanity much more than a Peerage could do.

"Hung o'er with Ribbands and stuck round with Strings,"

may give *nominal* but not *real* Honour.

This Family ~~are~~ all well, as I also am, Thanks to God. And I am ever, my dear Sister,

Your affectionate Brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

We join in best Wishes for you and yours.
I hope you have got the Flour.

Philad'a, Nov. 26, '88.

My dear Sister,

I received your kind Letter of the 11th ~~Instant~~. The two former ones you mention, I had answer'd, though it ~~seems~~ the Answer had not reached you. If it has finally miscarried, I will look for the Letters and answer them again.

I am sorry you should suffer so much uneasiness with Fears and Apprehensions about my Health. A little more Sense might convince you that they can do me no good. But if God has not given it, you are not to blame; you are only to be pitied. There are in Life real Evils enough, and 'tis Folly to afflict ourselves with imaginary ones; and it is time enough when the real ones arrive.

I see by the Papers that tomorrow is your Thanksgiving Day. The Flour will arrive too late for your Plum-puddings, for I find it went from hence but a few days since. I hope, however, that it will be with you before the Winter shuts up your Harbour.

I never see any Boston Newspapers. You mention there being

often something in them to do me Honour. I am oblig'd to them. On the other hand, some of our Papers here are endeavoring to disgrace me. I take no Notice. My Friends defend me. I have long been accustomed to receive more Blame as well as more Praise than I have deserved. 'Tis the lot of every public Man. And I leave one Account to ballance the other.

As you observe, there was no swearing in the Story of the Poker when I told it. The late new Dresser of it was, probably, the same, or perhaps of kin to him who, in relating a Dispute that happened between Queen Anne and the Archbishop of Canterbury, concerning a vacant Mitre which the Queen was for bestowing on a Person the Archbishop thought unworthy, made both the Queen and the A. Bp. swear three or four thumping Oaths in every sentence of the Discussion, and the A. Bp. at last gain'd his Point. One present at this Tale, being surpris'd, said, But did the Queen and the Archbishop swear so at one another? O, no, no, says the Relator, that is only *my way* of telling the Story.

This Family is all well at present, and join in Love to you and yours, with

Your affectionate Brother,

B. FRANKLIN.

HISTORY OF ATKINSON.

[Prepared by Rev. William Cogswell, D. D.*]

ATKINSON was set off from Plaistow, August 31, 1767, and incorporated by the Legislature as a town, September 8rd, of the same year. The reasons assigned by the petitioners for the act of incorporation, were, "that by reason of the great distance of their dwellings from the meeting-house, they undergo many and great difficulties in attending the public worship of Almighty God there, and that the said meeting-house is not large enough to accommodate more than half of the inhabitants of said town."

The town received the name of Atkinson, from respect to the Hon. Theodore Atkinson, who had been a member of the Council of the State, and who was, at that time, possessed of a large landed estate in the town, which is usually called after its first owner, "Atkinson's farm."

The town is situated in latitude $42^{\circ} 51'$, and is about 5 miles in length and $4\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth, containing an area of 6839 acres; and is bounded north by Hampstead, east by Plaistow, south by Haverhill, Ms., and west by Salem and Derry. It is a post town, in the county of Rockingham, through which a stage coach passes, and is about 36 miles from Concord, 30 from Portsmouth, and 34 from Boston. It comprises a portion of the lands conveyed by the Indians, Nov. 15, 1642, to the inhabitants of Pentucket, (now Haverhill.) The deed was signed by two noted sachems, Passaquo and Saggahew, with the consent of Passaconaway, their chief. When the boundary line between New-Hampshire and Massachusetts was settled, the tract of land now embraced by the towns of Atkinson and Plaistow fell within the limits of the former State.

The land of Atkinson is of a superior quality, and is well situated, though uneven in its surface. Its hills, not greatly elevated, are gradual in their ascent, and capable of cultivation to their re-

* The Author of this article would acknowledge his indebtedness to the Rev. Mr. Page, of Atkinson, for assistance rendered in obtaining a number of the facts here recorded.

spective summits. For healthiness of climate it has ever been distinguished.

Settlements were made in the place as early as 1727 or 1728. Benjamin Richards, from Rochester, N. H., and Jonathan and Edmund Page, and John Dow, from that part of the original town of Haverhill, which alone is now Haverhill, Ms., appear to have been the first who became permanently located in what is now Atkinson. The number of the inhabitants in 1775 was 575; in 1790, 479; in 1800, 474; in 1810, 556; in 1820, 563; in 1830, 555; in 1840, 567.

ECCLESIASTICAL PROCEEDINGS.

As the town was set off from Plaistow, and incorporated for the express purpose of accommodating the inhabitants in regard to public worship, so they immediately took measures for the maintenance of the gospel and its ordinances. The first meeting-house was erected in the year 1768-69, and was taken down in 1845. There is no record that it was located and built by the town as a town; but the evidence is that it was built by private subscription, and located by the subscribers. The land on which it stood, it is supposed, was given by Mr. Nathaniel Cogswell to the proprietors of the meeting-house, so long as it should be occupied as a site for the meeting-house. There is no account, either written or traditionary, that the house was ever formally and particularly dedicated. The Pilgrims came to this country in consequence of religious persecution, and their dislike to the Church of England was so great, that they would not practise some of its observances, even though proper and scriptural. They carried their principles of non-conformity so far, that they did not dedicate, after the custom of the English Church, their houses of worship, which they denominated meeting-houses and not churches, as did the Episcopalians. Deeds of the pews, dated January 13, 1778, were given by a committee appointed for that purpose, consisting of John Knight, Thomas Noyes, Samuel Little, John Ingalls, Benjamin Hale, Moses Kelly and John Dow. Previous to the erection of the meeting-house, the inhabitants of the town frequently held their town meetings at the dwelling-house of Mr. Nathaniel

Cogswell, who removed, about the year 1766, to Atkinson from Haverhill, where he had been a merchant between 30 and 40 years.

Mr. Stephen Peabody, a native of Andover, Ms., was elected to the ministerial office, Feb. 26, 1772. At an adjourned meeting the following vote was passed in respect to his salary, viz :

"Voted, To give Mr. Stephen Peabody one hundred and sixty pounds, lawful money, as a settlement, upon conditions that the salary begin at sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence, lawful money, the first year, and add on forty shillings per year till it amounts to eighty pounds per year."

"Voted, To give Mr. Stephen Peabody ten cords of wood per year, so long as he carries on the work of the ministry in Atkinson."

This invitation to settle in the ministry Mr. Peabody accepted, and he was ordained as Pastor, Nov. 25, 1772, at which time a church was formed, consisting of the following persons, viz: Stephen Peabody, Tristram Knight, Benjamin Richards and Abigail his wife, John Webster, Abel Merrill and Ruth his wife, Nathaniel Cogswell and Judith his wife, Daniel Poor and Ann his wife, Stephen Dole and Mary his wife, Jonathan Sawyer and Elizabeth his wife, Nathaniel Knight and Abigail his wife, Eldad Ingalls, and Sarah, the wife of John Knight. The covenant adopted by this church at the time it was formed, is evangelical.

The following clergymen were invited on the Council at the time of the Rev. Mr. Peabody's ordination, viz: Rev. Dr. Appleton, of Cambridge, Rev. Messrs. James Chandler, of Rowley, Edward Barnard, of Haverhill, Abner Bailey, of New Salem, Moses Parsons, of Newbury, (Byfield Parish) John Searl, of Stoneham, George Leslie, of Ipswich, (Linebrook Parish) William Symmes, of Andover, Henry True, of Hampstead, Giles Merrill, of Plaistow, Samuel Williams, of Bradford, and Phinehas Adams, of Haverhill. The Rev. Mr. Chandler was chosen Moderator, and the Rev. Giles Merrill, Scribe. At the time of the ordination, the Rev. Mr. Parsons offered the Introductory Prayer; the Rev. Mr. Searl preached the Sermon, from 1 Cor. ii: 11, 12, 13; the Rev. Mr. Chandler offered the Ordaining Prayer; the Rev. Mr. Barnard gave the Charge to the Pastor, and the Rev. Mr. True expressed the Fellowship of the Churches.

Mr. Peabody continued in the pastoral office more than 47 years—till May 23, 1819, at which time he deceased. During his ministry

75 persons were admitted to the church, in addition to the 19 who were embodied as the church,—making 94 in the whole. He married 32 couples who had been licensed by His Excellency Governor John Wentworth, and 281 couples who had been published in the present usual way. He also baptised 140 children and adults.

Mr. Peabody took an active part in the Revolution, and officiated for a time as Chaplain of the Regiment under Col. Poor, when stationed at Winter-Hill, in Charlestown, Ms.

Mr. Peabody was born at Andover, Ms., Nov. 11, 1742, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1769.* On the monument erected to his memory is the following inscription :

“The Rev. Stephen Peabody died May 23, 1819, in his 78th year. He was ordained the first minister in the town, Nov. 25, 1772, and until his death sustained the office with dignity, possessed the love and confidence of his people, and ardently sought the interest of his charge and of mankind. He was a man of good talents, a sound divine, a faithful minister, and a christian in word and deed. He was, to his loss, the friend of those in distress, the patron of merit and of literature.”

“And they that be wise, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars forever and ever.”

After the decease of the Rev. Mr. Peabody, the pulpit was supplied by various individuals. Mr. Jacob Cummings, a licentiate, and

* The Rev. Mr. Peabody married for his first wife, Miss Polly Haseltine, of Bradford, Ms., Jan. 19, 1773, by whom he had two children; Stephen, born Oct. 6, 1773, and Mary, born Feb. 15, 1775, who married Hon. Stephen Peabody Webster, of Haverhill, N. H., and is still living. Mrs. Peabody deceased Sept. 17, 1793, aged 51 years. To her would the words of Solomon apply: “She openeth her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue is the law of kindness. She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness.”

Mr. Peabody, Dec. 10, 1795, married for his second wife Mrs. Elizabeth Shaw, widow of Rev. John Shaw, who had been Pastor of the First Church in Haverhill, Ms. She was the daughter of the Rev. William Smith, of Weymouth, Ms., and sister to the wife of the first President Adams, and was born April 7, 1750. She was married to Mr. Shaw Oct. 16, 1777. Their children were William Smith, born Aug. 12, 1778; Elizabeth Quincy, born May 26, 1780; and Abigail Adams, born March 2, 1790. The second Mrs. Peabody died suddenly, as was supposed of the croup, April 9, 1815, in the 66th year of her age. In her personal appearance she was lovely and attractive. Her manners were dignified and graceful. Her mind was of a superior order, and its powers were highly cultivated. Religion crowned all her excellencies. It may truly be said, that in the whole sphere of domestic, social, and moral relations, she shed the rays of light, hope and joy.

the Preceptor of the Academy, preached for about two years, and the Rev. Stephen Farley, while officiating as Preceptor, supplied the desk for seven or eight years. From the time of the decease of Mr. Peabody to the settlement of Mr. Spofford, 42 persons were admitted to the church.

February 28, 1832, the church gave a call to the Rev. Luke A. Spofford to settle with them in the christian ministry. On the 1st of March following, he gave an answer in the affirmative, and on April 18, 1832, was installed. The public services on the occasion were as follows: Introductory Prayer by the Rev. Abijah Cross, of Haverhill, (West Parish); Sermon, from Nehemiah ii: 17, by Rev. Wm. Cogswell, D. D., of Boston; Installing Prayer by the Rev. Gardner B. Perry, D. D., of Bradford, (East Parish); Charge by the Rev. John Kelly, of Hampstead; Fellowship of the Churches by the Rev. Samuel H. Peckham, of Plaistow; and Concluding Prayer by Rev. Dudley Phelps, of Haverhill.

Mr. Spofford had previously been settled in the ministry at Gilmanton and Brentwood. He remained at Atkinson but a short time, being dismissed, at his own request, Jan. 20, 1834. While he was pastor, ten were received into the church. Since he left Atkinson he has preached at various other places.

Deeming it expedient, on account of the inconvenience which attended the worship of God in connection with those of other denominations, the church and the orthodox part of the community formed, Feb. 19, 1834, a society for the support of Christian institutions, called "The Congregational Society in Atkinson." During the year 1835, a meeting-house was erected by this new Society, from subscriptions by themselves and others. The corner stone was laid July 4th, and at the time an "Address on Religious Liberty, with Remarks appropriate to the Occasion," was delivered by Rev. Dr. Cogswell, of Boston. The frame of the house was raised July 10th, and the house being finished, was dedicated Oct. 21st. The public services on the occasion were as follows: The Rev. Jesse Page, of Andover, (North Parish) read the Scriptures and invoked a blessing; the Rev. William Cogswell, D. D., offered the Dedictory Prayer; and the Rev. Joseph B. Felt, of Boston, preached the Sermon, from I. Kings, viii: 63.

The land on which the meeting-house stands was given by Joseph

B. Cogswell, Esq. to the proprietors of the house, so long as the site is occupied by the Congregational Society for its present use ; and when it is not thus occupied, it then reverts to him or his heirs.

After the meeting-house was erected, the pulpit was supplied by Rev. Samuel H. Tolman till July 5, 1837, when he was installed as Pastor of the church. The public services on the occasion were performed as follows, viz. : Invocation and reading the Scriptures by Rev. Jesse Page, of Andover, (North Parish ;) Introductory Prayer by Rev. Calvin Cutler, of Windham ; Sermon, from 2 Tim. ii : 15, by Rev. William Cogswell, D. D., of Boston ; Installing Prayer by Rev. Samuel H. Peckham, of Plaistow ; Charge by Rev. Edward L. Parker, of Derry ; Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. J. M. C. Bartley, of Hampstead ; Address to the people by Rev. Jonathan Clement, of Chester ; and Concluding Prayer by Rev. Abijah Cross, of Haverhill.

Mr. Tolman continued with the people as their minister till Oct. 29, 1839, when their civil contract, by mutual agreement, was dissolved. During Mr. Tolman's ministry, 32 were admitted to the church. He had previously been settled at Shirley and Dunstable, Ms. Since his dismission he has supplied the desk at two or three different places in Vermont and in this State. He is now (1850) preaching to a church in Merrimack, N. H., where he formerly was settled as a minister.

After Mr. Tolman's dismission, the pulpit was supplied for two or three years by Messrs. Deming, Parsons and others. The Rev. Samuel Peirce was ordained April 19, 1843, pastor of the church. The ordaining services were as follows : Introductory Prayer by Rev. Mr. Bartley, of Hampstead ; Sermon by Rev. Mr. Lawrence, of Haverhill, Ms. ; Ordaining Prayer by Rev. Mr. Cushing, of East Haverhill ; Charge by Rev. Mr. Parker, of Derry ; and Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Mr. Day, of Derry. Mr. Peirce died in office, March 27, 1844, aged 27, much respected and beloved. He was the son of Capt. Samuel Peirce, and great grandson of Nathaniel Peaslee, Esq., of Haverhill, Ms. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1835, and at the Theological Seminary, Andover, in 1840.

After the decease of Rev. Mr. Peirce, the pulpit was supplied by Messrs. Hazen, Kellogg and others. In June, 1845, the Rev. Jesse Page commenced preaching as a stated supply, and is still the ~~old~~ ^{supply}.

ister of the people. He had previously been settled in the ministry in the North Parish of Andover.

There have been four or five special seasons of revival of religion, when a considerable number of persons have been hopefully converted to the Lord and added to the church.

DEACONS OF THE CHURCH.

The following persons were chosen to the office of Deacon, at the time specified.

Lieut. Daniel Poor and Mr. Nathaniel Knight were elected Deacons, July 15, 1778. Mr. Knight accepted the office, but Lieut. Poor, on account of opposition in the church to his election, did not accept. Nov. 19, 1779, Mr. Joseph Knight was elected Deacon. Nov. 3, 1780, Lieut. Benjamin Hale was elected to the office of Deacon. March 5, 1783, Mr. John Merrill was chosen Deacon. Dec. 21, 1817, the church made choice of John Vose, Esq., as a Deacon. Dec. 29, 1817, the church made choice of Col. William Page as a Deacon. June 1, 1820, Mr. Josiah Grover was chosen Deacon in the place of John Vose, Esq., who had removed to Pembroke to take charge of the Academy in that place. Sept. 30, 1836, Dea. Grover having desired to be excused from serving as a Deacon, Hon. John Vose, who had returned from Pembroke to reside at Atkinson, was chosen to officiate as a Deacon in his place. May 22, 1840, Mr. Moses Dow, 2d, and Franklin Gilbert were chosen Deacons, and they still hold the office.

DONATIONS.

Nov. 27, 1820, Dr. William Cogswell presented to the Church a baptismal basin.

Mrs. Judith Cogswell, the widow of Dr. Cogswell, gave, in the autumn of 1845, to the Orthodox Congregational Church and Society a bell weighing 1300 pounds. She gave also to the Church at another time previous, the present communion table and the chairs placed beside it.

UNIVERSALIST SOCIETY.

The Universalist Society was incorporated June 18, 1818, by the name of "The Universalist Society of Atkinson and Hampstead." The old Society was given up, and the present one was formed in

1839, and is known by the name of "The Atkinson Universalist Society."

The Society erected a meeting-house, which was dedicated Oct. 12, 1842. On that occasion the Rev. S. C. Bulkley, of Newmarket, offered the Introductory Prayer; the Rev. Mr. Livermore, of Georgetown, Ms., read the Scriptures; the Rev. J. Gilman, of Tyngsborough, offered the Dedictory Prayer; the Rev. O. A. Skinner, of Boston, delivered the Sermon, and the Rev. T. P. Abell, of Haverhill, offered the Concluding Prayer.

For the years 1843 and 1844, the Rev. Josiah Gilman resided in the town, and supplied the pulpit half the time. Since then the Society has had preaching only occasionally.

CIVIL PROCEEDINGS.

In the contest between the Provinces and the Mother Country, in the time of the Revolution, the people of Atkinson showed themselves truly patriotic. They did this by spirited resolutions, and by furnishing men and money for the Army. Mr. Nathaniel Cogswell alone gave *eight sons* to the service, besides loaning money to the town, to be expended in bounty and military equipments—the greater part of which money, by the depreciation of currency, he lost. These *eight sons* performed more than *thirty-eight years* of service—a greater amount of service, it is believed, than was rendered by any other family in the country. They all survived the Revolution, and settled in life; and were, the Hon. Thomas Cogswell, of Gilmanton; Hon. Amos Cogswell, of Dover; Capt. Nathaniel P. Cogswell, of Atkinson; Moses Cogswell, Esq., of Canterbury; Dr. William Cogswell, of Atkinson; John Cogswell, Esq., of Landaff; Dr. Joseph Cogswell, of Tamworth, and Mr. Ebenezer Cogswell, of Wiscasset, Me. Gen. Nathaniel Peabody, by the important services he rendered to the country in this crisis of affairs, was a host.

The transactions of the town in other respects have been only such as take place in every town; namely, the establishment and support of roads, schools, &c. Nothing particularly striking or uncommon has occurred. A few votes it may be well here to insert.

At the annual town meeting, March 30, 1773, the following vote was passed:

"Voted and accepted that piece of land that some particular men

purchased of Mr. [Nathaniel] Cogswell, [for a burying-ground for the use of the town ;] said piece of land supposed to be about half an acre, lying to the north-west of the meeting-house in Atkinson."

April 1, 1788, the town " Voted to build a Pound in said Atkinson, and voted to set it on the hill above Mr. [Deacon] Grover's house."

" Voted, that the Selectmen shall proceed to get said Pound built by subscription. But if they cannot get it finished that way, they are to make a rate for the whole, and give credit to those that shall or may have worked ; and the present Selectmen are to be the Committee to see it done."

March 12, 1822, the town passed the following vote :

" Voted to authorize the Selectmen to purchase about half an acre of land of Mr. How, [Mr. David How, of Haverhill, who then owned the land] for an addition to the burying-yard."

March 11, 1828. " Voted that the Selectmen lay out the burying-ground into lots, as it is done in other towns."

TOWN CLERKS.

The names of the individuals who have held the office of Town Clerk, are John Knight, Jr., Jonathan Poor, John Dow, Jr., Samuel N. Little, James Dow, Joseph Little, Job Dow, Isaac B. Hovey, Laban Sawyer, Richard Greenough, John Dow, and George Wright, who is the present Clerk.

SELECTMEN.

The following persons have been Selectmen of the town. Many of them have been elected twice, and some of them a greater number of times. Thomas Noyes, John Ingalls, Timothy Ladd, Daniel Poor, John French, Benjamin Philbrick, John Webster, Jr., Enoch Noyes, Jesse Page, Nathaniel Watts, John Knight, Nathaniel Peabody, James Merrill, James Little, Daniel Richards, Ebenezer Green, Moses Greenough, Jeremiah Poor, Joseph Little, Jonathan Webster, Peter Clement, Benjamin Stone, John Johnson, Humphrey Noyes, Jr., Samuel Webster, Eliphalet Knight, Jonathan Poor, Ezekiel Belknap, James Noyes, Enoch Knight, Caleb Noyes, Jonathan Page, Jesse Sawyer, Moses Emery, Asa Page, Samuel N. Little, John Knight, Jr., Thomas Little, Peter Noyes, Moses Webster,

Joseph Chandler, William Cogswell, James Dow, Joseph Knight, Jr., William Page, John Bassett, John Webster, Nathan Page, John Gilbert, Job Dow, 2nd, Jonathan Stickney, John Vose, Joshua Sawyer, Amos Noyes, Henry Noyes, James Dow, John Davis, Phinehas Webster, Greenleaf Clark, Oliver Taylor, Edmund Wright, Amos Sawyer, Joseph Little, Thomas Knight, James Knight, Joseph Knight, 2nd, Joseph B. Cogswell, William Thomas, Jesse Little, Jr., John Bassett, Jr., John Pettengill, Henry Knight, John Greenough, Samuel Knight, Samuel Little, Attai Peirce, John Peaslee, Richard Greenough, Daniel P. Noyes, John Knight, 3rd, Daniel K. Davis, Jonathan P. Taylor, Alonzo Knight, Laban Sawyer, Greenleaf Clarke, Bailey Knight, Abner W. Chandler, George Wright, George Poor, and Isaac Hale.

REPRESENTATIVES TO GENERAL COURT.

The town of Atkinson was associated with Plaistow in sending representatives to General Court till 1835. Since then, by an act of the Legislature, Atkinson is authorized to send one alone, and has sent the following persons, viz : Amos Sawyer, Richard Greenough, John Bassett, John Greenough, Henry Knight, Greenleaf Clarke, Laban Sawyer, Samuel Noyes, Enoch Bassett.

OFFICES HELD UNDER THE STATE OR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

Justices of the Peace.

The following persons, it is believed, have held the office of Justice of the Peace, namely, Nathaniel Peabody, Timothy Ladd, Samuel Little, William Cogswell, Peter Clement, John Vose, Greenleaf Clark, Amos Noyes, Joseph B. Cogswell, Job Dow, Isaac B. Hovey, Amos Sawyer, Richard Greenough, John Kelly, Joseph Knight, John Little, Greenleaf Clarke, Laban Sawyer, Aaron Bartlett.

There have been other persons resident in the town, who had been Justices of the Peace elsewhere, as Job Dow, from Goffstown, Ezekiel Little, from Boston, and Stephen Peabody, from Bucksport, Me.

Postmasters.

James Dow, Edmund Wright, Paul Chase, Joseph B. Cogswell,

Moses Dow, 2nd, and Caleb R. Dow, who is the present Postmaster.

Military Officers.

The following persons have been entitled to the military distinction prefixed to their names. The chronological order of these may not, in all instances, be correct.

Major General, Nathaniel Peabody ;—Colonels, Benjamin Stone, James White, Asa Page, John Bassett, William Page, Joseph Knight, Greenleaf Clarke, (Aid to Gov. Hubbard,) Job Dow, (held the office while he resided at Goffstown) ;—Majors, William Cogswell, Benjamin Emery, Eliphalet Knight, John Webster, Francis V. Dow ; Captains, Moses Greenough, Daniel Poor, Thomas Noyes, Daniel Richards, Jesse Page, Jeremiah Poor, James Noyes, Peter Noyes, John Knight, Stephen Peabody, (of the Oxford Army,) Joseph Noyes, Phinehas Webster, John Bassett, Joseph Little, Enoch Bassett, Amos Merrill, Amos Little, Porter Clark, Haskell B. Merrill, William Thomas, Benjamin E. Emery, Enoch Little, Attai Peirce, Otis Taylor, Samuel Noyes, John Dow, Jonathan Taylor, Alonzo Knight, Thomas L. Page, Jonathan Poor, Elbridge G. Greenough.

The following persons, who were resident in the town, commanded companies elsewhere : Edmund Brickett, Joseph Little, and Edmund Wright. Nathaniel Peaslee Cogswell commanded a merchant vessel.

EDUCATION.

Though attention, more or less, was paid by the inhabitants to the instruction of children and youth, from the time the town was incorporated, as well as when it was connected with Plaistow ; yet the first formal legal act of the town respecting schools was not passed until March 29, 1774, when it was "Voted to hire a schoolmaster eight months in the year ensuing." From this time, public instruction has been given at the town charge. Jan. 30, 1775, the town was divided into three school districts. There are now six school districts.

The interest in the education of youth continued to increase, and about the year 1788 special efforts were made for the erection of a building for a public Grammar School, or Academy, and such an In-

stitution was established; and, Feb. 17, 1791, was incorporated by the Legislature of the State, by the name of "Atkinson Academy." There were but three Academies in the State incorporated before this; namely, Phillips, at Exeter, incorporated 1781; New Ipswich, incorporated 1789; and Chesterfield, incorporated 1790. As the one at Atkinson, however, was instituted and went into operation some time before it was incorporated, it may perhaps be considered for age the second Academy in its operation in the State. The original Trustees were Hon. Nathaniel Peabody, Rev. Stephen Peabody, Dr. William Cogswell, Peter Clement, Esq., and Col. Benjamin Stone, of Atkinson; Rev. Gyles Merrill and Maj. Ezekiel Gile, of Plaistow; Hon. John Calfe, of Hampstead; and James McGregore, Esq., of Londonderry; together with the Governor and Council of the State, and also the Preceptor of the Academy, for the time being.

The first building of the Academy was erected on land which is now owned by Dea. Franklin Gilbert, and lies west of his house, at the junction of two roads, the one leading to Haverhill and the other to Salem. The land was given by Dr. William Cogswell to the Trustees, so long as it should be used for the purpose of an Academy building. This building, one story in height, was consumed by fire between three and four o'clock in the morning of Nov. 16, 1802. It was thought that it was set on fire by an incendiary. The school, notwithstanding the conflagration, was continued, and, for its accommodation, Mr. Vose, the Preceptor, opened his own house. Preparation was immediately made for erecting a new building for the Academy. The frame of it was raised May 12, 1803, and the house was completed during the year. It is well built and of good proportions, being 60 feet in length, 34 feet in width, and 2 stories in height, with a cupola. The expenses incurred in erecting it were defrayed principally by subscriptions obtained in the town of Atkinson, and a donation from the Hon. Wm. K. Atkinson, of Dover. The land on which the Academy building stands was given by the heirs of Mr. Enoch Knight.

Upon application to the Legislature a grant was made, June, 1803, to the Trustees, giving them permission to raise by a lottery \$2000 for the benefit of the Institution. The lottery, however, being injudiciously managed, was not successful, and but very little was realized from it.

In June, 1809, a grant of a half township of land in the county of Cods was made by the Legislature to Atkinson and Gilmanton Academies, in equal proportion. But that part of it which fell to Atkinson Academy, being disposed of at an unfavorable time and under unfavorable circumstances, not much was obtained for it in sale.

The Academy, though it is now free from debt, has no permanent funds, and never had any. It has been stated, in Morse's Geography and elsewhere, that Gen. Nathaniel Peabody gave to the Institution *one thousand* acres of land; but this is an erroneous statement. He never gave to the Academy any land whatever. He might, probably, have said something about such a donation, for at one time he had a large quantity of wild lands in his possession, and he was a friend to the Institution. But no such donation was ever actually made to it. And though it has no funds, and never had any, still it has always been kept in operation. A bell for the Academy was procured by subscription in 1849.

The following persons have been Preceptors of the Academy :

MOSES LEAVITT NEAL, of Londonderry; H. C. 1785; Attorney; Clerk of the House of Representatives of General Court; Register of Deeds of Strafford County; lived at Dover and elsewhere; died 1829, aged 62.

DANIEL HARDY, of Pelham; D. C. 1789; Tutor; Instructor; was a distinguished linguist; died in Pelham.

SAMUEL MOODY, of Newbury, (Byfield Parish,) Ms.; D. C. 1790; lived in Hallowell, Me.; deceased.

SILAS DINSMORE, of Windham; D. C. 1791; Col. Commandant of a Station in Mississippi Territory; Indian Agent and Surveyor of lands for the United States; Collector of the Port at Mobile; died at Bellevue, Boone Co., Ky., Aug. 17, 1847, aged 80.

STEPHEN PEABODY WEBSTER, of Haverhill, Ms.; H. C. 1792; was the first person that entered College from the Academy; Clerk of the Courts of Grafton County; Representative; Senator; Counsellor; taught the Academy at Haverhill, N. H.; lived and died there.

JOHN VOSE, of Bedford; D. C. 1795; Preceptor of Pembroke Academy; Representative and Senator in General Court; author of several addresses and two works on Astronomy; lived in Atkinson and died there, April 3, 1840, aged 73. He was a most worthy man, a devoted Christian, and an excellent Instructor.

MOSES DOW, of Atkinson ; D. C. 1796 ; Clergyman ; settled at Beverly, Ms. and York, Me. ; died in Plaistow in 1837, aged 66.

JOHN VOSE, of Bedford. See above.

WILLIAM COGSWELL, of Atkinson ; D. C. 1811 ; Preceptor of Hampton Academy ; Clergyman ; settled at Dedham, Ms. ; Secretary of the American Education Society ; Professor in Dartmouth College ; President, and Professor in Gilmanton Theological Seminary.

JOHN VOSE, of Bedford. See above.

FRANCIS VOSE, of Claremont ; D. C. 1817 ; Preceptor at Hampton, Newburyport and Topsfield ; now lives in Pembroke.

JACOB CUMMINGS, of Thetford, Vt. ; D. C. 1819 ; Preceptor at Hampton ; Clergyman ; settled at Stratham, Southborough, Ms. and Hillsborough, N. H., where he now lives.

STEPHEN FARLEY, of Hollis ; D. C. 1804 ; Clergyman ; settled at Claremont ; now lives in Amesbury, Ms.

ENOCH HALE, of Alstead ; did not receive a degree at College, but was a man of science ; teacher in various places ; died in Atkinson.

JOHN KELLY, of Plaistow ; A. C. 1825 ; taught a Female Academy in Derry ; Attorney ; now lives in Atkinson.

JOSEPH PECKHAM, of Westminster, Ms. ; A. C. 1837 ; Clergyman ; settled in Kingston, Ms.

JAMES ALLEN TAYLOR, of Granby, Ms. ; A. C. 1839 ; died at Atkinson.

BENJAMIN A. SPAULDING, of Billerica, Ms. ; H. C. 1840 ; now a Missionary in Iowa.

MALACHI BULLARD, of Medway ; D. C. 1841 ; Clergyman ; settled in Winchendon, Ms.

JOHN WASON RAY, of Auburn ; D. C. 1843 ; Teacher in Manchester.

EDWARD HANFORD GREELEY, of Claremont ; D. C. 1845 ; Clergyman ; now settled at Haverhill, N. H.

JOSEPH GARLAND, of Hampton ; B. C. 1844.

CHARLES DARWIN FITCH, of Greenfield ; D. C. 1837 ; Teacher at the South and elsewhere ; Assistant Teacher at Phillips Academy, Andover, Ms.

WILLIAM CLEAVES TODD, of Atkinson ; D. C. 1844.

The students at the Academy have been of both sexes, though, ordinarily, the much larger number has been males. More than forty years ago, a Female Department in the Institution was established for the purpose of teaching drawing, painting, embroidery, and various other kinds of needlework.

The following individuals have been teachers in this Department, viz : Abigail Hayes, Mary Hayes, Priscilla Manning, Mary Johnson, Julia Cogswell, Hannah Pearson Cogswell, Mary Coker, Elizabeth Quincy Vose, Elizabeth Page, Mary Knight, and Ann Poor Little.

About 2000 different individuals have been members of the Academy ; and it is believed that no person while a member of the Institution ever deceased.

Ezekiel Little, Esq., though not an Instructor in the Academy, was a Teacher of distinction, and deserves to be registered here as a literary man. He was born in Haverhill, (West Parish,) Ms., July 28, 1762 ; graduated at Harvard College in 1784 ; taught a public school in Boston many years ; was the author of an Arithmetic called "The Usher," published at Exeter in 1799 ; and resided the latter part of his life in Atkinson, where he died March 21, 1840, aged 77.

Mr. David Tenney Kimball, who now lives in Atkinson, is the son of Rev. David T. Kimball, of Ipswich, Ms. He graduated at Middlebury College in 1829, and at the Theological Seminary, Andover, 1834, and was licensed to preach, but has never been settled or ordained as a Minister.

INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE ENTERED THE LEARNED PROFESSIONS.

Hon. MOSES DOW, son of Mr. John Dow ; H. C. 1769 ; Attorney ; Judge of Probate ; Brigadier General in the Militia ; resided at Haverhill, N. H. ; deceased.

Mr. JOHN POOR, son of Lieut. Daniel Poor ; H. C. 1775 ; Instructor of youth in Philadelphia ; taught the first Female School of celebrity in the country ; spent most of his life in Philadelphia ; died at his son's in Baltimore.

Dr. WILLIAM COGSWELL, son of Mr. Nathaniel Cogswell. See account of Physicians.

Dr. JOSEPH COGSWELL, brother of William ; studied medicine with him ; was with him in the Military Hospital at West Point ; practised in Warner, New-Durham, and Tamworth, N. H. ; is still living, aged 86 years.

Dr. JAMES KNIGHT, son of Mr. Joshua Knight ; studied medicine with Gen. Nathaniel Peabody ; practised medicine in Hampstead ; still lives.

HON. STEPHEN PEABODY, son of Rev. Stephen Peabody ; H. C. 1794 ; Captain in the Oxford Army ; Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Maine ; now resident at Bucksport, Me.

HON. JOHN NOYES, son of Mr. Humphrey Noyes ; D. C. 1795 ; Tutor in College ; went into merchandize ; Member of Congress ; resided at Putney, Vt. ; deceased.

Rev. MOSES DOW, son of Mr. John Dow ; D. C. 1796 ; Congregational Clergyman ; settled in the ministry at Beverly, Ms., York, Me. ; died in Plaistow in 1837, aged 66.

Dr. ABNER PAGE, son of Mr. Daniel Page ; studied medicine with Dr. William Cogswell ; practised in Sandown, New-Durham, and Rochester, N. Y. ; died at Buffalo.

Dr. JOSIAH NOYES, son of Mr. Humphrey Noyes, Jr. ; D. C. 1801 ; Tutor ; studied medicine with Prof. Nathan Smith ; M. D. at D. C. ; Prof. Hamilton College, and Fairfield Medical College ; lives at Clinton, N. Y.

JESSE MERRILL, Esq., son of Mr. James Merrill ; D. C. 1806 ; Attorney ; lives in Bradford, Vt.

CALEB MERRILL, Esq., brother of the above ; D. C. 1808 ; Attorney ; lived in Pittsfield ; deceased.

Rev. WILLIAM COGSWELL, D. D., son of Dr. William Cogswell ; see Preceptors of the Academy.

Dr. AMOS CURRIER, son of Mr. Dudley Currier ; D. C. 1818 ; practised in Orangeburgh, S. C. ; deceased in 1824, aged 33.

Rev. NATHANIEL COGSWELL, son of Dr. William Cogswell ; D. C. 1819 ; Congregational Clergyman ; settled at Yarmouth, Ms., where he still lives.

FRANCIS COGSWELL, Esq., brother of the above ; D. C. 1822 ; taught the Academy at Meredith Bridge ; Attorney ; practised in Tuftonborough, Ossipee and Dover ; Clerk of the Courts in old Strafford County before its division ; Cashier of the Bank at Andover, Ms., where he now resides.

Rev. WASHINGTON GILBERT, son of Mr. John Gilbert ; W. C. 1826 ; Unitarian Clergyman ; settled in Harvard, Ms.

Dr. WILLIAM GROVER, son of Deacon Josiah Grover ; studied medicine with Dr. Hovey, of Atkinson ; M. D. at B. C. 1829 ; commenced practice in Barnstead in 1829 ; Representative in General Court from that town, where he now lives.

Dr. GEORGE COGSWELL, son of Dr. William Cogswell ; studied medicine with his father, with Professors Mussey and Oliver, of Dartmouth College, and with Dr. John D. Fisher, of Boston ; M. D. at D. C. 1830 ; settled as a practitioner in Bradford, Ms., in 1830, where he now resides. In 1841-2 he attended the Lectures at the École de Médecine in Paris, and at the Hospitals in the same City.

Rev. GILMAN NOYES, son of Lieut. James Noyes ; D. C. 1830 ; Universalist Minister ; settled at Spencer, Ms. ; left preaching, and is now cultivating a farm.

Rev. ALFRED VOSE BASSETT, son of Col. John Bassett ; Universalist Minister ; preached for a time in Canton and Dedham, Ms. ; deceased.

Rev. JESSE PAGE, son of Col. William Page ; D. C. 1831 ; Theological Seminary, Andover, 1835 ; Congregational Minister ; settled in Andover, (North Parish) Ms. ; now preaches in Atkinson.

Mr. MOSES WEBSTER WALKER, son of Mr. Benjamin Walker ; D. C. 1831 ; Teacher in Boston ; deceased early in life.

Mr. NATHANIEL GROVER, son of Dea. Josiah Grover ; D. C. 1832 ; Teacher of youth ; Instructor in music ; lived in Norwich, Berlin, and East Windsor, Ct., and in Rochester, N. Y., and now lives in Atkinson.

WILLIAM COGSWELL CLARKE, Esq., son of Greenleaf Clark, Esq. ; D. C. 1832 ; taught the Academy at Gilmanton ; Attorney ; Solicitor for Belknap County ; now resides at Manchester.

Dr. FRANCIS CLARKE, brother of the above ; studied medicine with Dr. George Cogswell, of Bradford ; attended Lectures at Boston ; M. D. at H. C. 1835 ; settled at Andover as a Physician.

Rev. WILLIAM PAGE, son of Col. William Page ; studied divinity at the Theological Seminaries at Gilmanton and Andover ; settled in the Ministry at Dracut, Ms., and Hudson, N. H., where he now lives.

Rev. JAMES MARSH HOW DOW, son of Mr. Samuel S. Dow ; lo-

cated as a Methodist minister at Bradford and Andover, Ms., Dover, N. H.; is now at Dennis, Ms.

Dr. MOSES CLARKE, son of Greenleaf Clark, Esq.; studied medicine with Dr. Josiah Crosby and Profs. Dixi Crosby and R. D. Peaslee; attended Lectures at Hanover; M. D. at D. C. 1843; settled in Cambridge, Ms.

JOHN BADGER CLARKE, Esq., brother of the above; D. C. 1843; studied law with his brother, William C. Clarke, Esq., of Manchester; admitted to the bar; is now at San Francisco, California.

Dr. WILLIAM COGSWELL, son of Joseph B. Cogswell, Esq.; studied medicine with Dr. George Cogswell, of Bradford, Ms.; attended Lectures at Hanover and Boston; M. D. at D. C. 1845; settled at Georgetown, Ms.

ELBRIDGE GERRY BASSETT, Esq., son of Capt. John Bassett; B. C. 1838; Attorney in New-Castle, Henry County, Kentucky; member of the Legislature.

Dr. WILLIAM KNIGHT, son of Col. Joseph Knight; studied medicine with Dr. N. K. Kelly, of Plaistow; M. D. at the Berkshire Medical School; practised in Marlborough and Medway.

PAUL PORTER TODD, Esq., son of Mr. Ebenezer Todd; D. C. 1842; Attorney in Kentucky; now at Blackstone, R. I.

Mr. WILLIAM CLEAVES TODD, brother of the preceding; D. C. 1844; recently returned from a voyage to Europe for his health; now Preceptor of Atkinson Academy.

Dr. RICHARD PAGE, son of Mr. Aaron Page; studied medicine with Dr. Hovey, of Atkinson; M. D. at the Berkshire Medical School; practises in Candia.

Mr. JAMES NOYES, son of Mr. Humphrey Noyes, jr., though not a professional nor a liberally educated man, was a person in some respects distinguished for education, as being the author of the third Arithmetic ever written and published in New-England by an American. The title of the work is "Federal Arithmetic."

It is confidently believed that more persons have entered the learned professions from the town of Atkinson, considering its population and age, than from any other town in the State.

PHYSICIANS.

Dr. NATHANIEL PEABODY, who was the first physician that ever settled in Atkinson, was born at Topsfield, Ms., March 1, 1741. He was a son of Dr. Jacob Peabody and Susannah Rogers, daughter of Rev. John Rogers, of Boxford, and was of the tenth generation, in a direct line of descent, from John Rogers, the martyr. He studied medicine with his father, and settled as a physician in Atkinson, where he soon acquired a very extensive business, and was accounted an able and successful practitioner. March 1, 1763, he married Abigail, daughter of Samuel Little, Esq., of Atkinson. They had no children. When the New-Hampshire Medical Society was chartered he was appointed one of its Fellows. Oct. 27, 1774, he was appointed Lieut. Colonel of the 7th Regiment, and upon the commencement of hostilities between this and the mother country he espoused the cause of independence, and took a very active part in the Revolutionary struggle. March 25, 1779, he was elected a Delegate to the Continental Congress. He was Speaker of the House of Representatives for the State, a State Senator, and a Counsellor for the State. He held also the office of Major General in the Militia.

Dr. Peabody was a friend to education, and did much in procuring the charter of Atkinson Academy, of which for many years he was a Trustee. In 1791 the Trustees of Dartmouth College conferred on him the degree of M. A. About the commencement of the present century he became greatly involved in debt, and for many of the last years of his life he was imprisoned at Exeter, and died within the limits of the jail-yard, June 27, 1828, aged 82 years.

Dr. KENDALL OSGOOD was born at Andover, in 1757, and was settled as a physician in Atkinson about 1785. He removed to Peterborough in the summer of 1788, where he spent the remainder of his days. He was one of the original Fellows of the New-Hampshire Medical Society. He died Aug. 19, 1801, aged 44 years.

Dr. WILLIAM COGSWELL was born at Haverhill, Ms., July 11, 1760, and died at Atkinson, Jan. 1, 1831, in the 71st year of his age. His mother was Judith Badger, daughter of Joseph Badger, a merchant of Haverhill, Ms. His father, whose name was Nathaniel, was born at Ipswich, Ms., Jan. 19, 1707, and was a merchant in Haverhill. He died March 23, 1783, aged 76. His father, whose

name was John, was born at Ipswich, Ma., in 1650, and died there in 1710, aged 60. He was the son of William, of Ipswich, who was born 1619, and died about 1701, whose father was John Cogswell, a merchant of London, who came to this country in 1635, and settled at Ipswich.

Dr. Cogswell studied medicine and surgery under the direction of Dr. Peabody, of Atkinson. July 19, 1781, he was appointed surgeon's mate to Dr. William Eustis, late Governor of Massachusetts, in the General Hospital of the United States, established at West Point, and continued in the service until the close of the Revolutionary War, in 1783. Jan. 5, 1784, he was promoted to the chief charge of the hospital at West Point, and remained in office till Sept. 1, 1785, when he commenced the practice of medicine in Atkinson. July 22, 1786, he was married to Judith Badger, daughter of the Hon. Joseph Badger, of Gilmanton, by whom he had nine children, eight of whom are now living. She still survives, being in the 84th year of her age, and, by the blessing of God, in the enjoyment of comfortable health.

Dr. Cogswell took a very active part in establishing the New-Hampshire Medical Society, and when it was incorporated, in 1791, he was appointed by General Court one of the nineteen Fellows whose names are mentioned in the charter. He was also elected by the Society one of its Censors. The reputation in which he was held as a physician, may be ascertained from the fact that young gentlemen frequently resorted to him for medical instruction, preparatory to the practice of physic. He also manifested a lively interest in the education of youth, and did much for the establishment of Atkinson Academy, of which he was one of the Trustees from the commencement, and for many years President of the Board of Trust.

Dr. THOMAS WALLACE was born in Bedford, Jan. 14, 1793. His preparatory education was obtained at Atkinson Academy. He studied medicine with Dr. Spaulding, of Amherst, and his brother, Dr. Isaac Wallace. He commenced practice in Middleton, Ms., practised for a time in Atkinson, but soon removed to Derry, where he now resides. In 1837 he was elected a Fellow of the State Medical Society.

Dr. ISAAC BURNHAM HOVEY was born in Derry, May 1, 1790.

He fitted for College at the Academy in his native town, Samuel Burnham, M. A., Preceptor at the time, and entered Dartmouth College, where he continued some time, attending to his studies; but his health failing, he abandoned the idea of pursuing a collegiate course of education. He read medicine with Dr. George Farrar, of Derry, and Dr. William Ingalls, of Boston, and attended the Lectures in Boston of the Medical School, and of the Professors of Brown University, at which Institution he received the degree of M. D., Sept. 6, 1820. His license to practice was obtained from the Massachusetts Medical Society, July 31, 1822. He commenced business in Gloucester, Ms., but removed to Atkinson, October, 1822, where he has since resided, and devoted himself regularly and faithfully to the practice of medicine. He married Eliza Richards, daughter of Mr. Joseph Richards, of Atkinson, by whom he has one child—a son. He is a magistrate, and a Trustee of Atkinson Academy.

LONGEVITY.

The town embraces only an area of 6839 acres of land, was incorporated as late as 1767, and has never contained at any one time more than 575 inhabitants. It has ever been accounted a remarkably healthy place. During fourteen consecutive months there was not a single death. The following persons lived to the advanced age affixed to their respective names.

Names.	Age.	Names.	Age.
Hannah Belknap, ...	106	Abigail Little, ...	91
Ezekiel Belknap, ...	100	Eunice Knight, ...	91
Moses Belknap, ...	99½	Mary Merrill, ...	91
Moses Belknap, Jr., ...	99½	Moses Greenough, ...	90
William Webster, ...	97	Joseph Chandler, ...	90
Benjamin Richards, ...	96	Hephzibah Greenough, ...	89
Mary Merrill, ...	96	Hannah L. Noyes, ...	89
Lydia Sawyer, ...	95	Peter Noyes, ...	89
Ruth Wright, ...	94	Ednah Greenough, ...	88
Sarah Webster, ...	93	Abiah Currier, ...	88
Sarah Currier, ...	93	Sarah Webster, ...	88
Elizabeth Noyes, ...	92	Susannah Page, ...	87
Betsy Atwood, ...	92	Hannah Richards, ...	87
Stephen Page, ...	91	James Noyes, ...	87

Names.	Age.	Names.	Age.
James Merrill, ...	87	Sarah Greenough, ...	79
Jonathan Whitaker, ...	87	John Currier, ...	79
Judith Cogswell, ...	86	Mary Little, ...	79
Elizabeth Clement, ...	86	Samuel Webster, ...	79
Betsey Brickett, ...	86	Susannah Noyes, ...	79
John Kelly, ...	85	Sarah White, ...	79
Sarah Webster, ...	85	Martha Richards, ...	78
Nathan Dow, ...	85	Stephen Peabody, ...	78
John Webster, ...	84	Ezekiel Little, ...	78
Hannah Poor, ...	84	Joseph Webster, ...	78
Sarah Page, ...	84	Jonathan Webster, ...	78
Reuben Mills, ...	84	John Webster, ...	78
Nathan Page, ...	84	Phebe Noyes, ...	78
Bethiah Webster, ...	83	Martha Knight, ...	78
James White, ...	83	Anna Eaton, ...	78
Dorothy Little, ...	83	Sarah Emery, ...	78
Daniel Page, ...	82	Mary Page, ...	77
William Page, ...	82	Joseph Little, ...	77
William Webster, ...	82	Hannah H. Noyes, ...	77
Tristram Knight, ...	82	Rachel Damon, ...	77
Caleb Noyes, ...	81	Judith Davis, ...	77
James Dow, ...	81	Nathaniel Cogswell, ...	76
Anthony Smith, ...	81	Samuel N. Little, ...	76
Hannah Wood, ...	81	Judith Sawyer, ...	76
Ruth Johnson, ...	80	Daniel Poor, ...	76
Dorcas Page, ...	80	Benjamin Emery, ...	76
Jonathan Page, ...	80	Abijah Eaton, ...	75
Samuel Little, ...	80	Peter Clement, ...	75
Abigail Little, ...	80	Lucy Richards, ...	75
Hannah Webster, ...	80	John Johnson, ...	74
Joseph Knight, ...	80	Anna Noyes, ...	74
Sarah Knight, ...	80	Sarah Dow, ...	74
Anna Knight, ...	80	Mary Gilbert, ...	74
Abigail Knight, ...	80	Jonathan Page, ...	73
Susannah Dow, ...	80	Joseph Noyes, ...	73
Jonathan Poor, ...	80	Thomas Dow, ...	73
Sarah Poor, ...	80	Mary Poor, ...	73
Stephen Merrill, ...	80	Lydia Poor, ...	73
James Merrill, ...	80	John Vose, ...	73
Mary White, ...	80	Parker Noyes, ...	73
Caleb Richards, ...	80	Henry Noyes, ...	72

HISTORY OF ATKINSON.

Names.	Age.	Names.	Age.
Humphrey Noyes, ...	72	William Cogswell, ...	70
John Knight, ...	72	Joseph Knight, ...	70
Job Dow, ...	72	Stephen Dole, ...	70
John Dow, ...	72	Mehitable Emery, ...	70
Betsy Chandler, ...	72	Sarah Emery, ...	70
Lydia Noyes, ...	72	Samuel Wood, ...	70
Sarah Poor, ...	71	Mehitable Emerson, ...	70
John Downer, ...	71	Priscilla Morrill, ...	70
Jesse Sawyer, ...	70	Ruth Emery, ...	70
Dudley Currier, ...	70		

The following persons, still living and residing in Atkinson, have arrived at the great age affixed to their respective names:

Names.	Age.	Names.	Age.
Elizabeth Jewell, ...	92	Elizabeth Page, ...	74
Elizabeth Bradley, ...	87	Betsy Noyes, ...	74
Jonathan Pervere, ...	85	Edna Peabody, ...	74
Josiah Grover, ...	85	Ann Buck, ...	74
Judith Cogswell, ...	83	Nancy Wheeler, ...	73
Joshua Richards, ...	83	Martha Peaslee, ...	73
Sarah Webster, ...	81	Susannah Knight, ...	73
Susannah Grover, ...	80	James Conley, ...	73
Jane More, ...	80	Abraham Richards, ...	72
Lydia Nourse, ...	79	John Peaslee, ...	72
Amos Buck, ...	79	Hannah Conley, ...	72
Tristram Knight, ...	78	Job Dow, ...	72
Abigail Knight, ...	76	Sally Dow, ...	71
Tamar Noyes, ...	75	Thomas Knight, ...	71
Jane Page, ...	75	Sally Richards, ...	71
Edmund Brickett, ...	75	Lydia Clark, ...	71
Richard Wheeler, ...	75	Ruth Knight, ...	71
Lydia Vose, ...	74		

MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS.

David Clement, of Haverhill, Ms., and Dilley Ladd, of Atkinson, were published Oct., 1767. These were the first couple published after the town was incorporated.

Mary Webster, who was the daughter of Maj. Eliphalet Knight, and was the first wife of Col. William Page, was probably the first child born in Atkinson after the town was incorporated.

A Social Library was established by proprietors in 1796, and it

went into operation Jan. 18th, of that year. The books are now lost or nearly worn out.

On the farm now owned by Mr. Amasa Coburn, in the hollow just below his house, there was once, it is said and confidently believed, a potash establishment and a store. Some remains of the potash works are still to be seen.

Atkinson's Farm, so called, was once entailed, but the entailment has been taken off by an act of General Court.

There is within the town one grist mill, formerly called Page's Mill. There are also two saw mills, connected with which are shingle mills. One of these establishments is owned by Mr. Isaac Hale and the other by Mr. Paul Heald.

Stores have been kept in Atkinson by Mr. John Atwood, Messrs. Thomas and Samuel Bassett, Mr. Samuel Clark, Miss Sally Dow, Mr. Moses Atwood, Capt. Edmund Wright, Mr. Jonathan Poor, Mr. John Dow, Mr. John C. Bartlett and Aaron Bartlett, Esq., Leverett P. E. Richards.

Taverns, or houses of entertainment, have been kept by the following persons, viz.: Samuel Little, Esq., Mr. E. Knight, Mr. James Dow, Mr. J. Merrill, Mr. Edmund Wright, Mr. Moses Dow. There is now, it is believed, no tavern kept in the town, and no store where intoxicating liquors are sold.

For a number of years since its incorporation, Atkinson was not called upon to expend any thing for the support of paupers, there being none at the time in the place.

Letter from Col. Atkinson to Gov. Belcher.

Sir,—I have received Advice from my Friend in London that your Reasons for not swearing me into His Majesty's Council were laid before the Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations, and that you had Directions notwithstanding to Swear & admit me, upon which I beg the Favor of your Determination.—Your Excellency having order'd the issuing of Writts for calling a new Assembly, and it is probable the People of New-Castle, whom I have long represented, will again make Choice of me, and I shou'd think it an abuse done them if I shou'd leave the House, and thereby strip them of the Privilege of a Representative for at least one Session; I shall govern myself according to your Answer, till which time I beg leave to subscribe myself

Your Ex'cy's most humble & most obedient Servant,
THEODORE ATKINSON.

Portsmouth, New-Hampshire,
Dec. 10, 1733.

COL. BADGER'S MUSTER ROLL.

MUSTER and PAY ROLL of men raised for New-York out of Colonel Joseph Badger's Regiment, and part of Colonel Stickney's Regiment, mustered and paid by Joseph Badger, Esq. All mustered September the 25th, 1776.

Names.	Rank.	1 month's pay to officers, and bounty to soldiers.		Travil Money.	Sum Total.	Names.	Rank.	1 month's pay to officers, and bounty to soldiers.		Travil Money.	Sum Total.
		8	12					6	8		
1 John Moody,	Capt.	8	0	02: 13: 4	10: 13: 4	131 Nath'l Rawlings,	Priv'e.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
2 Josiah Sanborn,	Lieut.	5	12	02: 13: 4	8: 5: 4	32 Simeon Lovering,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
3 Benj'n Jackson,	Enst'n.	4	0	02: 13: 4	6: 13: 4	33 John Hillyard,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
4 Robert Bryant,	Priv'e.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	34 John Rawlings,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
5 Benj'n Sinclear,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	35 Joseph Smith,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
6 Edward Wells,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	36 Samuel Davis,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
7 Simeon Smith,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	37 William Tilton,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
8 Jonath'n Page,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	38 Stephen Wells,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
9 Benj'n Atkinson,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	39 Elisha Hutchinson,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
10 Josiah Emery,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	40 Benj'n Huckins,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
11 James Cates, Jun.,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	41 Thomas Flanders,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
12 Enoch Cates,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	42 Samuel Gilman, Jun.,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
13 Joseph Huse,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	43 John Dow,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
14 Gideon Robinson,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	44 Joseph Malcham,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
15 Pearson Smith,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	45 Benj'n Perkins,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
16 John Mudget,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	46 Will'm Sibley,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
17 Joseph Tester,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	47 Eleazar Bickford,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
18 William Lord,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	48 Eliphalet Rawlings, Jun.,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
19 Benj'n Kimball,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	49 William Murray,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
20 Simeon Walton,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	50 William Plaistead,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
21 Ephr'm Hackett,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	51 Samuel Corlis,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
22 Moses Miles,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	52 Daniel Drew,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
23 Samuel Osgood,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	53 Thomas Baker,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
24 David Bean,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	54 Charles Baker,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
25 Joseph Mudget,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	55 James Berry,	Do.	6	0	02: 13: 4	8: 13: 4

26 Joseph March,	Do.	6: 0: 0: 2: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	56 Robert Hardy,	Do.	6: 0: 0: 2: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
27 Levi Hutchinson,	Do.	6: 0: 0: 2: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	57 Joseph Leavitt, of Wakefield,	Do.	6: 0: 0: 2: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
28 Nath'l Badger,	Do.	6: 0: 0: 2: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	58 Jacob Welch,	Do.	6: 0: 0: 2: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
29 Lemuel Rand,	Do.	6: 0: 0: 2: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	59 Joseph Leavitt, of Wolf-	Do.	6: 0: 0: 2: 13: 4	8: 13: 4
30 Aaron Harshorn,	Do.	6: 0: 0: 2: 13: 4	8: 13: 4	boro'h,	Do.	6: 0: 0: 2: 13: 4	8: 13: 4

251: 6: 8
259: 12: 0

Sum total, £510: 18: 8

STATE OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE: } OCTOBER 22ND 1776. I, the subscriber, agreeable to appointment of the Council and Assembly, have mustered the within named persons, soldiers gone in Colonel Thomas Tash's Regiment, to New-York, and paid them the several and respective sums set against their names in this Roll, they all being good able bodied and effective men.

JOSEPH BADGER, *Master Muster.*

Governor Wentworth's Order for Raising Men—1759.

Province of } Benning Wentworth, Esq., Captain General and Commander in Chief of His Majestie's
New-Hampshire. } Province of New-Hampshire;

To the Hon'ble Meshech Weare, Esq.:

You are hereby directed to enlist or draft, out of the regiment under your Command, Eighty-five effective men, to be Employed under the officers I shall appoint, in an Expedition against Canada, of which Expedition His Excellency Jeffrey Amherst, Esq., is Commander in Chief:—

And the more Effectually to Expedite the above Levies, you are hereby also directed to Order a muster of the regiment under your Command, to begin on Monday, the Sixteenth of April next, at Such Places as you shall Judge least Burthensome to the whole, and to follow the methods Contained In the Acts you have rec'd, to compleat the Quota of men assigned your regiment, for the above Service, making your return to me by the 18th day of April next.

Given at Portsmouth, at Arms, the 27th day of March, 1759.

B. WENTWORTH.

COPY OF GOV'R DUNBAR'S COMMISSION.

[Loc. Sig.] GEORGE II.

George the second by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defend'r of the faith, &c., To our trusty and well beloved David Dunbar, Esq., Greeting :

We, reposing especial trust and Confidence in your loyalty, courage and prudence, Do, by these Presents, Constitute and appoint you to be our Lieut. Gov'r of our Province of New-Hampshire, in New-England in America, in the room of John Wentworth, Esq., deceased : To have, hold, Exercise, and Enjoy the S'd Place and office during our Pleasure, with all rights, privileges, profits, perquisites and advantages to the same belonging or appertaining ; and further, in Case of the death or absence of our Captain General and Gov'r in Chief in and over our Said Province of New-Hampshire in New-England, now, and for the time being : We Do hereby authorize and empower you to Exercise and perform all and Singular the powers and directions contain'd in Our Commission to Our Said Capt. Gen'l and Gov'r In Chief, according to such Instructions as are already sent, or hereafter shall from time to time be sent unto him, or as you shall receive from us and from our Said Capt. General and Chief Governor of our S'd Province of New-Hamp'r, now and for the time being. And all and Singular Our officers and Ministers and loving Subjects of Our Said Province, and others whom It may Concern, are hereby Comanded to take due notice hereof, and to Give their ready obedience accordingly. Given at our Court at St. James's, the twenty-seventh day of february, 1730, and In the fourth year of Our reign.

By His Maj'ty's Comand.

Enter'd in the office of the Ld. Comiss'rs for Trade and Plantations, White Hall, 2d Apr'l, 1731.

David Dunbar, Esq., Lt. Gov'r of New-Hamp'r.

In the Universal Gazetteer, printed in London, in 1760, we find the following account of New-Hampshire :

"HAMPSHIRE, NEW, a Province of New-England, in America, bordering on New-Scotland to the N., the Atlantick Ocean to the E., the Massachusetts to the S., and N. York to the W., subject to Great Britain ; it has a Governor, Council, and House of Representatives, the two former being appointed by the king. This country being well adapted to produce naval stores, great part of it is by act of parliament appropriated to that purpose for the use of the British Navy."

ADDRESS OF REV. CHARLES BURROUGHS, D. D.,
OF PORTSMOUTH,
ON THE PRESERVATION OF DOCUMENTS, AS THE MATERIALS OF
HISTORY ;

*Delivered before the New-Hampshire Historical Society, in the Hall of the
House of Representatives, at the Celebration of their Anniversary, June
14, 1843.*

MR. PRESIDENT—

*My Brethren of the New-Hampshire Historical Society—
Ladies and Gentlemen :*

The object of this Association, as expressed in its Constitution, is to discover, procure, and preserve all such documents or materials as may relate to the natural, civil, literary, and ecclesiastical history of our country, and especially of this State. One of our orators, at a previous anniversary, happily describes that object to be, “to draw forth, from neglected repositories, forgotten and occasional publications, personal memoirs and journals, and correspondence of individuals in private and public stations, which, more than public documents, help to show the spirit of the times, the springs of action, and the motives of men.” From such views it is clear, that no theme can be more appropriate for a discourse on this occasion, than that which is expressed in the language of our Constitution, “the collection and preservation of documents,” as the materials of history.

Such a topic may, however, be repulsive to many ears. It is invested with none of the enchanting drapery of poetry or romance, and offers no field for sentiment or eloquence. It relates to the mere drudgery of the antiquarian. It is the dry office of filling an historical repository, and has no alliance with the playfulness of fancy. History is a severe, stern and uncompromising chronicler, that has no other aim than truth. Bearing the name of Clio, she is hailed as the first of the muses. But she employs no sweet harp of minstrelsy to breathe her precious records over the world : for, while in one hand she holds a book, the annals of human events, she holds in the other hand only the loud and startling trumpet.

Dull and uninteresting as may be our theme,—the preservation of documents,—little as it is practically regarded, and still less appreciated—yet it is one of vast importance. It is the foundation of historical knowledge, accuracy and truth. It aids the administration of justice, and is a valuable source of light and comfort to a people. It is the revealer of motives, and the corrector of error. It is the philosopher of legislation, and the teacher and expounder of experiments. It is the tablet of the human heart, and the interpreter of events. It is the arbiter of controversy, and an excellent test of sound doctrines and principles. It is the unsullied mirror of passing events, and the daguerreotype of public and private transactions. It is a great misfortune that few cherish these sentiments, and that therefore the most valuable and essential materials of history are hidden from the world.

Even pamphlets of every description, however they may be generally disregarded, are too precious to be deemed unworthy of preservation. Few men have leisure, ability, or materials to write a book. Many can compose tracts, and in this modest form can make statements of facts, and disclosures of their opinions. A large portion of such tracts are necessarily fated to oblivion; but no small portion of them are essential elements of history, and should never be allowed to perish. If we wish to know the history of the learned and powerful opposition which was manifested against the errors and corruptions of the Romish Church in the sixteenth century, and which resulted in the Reformation, we must gather our knowledge from pamphlets written during that period, and which are said to derive their origin from that opposition. The reformed religion in England owed its chief success to tracts which were dispersed over the British kingdom in the reign of Edward the Sixth. Soon afterwards, pamphlets on all subjects every where appeared, and have been the most valuable registers of facts, and among the most effective agents for settling opinions in every succeeding age. They have been deemed such efficient missiles in all argumentative warfares, that the celebrated Myles Davies has written a history of them. The Harleian Miscellany, a work of high value, is nothing but a collection of pamphlets which were found in the Harleian Library, and which chiefly related to the early Romish controversy. Dr. Johnson wrote for that Miscellany an introduction on the origin and impor-

tance of fugitive pieces, and maintained that pamphlets and small tracts made a very important part of an English library.

When we speak of the preservation of documents, let it be understood that we inculcate both a private and a public care ; preservation and guardianship of every printed or written document, connected with the natural, civil, literary or ecclesiastical history of our State and country. We urge not simply the care which governments and societies should take, to provide public historical libraries ; but we earnestly urge the care which individuals should exert, in searching, treasuring and classifying the materials of all kinds of valuable knowledge, for historical records. We maintain that such documents are cabinets, holding some of the richest treasures of wisdom and experience, preventing the loss of much that is precious, and furnishing lessons for coming ages, to show what man has done, what has proved fallacious, and what has proved sound ; what human ingenuity and science have accomplished ; what have been the motives and characteristics of men ; and what have been the history and results of human experiments.

The preservation of these historical materials seems to be incumbent on us, as a duty. It is a scriptural injunction, "gather up the fragments that remain, that nothing be lost ;" and how precious, of course, are all the fragments which throw light on any thing connected with the interests of humanity. It is our acknowledged obligation to render testimony to the cause of truth ; to accumulate, whenever it is in our power, evidences which will throw satisfactory information over the characters of those who have been conspicuous in their lives, and over the eventful incidents of history. We owe a large debt of gratitude for the services of great and good men. They are a part of our national pride and honor ; and it would be injustice in us not to treasure up the materials which shall defend them against assault, recompense their merits, and establish the purity of their purposes. We should be guilty of a similar injustice, if we either destroyed, or did not labor to gather and guard any of the essential facts and evidences, calculated to place in a true light the great political events of our country.

Another obligation resting on us to preserve documents, is founded on the claims of knowledge, touching every department connected with the interests of humanity. Ignorance generally is not only a

misfortune, but is often productive of evil. Much has been attained in every department of knowledge, but much has been lost; and every loss must be considered as a retrograde in the condition of the human mind. More learning has perished in the ruins of time, than has survived them. It belongs to a large portion of modern effort to recover some of the countless jewels of wisdom which have been sunk amidst the various shipwrecks of human nature. Plato maintains that all knowledge is remembrance, and all ignorance is forgetfulness. Study is but the search for diamonds among the ruins of men and nations. It requires a mighty energy to restore man to the condition from which he has fallen. The preservation of documents, therefore, must be considered as the recovery and preservation of knowledge, which may be of infinite service. All the arts, said Cicero, seem to have a common bond, and to be held together by a certain affinity or relationship. So there is no tract, letter, or pamphlet, no paper, public or private, emanating from any distinguished source, which may not have a valuable bearing on some important point, and may not be essential to the cause of knowledge and truth.

These points may be established by numberless illustrations. Take the character of Washington. He was assailed by the basest calumnies, during the Revolutionary War; but they have been most triumphantly condemned as calumnies, by the preservation of the writings of that great man,

Who has left
His awful memory,
A light for after times.

How effectually does the preserved manuscript of his accounts refute every slanderous charge against him for speculation and dishonesty. The loss of that manuscript might be the failure of essential testimony in his behalf, should his integrity, in relation to his pecuniary transactions connected with the Revolution, be now impeached. So also he might be charged with favoring monarchical views; as such suggestions have been insidiously thrown out against him by one who was a distinguished military officer. But how completely could such a charge be disproved by gathering from his masses of papers that admirable letter, which indignantly spurned and condemned, or to use his own language, "viewed with abhorrence and reprehended with severity," the proposition made to him to become a king. If

that letter had not been preserved, malignant spirits might have suspected him of a passion for royal power.

We feel, too, in relation to our Revolutionary history, that it is necessary to look to preserved documents, to defend the characters and motives of those who were engaged in that glorious contest. The course pursued by our countrymen has been stigmatized by our foes as an outrageous rebellion, whose movers were dishonorable men, instigated by the basest of motives. Now, in refutation of such malicious aspersions, and in defence of the purposes of our Revolutionary heroes, we build the force of our plea on the number, variety, character, and explicitness of Revolutionary documents; on the preservation and publication of the secret journals of the Old Congress; on the lives of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence; and on the pamphlets, diaries, and correspondence of the master spirits of that sublime moral drama of liberty, right, truth, honor, and justice.

We can illustrate the value of the preservation of documents to the cause of knowledge, by another fact. Most persons have been in the habit of speaking with unqualified contempt and indignation of monks and monastic institutions, as a curse to the world; a curse without one redeeming virtue. But monachism, bad as it undoubtedly has been, seems providentially to have been permitted during the dark ages, for the preservation of learning. The monks diligently hoarded up all the manuscripts which they could find, with as much care as if they had been precious gems; and they consequently became most eminent benefactors of learning. To them are we indebted for the transmission of the Latin and Greek classics, which would have perished had it not been for their labors; for copies of the Roman law and of the Theodoric and Justinian codes; for many homilies and tracts of the later Fathers, and for the libraries contained in the monasteries.*

The passion for the preservation of documents led to the discovery of part of a copy of Cicero's treatise on government, which, in consequence of the scarcity of parchments, had been employed to receive a copy of St. Austin's Commentary on the Psalms. The splendid library at Copenhagen, owing to a zeal for recovering and collecting Scandinavian manuscripts, has furnished much valuable information

* Dr. Jortin's Charge 1 on Christianity, the Preserver and Supporter of Literature.

relative to the discovery of this country. We may add to these statements, a fact mentioned in the Scriptures. Every one knew that a faithful guardianship of the annals of Persia disclosed the virtues, and saved the illustrious Mordecai, and almost the whole Jewish nation, who else would have fallen victims to the malignity of a Persian Prime Minister. The cause of truth, knowledge, science, justice, learning, and indeed of all the interests of humanity, is subserved by the preservation of documents. Such a course, therefore, seems desirable, and amounting to a duty, founded on all our social interests, necessities and claims; founded not only on what we owe to the present age, but also on what we owe to posterity, who will have just reason to reproach us if we are not faithful trustees of the documents within our reach and control.

Such a duty deserves to be more strongly urged, from the fact that it has been most shamefully neglected. It is only within a few years that institutions have been formed in this country for remedying such a neglect, and providing repositories for the valuable materials of history. The Massachusetts Historical Society is the oldest of the kind that has been established among us. It was founded in January, in the year 1791, and owes its origin to an antiquarian, named Wallcut,* and to the admirable historian of our State, Belknap. The chief incident which led to its formation was the desire to provide a safe place of deposit for the letters of Sir William Pepperrell and Admiral Warren, in relation to the siege of Louisbourg. Slow has been the increase of similar societies, and feeble has been their support. Thus nearly two centuries were suffered to elapse, full of wonderful events, colonial enterprise and suffering, ecclesiastical strife, savage warfare, French invasion, Revolutionary convulsions, and the organization of a system of government entirely new in the world, without any proper estimation of the value of the documents that were produced during that long period, and without any means or efforts to collect or preserve them. This is proof enough of the long prevailing apathy, respecting the materials of history.

But there are other proofs. Many of our towns are careless in relation to their records, whether they are preserved or not; whether they are kept in places of safety or danger; and whether they are made with fidelity or inaccuracy. With slight exceptions, there are no records of the town of Portsmouth until nearly thirty years after

* This is questioned. See *Am. Quar. Register*, Vol. X., p. 168.—*Editor*.

its settlement. Great credit, however, is due to that town, for having their old records beautifully copied. It is to be deeply regretted that none of the oldest parishes of that place have perfect registers. There is a prevailing carelessness in the community about the correspondence and journals of some of our most conspicuous men. The Hon. Paine Wingate, who died recently, at the advanced age of almost a century of years, who was a distinguished member of the First Congress, and, in the course of his valuable life, filled many important offices, must have accumulated a vast amount of letters and papers, full of interesting information respecting the men, events and scenes of his day. It was once my intention to have gathered up such information, and to have prepared a memoir of his eventful life. On application for this purpose, to his son, with whom he lived and died, I was surprised and grieved to learn, that not a vestige of his father's letters, documents, or papers, remained in his possession; as all of them had been given away, from time to time, to numberless persons for the value of the autographs.

Several packages of manuscripts, being the private correspondence and papers of the celebrated John Paul Jones, were brought to light only a few years since, in a baker's shop in the city of New-York.* Many letters and papers of Sir William Pepperrell were recently found at Kittery, scattered over the garret floor of the house once occupied by his son-in-law. Afterwards, several barrels, filled with his various documents, were discovered in a fish shed attached to the same house. The contents of those barrels were a long time left free for public plunder. A large portion of them was scattered in every direction, ere those who had claims on them knew the fact, and thereby prevented their entire dispersion. The third volume of the original manuscripts of Governor Winthrop's History of New-England, was, by accident, discovered in the spring of the year 1816, in the tower of the "Old South Church," in Boston.

A large amount of papers which belonged to that statesman of eventful, checkered, and melancholy life, Aaron Burr, which comprehended his briefs in important legal cases, his professional opinions, his correspondence with the illustrious men of his day, and many of his miscellaneous writings, filling about a dozen large bags, was not long since sold, and were seen on their way to a paper-mill in

* North American Review, No. 53, Oct. 1826, p. 292.

Hartford, Connecticut. Curiosity tempted some passers-by to abstract some of the documents. Money might have rescued the curious sacks, but nothing was done to save them from their destination.*

The works of scholars of ancient times have suffered as hard a fate as those of the statesman whom I have mentioned. A manuscript of Quintilian was discovered during the sitting of the Council of Constance, vanishing by piece-meal on the table of a pickling shop. A manuscript copy of Livy was used to make battle-doors. A manuscript of the rare, splendid Complutensian Polyglott was sold, about seventy years since, by an ignorant librarian in Spain, for old parchment, to a pyrotechnist for making sky-rockets.

A merciless fate also befel the Rowley poems, so intimately connected with the history and reputation of the precocious and mysterious poet Chatterton, whom Wordsworth calls

The marvellous boy,
The sleepless soul, that perished in his pride.

When not eighteen years of age, he was found dead, probably by suicide; and he destroyed all his papers. But they were most extraordinary productions; and "it was wonderful," as Dr. Johnson exclaimed, "how the young whelp had written those things." The greatest poets have paid him the most singular homage. It happened that in an apartment of Redcliffe Church, in Bristol, one of the oldest edifices in England, were several large chests, containing parchments, which, according to Chatterton, were the writings of Thomas Rowley, a priest of the fifteenth century. That Chatterton was a prodigious genius, a youth of astonishing intellectual fire, there can be no doubt. But how can it ever be settled, whether the Rowley poems were forgeries, or the actual transcript of the Redcliffe parchments? You would of course say, Search those parchments. But where are they? Chatterton burnt many at his death.† With the rest, his father covered books, and his mother made thread-papers, patterns, and articles of housewifery; and they have left the world to wonder, unsatisfied forever, on "the marvellous boy."

It is well known that William Bradford, the second Governor of Plymouth, wrote a history of that Colony, from the year 1602 to the

* Boston Courier, June 8, 1843. Copied from a Hartford paper.

† New-York Review, 1838, p. 457.

year 1647, in 270 folio pages. That manuscript was of immense value, as it related to the character and conduct of the Pilgrims. It was deposited with Prince's library in the tower of the Old South meeting-house in Boston. It disappeared at the time of the Revolution, when the British troops occupied the building, and was given up for lost. Fortunately the industrious antiquarian, the Rev. Dr. Young, of Boston, has recovered an almost complete transcript of Bradford's History, in the Records of the First Church at Plymouth, and has communicated it to us in his "Chronicles of the Pilgrims." Here is another striking instance where history is developed by documents. Nothing can be of more historical value than manuscripts, or journals, which were written to describe events at the time when they occurred. They evince a spirit and minuteness which are extremely animating. It was the remark of the Hon. Mr. Cass, that a gazette of Sparta or of Athens, when Xerxes was upon the Hellespont, or Leonidas at Thermopylæ, would be a treasure far beyond the marble monuments which yet look upon the ruins around them.*

Many families, descended from persons of great distinction in public life, now hold valuable documents of correspondence, journals, and official papers, which they have never valued or opened. The copious writings of Samuel Adams, calumniated as the twin rebel with Hancock, have yet been undiscovered, but are now we trust in hands that will do them justice. Unfortunately, diaries and letters are esteemed among us as the very best kinds of fuel and wrapping paper. So reckless are we generally of what is curious and valuable as the materials of history, that it is a wonder that the actually original parchment of the Declaration of Independence is still safe and sound in the National Institute at Washington. It is still more wonderful, that the pen with which the signers of that Charter of our liberty affixed their names to it, and which has established our nation as a brilliant gem on the map of the world, is preserved as a precious relic in the hall of the Massachusetts Historical Society. We learn, too, that the autograph of Washington's Farewell Address to the People of the United States is in the possession of a gentleman of Pennsylvania.†

* Gov. Cass's oration before the Alumni of Hamilton College, Aug. 25, 1830.

† American Quarterly Review, June, 1827, p. 406.

The elements and materials of history are often trampled under our feet as useless dust. There is, indeed, but a slight passion for the registers of the silent past, and the sober relics of antiquity. We have historical writers, who, with brilliant talents, great learning, profound research, accurate observation, strict devotion to truth, and the charms of a pure and classical style, are calculated to inspire as much historical taste among us, as did Herodotus among the Greeks, by the eloquent recital of his works. We are reasonably proud of such men as Hutchinson and Marshall, Belknap and Bancroft, Prescott and Sparks, Wheaton and Irving. But the impression which has been made in favor of History, is yet inconsiderable. In other countries is a better spirit. The most valuable collection of works on American History has been found in the library of a German Professor Ebeling at Hamburg. That collection amounted to the number of thirty-five thousand volumes. Italy must have manifested no slight interest in the annals of our country to have enabled Botta to have composed there his delightful and popular, though in some respects inaccurate volumes, on the War of our Independence. England watches over and treasures all her historical elements. Even that nation, however, is surpassed in those matters by Danish zeal, fidelity, and taste. But perhaps no country transcends volatile France in the fulness, severity, accuracy and order of her records, and in the untiring efforts with which she accumulates manuscripts on all subjects. The Royal Library of Paris has more than eighty thousand of them. It is stated that Russia alone, of all the great nations, is yet without any collection of the sources of its national history. The defect will ere long be remedied, as the Emperor has ordered that there shall be as complete a series as possible of all the historical documents extant, from the earliest ages to the present time.* We would not underrate the zeal of our country, since our State Legislature and Congress have recently paid attention to the completion of their public documents. We are happy to say, that Government has purchased the manuscripts of the venerable Madison, at the expense of thirty thousand dollars. Those papers show fully the principles on which the Federal Constitution was formed; how it arose out of the peculiar circumstances of our country and

**Foreign Quarterly Review*, March, 1835, No. 29, p. 122.

people, and the beautiful light which was thrown upon it by its formers. They also teach the precious lesson, how faithfully and firmly we ought to maintain it. Those papers are for us a precious record, where we can see the workings of mighty minds in the greatest and most momentous council which our nation ever saw, and in a result which has survived in majesty the struggles, convulsions and changes of about seventy years; so that we do not hesitate to say, in figurative language, derived from some of our manufacturing establishments, that one of the best of American fabrics is that of our Constitution,—the consummate workmanship of the government of our confederated States.

Various causes may be assigned for this prevailing apathy respecting the preservation of documents. One cause undoubtedly is, ignorance of their value. They are viewed in relation to themselves, and to their intrinsic merits, and not in connection with events and individuals; the times past and the times to come. Their bearing is not generally seen or felt. Another cause, is hereditary negligence. When persons have never seen any care exercised in favor of letters, antiquities, relics or curiosities; when they have, indeed, known them to be treated with contempt, employed for unworthy purposes, or destroyed from mere wantonness; it is natural that they themselves should follow the same example. Another cause is, remarkable indifference to history. It seems to take a very feeble hold of community. It is condemned, as dry and uninteresting. Few understand its wisdom or discern its use. Few feel that it is "philosophy teaching by example;" and hence there is such a general disgust at its elementary features and documents.

But there is a sentiment, which operates more powerfully than indifference to history; which makes men disregard its elements and study. It is the love of fiction, which is universally prevalent. It is a love which is founded in natural temperament, fostered by education, strengthened by habit, and is pampered by the countless and ever-coming novels and romances of the age.

Fiction entices and deceives,
And, scatter'd o'er her fragrant leaves,
Lies poisonous dew.

The annalist and the poet are rarely combined in the same person. Those who live on the excited emotions of desire and love, and revel

on the enchantments of fancy, can but ill relish the severe truths of the historic muse. Nor are the publications of the day likely to improve our love of truth. The press is momentarily pouring on us a torrent of fictitious materials; feeding us with unwholesome diet; forbidding research, and beguiling us away from practical life, sober thoughts, and sound philosophy. Such publications make us live for the present hour, and not for the past or the future. They oppose the study of antiquity, and give us no encouragement to establish the truths of wisdom, justice and experience, for the benefit of a coming day, so as to lay the foundation of a nobler, wiser and better age. We can only mention one other reason why no more attention is paid to the preservation of documents, and it is a reason which prevails to a very great extent. It is, the absorbing passion for gain. By the mass of mankind, little attention is given to any subject which is not connected with pecuniary profit. Business, not reflection, is the general pursuit. Hence the history of the country receives little consideration. Journals, parchments, pamphlets and manuscripts, are looked upon as the baubles of monomaniacs; and hence some of the richest materials of history lie untouched or forgotten; are condemned as waste paper, or are scattered to the winds.

To these evils many effectual remedies may be applied. Among them are Historical Societies; the excitement, admonitions and reminiscences of their anniversaries; the encouragement of education; the general diffusion of knowledge; the culture of the understanding rather than of the imagination; the inculcation of severe study, rather than of literary pastime; the practice and patronage of historical lectures; libraries, established in all our towns; legislative provision, to obtain and preserve all kinds of documents; and historiographers or annalists, appointed and supported by legislative authority. These and other remedies might have a wonderful influence in curing the prevailing unfortunate apathy about preserving the valuable materials of history.

One of the strongest arguments which we can urge in favor of the preservation of such materials, is the inestimable benefit with which it will be attended. Let us attempt to elucidate and confirm this position, by reference to a few of the various departments of knowledge. Let us look at the cause of literature, and see how far the collection and arranging of every variety of literary document may

be beneficial to this State. Suppose that any one should be required to write the history of the literature of this State. What would be the first and most proper step which he would pursue? Would he not search every place to find the literary productions of the State? Would he not go back to the earliest literary efforts? Would he not try to collect all orations, sermons, biographical notices, poems, addresses, histories, journals, essays, sketches, dissertations, reports, memoirs, novels, political treatises, newspapers, school books, tracts and scientific works, which have ever been published within our borders? The complete accumulation of such productions will not only be serviceable, but essential, in forming a history of the literature of this State. There is no other possible mode by which it can be done; and no where can such materials be expected to be found, except in historical libraries. The preservation of our literary works is therefore advantageous to the formation of our literary history. It shows the course, extent, nature, topics and taste of our literature. It saves from oblivion many great names and great works. It pays a debt and a grateful tribute and recompense to literary merit. It exalts, consecrates and immortalizes worth. It throws a splendor over the reputation of the State, by converging to one focal point the accumulated rays of her learning. It sanctions and encourages literature and literary men. It requites the benefactors of learning, and furnishes a high stimulus for adventure in its cause. It shows us that the State is not unworthy of her scholars. From an exhibition of the history and condition of literature, which such documents would furnish, would result profound philosophical views on the causes and effects of learning; on its comparative condition, whether in progress or on the decline; on the character and influence of the institutions of learning; on our literary defects, and on the remedies which should be employed for their cure. Such a course would produce amongst us literary impulse and elevation.

The history of education in this State, which has been ably presented to you on one of these anniversaries, has led to clearer views and great improvement on that subject; and a still greater good would result from a complete accumulation of materials for the general history of literature. You have able statesmen, scholars, orators, poets and writers, who drew their first breath among your own hills, and have covered those hills with glory. You are honored by

men whose merits are unsurpassed in our country. If the names of all your scholars should be mentioned, you would acknowledge them to be a mighty phalanx. If all their works should be clustered before you, you would pronounce them to be an intellectual galaxy, which will cheer your descendants, and spread a happy light over their pathway through the pilgrimage of life. Who, that has an interest in the literature of the State, can see any of its native sons, lovers of history, able patrons of knowledge, education and the arts, ornaments of society, and distinguished writers, pass away to the eternal world, without some effort to gather up his works; without applying for his manuscripts, that his stores of learning may bless the community and immortalize his name? The scholars amongst us should be able to show to the world the jewels of such a man's mind, acquisitions and fame. Who among us is not proud of the literary remains of many scholars whom we might mention? Their literary remains are among the best legacies to the State; they are State property; they are property of the most productive character. Unlike all other State property or funds, they are the most accumulative and effectual, where they are divided *per capita*. This is wearing the mantles left by the departed prophets of the Schools, and imparting to us a double portion of their spirit.

The advantage of preserving documents will be readily acknowledged by a reference to laws and legislation. The history of the rise, progress, changes and improvement of the laws must be deemed valuable and necessary information to each person engaged in enacting them, as it lets him at once into all their principles, causes, learning and operations. What insight and practical power must it give to a member of the British Parliament, to be conversant with a history of his country's laws from the period of the ancient Britons, the aborigines of the island, through the changes, reformation, and revolutions of the nation, to the last statutes of the present sovereign. So, too, how enlightened and blessed, for legislative purposes, must be those representatives of our own legislature, who have traced the statutes through the various periods of our colonial, provisional and constitutional governments. Such a course will impart brighter views of liberty, prerogative and justice, and wonderfully guide the mind in relation to future enactments. Nothing could be more instructive than the history of our State jurisprudence, from the pro-

ceedings of the first body politic in Exeter, in the year 1638, where the first laws were made in a popular assembly, to the establishment of our General Court. Such a course would furnish legislators a safe chart for guidance. It would prevent the State from falling back into obsolete measures, and from being betrayed into such acts as would prove injurious. The history of our laws, by pointing out the days of violence, oppression and party, with the disgrace that rests on oppressive legislation, would lead to that system which would be loftier and purer, better adapted to the good of the community, and worthy of the commendation of the enlightened men of every nation and coming age. Now, how are you to be furnished with these materials, without preserving all legislative documents and reports? How are you to sustain, repair and perfect the Constitution, without having before you all the journals, statutes and reports of previous experience and wisdom? Where are such materials to be obtained, and who has yet given you a history of your laws, of your jurisprudence?

Besides, what is legislation? Is it the mere exercise of opinion without knowledge, of decision without reason, of action without independence of party, of authority without right, of power without justice, of arbitrary will without some rule of precedent? Certainly not. Genuine liberty is founded on just and enlightened law. A legislature, therefore, must "add to their virtue knowledge;" and with the stern, inflexible love of truth and justice, must be united a full acquaintance with previous acts and journals. How can any one, therefore, be prepared either to write a history of your laws, or even be qualified to make laws, without means of reference to a complete series of the documents issued by your legislature?

We cannot fail to mention the importance and benefits of preserving pamphlets, letters and papers, as far as biography is concerned. What a gratification might it not have been to the world, if an earlier attention had been paid to the collection of memorials respecting Shakespeare; of whom not an incident or anecdote was ever related until an hundred years after the publication of his plays. Who does not wish a fuller account of the merchant adventurers, Wiggin, Hilton and Chadbourne; of such distinguished jurists as Pickering and West; of such statesmen as Wingate, Bartlett and Langdon, who graced the old Congress; of the heroic spirits engaged in the

siege of Louisburgh; of those who won more precious laurels in our Revolutionary War; and of many other illustrious personages who have adorned our State? No department of literature is more instructive or interesting than biography. It is philosophy, exhibiting practical morality. Now, the preservation of all kinds of anecdotes, sketches, incidents, correspondence and traditions, relative to individuals who have filled conspicuous places in society, are among the most valuable materials of history. Every thing, however apparently trivial, throws some light on such personages, saves them from undeserved oblivion, and embalms them in the annals of the State. Even a date is of great importance, as connected with an event; and so remarkable was Washington for attention to this particular, that amidst the immense number of his letters and documents, only two of them have been found which were not dated. Events that interest us in history, awaken a much deeper interest when we are made familiar with the characters of the individuals conspicuously connected with those events; when we are enabled to gaze on their faithful portraits, and bless them for having given to the body of their age its form and pressure. Our Historical Society has been indefatigable in collecting such materials, have raised many worthies from the grave of oblivion, and have placed them in living splendor before us.

The accumulation and preservation of documents touching ecclesiastical matters, or the course of religious opinions and events in the community, will be attended with vast benefits. It will be the rescue of precious lessons from destruction; and we shall be greatly indebted to those who shall collect such materials, for the guidance of all who wish to know what is religious truth, and what are its bearings. How much do we owe to the illustrious priest and scribe, Ezra, who collected and arranged the various writings of the Old Testament, with the exception of the three minor prophets who lived about the time of Ezra, but whose works did not appear until after he had completed the canon! What thanks do we owe to the individual, said to have been St. John, who finished and settled the canon of the New Testament, by collecting and arranging those tracts of salvation! Here were wonderful instances of wisdom and blessing in the preservation of documents; for to those sacred parchments do we owe all the light, mercy and glory that are worthy of human existence and care. There is nothing about which the community is

so much in the dark, as about the true and accurate history of religion amongst us. Sectarian prejudices and feelings have tended to increase that darkness. Sometimes, on one side, there is the indiscriminate eulogy of the Puritans; and, on the other side, there is an unqualified denunciation of them. Some have falsely ascribed all our early religious troubles to Archbishop Laud, who has been denounced as the dragon that would devour the pure offspring of Christianity, and drive the mother into the wilderness. Others charged all evils to the stern Covenanters, as rebels against ecclesiastical discipline. One thing is clear, that the early settlers of this country were not themselves exempted from intolerance; and on that account it has been extremely difficult to obtain a fair history of ecclesiastical matters during our early provisional government. The best of men have been strangely misunderstood, and their motives have been grossly misrepresented.

In illustration of these positions we might present many facts. We can only briefly state, that opinions denounced as heresy; the opposing certain dogmas, or denial of any of the canonical books of the Old Testament; were punished by fine, whipping and banishment. Romish priests and Quakers were banished from the Colony. Intercourse with Quakers was forbidden on the severest penalties; and the colonists admitted none to religious fellowship who had not the same stern, inflexible principles which they themselves cherished.* What we want, is such an accumulation of materials as shall enable us to obtain a fair ecclesiastical history of this State. Then justice will be done to individuals, parties and doctrines. Then will religion stand divested of injurious imputation, and an accurate and impartial view will be given of our religious institutions. We want the development of truth—whatever may be the party or the men who shall suffer reproach. The age is now too liberal and enlightened, and the motives for discolored testimony and facts are too few and feeble, to allow in this respect error and delusion to disgrace the pages of our religious history. The preservation of early records may detect errors and delusions, and render an essential benefit, by shedding a glory over the Church of Christ. It will operate as a salutary warning against intolerance, persecution and defama-

* North American Review, 1823; July; p. 89.

tion, and will teach genuine humility, sound faith, and Christian charity.

Even the preservation of customs, ceremonies, dress, occupations, and incidents of domestic life, are of great benefit, not only as gratifying a laudable curiosity, but as furnishing instruction connected with the history of the arts and the progress of society. It is delightful to know how our ancestors lived, and how far their manners were connected with public morals and happiness. The portraiture of home is a graphic incident of national character, and is an evidence of the spirit of the age. The domestic manners of the Romans, which have been culled from history, afford us vivid pictures of scenes about the hearth-stones of that classic people. We learn the rude condition of the arts, touching human comfort, when we sit at an ancient Roman feast, and mingle with noble guests eating their repast with their fingers. At a later day, in the time of Henry the Fourth of France, in the sixteenth century, we hail a wonderful invention, and see that monarch at dinner with a huge, one-pronged fork, while in ludicrous triumph he declares it to be as convenient as his fingers. We learn that there *is* now, or *was* lately, in the castle of Pau, a town renowned as the birth-place of Henry the Fourth, the first fork used in Christendom. Perhaps it *was* the same which the monarch used. It is described as a great steel thing, whose prong would make ten forks of these degenerate days.* We sit down in an ancient Roman apartment, but not with habiliments unsoiled, for the godlike people had not then known the use of a broom. Horace tells us that he was once in a magnificent dining room, when the canopy fell, and covered the company with the dust of ages.†

So, too, when we look at the domestic manners of our people in by-gone days, we have much to learn of the progress, or rather of the once low state of the arts, connected with comfort. From Governor Winthrop's Journal we learn that wooden chimneys were common in this country for many years; that a wainscot of clapboards in the house of the deputy governor was deemed 'a great extravagance; that Lady Moody's house at Salem was only nine feet high, with a chimney in the centre. Now, the preservation of all docu-

* Sketches of the Domestic Manners of the Romans. Philadelphia ed. : 1822.

† North American Review, January, 1823, p. 167.

ments touching such subjects is of material importance connected with our social history. It is instructive to study man under all the modifications of his existence, and ascertain the influence of circumstances connected with his welfare and the formation of his character.

Consider, also, what the preservation of documents can effect in relation to the sciences and arts. One of the greatest discoveries of this age is the steam engine. It is to produce a revolution, as wonderful in our days as was effected in a previous age by the invention of printing or the discovery of the mariner's compass. Yet the steam engine is nothing new; and could the documents of its invention in former days have then been preserved and published, the world might now be centuries in advance of its present attainments and advantages. About a century before the Christian era, Hiero applied steam to machinery in Egypt. In the year 1826, Don Martin Fernandez de Navarette, Secretary of the Royal Academy of History, of Madrid, in Spain,—a person of eminent learning and scientific attainments,—communicated to the Correspondence Astronomique of De Zach a notice of a document, preserved among the royal archives of Spain, claiming for his countrymen the merit of constructing the first steam-engine and steam-boat, and asserting that Biasco de Garay, a sea captain, proposed, in the year 1543, to the Emperor Charles the Vth, a machine to propel vessels in times of calm without oars and sails.* The experiment was made in a vessel of two hundred tons, in the harbor of Barcelona, June 17, 1543. Garay's machinery was seen to consist of a great vessel of boiling water, and wheels attached to each side of the vessel. The alleged danger of the bursting of the boiler, and the Emperor's deep engagements about other matters, disheartened Garay's spirits, crushed his efforts, and caused a slumber of nearly three centuries over his invention. Had those documents been spread before inventive minds in the mechanic world, at an earlier period, the Watts, Boltons and Fultons would have touched some other and more mysterious and magical screws in the arcana of the mechanic arts.

How many thousand things, connected with the arts and sciences, have been lost for want of the guardianship of public records, which, when preserved, keep society from a retrograde movement. We

* American Quarterly Review, 1829, No. 12, p. 416.

might carry out similar views in relation to natural history, education, antiquities, commerce, manufactures, modes of travelling, and other subjects; but we must leave them to your own course of reasoning and imagination.

We can refer now only to one other advantage of preserving documents. It is, to the facility which it furnishes for writing history. It is true that the author of *Ferdinand and Isabella* wrote his admirable History amidst accumulated documents in his native city. But his own pecuniary means enabled him to command, from the remotest quarters, the rich materials from which his work was prepared. Few writers possess sufficient affluence to gather from the ransacked globe such authorities as may be requisite for their works. Wheaton wrote his history of the *Northmen*, in Europe, and Irving wrote his *Life of Columbus* in Spain. The same Navarrete to whom we have alluded, issued from the press, in the year 1826, a collection of valuable documents relating to the voyages of Columbus, and threw much additional light on the discovery of the New World. The Hon. Alexander H. Everett communicated this fact to our classical and learned fellow-countryman, Irving, who was consequently induced to visit Madrid, to undertake the translation of those documents. The idea of mere translation was soon necessarily abandoned, and out of those documents he blessed the world with his admirable *Life of Columbus*.

Our libraries are generally defective in historical materials, and in this department our scholars have shown a painful apathy. It is a disgrace to be ignorant of our own country, which has sprung so rapidly into existence; and which, though not venerable for antiquities, is wonderful for wildness of adventures, boldness of national character, singular vicissitudes of fortune, and astonishing romance. If history be among the most instructive, interesting, strengthening and improving kinds of reading, and if a knowledge of our country becomes a duty, surely the preservation of documents which shall throw light on our history, and raise up for us able historians, will of course prove a most precious blessing.

In thus exhibiting the duty and advantages of preserving records and documents, we cannot omit to urge a prompt and active attention to such a course. The earlier it shall be begun, the more extensive will be the benefit. But there is a consideration which carries with

it an imperious influence. It is the fact, that unless something be immediately done, many of the most important materials of our history will be lost forever. Take the case of our aborigines. They are fast melting away, "like snow-flakes in the river." Beautifully is their evanescent condition described by our admirable poet,—
Sprague:

Alas! for them, their day is o'er!
 Their fires are out from hill and shore!
 No more for them the wild deer bounds;
 The plough is on their hunting grounds;
 The pale man's axe rings through their woods—
 The pale man's sail skims o'er their floods;
 Their pleasant springs are dry;
 Their children—look, by power oppressed,
 Their children go—to die.
 Nor lofty pile, nor glowing page,
 Shall link them to a future age,
 Or give them with the past a rank;
 Their heraldry is but a broken bow;
 Their history but a tale of wrong and wo;
 Their very name must be a blank.

Their story is now familiar to us, but soon they will be passed away, and their history will be deemed an incredible legend. Whatever facts or incidents may be obtained respecting them, should immediately be obtained. Highly deserving of praise are those individuals who have given their labors to provide accurate accounts of the red men.

Take the case of our early history. It is about seventy years since we became an independent nation; and the era of our birth has been one of rare talents and uncommon fertility of literary and political productions. No one whose attention has not been led to the subject can imagine the number and value of the choice and able documents which exist, relative to our early history; so that if antiquarians and annalists paid proper attention to the subject, every thing would be found which might be necessary to give a complete account of our origin and growth, and to place the principles and measures of our people on a true and honorable ground. Journals were kept in all the Colonies; and it is curious to see how fast time throws out the numerous diaries and memoirs of some of the chief men of our land in olden time. It is stated, that as far back as the

year 1713, the bare catalogue of the titles of the books relating to this country, as published by Bishop Kennett, filled a quarto volume of 275 pages. It is said that Col. Aspinwall, our consul at London, has a collection of books relating to America amounting to 771 volumes; and as the works are rare, few of them have ever been imported into our country.* Much has been done by Hazard, St. Clair Clarke, Peter Force, and the Historical Societies; and we trust that the mighty scheme of forming a complete collection of the documentary histories of our land, from the first settlement of the Colonies to the adoption of the Federal Constitution, whatever may be the size or number of the volumes, will yet be executed. While Mr. Everett was Governor of Massachusetts, it was said that his administration was not only honorable for the faithful discharge of the duties of his office, but was in the highest degree praiseworthy for his suggestions, and active interest, concerning the preservation of the documents relating to the colonial history of Massachusetts; for collecting and arranging the chaotic, and, in some instances, illegible manuscripts of the public archives, and for the publication of all journals and papers which tended to illustrate and prove the patriotic exertions of the people of Massachusetts in the Revolutionary contest.

The character and importance of that contest furnishes us another motive to the preservation of documents. Some of those who struggled against the rough tide of those eventful days, are yet alive. Essays, pamphlets, traditionary tales, and private correspondence, may be obtained from various families connected with our Revolutionary heroes. Those documents are fast disappearing, and will be lost beyond recovery, unless a more active zeal be exerted to collect and save them. Much has been done, but the whole harvest has not been gathered. The materials of that convulsion are full of the deepest interest to every American. They confirm the high and holy purposes of our patriotic sires; their devotion to the cause of liberty, virtue and truth; their determination to show obedience to law, until convinced that it was criminal servitude; their purity of principles, which could not bear the stain of a sullied conscience; and their heroic self-devotion, which made them ready to sacrifice every thing to freedom, truth and virtue. It is true that

* North American Review, 1836, July; p. 274.

They need

No statue nor inscription to reveal
 Their greatness. It is round them; and the joy
 With which their children tread the hallowed ground
 That holds their venerated bones; the peace,
 That smiles on all they fought for; and the wealth,
 That clothes the land they rescued; these, though mute,
 As feeling ever is when deepest; these
 Are monuments more lasting than the fanes
 Reared to the kings and demigods of old.

But there is a monument which it is both disgraceful and ungrateful not to raise to their memory. It is the monument of the treasury of their labors. It is the obelisk of the faithful record of every thing which we can learn of their services; and this will be a lofty obelisk, which can be seen from every part of the world, and in every coming day. We have indeed documents enough to establish these facts; but we exult at the collection of any additional papers which tend to throw over them stronger testimony or new light, or add to the enchantment of our Revolutionary drama. We are delighted to peruse such letters as have recently been given to us from the domestic correspondence of the elder Adams, and to gather up the State papers of the governors and legislators of the various Provinces, relative to the dispute between our own country and Great Britain, just previous to our Independence. Such documents are of vast value, especially when we consider, that records of events have in some cases never been well preserved in public offices; and in this respect, at the Revolution, it is well known there was universal confusion. It is stated, as a fact, that in hardly a single State can be found in any one place a full copy of its journals and records during the period of the Revolution.

To show more fully the value of documents, let us look at the history of the First Congress, in the year 1774. Nothing can be more meagre, uninteresting and defective than the journals of that Congress. Yet that was the most important Congress which this country ever knew. It was held in the Carpenters' Hall, in Philadelphia, and was composed of fifty citizens from the several colonies and provinces of North America; and those men were the master-spirits of their age.* Every one of them was a giant in his day. There

* New-York Review, 1839; No. 8, p. 324.

was at that time a wondrously excited state of public feeling. But Great Britain knew nothing of the nature of that feeling, nor of the real principles which actuated those men. Ambition for power, the spirit of rebellion, the lust of gold, base sentiments of insubordination, and other malicious aspersions, were cast on their characters. The journals shewed nothing to remove or weaken those aspersions. Now, there is a vast amount of yet unpublished manuscripts, which reveal all the feelings of the colonists, and especially of those lofty spirits who guided the chief destinies of the Revolution. All those documents show elevated feelings, enlightened patriotism, sound religion, and pure liberty. They shew that it was not a rage about ship-money, or tea, or a Boston riot, but that it was a dignified, high-minded sense of right and wrong, of liberty and oppression, which kindled their spirits and roused their action. It was a long, deliberate and matured view of the necessity of some decided course, of some great national coöperation and union; and, when more documents shall be published, justice will be more fully done to the members of the First Congress, an assembly of most noble men. The documents of the early history of all our States are deposited in the various public offices of London, and those must be all copied and published. Efforts have been made by several States to bring this matter before Congress.

The importance of preserving documents may also be seen, if we consider that it is by this course we are enabled to present in a fair light the characters of those men who refused to embark in our Revolutionary struggle. Severely have they been condemned by many, for want of elevated principles, love of freedom, and heroic firmness. We have been favored with valuable documents, which place such condemned personages on strong, defensible ground, and disabuse us of improper feelings and erroneous views respecting them. Among these documents, we find Peter Van Schaack's Memoirs and Curwin's Journal. The latter work, which, among other subjects, shows us the character and movements of the second Sir William Pepperrell, must teach us caution in the aspersion of men's motives and principles, because they leaned so strongly on the side of loyalty.

When we consider that Curwin's Journal was about sixty years in the possession of his descendants, without their properly appreci-

ating its value and seeing the propriety of its publication, we feel how often we may be betrayed into the same sort of historical apathy. Many live amidst manuscripts and diaries, lodged in garrets, old cabinets, or some huge, black, worm-eaten trunk, unconscious with what historical treasures they are surrounded. Those papers may form a part of our national history. They may be among the best materials of poetry or romance. They may solve some mystery or doubt, establish some important date, fill some void in domestic or civil narratives or details, or exhibit some striking features in our literature. Wherever such documents are found, they should be sent to our Historical Societies. It is the assertion of a writer in the *North American Review*, that Bancroft's History of the United States never could have been written without the use of the materials which the Massachusetts Historical Society has so amply provided, so liberally dispensed.* If we will now look to the various accessible sources for the materials of our history, we shall doubtless be successful in our discoveries, and shall rescue many valuable papers from the oblivion or ruin which must otherwise await them.

An important question now arises, what can be done? what measures ought to be pursued to lead the community at large to a greater interest in the materials of history, and to the collection and preservation of them? In answer to these questions we would first urge, as a most prominent and effectual course, the necessity of legislative action. The care of the materials of history forms a part and parcel of our civil administration. The legislature should be diligent in providing a complete series of their own documents, and they should distribute copies for public benefit, to literary institutions, and to the municipal authorities of the various towns. Distributed as they have been, to the legislators only, each of those legislators will have portions of the journals which will be their private property. Hence parts of the journals will be found every where, but nowhere will complete sets be found. Until recently there was not in our legislative Library of this State a complete printed series of the documents of our Legislature. Much praise is due to the distinguished individual, who so successfully exerted himself for the remedy of a defect which was so reproachful to us. But we doubt

* *N. A. Review*, 1837, January, p. 261.

whether there is any other library of our State which contains a complete set of our State Journals. Nor was it till lately, through the memorial of Gales and Seaton, that Congress was provided and the public was blessed with printed copies of the Journals of the Old Congress, and of the Convention that formed our Constitution ; with our diplomatic correspondence, State papers, and Executive Senate Journals. There should be preserved a complete body of all the statutes ; for a law repealed is sometimes of more value, in an historical record, and as illustrating the state and spirit of the times, than many of the laws which are in force.

There should be legislative action to make provision for collecting and recording incidents of State History, by appointing an annalist and making liberal provision for him. Even in the ancient days of the Anglo-Saxons, no general went to battle without taking his scald, or recorder, to describe all eventful martial incidents. Why, in this enlightened and learned age, should States be without their historiographers ? Their office might be, not only to arrest and mark the fleeting events of the day, but to elucidate our early history, by gathering facts from the memory of the aged and the voice of tradition ; by the investigation of books, and the accumulation of letters, pamphlets and journals. Or, at least, our government should make grants for aiding the Historical Society of the State, as has been done by other legislatures. The sum of twelve thousand dollars was one year paid to the New-York Historical Society out of the treasury of the State. The legislature of Massachusetts voted a sum to aid the Historical Society of that Commonwealth in printing Winthrop's Journal. Committees should be appointed in the various towns, whose duty it should be to hunt up the materials of history, and make annual reports to this Society. Let every man understand, feel and discharge his duty in these respects, and soon will our State acquire an illustrious name for its historical researches, collections and productions. What a high reputation for the State, as well as for himself, has the indefatigable and accurate Farmer secured. He was one of the most faithful and correct historians, antiquarians and genealogists that we have had in our State. This Historical Society is chiefly indebted to him for the preservation and printing of valuable documents, and for able contributions to our volumes of the Historical Collections. His Genealogical Register

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of the First Settlers of New-England is a most valuable book of reference, is a monument of patient industry and elaborate research, and is of immense importance to our history.

Thus have I endeavored to point out the way by which we may be provided with the materials of the history of the State and of the Nation. We are but of yesterday. Only a few generations have passed away since the seed of the May-Flower was sown on our iron-bound coast. Tradition cannot preserve, even for a period so brief, many of the events of the lives of our Pilgrim Fathers and of their descendants; and one might suppose that their books or manuscripts could not so soon have been lost. Much has been done to collect and preserve them, and none would ever have perished had there been many spirits like the editor of Winthrop's History of New-England. Belknap, Farmer, and Moore, with others, have been noble examples for us. If every one would bring at least one pebble from the vast quarry of facts; if none will cease from the labors of investigation till the materials of our history shall be gathered; we shall have a glorious monument to mark our story, and the press shall make that monument durable as time. Then shall the great men and the great deeds which have distinguished our State be the crown of our honor, the light of the coming age, the ever-active impulse to exalted virtue, and the elements of increasing renown. Then truth, whatever be its features, will be the basis of our history. These things are important, to place our nation in a right position and character before the world, as well as before ourselves, so that praise may be discriminate and calumny harmless; that coming generations may be filled with admiration at our eventful annals; feel new and ever-increasing attachment to our soil and institutions; possess an elevated national character, as well as ardent patriotism; cling closer and closer to the cause of religion, liberty and law, and be sons worthy of their illustrious sires and of their glorious country.

BRADLEY MONUMENT—ERECTED AUG. 22, 1837.



[The following Account in respect to the erection of this Monument, and the event it is designed to commemorate, appeared in the New-Hampshire Statesman & State Journal. This Account, and extracts from the appropriate Address delivered on the occasion, the Committee of Publication have deemed proper and expedient to insert in the present volume of the Collections, for the purpose of preserving in a permanent form an interesting notice of the melancholy event they commemorate, and also many other facts and events con-

nected with the early history of this State. They are important to the present generation, and will be exceedingly so to posterity.]

THE MONUMENT.

On Tuesday last, the 22d inst., corresponding with the 11th August, O. S., the ceremony of raising the Monument in commemoration of the massacre of the Bradleys and others, on that day, 1746, was attended near the scene of that event in this town [Concord] by a large concourse of people. The procession was formed under the direction of Col. STEPHEN BROWN, Chief Marshal, at the residence of Mr. B. H. WEEKS, in the following order :

Teachers and Scholars of the several public and private Schools.

Chief Marshal.

Music.

Committee of Arrangements.

Orator.

New-Hampshire Historical Society.

Descendants of the persons killed in 1746.

His Excellency the Governor.

Officers of the State Government.

Past Officers.

Citizens generally.

The procession moved to the ground on which the Monument was to be erected, when it was raised into its place ; after which the procession moved in the order above to the grove of oaks on the south side of the road, when the following order of exercises was observed.

1. Hymn, by the Rev. JOHN PIERPONT, of Boston, and sung under the direction of Mr. WM. D. BUCK.

Not now, O God, beneath the trees,
That shade this vale at night's cold noon,
Do Indian war-songs load the breeze,
Or wolves sit howling to the moon.

The foes, the fears, our fathers felt,
Have, with our fathers, passed away ;
And where in Death's dark shade they knelt,
We come to praise thee and to pray.

We praise thee that thou plantedst them,
And mad'st thy heavens drop down their
dew—

We pray, that, shooting from their stem,
We long may flourish where they grew.

And, Father, leave us not alone :—
Thou hast been, and art still our trust :
Be thou our fortress, till our own
Shall mingle with our fathers' dust.

2. Prayer, by Rev. Mr. BOUTON.

3. Address, by Mr. ASA MCFARLAND.

AN ADDRESS,

Delivered on the occasion of the erection of a Monument, at Concord, N. H., August 22, 1837, in commemoration of SAMUEL BRADLEY and others, who fell in the Indian massacre at that place in 1746.

[A few of the less historical portions of the Address are omitted in this volume ; but the principal part of it is as follows:]

* * * * *

The interesting and solemn services assigned for this day have attracted us to a place memorable in the history of Concord. It was amidst trees which shaded this ground—ground upon which none but peaceful sounds are heard—that five individuals, on the 11th of August, 1746, were met and slain by a party of Indians from north-western frontiers, and hence that two of the original number of eight, were conducted captives to Canada. Here, where no enemy lurks to hunt or destroy ;—in a valley in and around which cattle are quietly grazing ;—near ample forests, from the deepest recesses of which no fearful sounds issue—that the brown Indian once gathered down in fearful numbers, and lay in ambush on the declivities around us. With arms put into their hands more terrific than the bow, and with weapons at their sides more dreadful than the arrow, they laid in coverts by this roadside, ready either to flee stealthily away, or spring upon straggling parties of white men. It was here that a fight ensued, under the light of the morning sun—in which gallant resistance was made to a host of enemies ; here that the earth was moistened with blood, and here that shrieks of the wounded, groans of the dying, and the yell of the conquerors, were blended in horrible discord, and rose on the air—together composing a tragedy which carried terror to the heart of every one who resided in this infant settlement, and caused tears to flow, not only from the eyes of those whose kindred, near and dear, were of the dead, but from a community which, in those times of peril,—surrounded as it was by common dangers,—had partaken of common sympathies.

The occasion renders it proper that attention should be directed to some facts, which it is hoped will aid in understanding the subject now brought before us—THE MASSACRE OF AUGUST 11, 1746.

During a period embraced between the years 1675 and 1759, there

were six wars of which people living on territory which now constitutes New-England, and who resided towards the sea-board, were called to experience the effects—although the origin of most of these disturbances was difficulties growing up between the English and French, relative to the American possessions of each. The event of which this day is the anniversary, by change from Old to New Style, occurred during the 5th of these struggles, commenced in 1744, in the country now held by the English east of the State of Maine.

Throughout these wars the people of new settlements were exposed to, and experienced, the manifold afflictions which it may naturally be supposed would be dealt out, when whites were in the midst of, or surrounded by, those who looked upon their encroachments with distrust and their increase with alarm. Four of these difficulties arose before the settlement of Concord, viz. 1st. The war with King Philip. 2d. That with French and Indians, called "King William's War." 3d. One against the same enemies, called, from the reigning sovereign of England, "Queen Anne's War." 4th. Lovewell's, which was brought to a close in 1725, about the time this town was entered by its grantees. Subsequent to which occurred, 5th, that against French and Indians, of which one of the chief incidents was the famous expedition to, and reduction of, Louisbourg, Cape Breton—and not far from which time the massacre took place; and, 6th, the last conflict with French and Indians, which terminated in the taking of the strongly fortified city of Quebec, and the subjection of Canada to British power.

During most, if not all these wars, New England was molested by Indians, and suffered great loss in property and lives. The Indians were, for apparent reasons, usually found in the ranks of the French; and in latter struggles with the English, the French had been inclined to attract the Indians to Canadian frontiers, that they might be supplied with means, and more effectually sent upon their fatal missions. The places in New-Hampshire which, prior and subsequent to 1746, were molested, are as follows: On an eastern division of the State—Dover, a town repeatedly and dreadfully dealt with,—Durham, Exeter, Lee, Rye, Portsmouth, Nottingham, North-Hampton, Hampton, Kingston, and Lamprey River: on a middle division, Boscawen, Hopkinton, Concord, Canterbury, Pembroke, and

Dunstable: on the west, Walpole, Westmoreland, Keene, Charlestown, Bridgman's Fort, Hinsdale's Fort, Fort Dummer, and Hinsdale.

The year 1746—a memorable one in the history of Concord—found its inhabitants using all means in their power to ward off attack. Garrisons were erected, or houses made defensible, to the number of ten; seven within our chief settlement, and the remainder in other divisions of the town. The men went to their labor armed with guns, uncertain whether they would be levelled at wild animals or far different objects. To understand fully its situation at this time, as well as that of neighboring places, it may be remarked that,

“Indians, before the country was settled, were seated principally on our large streams, and around lakes and ponds, and after it became settled, were fond of visiting the scenes of their former residence. Hence this town was often visited by them in time of peace; and in time of war it must have been often marked out for destruction. Here had been in earlier times their general rendezvous, and here was the seat of the far famed Passaconaway, ‘the great sachem of Penacook.’ No place in the interior of New-Hampshire, from the banks of the Connecticut to the eastern border of the State, had such strong and interesting associations to the Indians as the territory included within our limits. No place was so favorably situated for an attack. The western boundary of the town is nearly equi-distant from Connecticut river on the west, and Salmon Falls river, a branch of the Piscataqua, on the east. The distance on a line drawn east and west from one river to another, and striking the north boundary of Concord, would be about 65 miles. The only towns settled in New-Hampshire north of such a line were Charlestown, then called Number-Four, on Connecticut river; Boscawen, then Contoocook, and Canterbury, on the Merrimack, and Rochester, on Salmon Falls river. Rochester and Charlestown at that time, from their distance and location, had no intercourse with the inhabitants of Rumford, and Boscawen and Canterbury afforded no sort of a barrier.

“It will be proper to take a view of Concord, then called Rumford, in relation to the bordering settlements, and to consider more particularly its exposure to attack from the enemy. On the north were Boscawen and Canterbury. The former had been settled ten years, and had become a flourishing settlement, containing, when this war commenced, twenty-five families. The inhabitants were in some measure secured from attack, by means of a fort, 100 feet square

and 10 feet high, built of strong materials, four years before this time. For more than twenty years, it was a convenient garrison for all the inhabitants. Canterbury was settled in 1735, and for a long time was exposed to the inroads of the savages. The husbandman cleared and tilled his land under the protection of a guard, uncertain whether the seed he committed to the ground might be watered with his blood or that of an enemy. These towns were the frontiers of Concord on the north. The settlements of Hopkinton, Bow and Pembroke were nearly coeval with Concord, but they were in a condition to make but feeble resistance. The situation of Rumford at this time may be further known from a petition which the inhabitants presented to the Governor, Council and House of Representatives, on the 30th of April, 1745. They state that 'the buildings are mostly compact and properly formed for defence, and well situated for a barrier, being on Merrimack river, about a day's march below the confluence of Winipishoky and Pemissawasset rivers, both which are main gang-ways of the Canadians to the frontiers of this Province, and within a week's march at farthest from a very strong fort, built within these few years by the French, at Crown Point, which will be a place of constant retreat and resort for the French and Indians in all their expeditions against the English settlements.' They represented, 'That the breaking up of the settlement will not only ruin them, but greatly disserve his Majesty's interest, by encouraging his enemies to encroach on his derelict dominions, and be also hurtful to the Province, by contracting its borders, and drawing the war nearer to the capital.' They also state that 'a rupture with the Indians being hourly expected, many of the inhabitants, by reason of their being so exposed to immediate danger from their enemies, had already moved from said town,' and that 'the season of the year being such as to give the Indians an opportunity of disturbing the frontiers, and the Dutch and Mohawks having lately given occasion to fear that they would join in a war against his Majesty's settlements, as mentioned in some late newspapers,' they should soon be obliged, unless they had speedy help, 'to evacuate said town, how disserviceable soever it might be to the Crown, dishonorable to the Government, hurtful to the Province, and ruinous to themselves.'"

*Furnished the author by JOHN FARMER, Esq.

In addition to the above statement of the condition of Rumford, as it regarded adjacent towns, to learn its internal situation and aspect let us imagine that the thousands living here, are no more : That the Capitol is levelled to the ground, and the materials of which it is composed restored to the places whence they were brought : That other public buildings, together with all human habitations here borne upon the surface of the earth, are swept away : That the gardens and ground-plots, the ornamental trees and shrubbery, and whatever else the work of men and women, in refined existence, call up and around to minister to happiness or contribute to comfort, are 'as though they had never been : ' That out of our chief settlement things are nearly as found at first. In place of all this, scatter 30 or 40 brown dwellings, peopled with affrighted inhabitants, along a road, at the side of which many native trees—the oak and pine,—maple, birch and hemlock, with alder groves—are not removed. Where pleasant villages have grown up north of us, on both banks of the Merrimack, set a few houses, and give a garrison to each of these outposts. Immediately west of this monument, let there be a few lots rescued from barrenness, and a guard-house there, also. Over our broad intervals let a few acres be under culture, and just as well tilled as would naturally be the case in a new and terror-stricken frontier town. Let thick forests clothe most of the soil, and animals dwell therein which "make night hideous." Let bears rustle in the farmers' corn-fields, and wolves howl around his sheep-folds ; let moose and deer go down at noon to drink at a stream, from the far-distant sources of which the species now flee before the aim of the huntsman. To such a settlement let the breezes convey notes of alarm : let the dwellers there know that a foreign enemy is instigating merciless Indians to carry desolation over soil where he or his fathers dwelt ; let this foe lurk in its midst, and be secreted in its alder-swamps ; let men, women and children flee at night to places of protection, and there let muskets, powder-horns, shot and bullet-pouches hang up for mantle ornaments—imagine this, and you have a near view of Rumford in 1746.

It was, therefore, in this situation that the inhabitants of Rumford found themselves when this war commenced, and when they applied to the government of New-Hampshire, "to grant them such constant and seasonable aids, both with respect to men and mil-

itary stores, as might enable them to maintain his Majesty's dominions, in so well situated a barrier, and so ancient and well regulated a settlement, as well as to secure their own lives and fortunes against the ravage and devastation of a blood-thirsty and merciless enemy."

In answer to these urgent appeals, a company of men, under Capt. Daniel Ladd, composed of individuals from Exeter and that neighborhood, and from towns through which Ladd passed hitherward, as well as others who enlisted here and in Boscawen, came to Rumford by order of government, and performed scout duty in this and neighboring towns. From the 'Journal of Abner Clough,' clerk of this company, a document found lately in our State Archives, and which, although peculiar in phraseology, and often wanting in perspicuity, but that is, in connection with this subject, very interesting—it appears, that after passing from Exeter to Chester, they followed on through "Isles Hooks," Suncook, (Pembroke) and reached Rumford on the 19th July: that from that day until the 28th, they ranged through this town, Canterbury, Boscawen and Hopkinton, without discovering the enemy, and returned to Rumford on the road leading by us: that on the 28th July they left Rumford, and passing through Suncook, Epsom and Nottingham, reached Exeter on the 31st July, when Ladd dismissed his men until the 5th August: that on that day, they resumed their march to Rumford by the former route, but that Capt. Ladd, learning from Jonathan Bradley, (who overtook the company at Massabesic pond, in Chester,) that Indians were in the rear, went back with about twenty men, and scoured the woods as far as Kingston, while the residue passed to their destination, and were joined by Ladd and the men with whom he returned in pursuit of the enemy, on Sunday, the 10th of August.

The second arrival of this company was at a time when the inhabitants had become very much alarmed. The enemy were seen on the Sabbath in thickets near the log building in which the people at that period had public worship, and the total destruction of this place was then meditated, as was afterwards learned of the Indians themselves. There were then about 40 men enrolled in the local military force, which number was swelled by Capt. Ladd's company to between 60 and 70. The men, not excepting the spiritual leader of this flock in the wilderness, went armed to church, and placed sentinels without. The Indians, observing from their hiding places

the means ready to repel assault, retired ; and the whites departed from church to garrisons which were the resort of all, to have a night of fitful sleep, and awake on the morning of a sorrowful day.

On Monday, Ladd's men were allotted to the duty which they had been ordered here to perform : Some to guard the habitations of the people, others to attend men to the field, to secure grass which had remained weeks in the swath, others to accompany such as were led abroad upon business which drew them to places where Indians, if in the neighborhood, would be likely to lie in wait. Such a destination was that of those who encountered adversaries in this valley. An errand, the special nature of which is not definitely ascertained, but which was either to the garrison about three quarters of a mile west of us, to Hopkinton, or to some detached dwelling between that garrison and Hopkinton, led JONATHAN BRADLEY, SAMUEL BRADLEY, OBADIAH PETERS, JOHN BEAN, JOHN LUFKIN, WILLIAM STICKNEY, ALEXANDER ROBERTS, and DANIEL GILMAN to pass along this highway, some on horses, and all of them armed. Gilman, the foremost of the number, had, according to Clough's Journal, (more authentic information than any other of which we are in possession,) passed beyond the place of encounter ; in fact was so far beyond his companions as to be out of sight. Hearing guns, and thinking the company had shot deer, he turned "and ran back about forty rods upon a hill, so as to see over upon the other hill, where the Indians lay." The men had been suffered to pass beyond the place of ambush, and were fired upon from behind. [There is a tradition, that the Indians were apprised of the approach of the men by their discharge of guns at a hawk.] Lufkin and Peters were shot down at the first fire, and fell in the path, a short distance apart. Jonathan Bradley, an older brother of Samuel, who was in 1746 residing at Exeter, and was Lieutenant of the company sent here ; whose grandmother was twice taken prisoner, and whose family connections were killed at Haverhill at the time Mrs. Dustin was taken ; appears to have offered determined resistance. He had been heard to say, on the morning of the massacre, that he would never be taken into captivity, to endure hardships, and undergo cruelties, of which he had heard so much. On the first fire, which had already swept away two of his men, he ordered the remainder to fire, which they did upon such of the Indians as were in sight ; when the whole body

arose from the bushes, and let go a volley, running out into the road, and making, as Gilman related, "all sort of howling and yelling." This discharge wounded Samuel Bradley and John Bean, the latter mortally. Bean ran a few rods out of the road and fell, while Bradley passed several feet beyond where Lufkin and Peters lay, when another shot brought him to the ground, a bullet having shattered his powder horn, and entered his body. Jonathan Bradley, already disabled in the wrist, and with his empty gun, with which he had shot one Indian, and with the breech of which he now felled another dead, was immediately surrounded by the host, and was soon brought to the earth, literally hewed down thereto.

The work of death was now finished, and summer breezes were blowing over the bodies of young and valiant men, who came up hither under the light of a pleasant sun, and doubtless hoped to return unharmed, and be surrounded by kindred and friends who would await them with anxiety and greet their approach with joy. The Indians took up a march towards the pond southwest of us; burying their two dead in the intervening swamp, and carrying two wounded ones away upon litters. Roberts and Stickney were taken captives to Canada. [There is a tradition that the Indians, when near Turkey Pond, became bewildered, and requested Roberts to conduct them to the mouth of Contoocook river, when they would know what direction to take.] Daniel Gilman fled to Eastman's fort, situated near the residence of Moses Shute, Esq. Clough appears to have derived his account of the transaction from Gilman; but remarks, "he [Gilman] did not stay long to see it, as he saith." I will now quote from "Clough's Journal," previously remarking that the five bodies were carried down in a cart, to the garrison then standing near the junction of this road with main street, and on the day following were interred in one grave in the north-west corner of our most ancient burial place.

"It was supposed (says Clough) the men lie there about two hours after they were killed before any body came there. We did not go till there came a post down from the Fort, about three quarters of a mile beyond where the men lie and were killed. The reason we did not go sooner, was because we did not hear the guns. I suppose the reason we did not hear the guns was because the wind wan't fair for to hear. We went up to the men, and ranged the woods a while

after these captives, and then brought the dead men down to town in a cart, and buried the dead men this day. [A mistake.] These men when they went away in the morning said they intended to be at home about 12 o'clock, in order to go to Canterbury in the afternoon, or at least get fit to go. It was supposed that these men, some of them, rid double on horses, when they were killed. On the 12th day, early in the morning, went up and took the blood of (the) Indian, and followed along by the drag and blood of the Indian about a mile—very plain, till we came within about 15 rods of a small river, and then we could see no more sign of the Indian:—But we tracked the Indians along down the river about 20 or 30 rods, and there were falls where they went over: and they could not go over well, above nor below. And where they went over the (river) there was a steep bank to go up—and when they got up the bank they broke down the bushes along, about 20 rods up the river, and so ambushed in some places in two ranks—and some lie right against the falls, and some below. By the sign of this ambush, and by the sign of their going off in a single file, it was supposed there could not be less than 50 or 60 Indians. We ranged the woods this day after our captives [Roberts and Stickney] and the Indians, but we could find nothing of them, and so returned to Rumford Town, and there camped."

Ladd and his men remained in and about Concord considerable time—making excursions into the woods south-west of us—and visiting Canterbury: guarding the people there and here in field labor, attending them to mill, &c.; and such of the company as did not belong hereabout, left on the 25th of September for Exeter. With slight exceptions the people suffered no further detriment—but, quietly pursued their business, to be next roused to action by the war of the Revolution.

Roberts returned from captivity the coming spring, and went directly to the former residence of Samuel Bradley; but Stickney, while on his way hither with an Indian, supposed to be a friendly one, perished by accident or the treachery of his companion.

After an interval of ninety-one years, we, who have common interest in perpetuating this transaction, as well as the memory of those

who have fell, have come up, on the anniversary of their death, to participate in the solemnities of the occasion.

* * * * *

Upon this ground—celebrated in the annals of Concord—we have to-day witnessed the erection, through the liberality of a descendant of Samuel Bradley, of a monumental stone, instead of the tree which long bore the names of the deceased. It is not wrought of cannons which on bloody plains have poured forth destruction upon multitudes of human beings. It rises in no public square of a crowded city, where abject poverty is presented in painful contrast with princely wealth—squares through which the affluent roll at their ease, and where the poor wander, not having where to lay their heads. It does not emblazon the names of ambitious generals, whose career was attended with incalculable human suffering, and bears the crest of no titled nobleman. But is a granite shaft, from the bosom of one of the weather-beaten hills of New-Hampshire,—reared in the midst of a community, a happier than which is not to be found—intended to mark the place where several unpretending men, in the discharge of their duty, met a tragic death. Here let it remain “through times and seasons, through days and years.” Let the aged and the young long gather near it, to read its inscription, and be reminded thereby of the perils of the past. Let it admonish us all, that if, in the ways of Providence, a fearful people were made to go out hence, that another and a nobler might possess the soil, we, placed here under such circumstances, are encompassed by obligations from which we can be discharged only by the performance of every duty. Let the material of which this monument consists be emblematic of the duration of that inheritance which is ours, attained through the toils, the privations, and sufferings, of religious ancestry.

4. Ode, by GEORGE KENT, Esq.

On this devoted spot—
Never to be forgot
Till time shall end—
Manhood's high hopes were crush'd,
And mercy's voice was hush'd,
While blood in torrents gush'd
From foe and friend.

Pasconaway's kindly aid,
That erst had been display'd,
Was now withdraws ;
And *Wenolanset's* skill,
Ready each feud to still,
And cultivate good will—
A hope forlorn.

Mild *Kancamagus*, too,
With love could not imbue
His recreant sons ;
But *Hops Hood's* hostile art
Possessed each mind and heart,
And led them to depart
From peace at once.

No council fires around
Told of the battle's sound,
Or signal gave ;
But by the white man's path,
Sudden as lightning's scath,
The red man in his wrath
Ambushed the brave.

Five gallant yeomen fell—
While loud the Indian yell
Echoed the deed ;
PETERS, LUFKIN and BEAN,
With BRADLEY'S bold, were seen,
Staining with blood the green,
Without remead.

Not unavenged was done
The work of death, begun
In treachery base :—
Four of the tribe lay low,

To bleach in winter's snow ;
Unstrung, for aye, the bow,
Unjoined the chase.

Hallow the memory, then,
Of the devoted men
Who bravely fell !
Long may THIS STONE display,
In the broad light of day,
The deeds their children may
With honor tell.

5. Reading, by RICHARD BRADLEY, Esq., of an original Petition of the Inhabitants of Rumford to the Governor, Council and Assembly, for succor at the Cape Breton War, with autographs of the original settlers ; after which a conveyance of the Monument and grounds was presented to the New-Hampshire Historical Society, by Mr. Bradley.

6. An Historical Ballad, by Miss MARY CLARK, read by Mr. T. D. P. STONE, entitled, "A Ballad, commemorating the fall of the Bradleys, Peters, Bean and Lufkin, near this spot, on the 11th of August, 1746, O. S., ninety-one years ago this day."

I sing a tale of days of old,
When Penacook was young,
A tale that often has been told,
But never yet was sung.

It was a mournful tragedy,
Most doleful to relate,
How five young men all suddenly
Met with a horrid fate.

The Settlement at Penacook
Was girt with forests then,
Where savage beasts a shelter took,
And still more savage men.

England and France a cruel war
Had with each other waged—
Woe to the Colonies ! for there
Its bloodiest contests raged.

The fierce Canadians, (Frenchmen they)
Had set the Indians on ;
'Twas sad to see for many a day
The mischief that was done.

Houses were burnt and cattle slain,
And smiling fields laid waste :
To seek the lurking foe was vain—
His steps might not be traced ;

For the dark trackless woods concealed
Him, issuing whence he seized
The unwary laborer in the field,
A captive, if he pleased ;

Or else, more merciful, despatched
Him at a single blow ;
Then his defenceless home attacked,
And laid his loved ones low.

Or led into captivity
The children and the wife,

In hardship, pain and misery,
To drag a weary life.

Such scenes as these, we understand,
Were acted o'er and o'er,
Beginning first at Westmoreland,
Not far from Number Four.

In both those towns, in Keene likewise,
Were killed and taken some ;
And then eight persons by surprise,
They took in Hopkinton.

In Rumford, alias Penacook,
The people all alarmed,
Themselves to garrisons betook,
Nor ventured out unarmed.

Oh ! faces gathered paleness then,
Hearts trembled with dismay :—
Of foes without, the fears within
Disturbed them night and day.

A hundred Indians, near about,
Blood thirsty, fierce and strong,
Seen now and then in straying scout,
As they had passed along ;

In August, '46, came down
Direct from Canada ;
Bent to destroy the embryo town,
If in their course it lay.

Yet did the people not forget
The holy Sabbath day ;
In their log meeting-house they met,
To hear and praise and pray.

Each carrying his gun, went in,
For fear what might betide ;
And Parson Walker there was seen
With musket by his side.

No prayers from feigned lips arose—
With death and danger near,
Their cries to heaven we may suppose
Went up from hearts sincere.

Hid in an alder thicket, nigh
The meeting-house,—the foe
(A little girl did them espy,)
Were laid in ambush low.

A military company
Had come the place to guard,
Yet truly might the people say
Their help was from the Lord ;

For not a single hand was raised
To harm them on that day ;
They safely came unto the place,
And safely went away.

But ah ! the morrow came, and then
In Penacook was seen
Such slaughter of their bravest men
As never yet had been.

Eight of the men set out to go
To Eastman's garrison,
Full two miles off—but did not know
The risk they were to run.

Arriving nearly at the spot
Where now secure we stand,
Two fell beneath a fatal shot
From unseen Indian hand.

They wounded Samuel Bradley, too—
At every step he bled—
Another shot, his body through,
Laid him among the dead.

Lieutenant Bradley cried out, " Lord,
Have mercy on me !—Fight."
He fired—but as he spake the word,
They rushed on him outright.

But stoutly he resisted, still
Refusing proffered life ;
They horrid mangled him, until
Death closed the unequal strife.

As they rushed out, the echoing woods
With Indian yells they filled ;
And kept their work of death and blood
Till three more men were killed.

Then seizing the remaining two,
They quickly left the place ;
A dreadful sight it was to view
Those bodies in such case.

Some of the foe were slain, 'tis said,
How many is not known,
For leaving there the other dead,
They bore away their own.

And thus did end this dire affray,
The names of all who fell
I need not in these verses say,
For yonder stone will tell.

One of the men, it seems, went on
Some rods before the rest,
And safely reached the garrison,
Which they did not molest.

But sad the news he carried there,
For he had seen the fight ;
And sad were they who stood to hear,
O'erwhelmed with grief and fright.

And having gathered what he knew,
A man was posted down,
To bear the woful tidings to
The people of the town.

And there were sounds of keen distress,
' And hurrys to and fro ;'
So deep is human tenderness,
So bitter human woe.

When speedily, a cart, prepared
The bodies to convey,
Was sent, attended by a guard,
Along the fearful way.

The rustic hearse came heavily
O'er the uneven ground ;
Returned, their slaughtered friends to see
The people gathered round.

Oh what a day for Penacook !
The widow—what a day !
A long, a last heart-rending look,
And in the earth they lay.

The Bradleys were distinguished men,
Brothers they were so brave,
And many a tear was shed for them,
Laid in untimely grave.

Each left a mourning family—
Samuel, an only son,
Father of him whose piety
That monumental stone

Has raised—the sorrowful event
Thus to commemorate :
Go read their names, and then lament
Their melancholy fate.

7. Concluding Prayer, by Rev. Mr. CUMMINGS.

It is, (said the Statesman) judged there were two thousand persons present, and the exercises were of an unusually interesting character. The Address was a highly creditable performance, worthy the occasion and the orator.

MEMOIR OF THE HON. JOSEPH BADGER.

[Prepared by Col. JOSEPH BADGER, M. A.]

It may not be uninteresting or unprofitable to glance at the early history of the Badger Family in this country. It is of English origin. The first individual of the name that came, lived, and died here, leaving posterity, was Giles Badger, who settled at Newbury, Ms., before June 30, 1635. In 1644 there were in that place, as appears by the town records, three persons who were of age, and landholders, by the name of Badger, viz: Giles, Nathaniel, and Richard. Of Nathaniel and Richard but little more is known; and it is probable that they returned to England, as did many individuals who came over in the early days of this country.

GILES BADGER,* married Elizabeth, daughter of Capt. Edmund Greenleaf, who was one of the most respectable men of Newbury, and died at Newbury, July 17, 1647, and his will was proved 1647, the 7th month. He had one son, named John, born June 30, 1643, who was made a free-man in 1673. He was a man of much respectability, and in the military line held the office of sergeant.

Sergeant JOHN BADGER lived in Newbury, and married for his first wife Elizabeth, (surname not known,) and by her had four children, viz: John, born April 4, 1664, and died July 20th, the same year; John, born April 26, 1665; Sarah, born June 25, 1666; James, born March 19, 1669, and died in 1693, leaving his property to his brother John, and to his sister Sarah, who married a Wheeler. Sergeant John's first wife died April 8, 1669. He married, Feb. 23, 1671, for his second wife, Hannah Swett. By her he had

* For many of the facts contained in this account of the Badger Family, we are indebted to the American Quarterly Register, Vol. XIII., p. 317.

ten children; Stephen,* born Dec. 13, 1671; Hannah, born Dec. 3, 1673; Nathaniel,† born Jan. 16, 1675; Mary, born May 2, 1678, who married John Wyatt, Dec. 15, 1701; Elizabeth, born April 30, 1680; Ruth, born Feb. 10, 1682, who married Thomas Jewill, Feb. 17, 1702; a son, (name not written in the records) born 1684; a son, (name not written in the records) born March 9, 1685. The name of one of these sons is mentioned in the father's will as Daniel, and the name of the other was probably Joseph; Abigail, born June 29, 1687; Lydia, born April 30, 1690. March 31, 1691, Sergeant John Badger died of the small pox, and his wife died about the same time, with the same distemper. His estate was appraised at £943: 9s.

JOHN BADGER, the son of Sergeant John, born April 26, 1665, lived in Newbury, and was a trader. He married Rebecca Brown, Oct. 5, 1691, and had by her the following children, viz: John, born Jan. 20, 1692, who married Elizabeth Harris, 1713; James, born Jan. 10, 1693, who was a shop-keeper; Elizabeth, born Feb. 5, 1695; Stephen, born 1697; Joseph, born 1698; Benjamin, born June 15, 1700; Dorothy, born June 5, 1709.

JOSEPH BADGER, grandson of Sergeant John, and son of the above John, born 1698, married for his first wife Hannah Peaslee, daughter of Col. Nathaniel Peaslee, Esq., of Haverhill, Ms., to which place Mr. Badger moved, and pur-

* Stephen moved to Charlestown, and married Mercy, (her maiden surname is not known) and by her had children.—Stephen, born Feb. 18, 1697, and nine others. He was the grandfather of the Rev. Stephen Badger, of Natick, Ms., through his son Stephen, and ancestor of most of the Badgers in Charlestown, Boston, and vicinity.

† Nathaniel married Mary Lunt, March 27, 1693, and lived at Newbury, Ms. By her he had eleven children, ten of whom were born in Newbury, and one, Henry, was born in Norwich, Ct., to which place Mr. Badger had then removed. Three of his sons were named Samuel, Enoch, and Henry. He was the ancestor of Hon. Samuel Badger, of Philadelphia, and the Hon. George E. Badger, LL. D., of Raleigh, N. C., now Senator in Congress, through his son Samuel, who lived in Windham, Ct.; of the Rev. Milton Badger, D. D., of New-York, Secretary of the American Home Missionary Society, through his son Enoch, who lived in Andover, Ct., and of the late Rev. Joseph Badger, of Wood County, O., through his son Henry, who lived a part of his life in Wilbraham, Ms.

sued during life the business of merchandise. By her he had seven children; Joseph, born Jan. 11, 1722; Judith, born Feb. 3, 1724; Mehetabel, born Nov. 27, 1725; Mary, born Nov. 4, 1727; Nathaniel, born May 1, 1729; Mary, born Sept. 20, 1731; Peaslee, born Oct. 6, 1733, and died the 19th day of the same month. Two only of these children lived to settle in life, viz: JOSEPH, who is the particular subject of this biographical notice, and Judith, who married Nathaniel Cogswell, a merchant of Haverhill, Ms. The wife of Mr. Badger died Jan. 15, 1734, and July 29, 1735, he married for his second wife Hannah Pearson, the widow of Ebenezer Pearson, who was an innholder in Bradford. Her maiden name was Moody. She was a native of Newbury, (now West Newbury) married, and lived with her first husband, who resided in Lynn, and afterwards in Bradford, by whom she had six children, viz: Hannah, Moody, Ruth, Ebenezer, Thomas and Samuel. Mr. Badger's children by his second wife were, Enoch, born May 11, 1736; Nathaniel, born April 18, 1740; Moses, born July 11, 1743, who married a daughter of Judge Saltonstall, of Haverhill, and was an Episcopal Minister, settled in Providence, R. I. Mr. Badger deceased April 7, 1760, aged 62 years, and his estate was appraised at £4067 : 13s. His second wife died Dec. 22, 1762.

JOSEPH BADGER, whose memoir is now briefly to be given, was the son of Joseph Badger, a merchant of Haverhill, Ms., and was born Jan. 11, Old Style, 1722. He married, Jan. 31, 1740, Hannah Pearson, who was the daughter of his mother-in-law by her first husband, and was born in Lynn, July 23, 1722, and died Feb. 19, 1817, aged 94. Their children were William, born in Haverhill, Dec. 13, 1740, and died there of consumption, May 9, 1763; Hannah,*

* Hannah married the Hon. Abiel Foster, of Canterbury, N. H., who was for a number of years a Congregational Clergyman in that place, Representative in Congress, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and President of the State Senate. By him she had four children, Hannah, William, James and Sarah. She died Jan. 10, 1768, aged 25; he died Feb. 6, 1806, aged 70.

born Nov. 16, 1742; Mehetabel, born in Bradford, Ms., Dec. 24, 1744, and died there Aug. 29, 1746; Joseph,* born in Bradford, Oct. 23, 1746; Rebecca, born in Bradford, June 6, 1749, and died in Haverhill, April 12, 1751; Ruth,† born in Haverhill, Sept. 14, 1751; Peaslee,‡ born in Haverhill, April 22, 1754; Ebenezer, born in Haverhill, March 31, 1756, and died of consumption in Gilmanton, Feb. 19, 1777; Mary§ and Nathaniel, (twins) born in Haverhill, Oct. 4, 1758; Nathaniel, died at Gilmanton of consumption, April 20, 1780; Sarah,|| born in Haverhill, Dec. 4, 1760, and died of consumption in Gilmanton, Jan. 29, 1784; Judith,¶ born in Gilmanton, May 15, 1766.

*Joseph lived in Gilmanton, and married Elizabeth Parsons, the daughter of the Rev. William Parsons, of South Hampton, who lived, also, in Gilmanton, and died there in 1796. By her he had children, Joseph, Hannah, Sarah, Elizabeth, William, late Governor of the State, and Ebenezer. He held offices in the militia for about 30 years, from the rank of Captain to that of Brigadier General. He commanded a Company in the Revolution, at Mount Independence, on Lake Champlain, and at the taking of Burgoyne. He was a Representative from the town of Gilmanton to the State Legislature for many years, and a member of the Governor's Council for eight years, besides filling various other subordinate offices and stations. He was also appointed, in 1798, a Commissioner of the United States under an Act of Congress to provide for the valuation of lands and dwelling-houses, and the enumeration of slaves. He died Jan. 15, 1809, aged 62. His widow died May 3, 1831, aged 83.

†Ruth married the Hon. Thomas Cogswell, of Gilmanton, who was in the Revolutionary Army during all the war. He entered the service as a Captain, rose to the rank of Colonel, and was afterwards appointed Commissary, or Wagon Master General. He was Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Strafford County. He died Sept. 3, 1810. Mrs. Cogswell also died, Oct. 16, 1839, aged 88. They had eleven children, eight of whom lived to settle in life, viz: Nathaniel, Judith, Thomas, William, Francis, Pearson, Frederick, and Alfred.

‡Peaslee lived in Gilmanton the greater part of his days, and married Lydia Kelly, of Lee, N. H., by whom he had children; Ebenezer, Peaslee, Sally, Mary, Nathaniel, Joseph, Thomas and Ruth, (twins) and Hannah. He was a Major in the militia. He died Oct. 14, 1846, aged 92.

§Mary married the Rev. Isaac Smith, who was the Congregational Minister of Gilmanton until his decease, which occurred March 25, 1817, in the 73rd year of his age, and the 43rd of his ministry. She had by him five children; Ebenezer, Martha, Hannah Badger, Isaac Coit, and Joseph Badger. She died Aug. 18, 1788, nearly 30 years of age.

||Sarah was betrothed to Dr. Hugh March, of Sanbornton, a gentleman highly esteemed and beloved by all who knew him, and a well educated and skillful physician. He died about 1782.

¶Judith married Dr. William Cogswell, of Atkinson, who for several years was a Surgeon in the Revolutionary Army, and died, Jan. 1, 1831, aged 70. She is still living, aged 83 years. Their children were William, Julia, Hannah Pearson, Joseph Badger, Nathaniel, Thomas, Francis; George and John.

Mr. Badger was always greatly attached to agricultural pursuits. But being qualified, by natural talents and a good education, he was soon called to take part in the public affairs of life. While a youth he served in the militia in the capacity successively of Ensign, Lieutenant and Captain. He was frequently a selectman of the town, and moderator of its meetings, while he lived in Haverhill. He was appointed, at the age of *twenty-three years*, a Deputy Sheriff for the County of Essex, under Robert Hale, Sheriff, and was also a Justice of the Peace, until he removed from Massachusetts to New-Hampshire, in July, 1763. He settled in Gilmanton, being one of the proprietors and one of the first settlers of the town. He was the first magistrate appointed in the place, having been commissioned a Justice of the Peace, March 10, 1768, under royal authority, and often officiated in various offices in the town. He was appointed Colonel of the 10th Regiment, July 10, 1771, under John Wentworth, Governor of the Colony, and Colonel, Sept. 5, 1775, under Matthew Thornton, President, after the Declaration of Independence. In 1776 he was a Muster Master for the State, in raising military forces. He was appointed Brigadier General June 27, 1780. He was also a member of the Governor's Council. In 1784 he received the commission of Justice of the Peace and Quorum throughout the State. The same year he was commissioned, in company with John Wentworth, John Plumer and Ebenezer Smith, to administer the oaths of office and allegiance to the civil and military officers of the country. He was appointed Dec. 6, 1784, Judge of the Probate Court for Strafford County, which office he held till May 13, 1797, when he resigned, being 75 years of age.

As a military man, General Badger was commanding in his person, well skilled in the science of tactics, expert as an officer, and courageous and faithful in the performance of every trust. With him order was law, rights were most sacred, and the discharge of duty was never to be neglected.

In politics he was of the Democratic Republican School. In those times which 'tried men's souls,' he was found steadfastly true to his country. Having seen power in the mother country abused to the subversion of the rights and privileges of her subjects in these Colonies, he became jealous, in the establishment of the government of this country, of the assumption of any power or authority by Congress, which was not absolutely necessary for the due administration of the various and extensive affairs of the nation. Hence he was opposed to certain parts of the Constitution which was first proposed for adoption by the States, viz : the articles respecting the choice of representatives, the laying of direct taxes, and a standing army in time of peace. He corresponded on these subjects with some distinguished men in various parts of the country, as, Chief Justice Sargeant, of Massachusetts, and Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer, of Albany, N. Y., and others. He wished some modifications of the above articles, and, as these could not be obtained, he gave his vote against the adoption of the Constitution in the Convention of Delegates assembled for the purpose of considering and acting upon this important subject. Having done this, his patriotism was so great and controlling, that he afterwards most earnestly exhorted all to submit to it, as it then was. He would neither prove recreant to his country's trust, nor to his country's welfare. No patriot more firm or ardent could be found.

As a Judge he was wise and discreet ; kind to the widow and fatherless, and at the same time uniformly faithful and upright towards all. His administration would bear the strictest scrutiny. In this important office of trust, his conduct was above reproach, and his natural qualifications peculiarly fitted him for the discharge of its duties.

Gen. Badger was a uniform friend and supporter of the institutions of learning and religion. He not only provided for the education of his own children, by procuring private

teachers, but he also took a lively interest in the early establishment of common schools for the education of children generally. Not content with such efforts merely, he did much in founding and erecting the Academy in Gilmanton, which has been already such a blessing to the place and the vicinity. He was one of the most generous contributors to its funds, and was one of its Trustees, and the President of the Board of Trust, until his death. Instructed from his childhood by pious parents in the principles of religion, he early appreciated the blessings of the Christian Ministry. Having become the subject of divine grace, he publicly professed religion, and espoused the cause of Christ. As he was a generous supporter of the institutions of the gospel, so at his hospitable mansion the ministers of religion always found a most hearty welcome. While the rich and great honored him, the poor held him in remembrance for his bounteous liberality.

Gen. Badger was nearly six feet in stature, corpulent, light and fair in complexion, dignified and circumspect in manners and conversation. His whole life was marked by wisdom, prudence, integrity, firmness and benevolence. Great consistency was manifested in all his deportment. He died April 4, 1803, in the 82nd year of his age, ripe in years, ripe in character and reputation, and ripe as a christian. He came to the "grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season." The text selected for his funeral sermon was strikingly characteristic of the man: "And behold, there was a man named Joseph, a counsellor; and he was a good man and a just."

The following epitaph, prepared by the Rev. Mr. Smith, his minister, and inscribed on the monument erected to his memory, is peculiarly appropriate:

"The Honorable Joseph Badger, Esq. departed this life April 4th, 1803, in his 82nd year."

"In him were eminently displayed the social and religious

virtues; the kind husband, the tender parent, the hospitable friend, the wise statesman, the firm patriot, the upright judge, the devoted christian. In one word, the truly honest man."

"Go, spectator, imitate his example, and be happy."

GOV. POWNALL'S LETTER TO SIR WM. PEPPERRELL.

Boston, Aug't ye 14th—12 o'clock, M.

SIR :

You will, before this Express arrives, receive an account that I have order'd up all the Troops of Horse, and a fourth part of the Militia, to put themselves under Your Command. This will not only Enable you to Secure the Frontier, but send off such further Reinforcements as shall be Necessary. Gov'r Wentworth having wrote me that he had 200 men ready to send off, I have desir'd him to send a Reinforcem't to No. 4. I am forming a Train of eight peices of Cannon w'ch I shall forward as soon as I can get it Completed.

Sir William, I must in a most earnest manner [request that] the Articles of Provisions, and Especially Bread for the number of men, you will have with you, and must Beg you will write to Mr. DeLancey the Measures you have taken, and are taken, for I am amazed to find that None of our Troops had reached Albany on the 11th instant.

Your Honor's most Obed't

Freind and Servant,

To Sir Wm. Pepperrell,

T. POWNALL.

Lt. Gen'l of the Province.

P. S.—I shall send up Gen'l Winslow to your assistance, and I have appointed Col. Hatch Brigadier of the Horse.

ADDRESS OF HON. LEVI WOODBURY, LL. D.,
*Before the New-Hampshire Historical Society, at their Annual
 Meeting, June, 1845.*

By the first article in the Constitution of the New-Hampshire Historical Society, it appears that the leading object of their Association is to illustrate the history of the United States in general and of this State in particular. On the present occasion, I am anxious to do something to advance that object. No topic has occurred to me, by means of which I may be able to contribute so much towards it, and at the same time interest in any degree a mixed audience, as by offering a few considerations on American character. By this is meant the character of the people inhabiting these United States—or, what a committee of the New-York Historical Society recommended to be called “*Allegania*,” (fortunately without much approbation from any quarter.) The rest of the Western Continent is not embraced within your Constitution, nor need it be, in order to get “*ample scope and verge*” for the most industrious researches. Nor can there be any doubt of the importance of enquiries into national character. The principal traits in it, if ascertained with accurate discrimination, are useful for purposes moral, social and political, no less than historical; as it often happens that in this way we become enabled, beside settling doubtful facts, to establish great landmarks in the progress of civilization, and more surely imitate what is best, and improve whatever is imperfect, either in manners, or government, or the arts.

By such a course, also, all, living within the glorious brotherhood of our Union, will come to prize each other higher, because they will know each other better; and, at the same time, they will be prized higher abroad, because they will become known the more truthfully than is usual through the strifes, rivalry and prejudices of ambition and party. Indeed, by careful scrutiny on this subject each generation may be made a teacher to the whole which succeed it; while by a contrary course—omitting to trace out particular influences on character, and to learn the great laws which govern

them—the past becomes almost a blank to the future, for good, and is little better, for any purpose, than a book of accidents or an unfinished play.

In making these enquiries, as connected with our own history, it must not be taken for granted in the outset, as is sometimes the case, that because the people of the United States live in a *new* world, and in some respects under new forms of government and new systems of laws, all the traits in their character will be novel or peculiar. On the contrary, we still agree with other nations in *more* things, perhaps, than we differ from them. Being men, we continue to be in many things as the same immortal creatures elsewhere, with form divine, “so noble in reason, so infinite in faculties.” Being civilized men, too, rather than barbarians, we possess much in arts, arms, manners and habits, that is common to all people in civilized life;—as the field under cultivation always produces a different growth from the forest. So, being christian communities, our religious and moral opinions cannot but accord in many essentials with those communities elsewhere that read the same inspired volume and trust in the same hallowed faith. In a like manner, being republican in our forms of government, every attentive reader of history must be struck with the resemblance in many particulars between the citizens of other republics and ourselves—between the busy Athenian, for instance, and him who hurries to Faneuil Hall on the eve of an important election; or between the more agricultural Spartan and the thoughtful tiller of our inland mountains; or between the proud Roman and the lofty planter of the South. If any one has leisure to trace still further resemblances—such as Swiss bravery and fidelity, or Dutch honesty and enterprise, worthy the best days of William Tell or the DeWitts;—the latter can readily be found in our thousand marts of commerce, and the former on almost every hill and prairie of our wide-spread Union. Nay, more;—being sprung chiefly from that Anglo-Saxon stock, of which we hear so much both in poetry and prose, and which has for ages advanced and adorned some of the best portions of Europe, it would be a marvel if, as a whole people, we differed in *most* respects, rather than agreed with the great parent race; and, merging many slight diversities, and breaking down minor obstacles, if we did not aspire in this new hemisphere to run a career similar in some respects, but

surpassing we hope in others, what has distinguished the brilliant progress of that race on the other side of the Atlantic—overshadowing, it may be, in time, by our new institutions the decaying energies of theirs, and, retaining all which is good from the past, prepare to outstrip, by new additions, new inventions, new means, and new efforts, all which has preceded us.

While it becomes certain, from considerations like these, that all the traits in our character are not novel, it is equally certain that every philosophical observer will see that causes have been at work deeply, and combinations forming wide and long, in this new world, to make several of those traits different in various degrees from what exist elsewhere. For example : We are tinged by new lights and shadows from our different origins ; from our different positions and pursuits ; different laws ; different institutions on some subjects, and different ramifications in opinion on several matters, both of politics and religion. In many of these, and especially in the aggregate, composed of them all here, the difference is strong between us and most other countries, whether ancient or modern, or remote or near ; and in some things is strong enough to form very marked national distinctions between our character and theirs.

In considering and explaining this position, several objections deserve a moment's consideration. The strongest, and that which meets every enquirer in the threshold is, that, differing as we may from other nations, yet the diversities among ourselves in the matters just alluded to, are numerous, and indeed so great as to be irreconcilable with the idea that any features of character can prevail over the whole face of our country with such uniformity and prominence as to be considered national. But granting that those diversities here are numerous, they are not great in all cases ; are counteracted in some, when great ; are neutralized in others ; and in many are either so amalgamated or absorbed by more powerful influences, that they no more prevent some very uniform characteristics among Americans themselves, than the spots on the sun prevent its general brilliance, or the roughness and inequality of the surface of the earth prevent its general roundness. Thus, for example, portions of our country differ in climate. Yet, instead of stretching into torrid or frozen zones, we all are collected within the temperate circle ; and hence, though the average heat or cold in a country may not be without in-

fluence on the food and clothing of its inhabitants, and consequently, at times when great, may vary their avocations as well as pleasures, and create different wants, arts and pursuits,—yet our differences in climate are too small generally for causing any striking diversity in our character.

Again: In some places we differ in our origin, and many are proud of an English descent, others of a Scotch, and others still of an Irish or German. Yet all of us are much alike in the original Teutonic stock; and the aggregate collected here is made up from materials still nearer alike; as most of the emigrants hither, separated from the several branches of that ancient stock, because agreeing closer with us, and liking us better, notwithstanding some variety in our origin there. What exists here is very similar in itself; possessing wishes and aims on most subjects so congenial, as to have attracted them together from vast distances, and evincing in some things a character as uniform and strongly marked as any of the nations from which we sprung, and so much alike as to enable us to have done what would otherwise have been impossible—stand shoulder to shoulder through a most arduous Revolution and wars—coöperate prosperously in new governments, laws and arts of peace—and preserve a political Union, indissolubly and gloriously, amidst all the trying scenes of more than half a century. This same idea is illustrated with equal force in our religion. Differing as we certainly do in subordinate tenets, and split into thousands of sects, still, with slight exceptions, all our denominations are Christians in faith; and all, with like exceptions, having been planted here by persecution and oppression, upheld by the arm of civil power, are strenuously opposed to any union between Church and State. In forms and details, and creeds also, though we may vary in public worship, from a Shaker meeting and a dance, to the plainness of a Puritan congregation or Methodist camp-meeting, or even to the pomp, paintings and embroidery of a Catholic cathedral, and differ in our articles of belief from five to thirty-nine, yet there are among us no Mahomedan victors, tyrannizing over Christian slaves, but all try to conform to the spirit of the same sacred volume, and an homage of the heart to the great Author seems to pervade the whole, however the surface may at times be rippled by such disputes as those between the New and Old Church, and between Trinitarians and Socinians, no

less than by the excitements of Transcendentalism or Puseyism or Millerism.

So in politics : Notwithstanding we have all shades of opinion, from monarchy to a repudiation of every species of government, and from a preference of mortmains and entails, seeking, under the plainest of democracies, to rival the princely possessions of despotism, down to the propriety of a community of property and the vagaries of Fourierism and Saint Simonism, yet no traveller nor historian should write us down a nation of agrarians, any more than one composed wholly of monopolists and aristocrats ; for the general features of the whole are republican, and instead of anarchy and violence triumphant, show the laws to be respected, liberty to exist without any unusual degree of licentiousness, personal privileges to be equalized, the rights of property protected, and the interests of the masses both guarantied and promoted, without endangering any just claims of classes that may be richer or professional. We may differ likewise in some details as to tariffs and banks, distributions, corporations and bankrupt laws ; but while none of these diversities become entirely sectional, they disturb the general tranquillity little more than the passing summer clouds extinguish the light of day ; and when some differences assume more of a geographical aspect, and peculiarities in opinion on some social and political topics become chiefly prevalent in opposite sections of our common country, the bitterness is soon softened by a thousand assuaging influences. What if that looks occasionally like rank fanaticism to the South which is sober principle with many at the North ? And again : what if that is carried into practice, at times, in the West, through certain Lynch laws, which appears to the graver East as rather too rapid and informal an execution of justice for due security to innocence ? It must not be forgotten that these peculiarities and practises are not approved by all, even where they prevail ; that many of these are but temporary, and fast reforming, as public safety and opportunity permits ; and that with the masses of our population, as a whole, a deep sense of justice pervades every rank, and that they agree, with almost universal harmony, in diffusing wider the education and morals which impart almost yearly a higher tone to our institutions and social refinement, and which bid fair to be as irresistible as steam in their progress onward, for the correction of most of the abuses that

still disfigure much of the Old World. From similar circumstances many suppose our traits of character too unlike for any general features, because seen at one time in country life and at another in cities. The differences between these are often striking, but I apprehend that they are no greater here than elsewhere, and the ingredients under or below the surface are much alike in both positions. Thus, though our people in the country appear more sedate, quiet, reflecting, icy—and in cities more excitable, bustling, headlong; more like an ant-hill or swarming bee-hive; and though a poet has said, “God made the country and man the town,”—seeming, in truth, to differ in some things as much as the labors of different artisans; yet on a closer inspection the same divine stamp is found on the heart and head of the whole; and one is supplied from the other daily, as much as is the ocean from its tributary streams; and, looking beneath the fleeting colors on the exterior, the ingrain wood of both will appear very similar. There is, in fine, between these, as between different and distant regions of our Confederacy, a band, a host of moral causes, that operate with far greater strength than any physical or municipal ones. These work over the whole hourly, and among all ranks and on all subjects, to give us concord and uniformity in most of the great elements of character. This band is composed of what exists universally with slight exceptions in the “court, the camp, the grove,”—the city as well as the country, and our whole country rather than a part—a common tenure of property, a common freedom in business, a common republican government, a common religious faith; in short, a common literature, language, interests and opinions, on most that is vital to the whole. All this is strengthened by an internal commerce and intercourse, diffusing these and every other salutary influence of this animating and absorbing age of the world’s history, with a speed no less than a thoroughness unsurpassed in the annals of time. These gradually mould all into much uniformity, and impart stability to our national characteristics; and without these in vain would we inhabit a temperate zone or prolific soil. The Turks and the ancient Greeks, so different, long breathed the same inspiring atmosphere of the Adriatic and Bosphorus; and the modern Italians and the Romans, wide apart in many things as the poles, cultivated for centuries the same vineyards; and the environs of Carthage and Mount Atlas have lamentably failed for two thousand

years to reproduce the merchant princes who first ventured commerce beyond the pillars of Hercules, and the warriors who once conquered Spain, climbed the Alps and carried terror to the very gates of Rome. Within that period the races have changed—the government, the religion, the industrial energies, the vitality of the whole. Again: adverting to our rapid growth as a nation, and to the different manners and habits incident to its different periods or stages, one might at first suppose it impossible to discover any traits of character, permanent enough and general enough to be deemed national. But on a little scrutiny this also will be found incorrect. Take, as an illustration, the farmer. At the North he is at the present day a calm, industrious, “*calculating*” citizen; dealing much more with the scythe than the rifle, and looking far more to the education of his children, to be thrown off in new swarms to Louisiana and Iowa, as professional men or merchants, than he does to prepare to make any of them tillers of the soil in his own neighborhood. He is better informed, since enjoying more leisure from border warfare—more enterprising, since enabled to cross the Alleghanies and the vast Mississippi, and make their wilderness blossom like the rose—and more liberalized, since a long peace has allowed the passions to cool off some, from the bitterness engendered by our Revolution and the last war. It is also true, however sudden and great the change, that this farmer is a man of the same stock, and often on the same spot, where once the blackened timber surrounded his ancestors—where the gun was the companion of the axe and hoe, in order to guard against Indian surprise—where afterwards, another generation rallied to the beat of the drum and sailed to the capture of Louisburg as if on a holiday adventure—where next the youth of a subsequent age joined Rogers’ rangers to conquer under Wolfe at Quebec; and where, a little later, both young and old, more inflamed by British oppression and encouraged by former triumphs over their ancient enemies, the French and Indians—left the plough in the furrow to swell the grand chorus of liberty, and sustain their independence at Bunker Hill and Saratoga. But in all these changes, and others since, which might be detailed did time permit, it will be seen, on a little reflection, that they are mostly changes in condition rather than character. The tone of the public mind is generally unaltered. Its objects and companions become new, but its

qualities remain much the same. There is a progress in the country itself, and at times in the social system, as from youth to manhood; and as some different hues are reflected from circumstances abroad, and some new developments, growing out of our altered political institutions at home and the wonderful inventions of the age, yet the people are the same—the same blood, same form of bone and muscle, same dauntless energy, whether in the pursuits of peace or war, whether in chase of the moose and wolf, of the whale or sea otter, or on an Indian trail or exploring expedition across the Rocky mountains, or through ice-bergs to the Antarctic—whether conquering a stubborn soil and impervious forests, or bridging rivers and tunnelling mountains for railroads and canals—they have, too, the same free claims for conscience in religion, and the same bold, indomitable free spirit in government. Looking at similar classes of society among the pioneers of the West and South-West, like changes to those at the North have occurred, in condition rather than character, though they began later and have moved with much greater rapidity.

The Sac and Winnebago Indians, for instance, but fifteen years since were in Wisconsin very much what the Pequods, and Narragansetts, and Mohawks were, a hundred and fifty years earlier, to many of the first settlers in New-England; and the inhabitants developed similar traits of character on that bleeding frontier. During the intermediate period, the Wyandots in Ohio, the Pottawattomies in Indiana, after the ravages of the Choctaws, Creeks, Cherokees, and others further South, disturbed, as was once the case here, the sleep of every border cabin, and drenched many a cradle in gore. But the hunter's habits, with his dangers and captivities, there as here, only more hastily, glided into those of the rough pioneer, felling the forest; and those of the latter, quicker still, have become moulded into what characterizes the tranquil husbandman, whether on the Connecticut river or on the banks of the Scioto. And "the hunters of Kentucky," so far as regards *condition* in life, have been produced in this country, and disappeared under different stages of our growth, as regularly as the fire-weed succeeds the native wilderness when burnt over; and as rye or wheat and grass follow the fire-weed after the use of the harrow or plough, and as the bee and the cow come after the Indian and buffalo. Under all this, however, the traits or elements of character in the same people alter but little,

unless there is a large intermixture of new races, or a fundamental change in religion or government; or a revolution in circumstances of some kind, and usually of a moral type, affecting deeply their whole social relations. The bark of the tree, though it became thicker by age, or the surface of stone, more polished by care, still have the qualities of the wood and stone much the same. No carving into classical forms can alter the durability of marble, nor can any hammering or burning convert granite into lime, nor any polish turn mahogany into the ruby or emerald.

There is another frequent error with strangers as to peculiarities in national character, which it is important to avoid in relation to ourselves. They are apt to seize on some bold or original genius, and describe him as the symbol of a whole people. But though such a genius may possess some traits in common with his countrymen in like condition, yet they generally have others, belonging to the individual rather than a class, and which spring from his particular position or particular cast of mind. Those others disappear with him. They do not belong to his class in society, nor long, and at times not at all, to the stage in the progress of civilization in which he happens to live. In this aspect of the subject, it is manifest how rash it would be to consider all American hunters as John Starks or Daniel Boons, and all frontier farmers, much less all farmers in America, as men like the Bishops and Rosebrooks, who a third of a century ago were so conspicuous in the "Coös above the upper Coös," near the giant spurs of the White Mountains. All of these men derived something from their origin, condition, pursuits, and national associations, which may well enough be regarded as American; but the rest was individual, and no more characterizes us as a people than if it had been found in Asia or New Holland. Thus, for a moment, as to Stark. When gazing at his granite monument, which rises in such Doric simplicity on the banks of the Merrimac, near the beautiful falls of the Amoskeag, it must occur to all that the intrepid soldier who sleeps beneath, begun life as a trapper and ended it as a peaceful farmer, in the midst of his children and grand-children. Neither he nor they changed so much in traits of character, as in the scenes around them, and the different employments growing out of them. It is the alteration in those employments and scenes that has impelled some of his des-

cendants, though with similar traits of character, to direct their energies so differently ;—some to seek fortune in the sultry heats of India, and others to help improve the face of nature nearer them, in agriculture and manufactures, rather than become Indian fighters at Penacook or heroes at Bennington. But if most of the same general characteristics, excepting a few as individual, had not survived ingrain, and acted with like energy in them, and others near them, though on new objects, that pillar of hewn stone would have been a nameless mound of clay, like myriads in the wilderness of the West, and the picturesque city below, with its enterprising thousands, would have been the mere pine barren it was twelve years ago, or as, still earlier, an encampment of some roving Aborigines, halting to spear salmon in the neighboring falls, or trap beaver around the beautiful ponds which border it on the east. But the personal habits and striking peculiarities by which he was most distinguished at home, belonged entirely to the individual, and had nothing to do with our national characteristics. So in relation to Daniel Boon : When he returned, one night, wan and weary, from an unsuccessful deer hunt in Kentucky, and resolved to emigrate still further west, where the bark of a neighbor's dog should not be able to disturb him or his game, it is evident that the love of the chase and of Indian adventure predominated in him much more than is usual even in a frontier race ; and, in this fondness for isolated life, he was so far from being a type of the whole of that race in character, as many imagine, that most of them are gregarious and social, and speedily, as even Boon himself did before his death, assist to subdue the forest, and sow among their descendants the seed of arts, letters, religion, and all the tender ties of a higher civilization. Kentucky is just going to pay a great tribute to the memory of Boon, in bringing home his ashes from Missouri, and having eulogies uttered over them by some of her most gifted sons. These changes in condition are now so sudden here, that what requires ages to be altered elsewhere, improves among us in a single generation, and sometimes almost as soon as the cocoon changes into a silkworm ; and hence have I, and perhaps some others who listen to me, seen the children of Boon, almost within his own life, in the halls of legislation, winning public confidence and pushing forward public improvements in the true spirit of our institutions. If we undertake, then, to write national character

by seizing only on original geniuses, or delineating only their oddities, or by describing only the changeable colors on the face of a growing society, they will, like the rainbow, mostly disappear before the description is finished, however some striking events in the career of such men may give to it a brilliancy which often secures to them, and justly, the cheering immortality in sculpture and poetry which the Caucicis and Byrons and Trumbulls of the age have so liberally awarded to them.

The other two persons before particularized, but whose traits of genius in detail we now have no time to enter on, were in some degree emblematical of the character of what may be termed the secondary formation in American society, as advancing into the interior; that is, the frontier farmer, who has succeeded the hunter and Indian fighter. But it is an error to suppose, as some have hastily, that they represented accurately all of that formation, or even the mass of it, for much length of time, in a country so rapidly improving as ours. Look at them a moment only. Whoever has attended the sessions of a court in Lancaster, N. H. in days gone by, would never fail to behold Bishop *without* the lawyers' bar, as regularly as the attorneys *within* it. He considered a lawyer, as an early client of mine did a speculator in land titles, as "the poor man's devil"—in the same sense as he used to say "the fox was the goose's devil, and the stork the frog's devil." Hence, Bishop generally managed his own causes, and rested them on what he called "*natural law*", with such scraps of statutes as he had picked up in the court-house or bar-rooms; and he usually found, in the end, according to the old adage, that the man who is his own lawyer "*has an ass for his client.*" But no stronger proof could be given of the folly of setting down such a person as the true exponent of most of our population, than the extensive employment of the legal profession among us, both then and since. Rosebrook resided in the same county, and was another rare specimen of a peculiar and temporary state of society acting on an eccentric mind. He had lived near the Notch of the White Mountains, isolated for many years from most of his species, except as visited by market sleighs in winter, or by a few stray admirers of the picturesque and mountain scenery in summer. He was rough as the cliffs around him, brave as the panther or catamount of his forests, and hardy at the plough as the rocky soil he

cultivated. No man lived more independent—centering as he did within himself almost all trades, and in his sales or accommodations to others considering himself rather as conferring than receiving favors. He was a lawyer as well as doctor ; a mechanic, farmer, and, above all, a zealous politician ; being called during the last war with England “ the old war-horse of the mountain.” But most of these traits were the result of his peculiar position and genius, rather than being the model or exponent of any great class in society for any considerable length of time. He was not imitated by scarcely any of his neighbors, or even by his own family, around whose happy fireside what wearisome traveller among the White Mountains, a quarter of a century ago, did not find modest piety and advancing refinement, as well as shelter and repose ?

To dwell no longer on such considerations, it is certain that men like these never contribute much to stamp any permanent peculiarities on the American mind, because the position of the mass differs so widely from theirs ; society here is in such a transition state, and their chief prominences have resulted so much from individual genius and their peculiar location. It is a mistake to hold them up as types of our character, either State or national. But at the same time it is certain that the personal qualities, opinions and actions of individuals have, from time to time, exercised a broad influence on national character. A few have left an impress as to some things, likely to last for ages. As an evidence of this, it may be mentioned that about two centuries ago a brewer in Huntington, England, possessing great energy and independence of character, united with strong religious convictions, and with manners not particularly refined, did more to fix our early fortunes and impart to our fathers their tone and temper, in politics as well as religion, than all the crowned heads in Christendom. That brewer was Oliver Cromwell. Others of his cotemporaries, like Hampden, once meditated with him an emigration to our rocky shores, in order to enjoy here that liberty of conscience, if not freedom from political oppression, which were denied them at home. Co-laborers and fellow-believers, such men as Bradford and Brewster, of Pilgrim memory, felt with them but one pulse. Calvin and Luther had taught our fathers how to think in matters of religion ; Cromwell and Hampden instructed them how to act as well as think, and in politics no less than religion, and Sidney soon

showed them how to die for the former, when need be, as Rogers had for the latter. What tendencies, metaphysical or otherwise, Locke afterwards strengthened by writing new constitutions for some of our people farther south; what durable impressions, in manners and taste, Penn left on Quaker Pennsylvania, or Lord Baltimore on Catholic Maryland, or the gallant Smith and Raleigh on chivalrous Virginia and Carolina, are matters of instructive as well as curious speculation, connected with individual influences on our national character, but which we have no time now to trace into details. One striking illustration may be named of the impression made on the American mind at the North before the Revolution, by some of the statesmen and heroes conspicuous in planning and executing the conquest of Canada from the French. The engraved portrait of Pitt, the elder, became a favorite ornament for the parlor, and an excellent likeness of Wolfe adorned, not only the parlor, but swung on the sign of many a village inn; helping, doubtless, at the same time both to evince gratitude and nurse the intrepid spirit in politics as well as war, which afterwards established our independence.

Reared among ourselves, some distinguished Americans have also helped to mould our national character; have been originals rather than imitators; have penetrated deeply the popular heart, and influenced in many things the opinions and lives of millions; while others, however eminent in their day, were little more than types or representatives of classes among us, moving in tune or on the same key with them, but seldom with courage and genius to strike out new light or new paths, and exercise influences to change permanently the tendencies of the public mind or public manners or public opinions. Thus among the last, Morgan and Scammel were not, in mind or acquirements, very unlike many with whom they grew up and have reacted but little on our character; while Franklin, Washington and Jefferson were more peculiar in talents, ~~more sus~~ *generis* in character, more suited to renovate, improve and guide others, and to act on them powerfully, not only in their own times, but in after ages, helping to give to them, long and deep in some things, their true form and pressure.

In other walks of life, the influence of such men as Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards, of Witherspoon and Dwight, need only be alluded to in order to show the wide ramifications of this branch of

our enquiry, and the impossibility of pursuing it further on an occasion so limited as the present.

Passing, then, from these general views as to the uniformity in the leading features of American character, with the influence upon it from various causes, in certain stages of our growth, I shall next endeavor to explain more specifically a few of the more peculiar traits which have been developed here with most strength. One of them is *enterprise*. Mr. Jefferson, writing to Chancellor Livingston near a third of a century ago, observed, as to our character, that it is "enterprising and energetic as any nation on earth." This peculiarity is often exhibited in a fondness for new undertakings, and at other times in a more daring prosecution of old ones. All free people, and also all commercial people, are more adventurous than others. But Americans being amongst the free, freest, and, amongst the commercial, second to none save one in the known world, have all the foundations deeply laid for the highest degree of enterprise. The proneness to it began with our birth as Colonies. Most of our people came hither, of course, from a desire in some way to better their condition by a change of residence. This change was necessarily accompanied by the excitement and attraction of untried scenes, new risks, and sanguine hopes. Most of the original settlements, if not commenced solely for trade, were preceded by it, and attended and fostered by the boldest spirit of mercantile enterprise. The Board in England that had these matters in charge was called "The Lords of Plantation and Trade." Both objects were combined and paramount, though the first permanent establishment in Massachusetts, for instance, was, in olden times as well as since, regarded by many as made chiefly for religious freedom, though Winthrop's company in 1630 was only a company in trade and speculation, so far as the charter went. (11 *Peters' R.* 479.) Such, too, was the case as religious freedom being mingled in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Maryland and Rhode-Island. But the first settlements of New-Hampshire and New-York were ever considered as the result of mere commercial enterprise;—probably the real, prime mover as to the whole system of colonization, though often sustained and strengthened by other impulses, here no less than elsewhere. I say here—because, in slander towards New-Hampshire, an ancient traveller was told that in passing from Rhode-Island to Boston he would find "the

graces before meal lengthen," and, east of that, shorten so fast that by the time he reached New-Hampshire "*there would be no grace at all.*" Yet long ere this, I feel bound in truth no less than patriotism to believe, that quite as much religion, and certainly what is quite as orthodox, must be admitted to exist here as in our sister commonwealth ; while, in the mean time, I concede most cheerfully that the spirit of trade and enterprise has there, even faster than here, grown with their growth, vanquished all obstacles, and overshadowed that of every other State of the Union. Undoubtedly it was this trait of character, ripening in the East, so fast as it did in the first century and a half of our existence, that drew forth from Burke the beautiful eulogy so familiar to many of you. He says, "pass by the other parts, and look at the manner in which the people of New-England have of late carried on the whale fisheries. Whilst we follow them amongst tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay and Davis's Straits ; whilst we are looking for them beneath the arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold ; that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen Serpent of the South. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting place in the progress of their victorious industry. Nor is the equinoxial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of both the poles. We know, that whilst some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude and pursue the gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries ; no climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hard industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people ; a people who are still as it were but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood."

This trait in our character has since extended and been developed over the whole country, though in forms and on objects somewhat different, but still commercial in their tendency. It has traced our longest rivers to their sources, explored our numerous lakes, spanned mountains with roads, filled our vallies with canals and bridges, no

less than pierced polar ices and circumnavigated the globe itself almost monthly. Such a spirit has not sprung *from* laws, but has made laws, and moulded them so as to encourage a mercantile policy ; not from constitutions, but enacted that of the general government mainly with a view to commercial security and commercial objects. It was formed by causes deeper than any human parchments or compacts ; in short, by our origin as a people, being mostly sprung from islanders ; by our locality on long lines of ocean, inland seas and mighty rivers ; by early habits and tastes ; by interest, and vast success,—outstripping in commerce most of the oldest and greatest of nations that encircle the globe. The sagacious Chinese long since described us, in this respect, as Englishmen number two. Quite as much as the Romans seemed from the start trained for conquest, till their soldiery in turn conquered the eternal city itself, and offered its purple to the highest bidder—our people have seemed born for, if not from, the ocean ; fitted by position for navigation as admirably as the shell of the nautilus is by form ; and however roving into the interior, since in their untamable enterprise and beaver-like industry they continue every where still to be true to their original instincts as the needle to the pole, still to be almost amphibious. How strikingly has this peculiarity in our character been verified in a way and where once least expected, by the immense tonnage in steamboats on the interior waters of the West and Northwest, and by the hosts of seamen there, almost outnumbering the Americans who plough the ocean. So is this same commercial enterprise of our people verified stronger and stronger, by the princely fortunes whose foundations were laid in our remote and dangerous trade, half a century ago, among the savages of the North-West Coast, near Nootka Sound, and by the more recent fur adventurers, connected with the settlement of Astoria ; an enterprise of a single individual, worthy a vast Hudson's Bay or East India Company elsewhere. I pass by, as branches of these, the daring hunting parties, sent from our cities to trap wealth on the banks of every river that tumbles from the Rocky Mountains ; the dangerous, but enriching Indian traffic in all our frontier forests ; and the overland caravans to Santa Fé, laden back, through the worst of perils, with so many millions of coined wealth. I pass by these, and ask you to see this same enterprising spirit break through all the barriers and monopolies of oriental des-

potisms, so as to spin and weave for China as well as India; dig ginseng in Vermont and Maine, to gratify her palate; manufacture lead in Missouri and Illinois, to enclose her teas; construct canals around the falls of the Willamette, as was doing at the last advices from Oregon; levy contributions on the West Indies and Calcutta, for our ice even, and our rocks; and, without extending the schedule further, supply the consumption of three fourths of the whole world in raw cotton.

Passing by our rapid growth in population and exported products, traceable much to this cause, what but an extraordinary spirit of enterprise here would, in so brief a period, have given birth to so many works of public magnificence; to our vast aqueducts and breakwaters and excavations for harbor and river navigation? such splendid hospitals, custom-houses, capitols, cities? such a rapid growth in manufactures, agriculture and trade over a territory also since enlarged and enlarging to nearly double the whole of Europe; resting its borders on both the Pacific and Atlantic, as well as the Gulf of Mexico and the vast Lakes, the Mediterranean seas of the North? The very failures in many undertakings are the strongest evidence of that unusual enterprise which attempts them—outrunning, as it sometimes does, not only our means but the general tone of this adventurous age itself. It is so predominant as occasionally not only to get ahead of the masses among ourselves, but to be obliged to pause for years before public opinion overtakes it. Thus Rumsey and Fitch demonstrated, by experiments here, the successful application of steam to navigation, near a generation before it was adopted in general use under Fulton; and Oliver Evans exhibited its power on land carriages in the streets of Philadelphia more than a quarter of a century before locomotives were used in business anywhere, and longer still before Norris manufactured them in the same city for Europe as well as America. How often, likewise, have the sites of some of our most flourishing cities and best waterfalls for machinery been preoccupied, and then abandoned entirely; or their business become sickly, if not suspended, for want of sufficient maturity in capital or public opinion to carry out so early what the far-seeing enterprise of some American discovered in advance of the age? In after times, however, the public may reap advantages from many of these enterprises, though disastrous at first to their projectors;

and the tendency of such a spirit is on the whole conducive to general progress in improvement. It is to make the most of every thing within or around us, or even at a distance. It is to seize time by the forelock in all undertakings; to grasp "the golden moment" ere it pass by; to lead lives of action, rather than reverie or sluggishness, and to experiment in every thing which bids fair to yield advantage or happiness. If thus it should impart to us at times the character of a money-making people, it will be found, on due scrutiny, that it is not a sordid love of money for money; not the miser's frosty avarice, but another form of enterprise; seeking only the means of honest livelihood, or indulging, in what is so suitable in a republic, a laudable ambition to better one's condition in life, or improve the education of children, or found institutions of public charity and learning, or rear monuments to patriotism and glory.

Another consequence of this spirit of enterprise, when so fully developed as here, is to make men fearless of obstacles. It arms almost every intelligent mind with courage both in public and private life to "dare do all *which doth become a man*"; and this draws forth usefully every energy of the human intellect, and every excellence which nature or science or art has spread before us. Cradled long amidst dangers of the ocean and of Indian revenge, our people evinced their enterprise, not only in the fisheries and commerce, and other walks of civil life, but at times it burst out in bold discoveries and feats of arms; deeds which seem chiefly to emblazon this trait of character among other nations. And in such deeds, if we have not rivalled such men as Columbus and Mungo Park, nor had Hannibals, devising new means to cross Alps, we have had Lewis and Clarke succeed in scaling the Andes of North America, in the face of barbarous tribes; Eatons in Africa, contrive to cross its deserts and conquer at Derne; Jacksons to defend New-Orleans by cotton bags, and numerous others capture hostile vessels and surprise savage foes by various stratagems that crowd our Indian and Revolutionary history, and rival any in antiquity. All these, social, civil and military—all open up to us for the future a splendid vista. We see higher and wider progress among the masses—progress in education, arts, in safer political power, in greater tendencies and securities as to peace, when the many ruling, the game of war is to be played at their own expense and by their own free will, if at all,

rather than by the caprice of kings ; progress, in brief, in changing the whole physical face of the country almost with the rapidity of magic. Where the red forester now paddles his canoe on some of the tributaries of the Columbia river, new Manchesters, or Chicagos, or Lowells must spring up before the present century closes with what will then be sixty millions of American population. But amidst these sanguine hopes, it should not be concealed that some perils accompany such a flood of enterprise. Sometimes the experiments ventured on not only prove premature, but are real abortions. Among the first may be classed those as to merino sheep, forty years ago, though so enriching at some periods since ; and among the last, those as to the *morus multicaulis* of more recent memory, and those in 1835 and 1836, as to lots in new cities in the West, then and now often inhabited only by eels and raccoons.

Again : they cause at times a wasteful shipwreck of morals as well as property, tempt to haste, and what is slight, superficial, or not thorough. It is natural, when so much is attempted that has before been untried, that not only something must be lost, but at times a gambling spirit must be fostered ; and where the stimulus to exertion is so often gain, the heart is in danger of becoming hardened or relaxed in its moral tone, and less scrupulous as to the means employed for success. It is best to look these dangers in the face, if we mean to overcome them ; and when consequences like these are foreseen, and the community forewarned and forearmed by the press and by the pulpit, and the author and lecturer, as behooves them all—then the community are more constantly on their guard, and an escape from much of the evil becomes more probable ; and this, not only by precautions gathered from the past, and by passing admonitions around us, as well as those filling the pages of history, but by education more thorough, and all those high moral and religious sanctions which breathe both from nature and revelation, and are fortified by the loftiest powers of reasoning and the daily fruits of experience.

Akin to this trait of enterprise is another, which may be called the love of locomotion among most of our population. It is not material to the enquiry, whether this be considered as a branch of enterprise, or a consequence, or synonymous ; it belongs to the same family, and stands out in bold relief over the character of our whole

people. An unusual proportion of them seem born to become citizens of the world. Not that they are inclined merely to emigrate from the country to cities, or from the mountains to the sea-coast, or from the more sterile East to the fertile soils in the West, or sunny savannahs of the South, but that they are essentially migratory for almost all purposes and to all places. They stand as ready in most cases, whether for mere adventure, or a livelihood, or a fortune; or, like Audubon and Nuttall, in quest of new objects of natural history, to visit Oregon and India, as to remove to a different town or county on the Merrimack or Roanoke. Indeed, they have already built cotton factories in Mexico, carrying American machinery hundreds of miles over mere bridle paths on mules' backs.* They have hunted wild cattle for their skins in California, and manufactured barilla on its sea coast. They have cut sandal wood in the Sandwich Islands, profitably, a third of a century ago; they have since cured Beech le mere at the Fedges; trapped the beaver at Nootka Sound; chased the whale among ice-bergs as well as equinoctial gales; speared the seal near Palmer's Land at the south pole; made voyages to Japan; treaties with Siam and China; become even domesticated in the Celestial Empire; commanded in the fleets of Russia; manufactured cannon and ships in the dock-yards of the Sublime Porte; explored the Nile and the deserts of Africa, and served as warriors in both India and Afghanistan. Most of them consider "*the world before them, where to choose, and Providence their guide.*" At the same time, very far is it from me to regard our people as destitute of love of country or patriotism. Though, in some respects,

—"their father-land must be,
As the blue heavens, wide and free;"

and *wherever* liberty dwells, there, to some purposes, "*is their country,*" yet for other objects their natal soil is always prized as their own, and all its excellencies, liberties and laws are duly appreciated and will be faithfully defended. Nor is this locomotive trait confined to the hardier sex. The busy spindles on our thousand water-

* Indeed, the very past winter I met at Washington a former member of the New-Hampshire Legislature, on his return home to one of our fertile vallies, from a visit to a son-in-law in the western part of Mexico, who had removed there, and was conducting a factory for spinning cotton, and was compelled at first to bring the raw material from New-Orleans, though surrounded by a soil and climate almost the original garden in America for that wonderful plant.

falls are watched by female eyes, most of them far from their native homes. Our emigrants in the remote West and South abound also from the feebler sex ; and though in such places they may miss more the charms of society than men do, absorbed in the agitations of business and politics, yet, even there, less is felt of the *maladie du pays*, or home sickness, than by most other people. Abroad, in single life, if brighter prospects open to such women, in a sphere more profitable or refined, such as teachers at Cincinnati, Mobile, or even Galveston, they pursue them with characteristic energy, however at times their affections, in a stranger world, may force them to look back to the quiet abodes they left among our mountains. And in married life, who does not know the thousands that abandon all the comforts of the East, to follow their husbands or sons to the toilsome privations of a remote frontier, even, at times, within reach of the Indian tomahawk and rifle. And not a few, under missionary influences, penetrate the sultriest sands of the Equator, and risk the cannibal orgies of the Pacific ; abandoning all the endearments of home to brave the most tragic dangers in every ocean, in the cause of the Cross.* At some seasons, both sexes, when absent, doubtless remember the sweet fields of their native Argos, but not uselessly to repine after them. Those from the North may well call to mind New-England Thanksgivings, New-England feasts of shells, and New-England mountains ; but they do it usually to imitate the first, as once enjoyed among the last ; and the recollection is usually full of gladness rather than pain. Within our own Christian Republic, our own land of liberty, law and order ; of school-houses, bibles, and homespun honesty and Saxon bluntness of speech ; there is much to remind us, however widely separated, that we are, in most essentials, one and indivisible ; that our household gods go with us wherever we go, and tarry with us wherever we stay. Within our own boundaries we thus continue, under all changes and diversities, one people, however lakes may expand or alpine cliffs swell between us. And, thanks to a benignant Providence and our representative system, and

* Among the hills of New-England, the last season, I found in the stage a female, born in the northern part of Vermont, returning from a visit among her connections, under our cold skies, to her husband, settled on an Alabama plantation, making cotton ; and another, who had visited the South, and then crossed the Atlantic, and was now only sojourning in her native valley in New-Hampshire preparatory to another removal.

our yearly improved means of intercourse, no longer can it be said as of old—

“Mountains interposed
Make enemies of nations, who had else,
Like kindred drops, been mingled into one.”

In conclusion on this topic, it may be asked, Why this fondness for removal should be more peculiar among Americans than others? I answer: one reason is, the greater certainty of bettering their condition, by such an abundance of cheap and fertile lands within our own limits; and another is, the right, possessed here and recognized for all, to emigrate and even expatriate themselves; a right not enjoyed in many other nations, and at times, when enjoyed, not accompanied by the ability to defray the expense. Another is, the liberal guaranty, possessed by all under our Federal Constitution, of being “*citizens*” in any portion of the Union they may prefer, and the prostration here of all those barriers against equal privileges in business or political power, which obstruct emigration elsewhere. There is, also, much which tempts our youth to untried scenes and distant enterprises, in the manner in which this continent was discovered—whether by the Northmen, breaking through ice in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; or by roving Madocs from Wales, still later; or by the Vespucciuses and Columbuses, who were afterwards inspired by their examples, and other reasons, to search for new worlds or to find lost ones. So the mode of our original settlement tended to nourish this same trait in the American character; not coming into the civilized families of the earth by neighboring conquest or royal bargain and sale, but occupied peacefully often by the adventurous from every quarter of the old world, whether English, Spanish, or French, Dutch, or Danish. The beginnings in the United States thus contained people who were in this respect not the exponents of the whole or even a majority of either of those nations; but they were the boldest and most restless from all, and hence the embryo, the source of our eager locomotive propensities did not before exist entire, in the character of any one people on the old continent; but it was this disposition in all of them, extracted and concentrated, which has had its more perfect work here.

The subsequent additions to our population, from time to time, were chiefly possessed of a like spirit; and thus, one and all, they

increased more and more yearly the common stock of enterprise and locomotion, collected here from every portion of Christendom. Indeed, in later days, and with a few, these may have been swollen still larger by a fondness in many to search for the marvellous, or a zeal in some to discover new minerals, plants and animals, or by a scientific enthusiasm in others, like that in Humboldt and De Tocqueville, to explore new institutions and new forms of social life.

All this has contributed to act and react—to nurse here more strongly a spirit of our own for roving and travel—animated forward by a thousand auxiliary impulses, and eager to penetrate not only every nook of our own vast domain, but to unearth and throw open, like Stephens, the antiquities of both Asia and America; or, with others of our countrymen, to thread the Nile towards his hidden sources, after unfolding the mysteries and pictured treasures of the pyramids; or, like Ledyard, on a day's notice to start for Russia, to examine all which was obscure in frozen Siberia, and find out not only new articles of trade, but new passages for navigating the arctic circle.

The inclination among most of our population to try experiments in all places and pursuits, for a livelihood, has also been much strengthened by the brilliant success which has attended not only many adventurers hither from abroad, but myriads born among us, who have pushed their fortunes into every other land and sea known to civilized man, as well as into every portion of our own great common country. And though failures have been intermingled, such is the constitution of the enterprising mind, that if it seldom profits by shunning the rocks on which others were wrecked, but overlooks them, as those lost at sea tell but few tales to dishearten,—the fortunate, who escape, fill the temple of Neptune with votive offerings, and seem, to the young and ardent, countless in number and happy in their favored lot. In sober truth, however, the country, as a whole, has by this propensity been in some other respects amply indemnified for any occasional injury. Every talent has thus been finding more, certainly its best theatre; every occupation its best materials; every article of sale, its best market. So the possessors of this trait of character, whether remaining abroad or returning home, almost invariably improve themselves. They solve doubts, discover novelties, enlarge their views, and lay in some rich stores, for future

reflection and active use. Following out the divine injunction, they try "*to prove all things, and hold fast to that which is good.*" The wanderer, like the bee, lights long only when the richest flowers open, and sends or brings back honey from every region; a specimen or description of every improvement found, whether in this or any remote quarter of the globe. He thus enables us to reap the harvest of what is good in all countries, without the tares; new plants, new grain, new animals, new tools, new machinery of any kind, new arts or arms, new inventions, or books, or principles; are all opened to our gaze the world over, and are likely to be adopted, if appearing to be more useful. In this way, not a single improvement can be made in agriculture, manufactures or navigation; in legislation or science; indeed, in any thing, either to strengthen or refine, but it is likely to become known to the explorers from our hardy soil, and its blessings soon diffused to the remotest portions of the Union. But mark the contrast. In other regions of the world, where this spirit of locomotion is suppressed or never indulged; where the traits of character are so different, that the grandson and grandsire usually till the same spot, in the same way, or delve in the same shop, with no change in tools, implements, or systems of cultivation, there the whole surface of society becomes dull as a stagnant pool, or the Dead Sea of Sodom. Old superstitions there still nail the horse-shoe over the door, to keep out witchcraft; the loom there, as in India, may still be sticks driven into the ground, or the cotton trodden into the sacks, rather than pressed by screws; the ox is harnessed by his horns or his tail; the grist carried to mill in one side of the bag, and a stone to balance it in the other; the canals have no locks; the roads are only bridle paths, as now over much of Spain; and, for want of facilities in transportation, the remains of old crops are destroyed, to make room for new ones; a raft is the only bridge and boat, a hurdle the only cart, and a hole in the roof the only chimney. In fine, the enterprise and locomotion of our people have been so strong as not only to make us differ in all these respects from many other people, but to excite, draw forth and improve more our natural advantages; originate, no less than adopt, much that is useful, and thus add something to the common stock of civilization; not living in vain for others any more than ourselves; becoming in turn inventors and world-finders, in the arts if not in geography, and making our cha-

character and institutions react and be felt in their genial influences throughout the whole brotherhood of mankind.

What may by some be considered another ramification of this trait in the character of our people, is inquisitiveness, or curiosity. They seem disposed to pry into all mysteries, and try all kinds of business or pleasure, as well as form acquaintances with every species of mankind and every region of country. Nor is the inquisitiveness of the Americans, and especially of the Yankee, (so proverbial the world over) a mere youthful impulse. It ends not till life ends, or the means of employing it. Beginning with marvels of museums and caravans and menageries, it increases to sight-seeing of all kinds, even to cataracts and mountains, and does much to extend researches into science no less than geography, and into the caverns of the ocean, the depths of mines, and the remote mysteries of the solar system; the secrets of all substances, as well as the history and manners of every people. But amidst many benefits, some evils are usually produced by this propensity. Unsatiated and ardent, this desire of the American to see all things, makes him the most rapid, and at times the most superficial of travellers. He hurries forward among the foremost of that itinerant race; now vexing every sea and continent, whether in search of the picturesque, or the marvellous, or the useful; and he is thus often led into positions and companies as bad as honest Bunyan's pilgrims; and his course in this respect would excite more ridicule than praise, if he did not generally extract something good even from poisonous flowers, and, by his observing and practical turn of mind, live in a constant course of training and education for the real duties of life.

Something of these enquiring and enterprising propensities spring, without doubt, from the greater liberty which exists here in all things. Such a state of society and government both excites and facilitates free enquiries and free and frequent intercourse. A fondness for this liberty is another of the peculiar traits in American character. It is not the liberty of nature merely, that we covet or enjoy, and of which I would speak, if having time; not the freedom from restraint of the wild buffalo or fleet horse of the prairie; or the untamed Indian, to roam over hill and dale and lake and landscape unrestrained, however much in appearance this may appear to some like Eden, or a Paradise regained. But it is liberty, enlightened and *protected*;

liberty, purified by morals, elevating in its aims ; liberty, which seeks to refine and ennoble the spirit, and make that free from ignorance, superstition and bigotry, as well as the body emancipated from chains ; in short, the liberty which leads to just no less than heroic deeds, and is quite as mindful of its duties as its rights, and of the rights of others as its own. Without such liberty, our people would value not

" the land of the cypress and vine,
Where the flowers ever blossom, the heavens ever shine ;
Where the maidens are soft as the roses they twine,
And all, save the spirit of man, is divine."

But I am obliged to pass over a proper discussion of this strong attachment to liberty, and several other traits in our national character, such as the wider diffusion of education over the whole country, the existence of a far superior tone of morals, and greater practical talent in business of all kinds, than usually exist elsewhere.

Considering, however, that this year is the centennial anniversary of one of the most brilliant victories of our people, in the capture of Louisburg, it may be thought peculiarly proper to devote a few moments to some considerations connected with the existence of the characteristic trait of a military spirit among most of our people. Such a spirit would be natural, when we look to the descent of most of them from that race in Europe always so devoted to war. Remember, also, that we are a Republic, which in all ages has been the form of government that encourages boldness in defence of national honor, by opening paths of fame and power to the lowest citizen who is ready to peril his life for the common cause. Beside all this, our country has practically been schooled in arms from infancy. There was a savage enemy to contend with on the moment of the first landing of our Fathers. A foe met them on the beach, watched them in the forest, ambushed them in the field, broke the midnight slumbers of their households with the war-whoop and torch, whether at Portsmouth, or Concord, or Jamestown, or Pittsburg ; ready at all times to avenge fancied or real wrongs, and cross out with their tomahawks, as they did on the body of the intrepid Waldron, at Dover, all arrearages of accounts in favor of the pale-face against the red man. Added to these, we were from time to time dragged into the whirlpool of most of the European wars which preceded our Independence ; and the daring spirit of the Colonies led them to embark

in all the military enterprises planned for this continent, and even to originate some of their own accord. The more southern Colonies bled as freely under Braddock at Fort Pitt, as the northern ones did at Crown Point, or at Quebec under Wolfe. Indeed, the latter were always ready to fight, and even be *taxed*, when in danger either from the French or Indians; the French being enemies, almost by inheritance, as well as border position in Canada, and national rivalry and antagonistic views in religion; and the Indians being enemies, inflamed by jealousies or sinister suspicions, with some real wrongs, and from the cradle to the grave wreaking treasured vengeance, with true savage ferocity, whenever opportunities offered.

One of the illustrations of the vigor of this military propensity among us before the Revolution, and which was thus helped to be formed and inflamed, so as to secure victory in that great struggle a generation after, appeared in the capture of Louisburg. It took place on the 17th of June, 1745—a century ago within a few days. And what a century! How full of still greater events in the life of all the colonists, as well as those of New-England! How big with the fate of Europe, and even Asia, no less than America! What revolutions in dynasties! What improvements in government! What inventions in the arts! What progress in commerce and civilization the world over, beyond any precedent in the whole tide of time!

Though Massachusetts took the lead in that expedition, yet New-Hampshire poured out liberally, as has been her course since in every perilous crisis, both her blood and money; and her citizens planned and executed some of the most chivalrous feats connected with it, if Vaughan, the son of her Lieutenant Governor, did not, as many suppose, originate the whole affair. The commander of all the New-England troops now sleeps in his princely tomb near the mouth of the noble river which forms our eastern border; and some of his descendants still linger near, to embalm his virtues and recal to our memory his toils and glories in the cause of his countrymen. The titles conferred on Sir William Pepperrell and others, for the victory on that occasion, added new fuel to the military flame among us, being the first instance of so animating a reward to an American for services in the field. What makes that expedition more full of evidence as to our military spirit than most others of so early a date,

is that it was conceived in New, rather than Old England ; the troops were raised here rather than abroad ; the officers selected here ; the sinews of war—the money—at first contributed here ; and the consequent impulses from it to increase that spirit and push onward our enterprise, self-confidence and progress, were all American rather than British, and justly awakened the first jealousies at home of colonial power, and led to predictions at the time foreshadowing the Independence which was consummated in only a third of a century after. Some of the other circumstances of the expedition develop most strikingly how deep-seated are our capabilities and fitness for arms. The troops were militia, virtually ; men fresh from the plough, and the workshop, and harpoon, and the lumberman's camp, rather than vagabonds from all nations ; and, in short, the plan of operations, as described by Belknap, " was drawn by a lawyer, to be executed by a merchant, at the head of a body of husbandmen and mechanics." The danger braved, also, was not to be merely that of flood and field in the attack, but anticipated retaliation on their homes and firesides, menaced as it was afterwards by France, even to " the destruction of the English sea-coast from Nova Scotia to Georgia." Without dwelling on further details in this affair, illustrating our subject, it may be mentioned, as indicative of much military prudence, that the secrecy attending the preliminary measures of the legislative assemblies, to appropriate funds and raise troops, as well as the movement of the latter, was so great, that what had been adopted with closed doors, became first, inadvertently divulged by a member, in the ardor of prayer to God for favor to the enterprise ; and that the sailing of the vessels was unknown in the Island of Cape Breton till the regiment from New-Hampshire, impatient for the attack, reached the neighborhood some days before any other troops arrived. They went under the immediate command of Col. Moore, who was a skillful sailor as well as soldier, and who at once volunteered to take all his men on board the ships of war, to help in an attack by water, if that mode was preferred. But Vaughan, from Portsmouth, ardent no less than skillful, seems to have been the soul of the enterprise, whether in the field or in council, at home or abroad ; and was fearless of danger as Charles the Twelfth, or Putnam. He entered the first fort taken from the enemy, and wrote thence to the commander, " that by the grace of God and the courage of thirteen

men, I entered the royal battery about nine o'clock, and am waiting for a reinforcement and a flag." This allusion to *the grace of God* meant more than the usual phraseology of the age, as religious zeal had so far been mingled with other excitements to the expedition, that Whitfield himself, the eloquent apostle of Methodism, furnished the motto for their flag. It was, "*Nil desperandum, Christo duce ;*" and one of the chaplains of the regiments, with all the burning zeal of a John Knox, carried a hatchet on his shoulder, to destroy any images which might be found in the French churches.

If any doubts still remain whether a fondness for glory in arms in a just cause always animated and still animates Americans, as belonging to the race of the Henries and Cromwells and Marlboroughs and Wellingtons ; and as nurtured amidst onslaughts and ambuscades from the King Philips and Tecumsehs of the New World, and as self-defenders of their own equal rights in all emergencies, at the cannon's mouth, as well as the polls ; let the sceptic look, a few years after the capture of Louisburg, to the rally at Saratoga and King's Mountain, and the bloody decks of the Bonne Richard, and the thousand other deathly rencounters since, under our McNiels and Ripleys and Jacksons, in the tented field, no less than our Truxtons and Prebles and Decatur and Perrys on the mountain wave, whenever and wherever duty called. It was not at the Revolution so much a regular training and profession, which made the American a soldier, as the military spirit lurking in the breasts and tastes and habits of our people, ready to burst forth whenever occasion demanded. Oppression was the sword that detected and inflamed the youthful Achilles, though plying the distaff among maidens. Sullivan abandoned Coke, and wrestled with lumbermen on Oyster river to foil armed myrmidons from Europe ; Dearborn and Brooks flung aside the lancet for the sword ; Pierce left his plough in the furrow ; Stark, his beaver traps ; Green, his anvil ; Putnam, his wolf hunts ; Whipple, his harpoon and lines ; Washington, his surveyor's compass and chain, and the ardent Macclintock, his pulpit, to exhort the soldiery to battle at Bunker Hill ; coming, in truth, from all occupations and regions, "*as the winds come, when forests are rended.*" The dragon's teeth of oppression, which had been sowed by England, started up armed men every where ; men accustomed to the rifle from the cradle ; restrained by no game laws from a free chase ;

claiming a natural, afterwards a constitutional right to keep and bear arms ; drilled as militia to the smell of gunpowder ; able, in practice no less than theory, to defend their homes as their castles, and prosecute bloody strifes in behalf of the mother country, till they thus learned how to protect themselves even against her wrongs. They transmitted to their children the same invincible resolution to uphold the rights and the flag of our country, whether at home, as at New-Orleans, or on the other side of the globe, as at Sumatra ; and always to wipe out any attempted and unatoned stain on our national honor, with the blood of the offender. You may render a display of this spirit not often necessary ; and such is the true policy of humanity and christianity, by means of international prudence, justice, forbearance, and, at the same time, firmness ; and, by God's help, may such be the result henceforth, forever. But to order it to cease, you might as well command our whole history to be expunged ; the warm, heroic blood in our veins to become ice-water, and our seamen navigate only the placid river, instead of braving, as they will, the tempests and breakers of the ocean. Another evidence of this military propensity, is the liberality with which the nation has ever encouraged all improvements in fire-arms, cannon, powder, tactics, fortifications, steam batteries ; all naval securities, and the equipment, if not discipline of that great arm of national defence, the militia. Whatever differences may exist as to the utility of frequent trainings, all must admit that a well organized and well armed militia is the safest if not cheapest defence of nations. It is also a constant bulwark against oppression ; and one of the best benefits which has resulted from the fondness for military affairs among our people, and one of the best evidences of its existence, has been the public attention hitherto bestowed on this subject in the United States, and the manly tone it has imparted to the young, and the confidence to the middle aged, of their ability to protect their liberties, laws and public order, when the civil power is too weak, or when assailed by foreign aggression. Our trainings and musters have been holidays. Females and males resorted to them after the Revolution, as some of the most festive anniversaries. This seemed to make us, not merely an armed Republic ; not a people, aspiring to aggrandizement by violence or rapine, but a government of the people, capable of being defended, and cheerfully, by the people themselves ; rejoic-

ing in peace and the peaceful pursuits of commerce, agriculture and manufactures, yet ready for self-defence and self-protection, without invoking the standing armies of Napoleons and Cromwells, or the legions of Cæsars and the brigands of Santa Annas; feeling much stronger in the general intelligence, moral firmness, military habits and armed liberties of the people at large, than in any battlements or hired mercenaries. Nor is this position dangerous to the rights of others more than ourselves. "The queen's arms," the rifle and the fowling-piece, have adorned every dwelling among the yeomanry; but they have been as a sort of household gods,—for defence rather than aggression; as a memento to demagogues and usurpers of their probable destruction, than as a promise or hope of assistance either to ambition or tyranny. It is defensive rather than aggressive, and has never tempted us to seize lawlessly on a foot of land for the enlargement of our public domain. And whoever charges us as a nation with ambition to extend our empire by wrong, under the dominion of such a military feeling as this, forgets the many checks on it in the moral and religious and educated sense of justice, pervading our people; overlooks its other guards here, and does wrong to our whole history, rather than acting as the honest chronicler. On the contrary, when we have been forced to make military lodgments on the other side of the globe, as at Quallah Battoo, to punish piracy, or to occupy the Falkland Islands, to break up there the violators of our flag, or have had possessions offered to us in the isles of the Pacific or Mediterranean, and even whole provinces in Africa; our policy has been to remain entirely within peaceful limits; and, even within those limits, to grasp at nothing unnecessary for national security, or connected with any dream of foreign aggrandizement. But, from want of time, no more of this now, nor anything on the other prominent traits in our character, before alluded to, as connected with liberty, education, morality and practical talents for business.

In closing, should any one ask, what have been the general consequences of the whole? I would observe, that after an impartial scrutiny, the results will be found nearly these: There have been imparted to our national character in every thing undertaken, an earnestness of purpose, a promptitude, an energy, a vigilance; and,

above all, an integrity in action as well as feeling, most auspicious to our future advancement. What such a people, in society or government, resolve to do, they do with their whole might; and without dwelling on some imperfections and exceptions and excesses, arising at times from such a character, its qualities are always efficient in correcting these, and in promoting more rapidly every thing useful. The spirit of such a people seems destined to spread wider, till it penetrates the whole western continent; and though we may look into the mist of coming time and fancy this spirit headed, at no very distant period in its excursions, by some great captain of the age, it will still be, not him, but the spirit, the character of our population, which must ensure victory over the other races around us; ensure it, too, all must hope, rather by mind, hardier virtues, superior skill in the arts, and higher civilization, than by arms. Thus, in time, may we not elevate all between us and the Pacific? as the Greeks, after reaching the heart of Asia, under the son of Philip, aided for ages, in peace no less than war, by their higher qualities, to renovate in some degree the effeminate millions around them.

In fine, if the consequences thus far of such a character have been, as many suppose, an increase of the importance of individual man; a lower appreciation of mere authority; a closer attention to the welfare of the many, in legislation, rather than a few; a constant growth in arts, intelligence, morals and popular power, and a greater ability thus obtained daily to overcome those dangers from licentiousness and ignorance, to which a system like ours is exposed; I say, if these have been some of the consequences, their benefits will not probably be confined to our own age or our own continent. A new generation in many respects treads the stage of most of the civilized world; its means are greater, its defences stronger, its mission higher and holier. To be sure, it is not without perils; but so far as regards ourselves, if true to the hallowed trust devolved on us from our Fathers; true to our own character, as free, enlightened and christian; true to the great cause of liberal principles and progress throughout the world; as true, hereafter, as our whole history shows us to have been heretofore,—the coming time will be full of smiles to youth and those of middle life, while those of us descending into the vale of years will have no cause either to fear or despair.

Dartmouth College Statistics.

The following Table shows the number of Graduates at Dartmouth College each year, from 1801 to 1850, inclusive—80 years, and the number from the several States to which they belonged, while members of College.

Yrs.	N. H.	Ms.	Vt.	Me.	Ct.	N. Y.	Pa.	O.	Mich.	Va.	Ch.	Total
1801	16	9	3	1	1							29
1802	8	10	3	1								22
1803	19	16	4	3	2							44
1804	20	5	6	2	1							34
1805	13	9	2	3	1							28
1806	16	10	3	4	1							33
1807	23	13	4	4	1							41
1808	14	17	2	4	2							40
1809	14	11	2	4	2							40
1810	7	13	5	1	4							35*
1811	29	15	5	1	4							53
1812	19	9	3	2	5							35
1813	23	9	3	2	5							41
1814	14	9	6	1	3							33
1815	16	6	6	1	3							31
1816	13	4	3	2	3							24
1817	20	8	9	1	1							39
1818	17	6	9	3	1							35*
1819	14	3	8	1								25
1820	16	1	7									24
1821	19	4	10									33
1822	32	6	6	1								45
1823	24	4	5									33
1824	14	4	9									28
1825	17	3	6									27*
Total	1100	386	595	95	16	32	7	5	3	2	7	1969

* Of the Class for 1809, there was 1 student from South Carolina; for 1818, 1 from New-Brunswick; for 1825, 1 from Maryland; for 1838, 1 from Scotland; for 1839, 1 from Tennessee; for 1841, 1 from Georgia; for 1850, 1 from Delaware. The number of graduates for 1850 is predicated upon the number now belonging to the Class, as published in the Annual Catalogue.

The number who graduated the *first ten* years of this century was 333, average annual number, $33\frac{3}{10}$; *second ten* years, 338, average, $33\frac{8}{10}$; *third ten* years, 338, average, $33\frac{8}{10}$; *fourth ten* years, 486, average, $40\frac{5}{10}$; *fifth ten* years, 559, average, $50\frac{1}{10}$. Whole number of graduates, 1969, average, $39\frac{1}{10}$.

GILMANTON, JANUARY, 1850. W. C.

INSTRUCTIONS TO COMMANDERS OF PRIVATEERS IN 1776.

IN CONGRESS, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 3, 1776.

INSTRUCTIONS to the Commanders of Private Ships, or Vessels of War, which shall have Commissions or Letters of Marque and Reprisal, authorising them to make Captures of British Vessels and Cargoes.

I. You may, by Force of Arms, attack, subdue, and take all Ships and other Vessels belonging to the Subjects of the King of Great Britain, on the High Seas, or between High-water and Low-water Marks, except Ships and Vessels bringing persons who intend to settle and reside in the United Colonies, or bringing Arms, Ammunition, or warlike Stores to the said Colonies, for the Use of such Inhabitants thereof as are Friends to the American Cause, which you shall suffer to pass unmolested, the Commanders thereof permitting a peaceable Search, and giving satisfactory Information of the Contents of the Ladings, and Destinations of the Voyages.

II. You may, by Force of Arms, attack, subdue, and take all Ships and other Vessels whatsoever, carrying Soldiers, Arms, Gunpowder, Ammunition, Provisions, or any other contraband Goods, to any of the British Armies or Ships of War, employed against these Colonies.

III. You shall bring such Ships and Vessels as you shall take, with their Guns, Rigging, Tackle, Apparel, Furniture and Ladings, to some convenient Port or Ports of the United Colonies, that Proceedings may thereupon be had in due Form, before the Courts which are or shall be there appointed to hear and determine Causes civil and maritime.

IV. You or one of your Chief Officers shall bring or send the Master and Pilot, and one or more principal Person or Persons of the Company of every Ship or Vessel by you taken, as soon after the Capture as may be, to the Judge or Judges of such Court as aforesaid, to be examined upon Oath, and make answer to the Interrogatories which may be propounded, touching the Interest or Property of the Ship or Vessel and her Lading; and at the same Time you shall deliver or cause to be delivered to the Judge or Judges, all Passes, Sea Briefs, Charter Parties, Bills of Lading, Cockets, Letters, and other Documents and Writings found on Board, proving the said Papers, by the Affidavit of yourself or of some other Person present at the Capture, to be produced as they were received, without Fraud, Addition, Subduction, or Embezzlement.

V. You shall keep and preserve every Ship or Vessel and Cargo by you taken until they shall, by Sentence of a Court properly authorised, be adjudged lawful Prize, or acquitted—not selling, spoiling, wasting, or diminishing the same, or breaking the Bulk thereof, nor suffering any such Thing to be done.

VI. If you, or any of your Officers or Crew, shall, in cold Blood,

kill or maim, or by Torture or otherwise, cruelly, inhumanly, and contrary to common Usage and the Practice of civilized Nations in War, treat any person or Persons surprized in the Ship or Vessel you shall take, the Offender shall be severely punished.

VII. You shall, by all convenient Opportunities, send to Congress written Accounts of the Captures you shall make, with the Number and Names of the Captives, Copies of your Journal from Time to Time, and Intelligence of what may occur or be discovered concerning the Designs of the Enemy, and the Destinations, Motions and Operations of their Fleets and Armies.

VIII. One Third, at the least, of your whole Company shall be Land-men.

IX. You shall not ransom any Prisoners or Captives, but shall dispose of them in such Manner as the Congress, or, if that be not fitting, in the Colony whither they shall be brought, as the General Assembly, Convention, or Council or Committee of Safety of such Colony shall direct.

X. You shall observe all such further Instructions as Congress shall hereafter give in the Premises, when you shall have Notice thereof.

XI. If you shall do any Thing contrary to these Instructions, or to others hereafter to be given, or willingly suffer such Thing to be done, you shall not only forfeit your Commission, and be liable to an Action for Breach of the Condition of your Bond, but be responsible to the Party grieved for Damages sustained by such Malversation.

By Congress,

JOHN JAY, *President.*

AN ACT OF THE LEGISLATURE RESPECTING SNOW-SHOES AND MOCCASINS IN 1722.

Pro. N. Hamps'e—

In the House of Representatives.

Voted, That two hundred paire of Snow-Shoes, and So many paire of Moggasoons be forthwith Provided ; And Made at the Publick Charge ; Each Town in this Province to make theire Proportionall part, according to theire Last Province Tax ; And that the Select men in Each Town take Care the Same be Don ; And rate Each Town and pay for the Making thereof ; And y't the Care of them be under the Chief Military officer in Each Town, and y't they shall not be used at any time but for his Maj'tie's Service ; Nor Lent.

8th, ye 25th, 1722.

JA's JEFFRY, Cor. Ass'm. •

Sent up for Concurrence :

Read and Concurred, RICH'D WALDRON, Cler. Con.

AN ADDRESS OF HON. JEREMIAH SMITH, LL. D.,
*Delivered at the Celebration on the close of the Second Century from
 the time Exeter was settled by John Wheelwright and others, July
 4, 1838.**

Two hundred years have this day elapsed since the first entry for permanent settlement was made on the ground on which we now stand. The spot selected for a plantation, experience has shown to have been well chosen, as regards situation, soil, and climate; and it is, moreover, extremely favorable to health and long life. Six generations of men have here acted their several parts on the theatre of life, and have passed away, since the event we are called this day to celebrate.

As the descendants and successors of these men, we cannot but feel a deep interest in their character and fortunes. We cannot but feel a strong desire to know something of their sufferings and privations. Who were they? whence came they? what were the motives that induced them to leave the pleasant land of their nativity, and choose this wilderness for a home for themselves and their posterity? what were the principles that nerved their arms and strengthened their souls for the arduous work before them? what of good and what of evil befell them in the journey of life? It would gratify me exceedingly to be able to answer these, and a thousand questions more you are ready to ask, in the manner you desire. Our ancestors were too much engaged in the active and necessary duties of life, to have leisure for other employments. The customs and fashions of this early period, as well as its labors, were not so favorable to the accumulation of memorials for posterity as are those of our times. Every body now writes, and writes well. Letters, newspapers, diaries and periodicals, are now abundant, and mark the character of the age. What would I not now give for an "Exeter News Letter" of the 4th of July, 1638; a letter from Mrs. Wheelwright to her friends in England; the correspondence of Purmott, the Boston Schoolmaster, one of our company, with his friends in the Bay; or, of the first members of the church of Exeter with their sympathising brethren of the Boston church; for a diary or even

* In publishing this Address, the Editor has thought it best to make a few verbal alterations only, and not to interfere with Judge Smith's views, but to allow him to speak for himself.

an interleaved almanac of the early time,—noting merely the seasons, the harvests, and the ordinary occurrences of the day? How are the manners and customs of private life, two centuries ago, to be known in the absence of all such written memorials.

We need not be told, that our ancestors were not so rich; that they were laborious, industrious, and economical; that they belonged to the middle class of society in their native country, embracing, however, none of the lowest of that class, who had neither the wish nor the ability to emigrate.

It will be my endeavour to vindicate the religious character of the first settlers, and that of their leader, in an especial manner, under the cruel persecution he underwent. Persecutors are much in the habit of giving false characters of the men they persecute, as if that would palliate which only aggravates the injury. The civil fathers of Massachusetts, and the reverend elders, must have had hard hearts, if, when they beheld the little band,—thirty or forty families,—collecting their wives and children, their cattle, their furniture, and their scanty stores, for the wilderness of Swamscot, they felt no pity for the sufferers. Albeit these men were not of the melting mood, they must have shed tears at the piteous sight. It was but a journey of three or four days, but in prospect it was dreary enough. There was a small settlement at Lynn, older ones at Salem and Ipswich, and a plantation just begun at Newbury; but all between was a thick, dark forest, and the path little better than marked trees. We are told, that about this time a person lost his way in the *woods*, between Salem and Lynn, and wandered about several days before he reached a settlement. Two years before, the famous Hooker, with his little colony of one hundred souls, who settled Hartford, were a whole week performing their journey, encumbered as our little colony was. I need not say, that, after three or four days' journey, ours reached Swamscot Falls greatly fatigued. Here they found no friends to bid them welcome. This was the most painful circumstance of all.

Several weeks must have been spent in preparing log-huts to shelter them from the weather. But the toils of our emigrants were but just beginning. Their views were merely agricultural, to till the ground for a subsistence; and we must remember that it was the hard and plain tillage of a common, not of an exuberant soil. The settlements at Portsmouth and Dover were made by traders, factors, and

fishermen, who hoped to carry on a profitable traffic with the natives and foreigners, and to enrich themselves from the sea, not the land. Mason and Gorges aimed at still greater things. Their connections at Court, and their influence with the great Council of Plymouth, obtained grants of large tracts; to Gorges, Maine, and to Mason, New-Hampshire. These lands they intended to parcel out to others at a small quit rent. They were to be cultivated by tenants, while the proprietors were to be clothed with the *jura regalia*; with all the trappings of little monarchs. Experience soon taught them the fallibility and the futility of all such schemes. They expended large sums in putting the machine in motion, and died in debt. Neither they nor their posterity ever realized a tenth part of the sums they expended. Our lands are not rich enough to support *landlord* and *tenant*. The cultivator must have all the produce, and little enough, too. The views of some projectors were still more romantic. They flattered themselves with immense wealth from the discovery here of rich mines of the precious metals: such as the adventurers in our southern hemisphere had in fact realized.

The little band we have conducted to this place, in point of condition, intelligence, and education, will compare well with the first settlers of Massachusetts, if we except a very few of superior family, wealth, and education, who took the lead in that enterprise. Perhaps there never was a greater equality in the rank, condition, education, and circumstances of the planters of a new colony; none rich, and none without the means of obtaining the necessities of life; none highly educated, and none without the education common to the same rank in the mother country at the time.

Among our settlers there were no merchants, or manufacturers, or persons skilled in the arts of trade. They were from the agricultural districts of England; of course not ignorant of the art of husbandry, as then practised in that country; but they could hardly be aware how little their knowledge would avail them here. The soil was different from that of Lincolnshire and Norfolk; and there the tillage was of lands long cultivated; here a wilderness was to be subdued and turned into a fruitful field; a new science to them. No doubt their scanty portion of implements of agriculture was ill adapted to their wants; and a supply was not at that day, as now, a matter of easy acquisition. They must have suffered, too, for want

of animals. Cattle of all kinds were scarce and dear. The new plantations in Massachusetts could spare none, at any price. It seems Captain Mason had sent over, a few years before, a large number of cattle of the best breeds, imported from Denmark. He died about two years before, and his servants had possessed themselves of his effects. Probably from these men our settlers were able to obtain a partial supply.

But, after all, the prospect was gloomy; gloomy as the dark forests in the midst of which they had seated themselves. What now, think ye, supported the drooping spirits of our emigrants? If ever there was a people thrown entirely upon their own resources, few and scanty as those resources were, we have them here. They were beyond the bounds of Massachusetts; strangers to the people of Dover and Portsmouth; every way strangers. There was no congeniality between them. Massachusetts had driven them out. To whom shall they go? Happily, they belonged to that class of men who find no difficulty in answering the question. They had just been condemned, as enemies of God and his religion; but this unjust sentence of their fellow mortals could not deprive them of what they valued above all earthly good—their religious principles and belief; and to these they looked for support.

The bulk of mankind, you know, adopt the religious opinions in which they were born and educated, without examination and without inquiry; and what is so adopted makes but a feeble impression on the mind. But it was not so with the Puritans who settled New-England, any more than with the first converts to Christianity; they heard gladly, but did not yield *implicit* faith. "Are these things so?" They inquired, reasoned, and compared, and were reasoned with; their convictions, therefore, were strong. They could not fail to produce fruits. They had the faith that overcomes the world and all worldly things.

The Author of nature has implanted in the heart of man a strong attachment to the land of his birth; to parents, children, kindred; to the scenes of his early youth, and even to the graves of his ancestors. Yet all these he will forsake when his conscience calls for the sacrifice. So thought and so acted the Puritans who settled New-England. The rulers of their native land, and the church in which they had been nurtured and fed, like an unnatural step-mother,

as in their anger they called her, cast them out for nonconformity to a few idle ceremonies she was pleased to enjoin. They could not in conscience obey. They had persuaded themselves that this gaudy worship was Popish and idolatrous, and therefore to be resisted at all hazards; and so believing, they *left*, such of them as were not *driven* away, their native land, and came to this wilderness.

The settlers of Exeter belonged to this sect of Christians. When they joined themselves to their brethren of Massachusetts, they had the hope that they had reached the termination of all their sufferings for conscience's sake. And was this an unreasonable hope? In this new world, what should hinder their enjoying in brotherly love and Christian fellowship the pure, simple worship of God, unmixed with Popish superstitions; accountable for their Christian faith and religious observances, not to the infallible head of the Popish or the never-erring head of the English churches, but to the unerring head of the true church, Christ himself. This was the Puritan doctrine in England.

And they were mistaken. Their teacher in theology, it was believed, had assigned an undue proportion to the covenant of grace in the economy of salvation; and in politics they were also found in error. They wished to continue Vane in the chair of government, whereas the majority, as it proved at the next election, preferred his rival. *Both questions* were *alike* settled by major vote. Where was now the right of *private* judgment *in matters of religion*, where conscience is so deeply concerned? For these offences, (for *in minorities* they are offences,) they must now pass once more through the fiery furnace of persecution. This second death was far more painful than the first. It was upon grounds far less intelligible than the first. It was upon a difference of opinion in *abstruse points in theology*.

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A portion of the manuscript here is missing, and cannot be found—enough to make about half a page in print.

When persecution visits a country, it is their boldest as well as their best men who become its victims. When all other earthly hopes fail, they abandon their fire-sides and their altars, that they may keep their consciences. It is the weak and timid minds who remain at home. They meanly crouch beneath the rod of the op-

pressor, afraid to exercise their reasoning powers. They find it safest to conceal their religious opinions, and seek security in hypocrisy. Who fled from France on the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, one hundred and fifty years ago? The choicest spirits of that gallant nation; the men of the greatest intellectual and moral strength. They enriched the neighboring nations. Our population in America gained moral and intellectual strength by this foolish as well as wicked measure of Louis XIV. To this cause we are indebted for our Bowdoin, our Dexters, our Jays, Delanceys, Boudinots, Hugers. Who were the men driven from England by the bloody Mary and her no less cruel sister? The Puritans: men of whom the world was not worthy. The effect of persecution for opinions, is to set people to thinking and reasoning. It improves the intellectual and moral powers—gives added strength and firmness of purpose. But I am afraid it hardens the heart; for how often do we find the persecuted, on a change of circumstances, themselves acting the wicked part of persecutors? And so it was in New-England in her early days. Before the arrival of his friends, Mr. Wheelwright had purchased from the Sagamore of Piscataqua a large tract of land—upwards of 500,000 acres. There is no pretence that the men of Exeter acquired any *legal title* by this purchase. Neither Wheelwright, nor any of the other grantees named in the deed, ever asserted any exclusive right in himself. The town *acted as the proprietors*.

I would not be understood to adopt Sir Edmund Andros's language, "that such deeds were no better than the scratch of a bear's paw." The first settlers at the time had no mode of obtaining a legal title. The Council of Plymouth had been dissolved a short time before, and Mason, to whom they had granted, was dead; and his devisees were infants, and no claim was made in their behalf for thirty years; and then they waked up, not to benefit themselves, but to vex and disquiet the peaceable inhabitants, who, though destitute of a legal, had, nevertheless, the most equitable of all titles:—Purchase from the natural owners; *long possession*, without any adverse claim; *the defence* of the settlement against the savages and the French; and the cultivation and settlement of a part of the country, whereby the value of the rest was greatly enhanced. In truth, they paid the full value and more, and could with a clear conscience hold the lands they claimed, against all the world. I cannot learn that our Indians

ever complained, or afterwards set up any title to the lands sold to Wheelwright. The transaction between Wheelwright and the sagamore was a sufficient license to settle and occupy, and was highly creditable to his liberality, prudence, and care of his flock.

But our ancestors could not only find no one to sell them the lands they possessed, but they could find no person to govern them. As English born subjects, they knew they could not throw off their allegiance to the crown. But the crown had no representative in New-England. Massachusetts governed itself, and so in fact did all the other settlements. From necessity, therefore, this handful of men were compelled to resort to original principles. That the weak might be protected against the strong, and the good against the bad, they seem at first, by mere verbal agreement, to have instituted government. At the close of the first year, on the 4th July, 1639, they solemnly subscribed a written instrument, or constitution, which they called a combination.* With an acknowledgement of some sort of dependence on the Crown, they adopted the English *Christian laws, as they understood them*—doubtless intending in this truly democratic government, to reject, in toto, all that regarded the hierarchy and church establishment, which they deemed Popish and anti-christian, and altogether unsuitable to a settlement like ours. In this opinion they were far more correct than the tyrant Gov. Cranfield, half a century afterwards, who instituted a criminal prosecution against Mr. Moody, the minister of Portsmouth, for disobedience to that system, in refusing to administer the sacrament, according to the rites of the English Church, to himself and his unworthy associates. Mr. Moody withstood the little tyrant to his fall, and suffered imprisonment for a long time in the common gaol.

Do you wish to know something of the men who signed this Constitution of Government—the first constitution of the State, precisely this day 199 years ago, and 148 years before that of the United

* "Considering," as they express it, "with themselves the holy will of God and their own necessity that they should not live without civil government and wholesome laws, as subjects of King Charles, according to the liberties of the English Colony of Massachusetts, they did erect themselves into a body politic, and bound themselves solemnly, by the grace and help of Christ, and in his name and fear, to submit to such godly and *Christian laws* as were established in the realm of England, to their best knowledge, and to such laws as they might themselves, upon good grounds, enact; that so they might live together quietly and peaceably, in all godliness and honesty."

States, which I pray Heaven may continue the constitution of a free and happy people till the number swells to 200,000,000 and more.

John Wheelwright, of Lincolnshire, was born in the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth. His ancestors no doubt were of respectable standing in society, for he inherited a considerable real estate, which he disposed of by his last will. His parents had the good sense to bestow a portion of their wealth in giving their son a learned education. He had bright parts, and in youth was remarkable for the boldness, zeal and firmness of mind he displayed upon all occasions. He was educated for the ministry, but embracing the Puritan sentiments he necessarily incurred the censure of the Church for non-conformity. Laud was then Archbishop of Canterbury, and determined to enforce the strictest observance of the ceremonies. We are not informed of the particular in which Wheelwright failed. Cotton's was, not kneeling at the sacrament. Laud was a learned and probably a sincere man; but, like many other good men, he indulged an excessive fondness for the pageantry and splendor of public worship; for the minutiae and exterior parts of religion. He was, at the same time, the most active member of the High Commission Court—a tribunal with which many of our early and distinguished clergy had occasion to be well acquainted. When the great and undefined power of this Court was wielded by a determined High Churchman, no Puritan could exercise his ministry within its reach, and its jurisdiction was coëxtensive with the kingdom itself. The learned, mild and catholic Cotton could not elude its pursuivants. He was obliged to fly his country like a felon. Mr. Wheelwright came to Boston about three years after Cotton. Both were from the same county. He was immediately admitted a freeman, and with his wife became a member of the Boston church; in the language of that day, "the most glorious church in the world, both for their faith and order, and their eminent gifts of utterance and knowledge." Mr. Wilson was the pastor and Mr. Cotton the teacher. Mr. Wilson's preaching was so acceptable that an attempt was soon made to settle him as a teacher also. Gov. Winthrop opposed the motion, though he declared at the same time "that he thought reverently of Mr. Wheelwright's godliness and abilities, and could be content to live under his ministry. He professed to love his person, and to honor the gifts and graces of God in him." Mr. Wilson was also opposed,

and the church gave way. The lands at Mount Wollaston, (now Quincy,) were owned by Boston people, and the occupants deemed a branch of the Boston church. It was agreed these should be formed into a church—Mr. Wheelwright to be its pastor. Mr. Wheelwright seems generally to have been beloved by his people; but there was probably a slight difference between Mr. Wilson's doctrines and his, though both were sound Calvinists. Probably Mr. Cotton, (Gov. Vane now in the chair,) Mr. Wheelwright, and many of the eminent men of the eminent Boston church, were a little more enthusiastic in their sentiments and habitual temperament. Winthrop says, "few knew where any difference was." Those few I suppose were the adepts in scholastic divinity. Mr. Wheelwright would probably have maintained his popularity, had it not been for his two most active allies: his sister, Mrs. Hutchinson, and Gov. Vane. The high church and monarchy men make short work with Vane's character:—he was a hypocrite in religion and a republican in politics. Mr. Winthrop, though his rival, calls him "a wise and godly gentleman." He was a thorough independent in his civil and religious sentiments and principles; and now that we have his whole life and death before us, I hesitate not to pronounce him the incorrupt, disinterested and unwavering friend of popular liberty, and equally so of New-England; a merciful, liberal and sincere man and christian. He resisted equally the tyranny of Charles and the usurpation of Cromwell, and equally incurred the displeasure of both. His trial after the Restoration, for treason, was a triumph, and his death on the scaffold a glorious one. At the time of which we speak, he was a young man, and within a year after his arrival had been elected Governor over Winthrop—a man of undoubted merit, and every way worthy of the station; tho' in the prime of life, nearly double the age of his rival. He was a good christian, but not entirely free from the ambition to rule in church and state. Gov. Winthrop tells us Mrs. Hutchinson—the ancestor of the late Gov. Hutchinson—'was a woman of ready wit,' (Hubbard says 'of *nimble* wit') 'and bold spirit.' Johnson calls her the 'master-piece of woman's wit.' It would be better to say with Neal, 'she was of a bold and masculine spirit.' All give her credit for great powers of mind. She came to Boston about the same time as her brother, Mr. Wheelwright, and was received a member of the Boston church. Her husband was highly respectable, and was soon

elected a representative of Boston. Mr. Cotton was her favorite preacher. She was in the practice of holding *female* (the *male* was common,) night meetings, in which she expounded Mr. Cotton's sermons. This of itself exposed her to the suspicion of being less friendly to Mr. Wilson's doctrines. At the present day this ebullition of female zeal would doubtless be the subject of much conversation, but it would scarcely be thought to portend ruin to the commonwealth. But it was otherwise two centuries ago. The elders of all the churches in the colony were called, 'to advise with the magistrates about discovering and pacifying the differences among the churches in *point of opinion*.' Why seek to know the points of difference in opinion? Silence is, I believe, generally in these cases the surest and best *pacificator*. Here I think two errors were committed, and that the way to bring about harmony of sentiment in the dogmas of theology is to set men to talking, writing and disputing about them. They need not think; and, 2nd, that such unity of opinion, if practicable, would be a great good. Disputing about religion is of itself bad enough; but something worse is to be apprehended. That the majority, with the power, especially when conscious that they have the worst of the argument, will soon be inclined to burn the minority. It is one of the most unseemly and revolting things in the world, for the more dignified party to be confuted in argument by the less dignified. The Hindoos are so sensible of this, that they have a law by which any man who overpowers a Brahmin in argument is subjected to a heavy fine.

History is full of instruction on this subject. Let one instance be produced where the peace of society has *not* been disturbed by attempts to settle opinions. While opinions have not been made better, men have been made worse. But the advice of the Elders was otherwise, and Winthrop himself is forced to admit "that the differences in religious opinions that had thus been stirred, *increased* more and more, so as all men's minds were full of them. Every occasion," whether that of polemical preaching or private disputation, "increased the contention and caused great alienation of minds." The imagination can hardly conceive of a worse state of society than this. I have no doubt it was quite as unfavorable to genuine religion and good morals as it was to good temper and good manners.

To make bad worse, the General Court ordained a fast, "on the

occasion of these dissensions in the churches," and Mr. Wheelwright was called, in the way of his duty, to preach in the Boston church. It would have been a marvellous thing if his sermon had given satisfaction to *all* who heard it, and still more to those who heard *of* it; for it was soon noised abroad on the rumor of a thousand tongues. By the Boston church, with the exception of Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Wilson, and two or three others, it was highly approved. But with these, and the Elders generally, and the greater part of the civil rulers, the cry was immediately raised that it was full of the Antinomian heresy; inveighing bitterly against all that walked in a covenant of works, and moreover tended to stir up sedition, and to the destruction of the Commonwealth. It was therefore determined to call Mr. Wheelwright to account as soon as the public mind could be prepared for it. The Elders were again called to council; and that they might not be wanting in the good work, gave it as their opinion "that in all *such heresies* of church members as are *manifest*, and *dangerous to the state*, the Court may proceed to try and condemn, without waiting for the church." This was something worse than the doctrine and practice of high church at home, which only calls on the civil authority to burn the heretic when the church has passed the sentence of condemnation. But the course recommended was necessary on the present occasion. Without it Mr. Wheelwright was sure to escape punishment. The general body of the Elders had no power to try. They could only give the heretic a bad name; the church of Boston, to which Mr. Wheelwright belonged, could alone take cognizance of the crime; and it was well known that this whole church, with the exception of four or five, *approved* of the sermon, both theologically and civilly. Under *such circumstances*, Gov. Winthrop was too prudent to take upon himself the office of prosecutor. Give him a good court, well prepared, and let the cause come on. That court was the General Court, whose members had already *privately consulted together*, and, in the language of the day, had "*prepared the cause*." Under these circumstances came on the *trial*, if it deserves that name, of Mr. Wheelwright, for the heresy and sedition in his Fast sermon. The sermon was produced, no doubt by the accused himself, to disprove the exaggerated report that had gone abroad. Simple man! Did he believe that *any evidence* would blot out the sentence already written down against him?

Strange that he had so soon forgot the experience of the whole body of Puritans in the English courts, on trials for heresy. And did he suppose there could be any difference between a trial for heresy in Boston in New-England, and Boston in Lincolnshire; or that the one court, on a trial of this sort, was a whit more impartial than the other. Well! the sermon was read, and convinced the majority and minority—the one of his clear guilt and the other of his perfect innocence.

After much debate—for Mr. Vane was in the chair, and other friends were members—he was adjudged guilty of sedition and of contempt. The contempt was in preaching that which inflamed the *differences* the Fast was appointed to heal. The opinion of a minority is always a *contempt* of the majority who differ from them. Gov. Vane and a few others tendered a protestation, “which, because it justified Wheelwright, and of course condemned the proceedings of the court, was rejected, as an *insult* to the majority.” If it had been the reverse it would have been received. But the public mind was not quite ripe, though the elders were, for banishing this gifted and popular preacher. It was not an easy thing to vote down the church of Boston; so it was agreed to defer the sentence till after the general election, which was near at hand. Gov. Winthrop admits that these proceedings, which should have been judicial, “were carried on with much *heat of contention*, between the opposite parties,” opposed both in religion and politics;—a fearful combination against impartial justice! One thing was clear. Boston was not now a favorable place, though the usual one, for the general election. It was carried, by the same majority, that the election should be kept at Newton.

If Wheelwright’s sermon could not now be found, (it was not printed, for at that time there was no printing press in the Colonies) we could not *be sure* it did not deserve the censure passed upon it.

He is little read in the history of Popery, or in the ecclesiastical proceedings in England, and especially in the High Commission Court, who does not know that a conviction for heresy is always a conviction for sedition and contempt. This sentence was in literal conformity to the precedents of those tribunals. The heretic most seditiously and contemptuously sets up his own weak and fallible judgment against the unerring and infallible judgment of the church.

But the precedents, after all, seem better calculated for the Vatican and Lambeth, than for independent and congregational Boston. But we are much inclined to borrow precedents *from any quarter*, when we stand in *great need* of them.

Within a few years the sermon, thus condemned, has been found, and is now in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The text was Matt. ix : 15.* I have carefully read the whole discourse. I do not pretend to be a theologian ; yet to me *it seems* that the doctrines in this sermon tend, in the *same way*, and *no other*, to disparage the value of good works, as did the orthodox sermons of that day. To condemn the discourse as Antinomian, seems to require the application of a rule, at all times too much in use, and a very unfair one, to impute to the writer or speaker conclusions from his premises, drawn by the reader or hearer, and which the author himself wholly disclaims. But I may be allowed to speak with more confidence on the matter of *sedition* and *contempt*, and I have no hesitation in saying the charge was wholly groundless. There was not the *least color* for it. The court must have proceeded on the mere gossip of the day, and the whole proceeding from first to last seems to have been neither more nor less than the triumph of one faction over another.

The church of Boston petitioned. Winthrop says the petition was *about pretence of liberty*, but intended chiefly for *revoking* the sentence given against Wheelwright. This petition was adjudged an insolent contempt of court, and punished by disfranchisement and banishment. From this tyranny sprung the settlement of Rhode Island. I dare say many of you have thought the clause in our Bill of Rights which intends to secure the right of petitioning, was entirely needless. To be sure it implies fallibility in the legislature, or body petitioned. Now to impute fallibility to men in authority *two hundred years ago*, was the highest degree of insolence and contempt. It is not well received at this day. You may be disposed to ask, Were not Winthrop, Wilson, Dudley, and the rest, conscientious and good men ? Yes, but they had *conceited consciences*, and conscience is often the dupe of vanity and self conceit.

The election was near at hand. *All things were now ready.* Vane

* And Jesus said unto them, Can the children of the bridechamber mourn as long as the Bridegroom is with them ? But the days will come when the Bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast.

was the man chiefly aimed at in the prosecution for heresy ; but Vane had friends, powerful friends, and strongly attached, in England as well as here. The result of the election was easily foreseen. Winthrop was chosen Governor by a large majority. Vane and his friends were left entirely out. The late Governor, and two others of the party, were immediately returned deputies from Boston. Winthrop tells us, with singular *naïvete*, that the Court, being *grieved* at it, *found means* to send them home again.

A trifling circumstance, mentioned by Hutchinson, shows which way Mr. Wilson, the rival of the great Cotton, and the opponent of our Wheelwright, inclined. The election was held in the open field—now Cambridge Common—and the Rev. Mr. Wilson, pastor of the Boston church, climbed a tree on the field, and when the dispute ran high between Vane's party—who were for deferring the election till the Boston petition in favor of Mr. Wheelwright was read—and Winthrop's party—who were for proceeding immediately—good Mr. Wilson, safely perched on the bough of a tree, and full of zeal, could hold in no longer—he addressed the crowd below, “urging the people to look well to their charter”—(this was the watchword of the party) “and proceed *at once* to the work of the day.” His speech fell on the people below with double force, and they shouted—To the election ! to the election ! which turned the scale in favor of his friends.

The sentence against Wheelwright was still further postponed. Mr. Cotton, who had publicly declared Mr. Wheelwright's doctrine of grace to be sound, was not perhaps fully prepared. It was, besides, at this day, a great object with the Court that Mr. Wheelwright should retract and confess his errors. They had respectable precedents for this. The two churches that have been mentioned, and the inquisition, left nothing undone to procure retraction and confession ; and the more doubtful the case, the greater the anxiety to have the accused condemn himself. In the trials for witchcraft, fifty years afterwards, the most cruel acts and arts were put in practice to procure confessions of a crime which never could have been committed. But Mr. Wheelwright was not made of yielding stuff. He stoutly denied the sedition. “If guilty,” he said, “he ought to suffer death, and would retract nothing. His doctrines were the truth of Christ ; for the application, it was made by others and not

by him." The Court told him "their minds were not changed; but if upon the conference among the churches the Lord should discover any farther light to them, they would gladly embrace it." It was in contemplation to call a conference of all the churches, and a synod, to settle the existing differences. Both took place, but without any good effect. The Synod met 30th August, 1637, and condemned eighty-two errors of opinion, or heresies. The number, considering the smallness of the population, the sound opinions in religion they had brought with them, the number, the gifts, and the diligence of their spiritual instructors here, did seem to justify the offence it occasioned to some of the Boston church, as a reproach laid on the country. To say the least, it was not a little startling. Indeed, it is not easy to say which was the most to be wondered at;—the confidence, I will not say the *conceit*, of these good men in their own judgments; or the hair-splitting ingenuity they displayed in settling nice points in theology. It would be as easy to walk blindfold between the nine red hot ploughs and horses of olden time unhurt, as for the unskilled in the scholastic divinity of the day, if so unfortunate as to possess confident minds, to steer clear of heresy. The only safe course, for those not deeply learned, was not to think at all, or to conceal their thoughts; to chime in with the prevailing opinions. Our brethren of the South affect to think the New-England character still shows features of this early education. It was creditable to Mr. Wheelwright and his friends, that only five of the eighty-two errors were laid at their door.

Gov. Winthrop is obliged to admit "that the Synod did no good in pacifying the troubles." He says: "Mr. Wheelwright and his party had been confuted *and confounded* in argument; yet they persisted, and the Court, in regard to the *public welfare*, was obliged to disfranchise and banish him." Many of his friends shared his fate. Some went to Rhode-Island; the rest joined him in beginning the settlement at Exeter. The religious sentiments of Mr. Wheelwright's party were probably not unlike those which prevailed in the country a century ago, called by their opponents the New Lights. Mr. Wheelwright was allowed fourteen days to prepare for his departure. His family remained at the Mount, and did not join him till the next summer.

Every thing went on as prosperously as could be desired, in the

new settlement. A church was gathered, and Mr. Wheelwright of course was the pastor. Moderate grants of land were made to him. He had no other compensation for his services and advances. His knowledge and superior talents must have been extremely useful in the infant plantation. Our early records show a strong and grateful sense of the obligation on the part of the town. For a short time he deemed himself safe from his persecutors; but Massachusetts *in that day* had a politic head and *a long arm*, and Mr. Wheelwright was obliged to remove, and the four New-Hampshire towns submitted to Massachusetts—Exeter the last. This was in 1643.

Wheelwright just before his removal obtained of Sir Ferdinando Gorges a grant of a considerable tract in Wells. In the deed he is styled 'Pastor of the Church in Exeter.' He remained in Wells about three years. His next remove was to Hampton. That people greatly desired his ministerial services. He remained eight or nine years at Hampton, and then returned to England, where he renewed his acquaintance with his old class-mate, Oliver Cromwell, and with his old friend, Sir Henry Vane. Both these distinguished men, though at odds with each other, were friendly to Wheelwright. This was near the close of Cromwell's eventful life. Wheelwright is said to have been a favorite with the Protector.

While in England he probably resided chiefly on his estate in Lincolnshire, 130 miles north of London. At the Restoration, in 1660, he returned, and was soon settled in Salisbury, in our vicinity, as the successor of their first minister, Mr. W. Worcester. Here he closed a long and busy life, being reputed a sound, orthodox, profitable and approved minister of the gospel. He died Nov. 1679—the oldest minister in New-England—about 85 years of age.

From his family proceeded all the Wheelwrights in Massachusetts, Maine and New-Hampshire. Many of his descendants have been respectable in character and property. His son, grandson and great grandson have been Councillors. Thus it pleased Heaven to bestow on him the blessing of long life, and a numerous and honorable progeny.

I have gone into the history of Mr. Wheelwright's persecution and sufferings, not for the purpose of condemning the errors and wrongs of the government of that day, but to vindicate the character of our founder. We have an interest in his good name, and he who robs

him of that, robs us. I entertain no doubt that, speaking in general terms, the elders and magistrates of Massachusetts were good men, and thought themselves justified in their treatment of Wheelwright and his friends. Without a minute and careful examination of this case we can have no just conception of the early settlers, their bigotry, superstition and intolerance. It arose in some measure from their peculiar situation; and no transaction of the early day can be understood without a minute attention to these traits in their character. To omit these, in giving a history of that time, would be like enacting Shakespeare's Hamlet, leaving out the character of the Prince of Denmark.

Religion at that day entered into every thing: the magistrates were elected, and the government administered, according to the *particular religious* views of the majority. Both clergy and laity were made worse by the union, just as they themselves believed to be the case in the country whence they came. Many of the writers of these times were unfriendly to Wheelwright and Vane; yet even they are obliged to admit that Wheelwright was famous for learning, ability, piety and zeal, and that his moral character was entirely free from spot or blemish.

The amiable Elliot says, Mr. Wheelwright's conduct "in New-Hampshire discovered an ambitious turn—a desire to be *chief*." Sullivan, in his history of Maine, adds to the ambition, that of being the first man in Exeter in 1638, the ambition of mingling in the quarrels of Dover with the redoubtable Underhill, Larkham and Knolles, "as *they pretended* about religion, but in fact for *the chair of the Dover government*." The Exeter men are supposed to have taken sides with their chief, in *these ambitious* schemes of rule. I have spared no pains to make myself acquainted with the written memorials of Exeter, and all other records and information within my reach, and I venture to say nothing can be further from the truth. This account of the early times here, to compare small things with great, is just about as *fabulous* as the early history of Rome.

A short time after Wheelwright's removal to Maine, on his application, his sentence of banishment was repealed. Some writers say he made an open confession of his errors. The letters are preserved, and speak for themselves. He expressed his sorrow for the part he had taken in the controversy, and his grief at the censorious speeches

he had made, and his unchristian temper in the sharp contentions of that day. I have no doubt of the sincerity of all this. His personal attendance was dispensed with. Hubbard's remark is no doubt correct,—“and so if the Court have *over done* in passing the sentence, it might *in part* help to balance the account, that they were so ready to grant him a release.”

EDWARD RUSHWORTH was one of the first settlers. He married Mr. Wheelwright's daughter; was Clerk of the Court in Exeter, in its independent state. He served in the most important offices under Gorges' government in Maine, and afterwards under Massachusetts. He represented York thirteen years in the Assembly, and was among the first men of Maine.

Edward EDWARD LITTLEFIELD was a member of the church. His descendants in Exeter are still numerous and respectable.

? The same may be said of AUGUSTINE STORER, the ancestor of that respectable family.

GEORGE BARLOW removed to Saco. He laid claim to the gift of *prophesying*,—the term *then* used for exhorting; but the Massachusetts government not duly appreciating his gift, forbid it under the penalty of £10 for every offence.

THOMAS and W. WARDWELL were of the Boston church. They were among the disarmed in 1637, for their adherence to Wheelwright. It was thought dangerous to the commonwealth to suffer Antinomians to have arms in their hands. William removed to Maine, and Thomas to Boston, and afterwards to Andover, where his son Samuel was hanged for a witch, in that most wicked delusion of 1692. The Wardwells seem to have been doomed to hard fortune.

NICHOLAS NEEDHAM was the second ruler. The office was annual. He resigned in 1642. He was connected with Wheelwright in the purchase here and in Maine. He was very respectable. These seven, with Samuel Walker, William Warbourne, W. Cole, and Thomas White, all came with Wheelwright, and signed the combination. They removed with him in 1648. This was a heavy loss to the infant plantation, and felt for a considerable length of time.

RICHARD MORRIS came over with Winthrop, and was soon admitted a freeman, and with his wife joined the Boston church. He was early an officer in the military service of the colony, and a mem-

ber of what is now called the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. He was also a deputy to the General Court, but unfortunately an admirer of Wheelwright, and signed the petition in favor of his minister. On Mr. Wheelwright's banishment, Morris was deprived of his arms. This must have nearly touched the honor of the soldier. His sentence of banishment was in the *mildest form*. "*He had leave to depart, and was advised to forbear meddling with the Massachusetts people in matters of opinion, and desired to warn others against all such meddling;*" this was intended for our immigrants. He seems to have died early.

PHILEMON PURMOTT was a member of the Boston church, and a freeman. There is a vote which stands recorded in the Massachusetts records, of 1635, "that our brother Philemon Purmott be entreated to become a school-master with us." He also was an adherent of Wheelwright, and was one of those *advised to depart upon pain of imprisonment*. He removed from us as early as 1650, probably to Portsmouth.

CHRISTOPHER LAWSON. Considerable grants of land were made to him; but like "Demas, he in time forsook us and departed, having loved this present world." Our records show he was prosecuted here for extortion, (I suppose for asking extravagant prices,) and returned to Boston, where the art was not likely to be deemed so penal.

DARBY FIELD was an Irishman, and a member of the Boston church. He served in all our respectable town offices. It is uncertain whether he died here, or removed. His name is famous as the man who, with two Indian guides, first visited the White Hills, in 1642. The distance was supposed to be 160 miles, and the time employed, eighteen days. He was sent in quest of diamonds and precious stones, and was so fortunate as to find none. If gold mines had been discovered, depend upon it this hard, rugged soil of ours would never have been subdued. Trees never will be cut down where gold can be dug up.

RICHARD BULGAR came from Roxbury; was a member of the church, and a freeman of Massachusetts. He came over in 1631. He was an officer in the militia in Massachusetts, and here, and suffered the mortification of having his arms taken from him, as a dangerous *Antinomian*.

THOMAS PETTIT was from Boston, and early made acquainted with the temper of the Massachusetts colony *in judicial matters*.



He was severely whipped and imprisoned, *on suspicion* of slander and idleness. Clearly this was no place for him; the sooner he removed the better.

W. WENTWORTH deserves a fuller notice. He was born in England, in the reign of James I., and was the great ancestor of all the Wentworths of New-England. He came to Exeter when a young man, shortly before July, 1639. His grandson John was Lieut. Governor, and generally Commander-in-Chief of our Province, twelve years from 1717. John had sixteen children, of whom Benning and Mark Hunking were two. Benning was a graduate of Harvard College, 1715, and was governor here twenty-five years from 1741; and was succeeded by his nephew John, son of Mark Hunking Wentworth, who was governor, and a very good one, till the Revolution. He was also a graduate of Harvard College, 1755, and a class-mate of John Adams. He had the rare honor, for an American born, of a degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Oxford, and was created a baronet. He died in 1820, governor of Nova Scotia, aged 84. The subject of our notice, (his great-great-grandfather,) was upwards of 80, in 1689, when a large party of Indians made an assault on the garrisons at Dover, and killed upwards of fifty persons. Elder Wentworth slept at the time in Heard's garrison, which was saved by the barking of a dog, just as the Indians *were entering*. He had been awakened by the noise,—pushed them out, and falling on his back set his feet against the gate and held it, till the cry alarmed the people. Two balls were fired through it, but missed him. Major Waldron was killed at that time, in his own house. It is supposed the attack on Dover was in revenge for an act of the Major thirteen years before;—the seizure of 400 Indians in a time of peace. The story is, that in 1676, soon after the death of King Philip, 400 Indians, who supposed themselves included in the peace, were treacherously seized at Dover, and the manner of the capture was this: Waldron, who had a small military force under his command, intending to make them prisoners, proposed to them a sham-fight; and after they had fired the first volley, accomplished his purpose. Hubbard, in his Indian Wars, tells us that “the Indians were *handsomely surprised*, without any loss of life, by which *device* Waldron separated the peaceable, whom he dismissed, from the *perfidious* ;” (meaning such as had been

active enemies in the *late* war.) These, in number about 200, he sent to the Governor and Council, at Boston, whose pleasure it was to hang seven or eight of them; the rest had their lives spared, but were sent into other parts of the world; Hubbard says, "to try the difference between *our friendship*, and slavery abroad. It was a special favor from God, *so to order it* that the Indians were so surprised and taken at the time." The Indians were of a different opinion from this christian minister of the gospel of peace; they called it *treachery*. The Indian apostle Elliot seems to have been of their way of thinking; for on hearing, some time after, that many of them were at Tangier, now a part of Morocco, he endeavored to interest the famous Sir Robert Boyle to get them back to their own country, adding, "if the Lord shall please to move your charitable heart therein, I shall be obliged in great thankfulness, and am persuaded [and so am I,] that Christ will at the great day reckon it among your deeds of charity done for his name's sake." And so, good Mr. Elliot, I am very sure your interference in behalf of these abused men has been already set down by the recording angel to the credit side of your great account.

But we must return to Elder Wentworth, whom we left some time ago, lying on his back with his feet to the gate of Heard's garrison, to keep the Indians from murdering the women and children within. This bold act will embalm the name and memory of this brave old man and sincere christian, as long as our records shall endure, and will give him a renown greater, far greater, and more widely spread, than the good fortune of having so many governors among his descendants. His was true glory. The good fortune may happen to any man.

After Exeter submitted to Massachusetts, in 1643, Mr. Wentworth returned to Dover, and was a ruling Elder of the church there. It appears from our records, that after the death of Mr. Dudley, our second minister, Elder Wentworth supplied the pulpit. In 1690, we find a vote for his *continuance* a year more, and a similar one the next year, and in March, 1693, "he was agreed with for another year, *if he be able*." This entry, coupled with the fact that Mr. Clarke was called three months after, makes it probable that the infirmities of old age prevented his further services abroad. He died in 1697,

upwards of 90 years of age, having through his long life uniformly sustained the character of a good, useful, and honest man.

These six, with Matthews, Walton, and several who probably removed to Portsmouth, were among the first comers, and in a few years disappeared, leaving here no trace behind. The other signers of that instrument seem to have taken up their permanent abode here, and we see their respectable descendants among us at this day. To this class belong the Smiths, the Leavitts, the Wilsons, (Thomas Wilson was our third ruler,) the Halls, the Elkinsees, the Robys, Crowleys, Walls, Crams, Dearborns, and some others. The Halls deserve a brief notice. They were among our first men, and the head of the family at one time was head of the militia in the State, and the first representative Exeter ever had in the Legislature. In 1698, KINSLEY HALL was a Councillor. He was connected in marriage with the Dudley family.

ISAAC GROSS, believed now to be the same name with Cross, was a member of the Boston church, but did not sign the combination. He was the first ruler chosen to preside over this small colony. We find in the Boston records, that Mr. Gross was a subscriber, with Vane, Winthrop, Bellingham and others, for the maintenance of a free school in Boston. Though his subscription was small, it serves to show what company he kept. He also was among the disarmed. It deserves to be mentioned, that among the donors of Harvard College his name is recorded. The smaller the sum, the more it shows our good will.

Among the persons who united their fortunes to ours during the first century, (for I must confine myself for obvious reasons chiefly to that period,) and whose names are still "familiar to our ears as household words,"—the men who bore the heat and burden of the day, and to whom this day must be devoted;—among these men we find the names of Gilman, Folsom, Hilton, Colcord, Thing, Gordon, Magoon, Conner, Robinson, Pearson, Lawrence, King, Odiorne, Lamson, Tilton, Philbrick, Poor, Perryman, Emery, and many others. The descendants of these respectable men still dwell among us. Time would fail me even briefly to mention the good things our records abundantly testify concerning them;—how acceptably they filled the municipal and public offices conferred upon them. But I cannot deny myself the pleasure of a brief notice of two or three.

It is no disparagement to any other family here, to say that in numbers, and every thing that constitutes respectability, the Gilmans stood at the head.

The father, Edward, had come to Hingham, and was admitted a freeman of Massachusetts about the time of our first settlement. He soon removed to Ipswich, and near the close of his life followed his three sons to Exeter, where he died. The sons, Edward, Moses and John, were all sensible, moral, industrious and enterprising, and very soon made themselves acquainted with the best methods of advancing a new settlement in the wilderness. Edward, the son, came first, and was much engaged in setting up mills,—*useful* at all times, and indispensably so at this early stage of our affairs. He came soon after Wheelwright's removal, and seems quite early to have taken the lead in our town affairs, and to have shared largely, as long as he lived, the confidence of his fellow townsmen. I need scarcely add that he was public spirited. To obtain improved machinery and mill gear, he took a voyage to England in 1653, and was lost at sea. Of Moses we hear less; he left a numerous progeny. The town and Province records, together with those of Massachusetts, would enable us to trace the life of John, the youngest son, at considerable length; but I must be brief. He came here a short time before Edward sailed;—married a respectable woman, and had sixteen children, twelve or thirteen of whom married and left issue. Among his sons were John and Nicholas. The latter had seven sons, one of whom was Daniel, born in 1702. The father of Nicholas was the first Treasurer of our State. This Nicholas filled the most responsible offices, and was the father of the late John Taylor, who, when a young man, was recalled from Congress to succeed his late father in the Treasurer's office, early in 1783. I need not enumerate the offices this son filled with so much credit to himself and honor to the State, and double honor to his native town. He was eleven years successively governor, and afterwards three years, making a longer period than that filled by any other person. Probably the same thing may be said at the *next centennial*; and I am sure no man in private or public life ever left a fairer reputation behind him for firmness, integrity and independence.

The second son, Nicholas, you all knew. He entered the Revolutionary army early in the war, and had a full share of its suffer-

ings and its glory to the close. In 1786 he was appointed a member of the old Congress ; and, excepting a short period in which he was a senator in the State legislature, and presided over that body, he was a member of the House of Representatives and of the Senate of the United States till his death, which happened in 1814. He was also a member of the convention which formed the Constitution of the United States. His integrity and patriotism in all these highly honorable and responsible offices was never questioned for a moment.

But I must not suffer myself to be diverted from the ancestor, by the eminent characters and services of the great-great-grandsons of one branch of his numerous descendants. If that ancestor, one hundred and fifty years ago, could have been indulged with prophetic vision of the future, and could have beheld the various branches of his descendants, filling the highest offices in public life in his beloved and free country, it would surely have yielded him a pleasure than which there is none greater ; it would have cheered his old age to the very verge of a most active, long and useful life. The records of our town show the first John, during the latter half of our connection with Massachusetts, as the first among our able and respectable men. Accordingly, when disconnected, in the latter end of the reign of Charles II., and New-Hampshire became a separate Province under the immediate government of the crown, John Gilman was selected to fill the office of Councillor. The chief executive and legislative power was vested in that body. He had the honor to be suspended from the Council Board by Governor Cranfield. The measure was honorable to Mr. Gilman, and excited no surprise in the public mind, or his own. When the courts and juries were packed, why should the Council, the supreme judiciary, escape ? He died in 1708. From his son John descended the late Brigadier Gilman, whom some of you must well remember. In his day he was among the first men of our country ; successively representative, speaker, at the head of the militia, and a member of the Supreme Executive Council, appointed by the crown. It would take too much of our precious time to enumerate all the names in this respectable family, who have been able and useful ministers of the gospel, members of the Council, and judges in our highest courts of law, all of whom derived their descent from this single stem, and connected in

various ways with the first families of the country. I will only add, that the Gilmans at all times under the provincial, colonial, and state governments, have been unwavering in their patriotism and love of country.

The FOLSOMS, a distinguished family, came early to us; probably they were settled a while at Hingham, where they acted a distinguished part in a memorable dispute in that place. They have filled no small space in our annals. The late Gen. Folsom was a most zealous patriot of the Revolution, and a member of the Old Congress. In the French war of 1755, he distinguished himself as an officer under Gen. Johnson, at the capture of the Baron Dieskau, near Lake George.

But one of the most celebrated names in our annals is that of HILTON. Edward Hilton is justly called the father of New-Hampshire. He came from London and settled at Dover in the spring of 1623. Here he resided from fifteen to twenty years, and then removed to Exeter. He died in 1671, leaving a large estate. His son Edward married the grand-daughter of Governors Winthrop and Dudley. His son Winthrop, the fruit of that marriage, was better educated than most of the young men of the day, and was early introduced into public life. He was distinguished as a soldier,—“among the most *fearless of the brave*, the most adventurous of the daring.” He was of course much in service, for he lived in stirring and troublous times, in the reign of William and Ann. His uncle, the second Governor Dudley, was then governor of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, and had great confidence in him. Hilton was particularly obnoxious to the Indians, having been successful in many encounters with them. “His *sharp black eye* and his *long bright gun*” struck terror into the hearts of the savages. They long watched for an opportunity to cut him off on his plantation at the Newfields. He was largely concerned in the masting business; and in 1710, while so employed in that part of Exeter now Epping, his party was suddenly surprised, and Col. Hilton fell at the first fire. He was then under 40, and a mandamus councillor, and died universally lamented. He was indeed an honest and brave man.

We have seen that Exeter was an independent State from the settlement till 1643. There was no connection between the four towns then, and for sixty years after, composing the whole State. Our re-

ords were then well kept, and the votes and orders well penned, perhaps with as much correctness as at this day. From these we are able to derive some information concerning the sentiments, temper, views and condition of the people. Their laws and regulations were few,—such only as their peculiar circumstances required. The besetting sin of this day is, to multiply statutes, many of which are a dead letter, and some worse. It is many times the hardest task imposed on our judges, to find out their meaning. In making the attempt, we often find reason to believe that the makers did not understand their own meaning. The combination was no doubt from Wheelwright's pen, and compares well with the similar compositions before and since. It is the only act of incorporation our town has ever had. We are a self-created body politic. We cannot now determine how many of our inhabitants were church-members; certainly all were not. All who owned the soil participated in the government. The attempt to exclude all but church-members is visionary and impracticable. It cannot last long, and generally the society is not a quiet one while it does last. The Massachusetts government of church-members was in fact an aristocracy. With us the legislative power was conveniently exercised by the people. The executive and prudential functions were vested in a ruler, with two assistants. The ruler and the people were mutually bound by oaths in the form prescribed. Treason and sedition were punished with death. Texts of scripture were added to this law, which show the respect of the framers for the Jewish polity; a worse model, and one less adapted to their circumstances and condition, they could hardly have chosen. Our law-makers had a most exalted opinion of the dignity of rulers. Nothing could exceed their zeal to preserve, pure and untarnished, their good name. Insolence to magistrates and contempt of authority were never suffered to escape severe punishment. As they are the mirrors in which the majesty of the people is beheld, this evinced the great respect the people had for themselves. Our notions are quite different; we treat our rulers as if they were usurpers, and chose themselves instead of being the work of our own hands. They are the *butt*—the target at which every man may safely thrust his poisoned arrows. Whether this tends to make them high-minded and faithful to us and our interests, I will not pretend to say. If they are, it is at a considerable sacrifice; for it has been observed

that few men leave office with the same purity of character and reputation they enter upon it. What is the equivalent they receive for this? Calumny and slander of individuals were also made highly penal. Such prosecutions were of course frequent.

There were laws also for the protection of the few Indians that seem to have remained a short time among us. Trade with them in arms, ammunition and strong waters was strictly forbidden. If any purchase was made from the Indians, it belonged to the town, if they chose to have it. This was politic, and tended to prevent fraud. Town meetings were the subject of regulations, and all the voters required, under a penalty, to attend. Regulations were made for the organization of the militia;—the appointment of officers was, in the train band, subject to the approbation of the ruler. Laws also were made for the assessment and collection of taxes; and various and minute regulations respecting animals of all kinds. Even dogs did not escape their notice. The same may be said of fishing, and lumber, and laws were enacted to prevent waste and destruction of timber. There was a forecast on this subject hardly to have been expected in the midst of so great abundance. The highways and bridges came in for their share of attention. There was a law against setting fire to the woods; and, what we should hardly have expected, a law requiring trees over-hanging the adjoining owner's land to be cut down, or lopped. And there was also a law, copied I believe from that of Massachusetts, about digging pits and leaving them open. The sale of wine and strong waters was subject to license. A few orders was also made regulating trials and judicial proceedings, and, as far as we can now judge, justice was impartially administered.

A society more homogeneous in its elements, more affectionate and correct in morals, can hardly be imagined; and without these no new settlement can be made. Weston's company, at Weymouth, and Morton's, at Mount Wollaston, sufficiently establish the fact. The latter was for a while called the *Merry Mount*. Its appropriate name soon became that of *Mount Misery*. As a mere physical being, man must be governed as animals are—by others; generally by force. As a moral being, he must be instructed in morals, and that can hardly be without religion. Our Constitution treats of them as existing only in union. A few settlers, unaccustomed to the own-

ership of wild lands, might be expected to err in the management and disposition of a large tract. They seem to have been troubled with no doubts about their title, and in fact never were disturbed. The same number of *the people* of 1835-6-7, would have made shipwreck at once. The whole territory would have been granted *out* in the first year. Here, more than one hundred years were occupied in the disposition of the lands. Every man had his share as he needed it. There was no speculation. Liberal grants were made to the mill-owners, and a small rent reserved for the support of the ministry, while the timber lasted.

In May, 1643, there was a great scarcity of corn through the land, and it was severely felt here. Authority was given by the town to four of the most respectable inhabitants to search the houses, and where more was found than *they should judge necessary for the use of the family*, they were to take it at the usual price, and dispose of it among the poor for such pay as *they* could make. The measure was arbitrary, but justified by the occasion. If the laws and regulations of that day were not the best possible, I have no doubt they were much better than those framed by the Solomon of the age for his colonies.

Whatever may have been the case as regards Dover and Portsmouth, it does not appear that this settlement could not have continued many years in their independent state. They were the last to yield to Massachusetts, and seem never to have been favorites. The connection lasted 36 years, and the dissolution was not occasioned by any dissatisfaction on the part of the New-Hampshire towns. A new county was created, called Norfolk, of which Exeter and Hampton were parts: Salisbury the shire town. The separation was in 1679—twelve years before the disgraceful tragedy of 1691-2 was enacted. We thus narrowly escaped the shame and guilt of the prosecutions for witchcraft.

A very brief account will now be attempted of the ecclesiastical affairs of the town—chiefly of the 1st century.

The church established here by Mr. Wheelwright was composed of men doubly tried in the fiery furnace of persecution. They suffered on his as well as on their own account. They came here because he came, and on his third banishment many removed with him. Indeed, the church was broken up—*how short lived!*—the first church

established in New-Hampshire! But I trust religion did not depart. Our settlers were religious men—Puritans. They could say, as Massachusetts did in that 'transcript, (as they called it) of loyal hearts *to the best of kings,*' as they called Charles II., 'we could not live without the public worship of God, without human mixture, and without a sinful yoke of conformities.' They could not live without a preached Gospel. They were small in number, and by no means in affluent circumstances, but they had lands to bestow. With these and the lumber they sent to market they could support a stated minister. A number of the inhabitants *early* expressed the desire to settle the aged Mr. Bachellor, lately dismissed at Hampton for irregular conduct; but the town took no part in the matter, and the friends of the measure luckily were unable to satisfy the civil authority in Massachusetts, without whose consent no church could be formed. The magistrate must be satisfied of their fitness for a church estate, and of the qualifications of the minister best adapted to their wants. In May, 1646, Mr. Nathaniel Norcross was invited to settle here. This man was a *university* scholar. He declined, and probably soon returned to England. A year or two afterwards it was agreed to invite Mr. Tompson, of Braintree, and the committee were instructed to consult with the Elders of Boston, Charlestown and Roxbury. Mr. Tompson was from Lancashire, where he had been a preacher and ejected. He was one of the Massachusetts clergymen sent to Virginia in 1642 to make Puritans of that people. But the Governor, and, Johnson says, 'other *malignant* spirits', rejected their mission and sent them back. Johnson thinks his Excellency did not gain much by this wicked act; for, he says, it was followed *closely* by the dreadful massacre of five or six hundred of his people by the Indians. Mather speaks of Tompson as a powerful and successful preacher; but that Satan, who was greatly irritated by the *evangelic* labors of this holy man, obtained liberty to sift him, and was permitted to gain a *sort of possession* of him. He fell into a black melancholy, which for divers years almost disabled him for the exercise of his ministry. He left the world under this dark cloud. Certain it is, that he was subject to melancholic humors. The occasion of our call was no doubt that he was settled at Mount Wollaston, where our first minister had preached. He had also preached at York, in our vicinity, and done much good there. He seems to have

remained at Braintree, and to have been a member of the Synod which set forth the famous Cambridge Platform of 1648; which, with some slight occasional departures, continued to be the rule of ecclesiastical polity till the new constitution of 1780. Winthrop relates an anecdote of him at one of the adjournments of the Synod, and which could not have happened within a much shorter period than two hundred years; at least, it could not have happened since the witchcraft delusion, a century and a half ago. "While Mr. Allen, of Dedham, was preaching before the Synod a very learned sermon on the *necessity and utility of platforms*, and refuting the objections of some young pragmatists in that day, there came in a great serpent to the very seat where the Rev. Elders sat. Divers of the Elders shifted from it, but Mr. Tompson trod upon its head, and held it fast till it was killed. By this doubtless the Lord discovered, (the remark is Winthrop's,) somewhat of *his* mind in it. The serpent is the Devil; the Synod the representative of the New-England churches; the Devil had formerly and lately, (the affair of Wheelwright had passed but a few years before,) attempted their disturbance and dissolution, but their faith in the Seed of the woman overcame and crushed his head, and the Synod went comfortably on." Even with all the merit of this good deed, I incline to think we were better without than with Mr. Tompson. Nothing could have been more hurtful to a young settlement like ours than such a minister. It might have prepared us to act a part in the tragedy of 1692.

Mr. Emerson, of Rowley, was soon after called. He declined. These failures,—doubtless blessings in disguise,—did not discourage our people. The committee, probably by the advice of the Elders they were required to consult, directed their course to Mr. Samuel Dudley, the eldest son of Gov. Thomas Dudley. The son was born in England about 1606, and came to this country with his father in 1630. He was educated in England, but probably not at either of the Universities. It is not certain he was designed for the ministry. He had resided in Boston, Cambridge and Roxbury; probably teaching school, and perhaps occasionally preaching. He was admitted a freeman in 1640. He had served at one time as a lieutenant under Underhill. About 1633 he married Mary, the daughter of Gov. Winthrop, who had lately followed her father hither. By her he had three sons and a daughter. As early as 1641 he remov-

ed to Salisbury, where his wife died. The daughter was afterwards married to Edward Hilton, of Exeter, and Winthrop Hilton was the fruit of this marriage. We thus see the origin of the Christian names of Winthrop and Dudley—common in this vicinity. Mr. Dudley married a second and third wife, and had fifteen children. He represented Salisbury in the General Court in 1644. His youngest daughter was married to Kinsley Hall.

The old historian Johnson, in his Wonder-Working Providence, is of opinion that it is not easy to purge out the sour leaven of Antinomianism and familistical opinions, yet thinks that hard labor and industry, and he might have added poor living, has some tendency that way. Our society had taken a pretty strong dose of this harsh medicine. But if any should happen to remain, it was a politic step to choose for minister the son and son-in-law of such influential men as Dudley and Winthrop.

The choice of Mr. Dudley was unanimous in May, 1650. He could not regularly be ordained till a church was formed. In the mean time he was to do the duty of a minister, and was to have the house and lands, purchased of Mr. Wheelwright, as a parsonage, and £40 sterling a year. For such improvements as he should make, he was to be compensated on his leaving, either by death, or 'by some *more than ordinary* call of God otherways.' The ordinary call guarded against was, no doubt, an invitation from a richer society with the offer of a higher salary. The salary was to be paid half yearly, in corn and English commodities, at current price. Various modifications of the contract were afterwards made. The salary was no doubt inadequate, even in that day, but it appears from the records that liberal grants of lands were made from time to time to Mr. Dudley and his numerous family. He was doubtless soon after ordained, and the connection a happy one. His learning and gifts seem to have satisfied his people, and it was not the fashion of that day to starve the minister to enrich the flock. 'Mr. Dudley was well acquainted with the business of civil life; and as the town were wholly destitute at that time, and for nearly a century after, of that great blessing, a lawyer, Mr. Dudley's services were in demand; and the records and papers I have seen furnish abundant evidence that they were skillfully as well as usefully performed. He was, it would seem, a catholic, liberal and tolerant man—which was no small improvement on

the *old stock*. His father was a violent persecutor of all who differed from him in their religious opinions, and one of the bitterest enemies, among the laity, of our Wheelwright, whom his son succeeded. He viewed toleration as among the seven deadly sins, and when he came to die I suppose he found no sin of this sort to trouble his conscience. In 1656, Mr. Dudley was invited to settle in Portsmouth, at a salary (the money part,) double that of Exeter. He seems, at one time, to have listened favorably to the proposal. Probably a new arrangement of his first contract prevented. Mr. Dudley died 10 February, 1683, at the age of 77.

On various occasions Mr. Dudley was honored with marks of confidence by the General Court of Massachusetts; and it gives me unfeigned pleasure to mention an act of kindness and confidence done to him by *his own people*. It appears from the records, that soon after his settlement a commissioner was appointed to vindicate, at the expense of the town, "the credit and reputation of Mr. Dudley against the speeches and *calumniations* of a certain person," (I believe a Hampton man.) Mr. Dudley made the proper return for this kindness. In 1665, when we incurred the displeasure of Massachusetts, in consequence of a report that *some Exeter men* had signed a petition to the Royal Commissioner sent out by Charles II., which was supposed to reflect on the General Court, Mr. Dudley at once stepped forward and vindicated the men of Exeter, declaring them to be "*clever fellows*, and incapable of any such baseness."

The first house of public worship of which we have any mention in our records, was built in 1650, *and was twenty feet square*. There were afterwards a gallery and leanto added. It stood on the left hand side of the road leading to Newmarket, in the northerly part of the present village, near to which Mr. Wheelwright lived. I am sorry the Norfolk records show it was not kept, small as it was, "in a proper state for christians to worship in." This our disgrace is a matter of record.

Mr. John Clarke succeeded Mr. Dudley, in 1698. He was much esteemed and beloved. He married the grand-daughter of the celebrated Mr. Woodbridge, the first minister of Andover, and the great-grand-daughter of the first Governor Dudley. Mr. Clarke died in 1705, greatly lamented, at the early age of 35. One of his sons, Ward Clarke, was afterwards minister of Kingston. From one of

the daughters was descended our late respected townsman, Ward Clarke Deane. Mr. John Odlin was the successor of Mr. Clarke, and was settled in 1706. He married the widow of his predecessor, by whom, and a second wife, he left a numerous issue, one of whom, Woodbridge, became his colleague in 1743. The father died in 1754, at the age of 72. The son married a daughter of Brigadier Gilman, and died in 1776, at the age of 57. The new parish was formed about the time of the second Odlin's settlement. Their first minister was Daniel Rogers, a descendant in the seventh degree through a line of ministers of the gospel, except one, from the Rev. John Rogers, Prelate of St. Paul's and Reader in Divinity, who was burnt at Smithfield in 1555, the first martyr of the bloody Mary's reign. Mr. Daniel Rogers was settled in 1748, and died in December, 1785, aged 78. From this period our church history is fresh in the recollection of you all. In 1695 or 6, the second meeting-house was erected on the spot where this house now stands. It is stated in the records as on the hill between the great fort and Nathaniel Folsom's barn.

In 1728, the third house was erected on or near the site of the second. This house had double galleries, as most of you remember. A steeple and bell were added in 1739, and a new bell in 1762. The steeple was blown down in 1775, and rebuilt soon after.

Newmarket was set off in 1727, Epping and Brentwood in 1741, and Poplin from the latter in 1764.

An account of the early settlement of Exeter would be miserably deficient, without some notice of the sufferings of its inhabitants from Indian hostilities and depredations. The Indians at and near Swamscott Falls seem to have been few in number, and less savage in character than most others, and especially the eastern tribes. The improvements of such as remained, after the settlement by the white men, were secured to them till they voluntarily made sale to our people, and they were fully protected in their persons and property.

In 1643, great fears were entertained that the Indians in Rhode-Island, Connecticut, and other places, were uniting in a conspiracy to expel the new comers from their country. They did not like us on trial quite so well as they had expected. This alarm occasioned the union of the New-England colonies, which lasted till 1680. There continued to be, at intervals, fresh alarms, and much apprehension of open hostilities. Some depredations were *actually* com-

mitted on Connecticut river and other distant places. It excited, also, much apprehension in our quarter, that the New-Hampshire Indians, about 1672, quitted their settlements here, and set down on the Hudson, near Troy, in the neighborhood of fiercer tribes. These alarms were not without foundation, for in 1675, thirty-seven years after the settlement here, King Phillip's war began. The scene was more than one hundred miles from us ; but savages, you know, have swift feet,—and on every breeze was borne the war-whoop, and it required little aid from the imagination to see the glittering tomahawk raised to strike the blow. Forty houses were consumed in Groton, and murders committed in Chelmsford, and nearer still, in Berwick, York, Winter-Harbor, &c. But Exeter escaped actual hostilities till 1690. I have drawn a circle round our village as a centre, twenty-five miles in diameter. The number of killed, and captives, within this circle, during a period of forty years, exceeded seven hundred. The actual sufferings of Exeter were in six years, between 1690 and 1710, when the much lamented Winthrop Hilton fell. The killed and captives were between thirty and forty. It is to be remembered, too, that our population was, from a variety of causes, then extremely small. Our settlement had advanced slowly. Among the names of the killed, as appears from our records, were Ephraim Folsom, senior, and Goodman Robinson. The loss to the country of Col. Hilton was irreparable. Berwick, Durham, Haverhill and Dover suffered the most. Unfortunately they and ~~we~~ lay directly in the track between the eastern and western Indians, who were constantly uniting with each other for mischief, and separating for safety ;—always on the march.

You can conceive, or rather you cannot conceive, the misery this dreadful state of things inflicted on our small plantation. We had three garrisons ; the principal one was near this spot. Our people lived in continual fear of the savage enemy. Their home was in the garrison, and their cultivated fields became the fields of battle and of blood. There can be no true happiness where we do not sleep quietly in our own habitations, whether they be log huts or palaces. A garrison is at best but a miserable substitute ; and who can sleep with the sword of Damocles suspended over his head by a brittle hair, ready to break at any moment ? The effect of this state of things on husbandry must have soon become manifest. There

was but little cultivation in places remote from the garrisons. The planter who is obliged to carry his musket with his hoe and ax, will soon find a diminished crop. Implements of husbandry, and arms to defend our lives, do not go well together. War and population are in an inverse ratio to each other.

I must be allowed here to say, that our government in those days seems to deserve little credit for the management of their Indian affairs. The French seem to have understood the Indian character much better. It is no reproach to the Protestant religion that the Catholic is better adapted to the savage tribes. They understand it better than Calvinism.

On the subject of our husbandry and population, there are other things beside Indian hostilities to be considered. The uncertainty in our land titles had a most powerful and bad effect. Our first planters had nothing in their character in common with speculators or squatters. They had too much religion and morality for either; but they could not be insensible all the time to the claim of the Masons, and that it was regarded at home as the only legal title. This hung over them like an incubus, and retarded settlements and improvements of all kinds. Perhaps, too, we must allow something for bad government, till a short time before our separation from Great Britain. At the end of the first century, the population of New-Hampshire did not exceed ten thousand, and ours was the smallest of the four towns. We had but twenty qualified voters for the choice of representatives, as fixed by the Council in 1680. Exeter, in its ancient limits, in 1830 contained 7,330 inhabitants. I have left myself no room to speak on many subjects belonging to the occasion, connected as it is with the anniversary of our national independence. I must pass over, altogether, every thing that concerns the trade and business of our early days:—The manners, customs, dress, furniture, houses, style of living, of our early inhabitants; even of their early uniform and steady love of popular liberty and free institutions. I could state from our records the votes and proceedings, showing how we were gradually prepared for the bold measure of 4th July, 1776;—how hearty and unanimous we were in our obedience to the measures *recommended* by our wise men, though injurious to our particular interests,—such as the non-importation and non-consumption of articles before deemed necessa-

ries of life ;—how we preferred to put off the citizen, and put on the soldier ;—how cheerfully we bore the dangers and hardships of the war, contracting heavy debts to raise men and supplies for the army. If we were not foremost, there were none before us in our zeal for the early declaration and steady maintenance of the independence of our country. And when, at the close of the contest, and under an unexampled pressure of burthens, others were heard to murmur and complain, we were among those who quietly and peaceably submitted to the rule of law. Instead of joining in the clamor for paper money and tender laws, we remonstrated against them. All these things, and many more of the kind, are they not written in the books of our records ? which, if time permitted, I would gladly recite to you on this occasion. In what regards schools and education, we have at all times aimed, as in all things else, at the useful rather than the showy.

But I must not omit, in this hasty review, to express our deep gratitude to the Giver of all Good, for the literary institution founded here by one of our most wealthy and distinguished townsmen. I do not exaggerate, when I speak of it as the best endowed academy in the wide extent of our whole country. It is now more than half a century since it commenced operations ; and, under the most able and faithful instructors, it has obtained for us a distinction throughout our country, of which we may be justly proud. We hope and believe it has done much to promote the cause of sound learning, and to improve the morals and manners of our youth. The founder, JOHN PHILLIPS, deserves a more extended notice than the time will allow. He was the son of the Rev. Samuel Phillips, of Andover, who was the great-grandson of the Rev. George Phillips, the first minister of Watertown. Our Phillips was the brother of Samuel, of Andover, a distinguished man, and the father of the late Lieut. Governor Samuel, and of William, of Boston, an eminent and wealthy merchant, and the father of the late Lieut. Governor William, the munificent patron of *all charitable*, religious and literary institutions. In recounting the charities of the Phillipses, we find ourselves embarrassed by the number of the givers, and the extent and variety of the objects of their bounty. It is enough, for our present purpose, to say that our townsman founded a Professorship of Divinity in Dartmouth College, and, with his brother Samuel, founded the Academy

in Andover, and *alone*, the more richly endowed Academy here. You see Dr. Phillips came honestly by his charity-founding propensities. He graduated at Harvard College, 1735, in the same class with Meshech Weare, our first Chief Magistrate. He studied Divinity, intending for the ministry, and soon after came here. He at one time taught the town, and afterwards a private classical school, and became a member of the new parish, at that time just formed, and in 1747 received a unanimous call to *be its first pastor*; but, from *over modest* scruples as to his ministerial gifts, he declined the invitation, and entered into trade, and, by his great care and diligence in business, acquired a large estate. He was twice married, but had no issue. At one time he commanded a company of Cadets, in which his great attention to discipline procured for him in return the attention and notice of the late Sir John Wentworth, with whom he became a favorite, and was soon made a Judge of the court in his county, and a mandamus Councillor. Notwithstanding these tokens of court favor, Mr. Phillips took the patriotic side in the Revolution. When he ceased to *acquire* property, as he did at the commencement of the war, his thoughts became constantly engaged how to make the best use of his very ample estate; and the donations that have been recited, between that time and the close of his life in 1795, were the result. In his deed of gift to our Academy, he states "that he gives his property, with the most humble thanks to the Lord and Giver of all things, for the *opportunity, ability and disposition by him given.*" This institution was intended, by this rich man, not so much to provide instruction for the rich, who can themselves procure it for their children, as for the sons of farmers, and those in less affluent circumstances. He intended this large stream of charity should never dry up, and solemnly enjoined it upon its guardians never to forget the sacred obligation that rests upon them, to preserve these funds entire, that the annual increase may be applied according to the will of the donor, as long as ignorance and vice shall be found in the world. The gift is, therefore, a clear perpetuity. Mr. Phillips, like his great progenitor, George, was of the strictest sect in religion, but liberal and catholic in his feelings. In the constitution of the Academy he opened the door wide, embracing all sects of Protestants. He should have gone one step further, and embraced Catholics, as needing it the most. We are told that the

first Phillips in this country was a godly man, and specially gifted; and, above all, remarkable for good sense and solid judgment. These latter were the most distinguishing traits in the mind of our Phillips.

The public service of the day is now drawing to a close. We have spent the last hour sitting in judgment on our ancestors and predecessors, and we have found much to commend and little to condemn. I hope their shades now look down upon us and smile their approbation of the doings of the day. What will be the judgment of our posterity pronounced one hundred years hence, upon us and our deeds? This meeting is now adjourned, to meet here 4th July, 1938. If the progress of the future shall keep pace with the past, the meeting will then be holden in a temple,—I hope a christian one,—more lofty and spacious than this, as much more as this exceeds the first Exeter church of twenty feet square. The glory of the second temple will doubtless exceed that of the first; but the real greatness of a people depends little on the grandeur of their temples, or on the glory of external things, but on the culture of the mind, and the purity and graces of the heart. We have this day passed the dividing line between ancestor and posterity, and must henceforth take our places with the people of the third century. Why then should not we rejoice, if the impartial judgment of the next centennial should award the prize of superior learning, more cultivated mind, and better taste in the fine arts, to the third century. Let us, then, in this our new character, do all we can, that the superiority shall then be equally manifest in religion, virtue, and moral worth.

PLYMOUTH ROCK.

"Plymouth was the first town built in New-England by civilized men, and those by whom it was built were inferior in worth to no body of men whose names are recorded in history during the last seventeen hundred years. A kind of venerableness, arising from these facts, attaches to this town, which may be termed a prejudice. Still it has its foundation in the nature of man, and will never be eradicated either by philosophy or ridicule. No New-Englander, who is willing to indulge his native feelings, can stand upon the Rock where our ancestors set the first foot after their arrival on the American shore, without experiencing emotions entirely different from those which are excited by any common object of the same nature. No New-Englander could be willing to have that Rock buried and forgotten. Let him reason as much, as coldly, and as ingeniously as he pleases, he will still regard this spot with emotions wholly different from those which are excited by other places of equal or even superior importance."

President Dwight's Travels.

MEMOIR OF SAMUEL ABBOT, ESQ.,
OF WILTON, N. H.

[Prepared by Hon. CHARLES H. ATHERTON.]

The subject of this Memoir, who was admitted a member of the New-Hampshire Historical Society on the 15th day of June, A. D. 1827, came to his death on the 2d of January, 1839, in the fifty-third year of his age, by one of those dreadful casualties, the thought of which fills the soul with horror. While superintending the manufacturing of starch at Jaffrey, in which he was interested, the interior of the building was observed to be on fire. He entered it for the purpose of rescuing a trunk, containing his accounts and securities. His retreat was arrested by a sudden outbreak of smoke and flame. He fell suffocated, and was consumed. Such was the combustible state of the building, and so rapid the spread of the fire, that no relief could reach him. The remains of his body were found amidst the ashes of the building.

A short memoir of this excellent man is due alike to the sympathy of his many respectable relatives and friends, to the Historical Society, of which he was a member and an ornament, and to the cause of science, philanthropy and religion, of which he was an unassuming but bright exemplar.

He was born at Wilton, on the 30th of March, 1786, being the eleventh of the twelve children of Abiel Abbot, a respectable farmer, and one of the early settlers of that town. Their praiseworthy and painstaking parent gave a liberal education to three of his sons, viz : Abiel, now the Rev. Abiel Abbot, D. D., of Peterborough ; the Rev. Jacob Abbot, late of Windham, deceased ; and Samuel, the subject of this memoir.

Samuel pursued his preparatory studies in part under his brother Abiel, but was fitted for College chiefly at the public school at Andover, Ms., then much celebrated for the accuracy of its instruction and the scholars it offered for admission to the university. He was graduated in 1808, and soon after entered the office of C. H. Atherton, Esq., of Amherst, as a student at law. He was admitted to the bar in 1812; commenced the practice of his profession at Wilton, and soon removed to Dunstable, now Nashua.

In 1817 he opened his office at Ipswich, in the county of Essex, Ms. Here his professional efforts were favorably noticed by the Judges of the Supreme Judicial Court, as indicating a well disciplined and argumentative mind; and he would undoubtedly have met with success at the bar, if his tastes had corresponded with the duties of his profession. It much better accorded with Mr. Abbot's feelings to pay the debt of a poor man, than to pocket the fee of a suit against him. His profession was no favorite with him, and he surrendered the prospects it offered, to the natural bent of his mind in following a course of general reading, and particularly in attending to chemistry and the mechanic arts, which had long been favorite pursuits with him, with a view of applying them to the useful purposes of life. Prior to his going to Ipswich, Mr. Atherton availed himself of the classical knowledge of his student in preparing for College his son, C. G. Atherton, late a Senator in Congress; for which purpose, on solicitation, he resided for a time in Mr. Atherton's family.

The qualities and uses of that most common of vegetables, the potatoe, with the machinery by which its flour might be extracted on a large scale by horse or water power, early attracted his attention. The Starch Manufactory at Wilton, under the care of his brother, Dea. Ezra Abbot, was the result of his genius. In 1818 he returned to his native home, for the purpose of superintending and improving the

concern. Here, and occasionally in the neighboring town of Jaffrey, where a branch of the business had been established, he spent the remainder of his life, devoting his time principally to literary and scientific pursuits, to business and mechanical labor as a relaxation, and fulfilling all the duties of a good citizen.

The flour of the potatoe produced by this concern so recommended itself to the proprietors of the cotton manufactories in New-England, as a substitute for the starch made from the flour of wheat, to be used for sizing, that the demand for it became general and its manufacture a source of profit. The farmers of the neighborhood were also much benefitted in their agriculture by this manufacture, as it afforded them a home market and ready pay for one of their most abundant and safest crops.

Mr. Abbot was a student, from his youth to the time of his death, and his literary and scientific acquirements were extensive and various. To his accurate acquaintance with classical literature, he added a respectable fund of information in most of the discoveries of modern science ; so that it was difficult to touch on any subject, however abstruse, with which he had not made himself acquainted, and on which he could not throw light and give information. The peculiar characteristics of his mind were accuracy, caution and clearness. With a quickness almost like intuition, he detected the weakness or fallacy of an argument, and no man saw more clearly its legitimate application, or the point at which its force ceased. So, in experimental philosophy, such was his caution that he was seldom if ever misled by his facts to form an erroneous theory. In 1828, when the "pneumatic paradox," as it was called, was attracting the attention of scholars, and no satisfactory explanation of it had been found, he first suggested its true theory. This was afterwards experimentally proved by his nephew, Jos. H. Abbot, and an article thereon published in the *American*

Journal of Science and Arts. In 1837-8 he detected the fallacy of the instrument called the Geometer, to which the attention of Congress was then called as a discovery in magnetism by which the latitude as well as the north pole was supposed to be indicated.

Theology was a favorite pursuit with him. Without being a religious disputant, he was well versed in the history of the Church and its various sects. Very few among the clergy were better skilled in Biblical criticism, or better acquainted with the religious controversies of the day. Tolerant and kind to all Christian sects, he embraced the Unitarian as distinguished from the Trinitarian faith.

It was, however, as a beloved townsman, as a parishioner and church member, and as a friend of the young, that Mr. Abbot's philanthropy and usefulness particularly displayed itself. His object seemed to be to do good to the community with which he was immediately connected. Was any thing projected for the good of the town? Mr. Abbot was an active and efficient promoter of it. Were there any difficulties in the church? He was the counsellor and peacemaker. Was any young man of promise struggling with poverty, to acquire an education? Mr. Abbot's advice and purse were freely tendered to him. In establishing and sustaining a town lyceum; in creating libraries for the town, for the parish, for the Sunday school, and for the Sabbath reading room, he was a leading agent and liberal contributor. He beneficially represented his town in the legislature of the State five years: and as a member of their superintending school committee; as a superintendent of the Sunday school and a lecturer before the lyceum; and by the lively interest he took in the morals and education of the young, has conferred benefits on the rising generation, the extent and magnitude of which cannot be calculated. If he did not create, he has at least done much to sustain and perpetuate in his native town that standard of good morals

and taste for reading and education, by which Wilton has been so honorably distinguished in the excellent men and accomplished scholars which have proceeded from her loins, and who now sparkle, as gems of high price,—an honor to the town and a blessing to the country.

There is in most men a lamentable mixture of good and bad qualities; of opposite biasses; a conflict to preserve the ascendancy of that which is good; but occasionally, and blessed be God that it is so, we find an individual in whom the seeds of evil do not seem to have been conquered, so much as never to have existed in his bosom. Such a man was SAMUEL ABBOT. Any mean, dishonorable, unjust or vicious act or wish seems to have been as remote from him as if such acts or wishes had no existence any where, or were physically impossible. Is this enviable singularity of character to be attributed to early parental management and education, or to a constitutional superiority of the moral and intellectual powers over the passions, or to the happy and harmonious coöperation of both these causes? That under the parental roof order and the law of kindness prevailed, is well attested. There was good sense and a fondness for reading. There were religious observances, and a constant attendance on public worship. There were no excesses or severities—the eldest of the children having no recollection of ever seeing their parent in a passion. That Samuel was blessed with high intellectual powers, does not admit of a question; and that he had a delicate, and, when developed, a strong moral sense, is also true. His life was guided by the dictates of an enlightened conscience. He felt and exhibited strong and decided marks of disapprobation, but, like his father, was never known to be in a passion.

It may now very naturally be asked, why a man of such uncommon acquirements and virtues, attracted no greater general notice? why such a flower was left to shed its fra-

grance in so limited a sphere? The answer is obvious and satisfactory. He was a man of uncommon meekness and modesty. No ambition for professional or political distinction beset him. Retiring in his feelings, averse to all show and forth putting, he abandoned a profession regarded as the common highway to distinction, and took, from choice, that course of life which best agreed with his peaceful disposition and his peaceful pursuits. The acquirement of knowledge, and the consciousness that he was useful, satisfied all his worldly aspirations.

It is remarkable that the two brothers, Jacob and Samuel, alike distinguished for caution and circumspection; equally free from all rashness and precipitancy; that these careful and reflecting men should, in the providence of God, both of them be cut off in the midst of life, health and usefulness, by what are called accidents, which men of much general prudence would have avoided. The death of Jacob Abbot occurred by attempting to cross a pond in an overloaded and leaky canoe; the death of Samuel by entering a building on fire! So true it is—

“There’s a Divinity that shapes our ends—
“Rough hew them how we will.”

Major Abiel Abbot, the father of Samuel, was a staunch Whig; an officer of the militia during the Revolutionary war; often the representative from Wilton in the General Court; much intrusted with the business of the town; the guardian of orphans; the friend of the widow and the helper of the poor. He formed an excellent farm out of the wilderness; encountering, with perseverance and fortitude, all the fatigues and inconveniences of a new settlement. Of twelve children, ten lived to adult age. All of them were well educated, and three of them were graduated at Harvard College.

The man who, with such means and under such circumstances, brought up such a family, and so educated them, is

surely entitled to honorable remembrance. He was the son of Capt. John Abbot, of Andover, who was descended, in the fifth generation, from George Abbot, who emigrated from Yorkshire, England, and settled in Andover, Ms., in 1643. Samuel, the subject of this Memoir, was never married. The descendants of his American progenitors were numerous, and their branches now extend to almost every State in the Union.

INSTRUCTIONS OF GOV. JOHN WENTWORTH TO THEODORE
ATKINSON, COMMISSIONER TO CANADA IN 1724.

Instructions from His Honour, John Wentworth, Esq'r, Lt. Gov'r and Command'r in Chief of New-Hampshire, To Mr. Theod're Atkinson, chosen and appointed Commissioner in behalf of this Province, on a Message to ye Gov'r of Canada.

You are to repair to Boston as soon as may be w'th Convenience, and there Joyn the Commissioners appointed by that Government to go to Canada, and with them to proceed thither by the way of Albany.

Upon Your arrival at Canada, You are to wait upon the Governour of that Colony for the Time being, and Present him w'th the letter herewith delivered you.

You are to represent to the Said Governour that we Esteem what he has done, (in Encouraging and assisting our Enemies the Indians against us in the Present war,) not only unneighbourly, but an open breach of the Treaty of Utrecht, and absolutely Contrary to the alliance between The King of Great Brittain and the King of France: and Thereupon, You are to propose to him, and Insist upon it, that he forbear the like for the future, and that he deny them Protection, in Case our Armys or Scouts Should Pursue them to the borders of his Government, lest any French familys in his frontiers, by undertaking to shelter them, may Share in the fate of our Enemies.

You are positively to Demand of the S'd Governour a Surrender of all His Majestie's Subjects belonging to this Province, which have been Captivated by our Ind'n Enemy this war, and are now detained Prisoners in his Government.

If any Indians, at Canada, or ye French in their behalf, Should move for a Pacification, You are to acquaint them that You have no Commission or Instructions to Negotiate any affair of that Sort; however, if they are disposed and desirous to Treat w'th this Government of a Peace, You are to tell them they may have an opportunity so to do, and may assure them of Safe Conduct hither and back again through this Province, and give them Passports accordingly.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CROYDON.

[By LEMUEL P. COOPER, Esq.]

Croydon, in the County of Sullivan, is situated on the highlands between the Connecticut and Merrimack rivers, at the distance of 44 miles N. W. from Concord. It is bounded on the north by Grant-ham; on the south by Newport; on the east by Springfield and Wendall; and on the west by Cornish. Its original shape was nearly square. Its length, from east to west, was about six and one fourth miles; and its breadth, from north to south, was about five and three-fourth miles. But in 1808 a piece of land, one half mile in width, was severed from the *northern* side of the town and annexed to Grantham; and in the year following another tract was taken from the *western* side of the town, and joined to Cornish.

The township is very hilly and uneven, and the surface is in many places covered with huge masses of granite. "Croydon Mountain" stretches across the western part of the town. The summit of this mountain is the highest land in Sullivan County. The town is well watered; for, besides containing a large number of ponds, among which may be named Long, Rocky-bound, Governor's and Spectacle Ponds, the north branch of Sugar river crosses it in a S. S. W. direction, dividing it into two nearly equal parts. On this stream and its tributaries are some fine mill seats.

The natural quality of the soil, excepting the alluvial lands bordering on Sugar river, has generally been considered stubborn and unproductive. But, in a state of nature, the land was covered with a valuable growth of timber, consisting in part of pine, oak, ash, sugar-maple and beech. In the eastern part of the town, between Rocky-bound and Spectacle ponds, is a hill, covered originally with valuable pine timber, which, from that circumstance, has, ever since the first settlement of the town, borne the name of "Pine Hill."

CIVIL HISTORY.

The charter of the town, signed by Benning Wentworth, and countersigned by Theodore Atkinson, is dated May 31, 1763. The township was divided into seventy-one shares; of which, two were

reserved as a farm for Gov. Wentworth, the grantee; one was reserved for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts; one, as a glebe for the Church of England; one, for the first minister who should be settled in town; and one, for the education of youth. The remaining shares were granted to Samuel Chase, Ephraim Sherman, and sixty-three others. The pine timber suitable for ship building was reserved for the royal navy. The Governor's farm, consisting of five hundred acres, was located in the south-western corner of the town.

Agreeably to the provisions of the charter, the first meeting of the grantees was called by Samuel Chase, and held at Grafton, Ma., June 17, 1763. Samuel Chase presided, and was also chosen clerk. Meetings at the same place, for the choice of officers and for the transaction of other business, continued to be held for more than thirty years. But, on Jan. 17, 1798, the majority of the proprietors having removed to Croydon and its vicinity, their first meeting was held in this town. James Wellman was chosen moderator, and Edward Hall, Jr., clerk. The last meeting was held Jan. 17, 1810. With the minutes of this meeting the proprietary records close.

It appears that the soil of this place was so unyielding that the aborigines never attempted to cultivate it. No vestiges of their habitations have ever been discovered; and it is highly probable that they only visited the town occasionally for the purposes of fishing and hunting. In the vicinity of Sugar river, stone utensils have been found, consisting in part of chisels, gouges and tomahawks.

In 1766 the first settlement was effected. In the spring of that year, Moses Whipple, Seth Chase, David Warren, Ezekiel Powers, and perhaps some others, came from Grafton, Ma., for the purpose of laying out land and making preparation for a settlement in Croydon. Ebenezer Waters accompanied them as a surveyor. They spent several weeks after their arrival in laying out land, erecting huts, and in making other arrangements for a settlement. Whether any of the party remained through the season, does not appear. Soon after their return, Seth Chase, with a wife and child, and some household furniture, commenced another journey, for the purpose of taking up his permanent residence in this town. He arrived about June 10, 1766, after performing a journey of 110 miles on horseback. His was the first family established in Croydon. But on the

24th of the same month, Moses Whipple and David Warren, with their families, arrived.

Mr. Chase occupied a cabin, erected on a swell of land since planted with an orchard by the late Bezaleel Barton, and situated at the distance of about one half mile S. W. from Spectacle ponds ; Mr. Whipple located himself near the spot where the house of Mr. Calvin Hall now stands ; and Mr. Warren occupied a log house, built near the centre of the town, at the distance of about one half mile west from Mr. Whipple.

Some corn was planted that year, a nursery sown, and a saw-mill built. These three families only, spent the following winter in Croydon. The next year, Moses Leland and Ezekiel Powers, with their families, moved to town ; and several young men came and labored here through the season, preparatory to a permanent residence. Some of the latter remained through the winter ; but the major part, after laboring here through the summer, returned to their friends in the older settlements.

The first town meeting was held March 8, 1768. Moses Whipple was chosen moderator and town clerk ; Moses Leland, Moses Whipple, and David Warren were chosen selectmen. Moses Whipple was also elected tythingman. (A.)

In the autumn of 1768 four more families arrived, making nine families in all, who passed the following winter in Croydon. But in 1769, and for some years subsequent to that period, the tide of emigration set this way so strongly that the settlement soon became respectable for numbers.

A relation of the hardships endured by the first settlers of our interior towns, appears more like a tale of fiction than real history. But the pioneers of civilization had strength equal to their day. They were men of enterprise and perseverance, and they possessed vast physical powers and vigorous constitutions. They encountered hardships, but they met them manfully. In the midst of their difficulties, hope still pointed forward to sunny days of happiness. They expected to be joined ere long by many whom the spirit of enterprise would bring around them ; and soon the dense forest would give place to flowers, lawns and fields of waving grain.

A full measure of toil and privation was meted out to the first settlers of Croydon. Messrs. Whipple and Warren were ten days

moving their families from Alstead to this town. They were obliged to cut their road through a pathless forest, ford the streams that crossed their way, and, at night, sleep upon the ground. For some years after their arrival, the settlers procured many of their provisions at Cornish, and brought them eight or ten miles on their backs across Croydon mountain. This often happened in the depth of winter, when the ground was covered with four feet of snow, and their only track across the howling waste was marked trees. Add to these the other inconveniences inseparable from a new settlement; such as a want of proper clothing, living in miserable log huts, and the want of suitable medical care and attendance when sick, and some faint conception may be formed of the privations and hardships endured by our fathers in turning our once wide-spread forests into fruitful fields.

But, amidst all their embarrassments, they were not discouraged; for we find them during this period busily employed in laying out roads, and projecting schemes for mental culture and moral improvement. By the town records it appears that a road was laid out and constructed in 1768; and that, for a number of years subsequent to this period, much time and money were expended in opening roads through different parts of the town and to the towns adjoining.

In 1771, an incident of painful interest to the inhabitants occurred. Caleb, a little son of Seth Chase, wandered into the forest and was lost. Early in the spring of that year, Mr. Chase commenced the manufacture of maple sugar. He boiled the sap at a distance from his house: and, while thus engaged, he was frequently attended by his two little sons. Once, while so employed, business rendered it necessary for him to return to the house. At his departure he charged his children to remain at the fire until his return. But soon after he was gone, the eldest, a boy of about six years, finding a favorite spoon which had been lost, was so overjoyed at the discovery that he started immediately after his father, saying, "I will go up to the house and show the spoon to father."

Mr. Chase, on his return, finding his beloved son absent, commenced a search for him, but without effect. An alarm was given, and the neighbors searched for him during the remainder of the day, but with no better success. When the shades of evening began to gather around the dwelling of the parents, and their child could not

be found, their feelings can neither be described nor truly imagined. Mrs. Chase, rendered frantic by the situation of her child, ran to the forest and would have spent the night in fruitless search, had not her friends compelled her to return to the house. On the morrow, the inhabitants of the neighboring towns collected, and for several days traversed the woods through and through in every direction; but no trace of the little sufferer could be found. At last, the search was given over in the belief that the child had wandered to the banks of Sugar river, tumbled into the swollen and turbid stream, and thus found a watery grave.

Certain mysterious circumstances connected with the affair induced a belief in the minds of some that the boy was *murdered*. And even now, tradition points out the spot where the foul deed was done and the body buried. But it is probable that the fate of the child will remain unknown until that day when every secret thing shall be revealed.

Of the difficulties which preceded the Revolutionary war, the inhabitants of Croydon were not idle and unconcerned spectators. Their feelings became early enlisted in opposition to the oppressive acts of the British Parliament, and they entered with enthusiasm into the measures of resistance adopted by the Colonies.

In 1775, as soon as the news of the battle of Lexington reached town, a meeting was called and such measures adopted as the exigency of the case seemed to require. Order and harmony prevailed, and the votes were passed without a dissenting voice. Among the votes passed on the occasion was one raising eight pounds to purchase a town stock of ammunition. Two men, Eleazer Leland and Abner Brigham, started immediately and joined the Provincial army near Boston. Soon after, about a dozen more enrolled themselves in the corps of minute men which the Convention of the Province authorized to be raised. These minute men held themselves in readiness to take the field at a moment's warning, and were, when called into service, to be allowed the same pay as Continental soldiers. The same year, this town and Newport made choice of Benjamin Giles, Esq., of the latter place, to represent them in a Convention to be held at Exeter. (B.)

Early in the spring of 1776, John Cooper, Phineas Newton, and Thomas Whipple, enlisted for the northern frontier. They were

stationed most of the following summer and autumn at Newbury, Vt. July 5th, another town meeting was held, at which twenty-five pounds were raised to purchase a further supply of powder and lead for the town. The following gentlemen were also chosen a "Committee of Safety": Moses Whipple, Stephen Powers, Phineas Sanger, Abner Brigham, and Joseph Hall. This committee, with the exception of one resignation and new appointment, continued in office during the war. Although they had a discretionary but undefined power to preserve the public peace, it does not appear that the confidence reposed in them was ever abused. Their administration was characterized for its prudence and energy; and, during that eventful period, they were of essential service to the town, in preserving order and devising means for complying with the repeated calls for men and money, made by the Provincial Legislature and Continental Congress.

In 1777 nine men from Croydon joined a company of militia, commanded by Capt. Solomon Chase, of Cornish, and marched to Ticonderoga. They were stationed at Mount Independence, where they remained until that post was evacuated, when most of them returned home.

When Gen. Stark, with a part of his brigade, was ordered out to "stop the progress of the enemy upon our western frontier," eight men from this town joined him at Charlestown, and were incorporated with a company commanded by Capt. Handy, of Hanover. Two companies, including Capt. Handy's, were put under the command of Major Howard, and sent on to Cavendish, Vt., and ordered to watch the motions of the enemy, and repel any aggressions which might be made in that quarter. They remained at Cavendish until after the memorable Bennington battle, and then rejoined Stark at Manchester, at the distance of about twenty miles to the northward of the battle ground. From Manchester they proceeded with the rest of the army to Stillwater, and remained there till their term of service expired. Before the return of the soldiers who had served under Stark, orders were received in town for the "turn out" of one half of the men capable of bearing arms, to check the progress of Burgoyne. Capt. Moses Whipple, with a company composed in part of soldiers from this town, and the remainder from Cornish, repaired

immediately to the theatre of war. They continued in active service at Stillwater and its vicinity until after the surrender of Burgoyne.

In the course of this year efforts were made to enlist soldiers for the Continental service. At a meeting in the spring, the town voted to give forty pounds each to five men, if they would enlist into the Continental army for three years, or during the war; and, at a subsequent meeting, ninety pounds each were voted to Joseph Hall, John Druce, Moses Warren, and Aaron Warren, if they would enlist into the Continental service for the same period. Whether any upon these conditions enlisted, or not, the writer has not the means of ascertaining.

[Here it may be proper to mention some of the difficulties attending a collection of facts, relating to this part of the history of Croydon. The early records of the town are very defective. This may be attributed, in part, to the remissness of the recording officer, but mainly to the ravages of time. The entire records of the town, for 1782 and 1783, are missing; and those prior to 1782 are, in many places, so defaced by the finger of time as to be illegible. This loss is irreparable; for most of those who were actors in the drama of the Revolution, from whom, a few years ago, oral information might have been obtained, have gone to their reward. Under these circumstances, it is not to be expected that a full and connected account of the transactions of the town, during the eventful period of our Revolutionary struggle, can be obtained.]

During the course of the war the militia of Croydon were repeatedly called out to aid in stopping the depredations of the Indians upon our frontier settlements. They were often employed in scouring the woods of Coös, and the adjacent parts of Vermont; and the services performed by them on those occasions were often perilous as well as laborious.

In 1778, a number of towns on the eastern side of Connecticut river renounced their allegiance to New-Hampshire, and formed a connection with the new State of Vermont. This led to a long and heated contention between the seceding towns and the government to which they formerly belonged. In the incipient stages of this controversy, Croydon took no part; but when, towards the close of the year, a Convention of delegates assembled at Cornish, Moses Whipple, Esq., attended as a delegate from this town. From that

time until quiet was restored, the proceedings of Croydon were identified with the eccentric movements of the revolted district. In 1782, Moses Whipple, Esq., was chosen to represent this town in the Vermont legislature. But, before his arrival at the seat of government, the Vermont Assembly, brought to its senses by a letter from General Washington, had resolved that the western bank of Connecticut river should be the dividing line between Vermont and New-Hampshire; so that Whipple, and the other delegates from the eastern side of the river, on their arrival found themselves excluded from a seat in the Assembly. This step of the legislature tended to close the controversy. The disaffected towns returned to their allegiance, and domestic quiet was restored.

From the peace of 1783 down to the present time, but little is found in the civil history of the town worthy of special notice. Since the Revolution, a number of those who shared the perils of that contest, came to town, and their bones are now resting in our grave yards. But as a particular notice of each would extend this sketch to unreasonable length, they are passed over. (*C.*)

There are, at present, one lawyer and three physicians in town.

In 1815, Samuel Morse, Esq., opened the first law office in town. He is a native of Dublin, N. H., and graduated at Dartmouth College in 1811. He studied law with Samuel Dakin, Esq., of Jaffrey, Hon. Jonathan Barnes, of Tolland, Ct., and Hon. George B. Upham, of Claremont. Since his abode here he has not attended exclusively to professional business; but his attention has been also directed to agriculture and the manufacture of woollens. In the discharge of professional duties, Mr. Morse has been strictly honest, and remarkably humane;—a peace maker.

The physicians are *Reuben Carrol*, *Nelson Coburn*, and *Delevan D. Marsh*.

Dr. Carroll, a native of Sutton, Ms., came to Croydon in 1798. He is the first physician who ever settled in town. Although he was never honored with a medical degree from any of our literary institutions, yet, for forty-five years, his standing as a practising physician has been above mediocrity. He still, notwithstanding the infirmities of age, retains a respectable portion of practice.*

* Since this memoir was written, Dr. Carroll met with a melancholy fate. Call-

Dr. Coburn, a native of Cornish, settled here in 1836. He received a diploma from the medical institution at Woodstock, Vt., in 1834.

Dr. Marsh, of this town, after pursuing the usual course of medical studies, commenced the practice of physic here in 1837. He opened a laboratory and an apothecary's shop, and commenced the manufacture and vending of drugs and medicines. His nostrums are sent to different parts of the country for sale. In 1839 he was elected Treasurer for Sullivan County, and reelected to the same office, March, 1840.

Several other physicians, from time to time, took up a temporary residence in Croydon, and then left the place for some more favored spot. Messrs. Alden, Cooper, and Leavitt were of the number. The gentleman last named spent several years in this place, and in 1836 removed to New-York. He bore the character of an honest, upright man, and a skillful physician, and his removal was a public loss.

The inhabitants are generally engaged in *agricultural* pursuits; but the soil is so rocky and hard to cultivate that but little grain is raised. Rye, Indian corn, barley, oats, and India-wheat are raised in quantities barely sufficient for home consumption. Wheat flour comes principally from the West and South. But the land is good for grazing, and the majority of the farmers have turned their attention that way. Some have realized handsome profits from their dairies. A few years ago it was stated in a newspaper that Croydon, in one year, sent twelve tons of butter to market. Whether this statement was correct, the writer of this has no means of ascertaining. In 1837, an old gentleman, a soldier of the Revolution, and his aged wife, made, from a dairy of four cows only, 720 pounds of butter, for which they obtained twenty cents per pound. Another gentleman, in 1838, from a dairy of fifteen cows, sold butter to the value of \$450. These are but two instances out of many where fair profits are derived from the manufacture of butter.

By some the raising of neat stock is made a lucrative business.

ed upon in a dark night to visit a patient in the east part of the town, in descending the long hill between John Lovern's house and the East Village, the hold-backs of his harness gave way, and precipitated his gig upon the horse, which, being high spirited, commenced plunging down the hill. In passing a water bar, he was thrown from his carriage and killed. He was a worthy and highly esteemed man.

Others make the raising of pigs and the fattening of pork, profitable. Hundreds of the former and tons of the latter are annually sent to market. Others, again, are realizing fair profits from numerous flocks of sheep, for which our hills and mountains afford excellent pasture.

From these branches of husbandry our prudent, industrious, and enterprising farmers are accumulating property; while others, by inattention to business, or by indulging a wild spirit of speculation, have become involved in pecuniary embarrassments from which they can never extricate themselves.

But agriculture is not followed to the exclusion of other employments. There are two full stores, besides some others partially filled; one tavern; one woollen factory, upon a limited scale; two grist mills, one of which contains four sets of stones, and is probably the best in the county; two cabinet shops, and one wheelwright shop, with workmen in each; one starch factory; one manufactory of patent pumps; and a sufficient number of shoemakers to manufacture all the boots and shoes wanted for home consumption, besides occasionally doing jobs of sale work for the shoe-dealers in the Atlantic towns.

About twenty five years ago the manufacture of straw cord was introduced here, somewhat extensively, but it is now very much abandoned.

The knitting of sale footings has, with many females, superseded the braiding of straw. And the high price for labor, given at extensive manufacturing establishments, has induced a large number of our young women to become operatives in the factories at Nashua, Worcester, Lowell, and other places.

The population of Croydon, at different periods, is as follows:

In 1775, 143; 1790, 537; 1800, 984; 1810, 862; 1820, 1060; 1830, 1057.

During the last thirty years the spirit of emigration has been rife in this place: consequently, the population has been nearly stationary. Many are annually leaving town for some more favored spot—some land of promise. At the present day the sons of Croydon may be found in most of the States, the Canadas, and on almost every sea plowed by American vessels.

LITERARY HISTORY.

The literary history of Croydon is not materially different from that of most other sparsely settled agricultural towns. For some years after the first settlement was made, the education of youth was in a measure neglected. Nor is this surprising. For when we consider the many claims which imperiously demanded the attention of our fathers, our wonder will be excited that the mental culture of the young should be attended to at all. Food was to be procured, houses erected, land cleared, and highways constructed: and while all these claims were pressing with ponderous weight, the cloud of war, which long had hung over the colonies, burst upon them, and the resources of every patriot were called forth to aid in maintaining the unequal conflict. Under these circumstances, it is not to be expected that much time or money could be devoted to purposes of education. But notwithstanding these embarrassments, the early settlers of Croydon, viewing the subject in its true light, did what they could for this object. The following paragraph shows what was done for the education of youth from 1770 to 1780, inclusive.

In 1770, the inhabitants, in town meeting assembled, voted to establish a school, and raised \$18 to pay an instructor. In 1771, two pounds and eight shillings, and in 1772, eight pounds, were raised for purposes of education. In the year last named, a building, twenty feet square, was erected for a school house. At the annual town meetings for each of the three succeeding years, three pounds and twelve shillings were voted for the support of schools. In 1776 no measures were taken to continue the school; but in 1777 three pounds and twelve shillings were raised; and in 1778 the town voted to hire a mistress two months in summer. In 1779, one hundred and fifty dollars, of continental currency, were assessed; and in 1780 the town voted to hire a male instructor during the three winter months, and a female to teach school through the rest of the year. Down to the year last named the town consisted of one school district only. During this period the people did not agree respecting the legality and justice of raising money for the education of youth. A small minority vehemently opposed the plan of establishing a school, to be supported by a general tax. They contended that to be obliged to pay money for the tuition of other people's children, or even their own, was unjust, tyrannical and oppressive. In some instances, indi-

viduals went so far as not to pay their school taxes unless by distraint.

New districts have been formed from time to time, as the population has increased, and the town has, several times, been districted anew. The last division took place in 1834, when the town was divided into ten districts. Nos. 2 and 3 have commodious houses of brick; the others have been constructed with wood. That in No. 2 contains two apartments, in which separate schools are kept during the winter season. In one, the small children are taught by a female, while in the other those more advanced in years enjoy the instructions of a master.

Though the people of Croydon do not take that interest in the subject of education which its importance demands, yet this may be considered a *reading* community. More than two hundred periodicals, of a political, religious, and miscellaneous character, are patronized by the inhabitants. In 1806, fifty-three individuals associated together and established a circulating library, called the "Croydon Social Library." It contains, besides a variety of miscellaneous works, a choice selection of travels, histories, biographies, and works upon practical and experimental religion. These have been selected principally by the venerable librarian, the Rev. Jacob Haven. The library at present contains 226 volumes.

Croydon has produced some literary and professional men, who are an honor to the place of their nativity. Four have received a public education, and several more are pursuing a collegiate course of studies. Six have become preachers of the gospel; three are practising law; ten have received medical diplomas; one has, for many years, been editor and proprietor of a weekly journal; one is at present warden of a penitentiary at Kingston, U. C.; and another, after filling various stations of trust and profit, was elected a Representative to Congress. (*D.*)

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

The inhabitants of Croydon have ever been much divided in their religious opinions. Coming originally from different sections of the older settlements, they brought with them the religious feelings, the habits, and the prejudices of the communities from which they emigrated. Hence, in the early settlement of the town, the community

was divided into Presbyterians, Calvinistic Baptists, Universalists, and Nihilists. Since that time Free-Will Baptists and Methodists have made their appearance. But, for some years after the first settlement of the town, the Presbyterian was the prevailing denomination.

The present *Congregational Church* of Croydon was organized Sept. 9, 1778, by the assistance of the Rev. James Wellman, pastor, and Samuel Chase, delegate, from the Presbyterian Church in Cornish; and the Rev. Lyman Potter, pastor of a Presbyterian Church in Lebanon. At that time the fourteen whose names follow, took upon themselves covenant obligations :

Moses Whipple, Stephen Powers, Isaac Sanger, John Cooper, Joseph Hall, Jacob Leland, John Sanger, Catherine Whipple, Rachel Powers, Mary Cooper, Anna Leland, Lydia Hall, Hannah Giles, Lucy Whipple.

Some of the foregoing were among the first settlers of the town, and all of them were members of churches in the towns from which they respectively emigrated.

Antecedent to this period, a strong desire was constantly manifested by the friends of Zion to enjoy the ordinances of the gospel ; but, owing to the paucity of their numbers, and the unsettled state of the public mind prior to the Revolution and after its commencement, it was deemed unadvisable to gather a church until the time above mentioned.

The infant church met statedly on the Sabbath, in a house erected about four years before for a town-house and meeting-house ; and, unless some minister from abroad was casually present, conducted the exercises of public worship, by singing, prayer, and the reading of printed sermons. Public worship was conducted in this manner for the first ten years after the church was organized.

Soon after the church was gathered, a difficulty arose between the Presbyterians and Baptists, respecting the use of the meeting-house. Baptist preachers visited the town occasionally, and wished to hold meetings in the meeting-house on the same Sabbaths that Presbyterian ministers from abroad wanted to occupy it. Both parties, forgetting the principles of the Gospel, conducted the controversy with so much heat and alienation of feeling, that it was found necessary to submit the case to the action of the town. The town " Voted

to exclude Baptist ministers from occupying the house on the Sabbath." Although the Presbyterians, after this, had full leave to use the house on Sundays, yet, when no minister of their own order was present, they cheerfully gave their consent that Baptist preachers might occupy the desk.

In 1780, a revival of religion commenced, which, in proportion to the number of inhabitants, was the most extensive ever enjoyed in town. Both Presbyterians and Baptists shared richly in the blessing. The means employed were the ordinary exercises of public worship on the Sabbath, prayer-meetings in different parts of the town on week days, and private, personal conversation with the unconverted. Ministers from abroad preached occasionally; but it may be truly said that the lay-members of the church were the principal instruments, in the hand of God, of producing the reformation.

1783. The church "Voted unanimously to adopt the Presbyterian mode of discipline, as practised in the church of Scotland, in the chief points, not straining the lesser matters beyond the principles and practice of the Grafton Presbytery; allowing to every individual a right to appeal to any Presbytery in this country till the church be incorporated with some one; allowing, also, to every offender the privilege of choosing whether to be tried by the Sessions, who may call part or all the brethren as helps, or be tried by the whole body, when he may not be censured without vote both of the Sessions and of the brotherhood."

Near the close of 1787, Mr. Jacob Haven was obtained to preach as a candidate for the pastoral office. And, on the 11th of March following, the legal voters of Croydon, in town meeting assembled, voted to give him a call to become their minister. On the 13th of the same month the church voted *nem. con.* to give him a call to become their pastor. On the part of the town it was stipulated to give him, in addition to the share of land which he would draw as the first settled minister, a salary as follows: His salary for the first year shall be forty pounds; and the aforesaid sum shall rise annually, as the valuation of those that support him shall rise, until it shall amount to sixty pounds. Said sum shall be paid in neat stock, equal to good grass fed beef, at twenty shillings per hundred weight, or

good rye at four shillings per bushel. And said salary is to continue so long as the said Haven shall continue in the ministry in this place."

The call was accepted, and the ordination took place on the 18th of June following. The Ordaining Council consisted of the Rev. Messrs. Aaron Hutchinson, George Damon, Lyman Potter, and David Kellogg, pastors; and Messrs. Samuel Dutton, Jacob Burton, and Thomas Buckminster, delegates. The Council was organized by choosing Aaron Hutchinson, moderator, and Lyman Potter, scribe. The sermon on the occasion was preached by the Rev. Mr. Kellogg, of Framingham, Ms.

The Rev. Jacob Haven, present senior pastor of the church, was born in Framingham, Ms., April 25, 1763. He graduated at Harvard College, in 1785; studied divinity with the Rev. Mr. Kellogg, minister of his native town, and was ordained and settled over the Presbyterian Church and people of Croydon, as above related. Mr. Haven has ever been distinguished as a faithful preacher, and a sound divine. His sermons are tersely written, and are alike distinguished for their logic, and for the air of piety which breathes through them. Although unaccompanied by the fascinating oratory of some of our modern preachers, their delivery seldom failed of making a good impression. In 1838 he delivered a "Half Century Discourse" to a large and attentive audience.*

1794. The house used for religious purposes having become old and dilapidated, a new house of worship was erected by a committee appointed by the town. Its dimensions were sixty feet by forty-three feet, exclusive of a porch at each end. The porch at one end served as the base of a belfry. The purposes for which the building was erected may be gathered from the following extract from the Constitutional Plan of the house, found in the town records: "Said house is for the religious use of the Presbyterian or Congregational Society on Lord's days, but with free liberty for the use of the town of Croydon to transact any of their public business, at any time on week-days, and also for the free use of the Baptist and Universalist Societies to hold religious meetings in, on any week-day when not wanted for town purposes, nor by the Presbyterians for lectures."

The Committee endeavored to raise funds sufficient to build the

* Mr. Haven has since deceased.

house by selling the pews beforehand. But in this they failed, and the consequence was the building never was completed. No bell was procured; and, in winter, the house, on account of its unfinished state, was so uncomfortably cold that meetings were usually held during that season in school houses. In 1828 it was taken down, and a commodious town-house constructed of its materials.

Opposition at the beginning was made to the settlement of Mr. Haven. It continued to increase till 1804, when a vote was passed by the town to desist from making or collecting taxes for the support of Presbyterian preaching. This measure, it was confidently asserted by the enemies of Presbyterianism, would effectually *unsettle* Mr. Haven, if not oblige him to leave the town. Matters remained in this posture for more than a year. At length, however, the principal agents in procuring the vote, having become fully aware that the measure was both ill-timed and illegal, endeavored to effect a compromise. Propositions were offered and rejected, until at last, Nov. 5, 1805, the town voted to accept the following proposals, offered by Mr. Haven:

“1. That the town will in future lay no claim on, nor pretend any right to, the Meeting-House in the town of Croydon, upon the Sabbath; but the Presbyterian or Congregational Church and Society shall peaceably possess the same, agreeably to the true meaning and just construction of the Constitution upon which said house was built.

“2. That the town, from this time forth, will relinquish all claim to any further ministerial service from Mr. Haven.

“3. That the town will exempt Mr. Haven's poll and property from taxation while he lives in town.

“4. That Mr. Haven receive payment in full for all arrearages.”

By this arrangement, the contract made with Mr. Haven at the time he was settled as minister of the town was annulled. He then proposed to his church and people, that if they would continue to pay him as much as had heretofore fallen to their share, he would still continue with them as their pastor. This proposal was gladly accepted, and Mr. Haven continued to discharge his parochial duties, to the no small disappointment of his enemies.

June 9, 1807. The Articles of Faith and the Constitution of the Union Association were adopted, and the church was admitted in

form as a member of that body. Since that time the church has borne the name of the "*Congregational Church of Croydon.*"

Early in 1810 it was apparent that the "still, small voice" was at work in the hearts of sinners. The places of worship were crowded, while a stillness and solemnity pervaded the assemblies. Professing christians, also, began to awake to duty, and humble themselves before the Lord. The plain and pungent truths of the gospel were freely dispensed from the sacred desk, the members of the church engaged heartily in the work, and God blessed the means by the outpouring of his Spirit. It is estimated that about 120 were the subjects of the work. Of these, 73 connected themselves with the Congregational church.

In 1826, the old Meeting-House having become unfit for use, a few individuals, with a spirit alike honorable to themselves and beneficial to the public, erected the present commodious house of worship. Its length is 68 feet and its width 60 feet, and it contains 107 slips or pews. It is crowned with a belfry, for which a fine toned bell, of 1000 pounds weight, has been purchased by subscription. The original proprietors of the house have been partly remunerated for the expense of building, by the sale of slips. The house, together with its appurtenances, has been conveyed by deed to the Society connected with the church.

1834. The Rev. Mr. Haven having publicly signified a wish to retire from the station of acting pastor, the church, Jan. 6, gave the Rev. Eli W. Taylor a call to become their junior pastor. The call was accepted, and the installation took place on the 10th of June following. It was agreed, on the part of the church and society, to give him a salary of \$400 per annum.

In the spring of 1835 a protracted meeting was held by the church, under the direction of its pastors and the Rev. Joseph Merrill, late of Acworth. The Lord smiled upon their labors, and a work of grace followed. As the fruits of the revival, the Congregational church received an accession of 55 members. Some joined the Methodist church at Grantham, and others the Baptist church at Newport.

For reasons, unnecessary to be detailed here, a mutual Council was called at the request of Mr. Taylor, and he was dismissed (Dec. 27, 1837,) from the pastoral care of the church and people in this

place. Of Mr. Taylor it may be proper to say a word more. He is a native of Hinesburg, Vt.; obtained his academical education at the University of Vermont; studied theology with a private instructor, and was ordained as an evangelist in 1830. Dismissed from the pastoral charge of the church in Croydon, as already stated, he received a call, and was settled over the Congregational church in Meredith Village, April, 1838.

Within a few months after the dismissal of Mr. Taylor, Mr. Aurelius S. Swift accepted a call from the Church and Society, and his ordination took place May 16, 1838. The sermon on the occasion was preached by the Rev. Erdix Tenney, of Lyme, from Jeremiah xxiii: 28. "And he that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully." It was agreed that Mr. Swift should receive the same amount of salary as his immediate predecessor.

The Rev. A. S. Swift, present junior pastor of the Congregational Church of Croydon, was born at Fairlee, Vt., Feb. 9, 1808. He obtained his academical and theological education at Bangor, Me. After finishing his studies, he spent a few months in preaching in various places, and was, near the close of 1837, invited by the trustees of the Congregational Society of this place, to preach on probation, preparatory to a settlement over the church and people here. April 9, 1838, he received a call to become the co-laborer of Mr. Haven, and was ordained as already related.

The doctrines, maintained by the church at the present day, were adopted soon after the settlement of Mr. Haven. Every one, on connecting with the church, must assent to the following

Articles of Faith:

"1. You believe there is one living and true God, the Maker, Preserver and Governor of all things; and that there is but one Mediator between God and man,—the man Christ Jesus.

"2. You believe the Holy Scriptures to be the word of God, and that they contain a full revelation of his will and our duty.

"3. You believe the fall and apostacy of man, as held forth in the Holy Scriptures, and that it is only on account of Christ's obedience and sufferings that any can be received to the favor and image of God.

"4. You hope that you have been brought to a humble and pen-

itent sense of your sins, and to a willingness to accept of Christ in all his offices, as he is offered to us in the Gospel.

“5. You have been endeavoring, according to the apostle’s direction, to examine yourself as to your fitness to attend the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, and you hope it is from a sense of duty and a sincere desire to obey the commands of Christ that you now offer yourself to join in communion with this Church.

“6. You heartily resolve, by the help of divine grace, to walk in all this, agreeably to the rules of the Gospel.”

It will be perceived that the foregoing creed is so liberal and free from sectarianism that few evangelical Christians can dissent from its doctrines.

The church, at the settlement of Mr. Haven, consisted of 30 members; it now contains 114. Since its organization it has received 267 additions. Of these, 96 were males and 171 females. Twenty-six have been received by letter from other churches, and the remainder by profession of faith. The number dismissed by letter and otherwise, is 46. The church records contain a list of 429 baptisms. Of these, 102 were baptized *fidem parentis*; and 327 were baptized *per fidem ejus*. (*E.*)

CALVINIST BAPTISTS.

Among the first settlers of Croydon were some Calvinist Baptists. They occasionally enjoyed the instructions of travelling preachers of that order; and, uniting together, formed a branch of the Calvinist Baptist church at Newport. At the present time, about twenty individuals, living in the southern part of the town, belong to that church.

FREE-WILL BAPTISTS.

In 1810, about thirty individuals, some of the fruits of the extensive revival already mentioned, united and formed what was usually called “The Western Branch of the Free-Will Baptist Church of Springfield and Croydon.” Of this church, Eli Davis, of Springfield, and David Putnam, of this town, were appointed deacons. It continued to flourish for some years, under the pastoral charge of Elder Elijah Watson, and numbers, from time to time, were added to it. But owing to the death of some, the removal of others, and the return of more to the beggarly elements of the world, it has now

become extinct. Deacon Putnam, tottering under the weight of four score and ten years, still survives, to tell the sad tale of human depravity, and mourn over the desolations of Zion.

METHODISTS.

Itinerant preachers of the Methodist connection have frequently lectured in different parts of the town, and formed classes. Although a few professing Christians of that denomination may, at the present day, be found scattered over the town, yet, from some cause or other, Wesleyan Methodism has never been able to gain a permanent footing in this place.

UNIVERSALISTS.

Croydon, from its earliest settlement, contained believers in the universal salvation of mankind. Ministers of that order preached occasionally in town, but it is believed that in early times no church or society was organized. In 1832 a society was formed, consisting of about fifty members. Their usual place of assembling for public worship is the town-house. They have no minister settled, but preachers from some of the adjoining towns have, for a few years past, labored with them one fourth of the time.

NIHILISTS.

This community contains a numerous class of persons who pay no regard to the subject of religion. Having no fixed religious principles, they appear, like Gallio, to "care for none of these things." Some of them, if drawn into an argument and closely pressed by the force of truth, will endeavor to shelter themselves behind the ramparts of infidelity. But, to the honor of the town, it can be stated that it contains but few professed infidels.

MORALS.

In a moral point of view it is probable that Croydon would not suffer by a comparison with most other agricultural towns. Within a few years the cause of temperance has wrought wonders. Here, as elsewhere, dram-drinking was pursued to a fearful extent, until the commencement of the temperance reform. At the raising of the frame for the Meeting-House, erected in 1794, spirituous liquors to the value of \$26.25, were provided for the spectators, at the expense of the town; and one of the deacons in the Congregational Church

was appointed to distribute them. And it is probable that, down as late as 1830, the venders of ardent spirits levied a heavier tax upon the inhabitants than was paid by the latter for the maintenance of government, the education of youth, and the support of the gospel. The holydays of a large portion of the people were days of drunkenness; and professors of religion even, rarely met for the transaction of business without concluding the interview with a social glass. In the year last named, the town contained four stores and one tavern, all of which sold ardent spirits. But a change has taken place in the habits of the people, highly conducive to their welfare. Public opinion is against the use of strong drink; and, by hundreds of individuals, it has been abandoned. In 1838, one of the first acts of a volunteer company of militia, after its organization, was the passage of a *nem. con.* vote to dispense with the use of intoxicating drinks. From these facts the inference may be drawn, that, with respect to the use of ardent spirits, this community has become thoroughly regenerated. This, however, is not the fact. One grog shop still continues to deal out its liquid poison to a band of veterans,* who contracted a love for strong drink when tippling was not so disreputable as it is at the present day.

In the morals of the people in other respects, the Christian can see much to remind him of the wide departure of a large portion of the present generation from the simplicity and purity of the Pilgrim Fathers. (F.)

NOTES.

(A.)

The following is a list of Town Clerks from 1768 down to 1840, inclusive.

When elected.	Names.	When elected.	Names.
1768,	Moses Whipple.	1773,	John Cooper.
1769,	"	1774,	"
1770,	"	1775,	Moses Whipple.
1771,	"	1776,	"
1772,	John Cooper.	1777,	"

* This has since been discontinued, and at the present time, (1847) there is no place in the town where ardent spirits are sold, and no town can boast of a more temperate population.

1778,	Moses Whipple.	1809,	Jacob Haven.
1779,	"	1810,	"
1780,	"	1811,	"
1781,	"	1812,	"
1782,	} <i>A vacuum in the</i>	1813,	"
1783,		1814,	"
1784,	Stephen Powers.	1815,	Stephen Eastman.
1785,	"	1816,	Jacob Haven.
1786,	"	1817,	"
1787,	"	1818,	"
1788,	"	1819,	"
1789,	Jesse Green.	1820,	"
1790,	"	1821,	"
1791,	"	1822,	"
1792,	"	1823,	"
1793,	"	1824,	"
1794,	"	1825,	"
1795,	Jacob Haven.	1826,	"
1796,	"	1827,	"
1797,	"	1828,	"
1798,	Reuben Carroll.	1829,	"
1799,	"	1830,	"
1800,	"	1831,	"
1801,	"	1832,	"
1802,	"	1833,	"
1803,	"	1834,	"
1804,	"	1835,	"
1805,	Benjamin Barton.	1836,	"
1806,	Reuben Carroll.	1837,	Benjamin Skinner.
1807,	Jacob Haven.	1838,	"
1808,	"	1839,	"
		1840,	"

Remarks. The Town Records generally exhibit a degree of neatness and order highly creditable to those who have had the charge of them. The Rev. Jacob Haven held the office of town-clerk thirty-two years. As a recording officer, he was so distinguished for legibleness of penmanship, faithfulness in copying, and correctness in framing the records, that he publicly received a high encomium from a gentleman who may be considered as standing at the head of the Sullivan bar. In 1837, the infirmities of age rendering the duties of the office onerous, he declined being considered a candidate for reëlection.

(B.)

The following is a list of the Representatives of Croydon, from 1800 to 1840, inclusive.

When chosen.	Names.	When chosen.	Names.
1800,	Benjamin Barton.	1820,	Abijah Powers.
1801,	Samuel Powers.	1821,	"
1802,	"	1822,	Obed Metcalf.
1803,	Benjamin Barton.	1823,	Abijah Powers.
1804,	Samuel Powers.	1824,	Amasa Hall.
1805,	"	1825,	"
1806,	"	1826,	Carlton Barton.
1807,	"	1827,	Briant Brown.
1808,	"	1828,	"
1809,	Peter Stow.	1829,	Zina Goldthwait.
1810,	James Breck.	1830,	Carlton Barton.
1811,	"	1831,	Paul Jacobs.
1812,	Samuel Goldthwait.	1832,	Hiram Smart.
1813,	James Breck.	1833,	Zina Goldthwait.
1814,	"	1834,	Samuel Morse.
1815,	Obed Metcalf.	1835,	Paul Jacobs.
1816,	Nathaniel Wheeler, Jr.	1836,	Alexander Barton.
1817,	Stephen Eastman.	1837,	"
1818,	"	1838,	Joseph Eastman.
1819,	"	1839,	"
		1840,	John Putnam.

Remarks. Down to the year 1800 Croydon was classed, part of the time with Newport and Wendell, and part of the time with Wendell alone, for the purpose of choosing a representative. The town records prior to 1800 do not contain a regular list of those who were called to represent this town in the Provincial and State Legislatures. Oct. 20, 1775, this town, in conjunction with Newport and Wendell, chose Esq. Giles, as already related. The only other instances on record, prior to 1800, of choosing representatives to the legislature of New-Hampshire occurred in 1795, when Benjamin Barton was chosen, and again in 1797, when Edward Hall, Jr., was elected. On both occasions the choice was effected by the assistance of Wendell.

(C.)

The following are concise notices of two of the first settlers of Croydon:

Moses Whipple, a native of Worcester County, Ms., was born in 1733. As already stated, he came to this town in 1766; and, while he remained here, he was considered a father of the town. His door was ever open to receive the needy emigrant, and he parted with a large estate in acts of disinterested kindness and generosity to those around him. Having the complete mastery of his passions, and being alike distinguished for energy and decision, he was eminently fitted for the circumstances in which he was placed. He was elected to

more offices of trust and profit than any other man who ever belonged to Croydon. In 1779 he was chosen a Justice of the Peace by his fellow-townsmen. Before the Revolution he was appointed Captain over the militia of this town ; which office he retained till after the peace of 1783. During the war he was Chairman of the Committee of Safety, besides filling almost every other office of trust within the gift of the town. Through the Revolutionary struggle, it has been said by his contemporaries he acted the part of a *Washington* in the sphere in which he moved.

But, more than all the rest, he was a consistent Christian. He was a member of the Congregational Church in Croydon, from its organization until his death ; and, for more than thirty years, a deacon of the same. While here he contributed in no small degree, both by his influence and example, to sustain the institutions of the Gospel. In 1809 he removed to Charlestown, N. H., to spend the remnant of his days with his eldest son ; and in 1814 he died, at the age of 83 years.

Ezekiel Powers, a native of Grafton, Ms., was born March 27, 1745, and came to this town in 1767. He was remarkable for great physical strength, and for a hardiness of constitution which made him easily endure the extremities of heat and cold. During the Revolutionary war he held a Lieutenant's commission in the militia, and was present at the surrender of Burgoyne. But he was conspicuous, principally, as being a practical and substantial farmer ; and his memory will long be cherished by the agriculturists in this vicinity, on account of his first introducing the practice of *ridging* greensward for the purpose of raising Indian corn, and also on account of his invention of "looped sleds." He died in 1808, aged 63 years.

(D.)

The following are the natives who have received a collegiate education.

Urias Powers, son of the late Urias Powers, was born May 12, 1791 ; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1818 ; pursued a theological course of instruction at Andover, Ms. ; ordained as an evangelist, at Weathersfield, Vt., in 1823 ; and is now the stated supply of a Presbyterian church in Salem, Va.

Baron Stow, son of Peter Stow, Esq., late of Croydon, was born June 16, 1801 ; pursued his collegiate course of studies at Columbian

College, in the District of Columbia, and there received his first degree in the Arts, Dec. 21, 1825. The second degree was conferred by Waterville College. For a year and a half subsequent to concluding his collegiate studies, he was editor of a religious paper in the City of Washington, called the "Columbian Star." He was ordained as pastor of the Middle-Street Baptist Church in Portsmouth, N. H., Oct. 24, 1827. He was dismissed from that connection, Oct. 24, 1832, and installed Pastor of the Baptist Church in Baldwin Place, Boston, Nov. 15, 1832.

Jonas Cutting, Jr., son of Jonas Cutting, late of this town, was born Nov. 3, 1800. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1823, and received the Master's Degree in 1826. He was admitted to practise law Dec., 1826, in Kennebec County, Me., and commenced practice at Orono, Penobscot County, and State aforesaid, in Dec. 1826; where he remained until Nov. 1831; when he removed to Bangor, the shire town in said County, where he now resides in the practice of law.

Dennis Powers, son of the late David Powers, graduated at Amherst College, Ms., in 1835, and at the Theological Seminary at Andover, Ms., in 1838. He was ordained as pastor over the Congregational Church and people of East Randolph, Ms., Dec. 5, 1838. He is now a settled minister in Abington.

Concise notices of other literary, professional, and distinguished sons of Croydon.

Gersham Powers, son of the late John Powers, was born June 11, 1789. His father emigrating to Rochester, Vt., (then a wilderness) when he was a child, he never attended a common school more than six months;—four months of which the school was taught by his own sister. An elder brother having learned him to read, he pursued his studies with an assiduity truly astonishing. His parents being too poor to furnish candles, he was accustomed, during the long winter evenings, to spread his book upon the hearth before the fire, and read by the light which came from beneath the forestick. As soon as he was seven or eight years of age, he was kept as steadily at work as a day laborer.

At the age of seventeen, having obtained the reluctant consent of his parents, and received their parting blessing, together with many admonitions and exhortations to remember his Creator in the days of his youth, he went to Cayuga County, N. Y. Here, during sev-

eral summer seasons, he labored for an elder brother, and taught school in winters. But a lameness in the elbow-joint of his right arm induced him to turn his attention to one of the learned professions. In 1810 he commenced the study of law at Semphronius, and completed it at Skaneateles. He opened a law office in Auburn, and was a popular and successful practitioner, till he was appointed one of the Assistant Justices of the Cayuga County Court. After serving as Assistant Justice for two or three years, he was appointed first Judge of Cayuga—a post of great responsibility, the Court having jurisdiction in all cases except the trial for crimes punishable with death.

He was appointed Agent and Keeper of the Prison at Auburn, Jan. 30, 1826, and resigned the office Nov. 14, 1829, having been chosen Representative to Congress. Before he was appointed Agent, he had, for several years, been an Inspector of the Prison. Under his auspices as Inspector, and under his system of discipline and management as Agent and Keeper, the "Auburn System of Prison Discipline" became famous throughout the United States, and many of the Governments of Europe, as *second to none on the globe*.

At the Congregational election in 1829 he was chosen Representative. His health, which was very feeble during his second term at Washington, continuing to decline, he would not suffer himself to be considered a candidate for reëlection. After a gradual decline of about one year, he died, June 25, 1831. His disease was generally called dyspepsia, or a liver complaint.

His character is thus drawn by a friend: "His general character was that of an honest, upright, and honorable man. He never performed a mean act, nor did his conduct ever tend to wound the feelings of a friend. He was a filial and dutiful son; an affectionate brother, husband, father, and friend. His hand was ever open to assist his indigent connections. He was a man generally without enemies, except political ones; he was universally beloved by all his acquaintances, which were many; and, at his death, it was truly said that a great man had fallen in Cayuga. He died, as he had lived, a firm and experimental believer in the Christian faith and love of God."

William Powers, an elder brother of the preceding, was born in 1786. His means of education were similar to those of his brother.

All the library to which either had access in early youth, consisted of the following books only: viz. a Bible, Watts' Psalms and Hymns, a volume of Watts' Sermons, and an old Dictionary. William spent the prime of life in struggling, with the assistance of his brothers, to support his parents, who, unhappily, were in such a situation as to require the united energies of the children to support them in a comfortable manner. After the death of his father, he took up his residence at Auburn, N. Y., and was appointed Deputy Keeper of the Prison there. Having drawn a superior plan of a prison, he was employed by the Government of Upper Canada to superintend the erection of a penitentiary at Kingston, U. C., and when it was ready for the reception of convicts he was appointed, in May, 1835, to the responsible office of Deputy Warden of said Prison; which office he holds to the present day.

Cyrus Barton, son of the late Benjamin Barton, Esq., was born Dec. 25, 1795. He commenced the "Claremont Spectator," as editor and proprietor, Aug. 29, 1823, which was continued one year. Commenced the "New-Hampshire Spectator," at Newport, Jan. 12, 1825, and remained connected with it until June, 1829;—became joint proprietor with Horatio Hill of the "New-Hampshire Patriot," and editor of the same, July, 1829;—purchased Mr. Hill's interest in the establishment, and became sole proprietor of the Patriot, Oct. 1, 1834.

He was appointed Register of Deeds for the County of Sullivan, by the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, at the organization of the County, in 1827. Was a candidate for that office and defeated, March, 1828;—elected Register of Deeds by the people, March, 1829; resigned the office, July, 1829, and removed to Concord.

He was appointed aid-de-camp to Governor Pierce, June, 1829.

He was chosen Secretary to the College of Electors of President and Vice-President, November, 1832, and again in 1836, and 1840.

He was elected Senator in the State Legislature, from the 4th Senatorial District, March, 1833, and reëlected to the same office in March, 1834. Elected Councillor for Rockingham District in 1843, and appointed by President Polk, U. S. Marshal for the District of New-Hampshire, in 1845.

Josiah W. Powers, son of the late Urias Powers, was born June 19, 1799. He entered Dartmouth College; but, owing to circum-

stances unnecessary to be detailed here, he relinquished the design of obtaining a collegiate education. He then entered the Theological Institution at Andover, Ms., and, in due time, was graduated at the same. After having been ordained, he preached for a season at Kingston, Ms., and Kennebunk, Me. In 1839 he accepted an Agency of the American Bible Society, and is now in the State of Ohio, his field of labor.

Austin Putnam, son of Samuel Putnam, late of this town, entered Dartmouth College in 1825, where he remained about two years. At the close of his second year he obtained leave of absence for one year, intending to return at the expiration of that time and complete his collegiate course. But delicate health and want of funds obliged him to relinquish his purpose of obtaining a liberal education.

In June, 1827, he commenced the study of law. He pursued his legal studies with the Hon. F. A. Talmadge, and Charles F. Guinn, Esq., of N. Y. City ;—with the Hon. John P. Cushman, and J. N. Cushman, Esq., of Troy, N. Y., and at the Law School in Litchfield, Ct. In July, 1831, he was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the State of New-York, the Court then sitting at Utica. Immediately after his admission to the bar, he opened a law office at Troy, N. Y., and continued in the practice of law about ten months, when a great change took place in his views and feelings upon the subject of religion, and he felt it to be his duty to abandon his profession and become a minister of the gospel.

He commenced studying for the ministry, under the instruction of the Rev. Nathan S. S. Beman, D. D., of Troy, and continued his theological studies until Feb., 1833, when he was licensed to preach by the Addison Association of the State of Vermont. In March, 1834, he was ordained as an Evangelist, by the Waterville Presbytery, at Lowville, N. Y., where he was preaching as a stated supply. In Oct., 1838, he was installed as Pastor of the East-Plains Congregational Church and Society, of Hamden, Ct., three miles from the city of New-Haven, where he is now laboring.

Josiah Ward, son of the late Josiah Ward, studied law, and is at present pursuing his professional calling at Franklinville, Cattaraugus County, N. Y. When he was admitted to the bar, does not appear.

William P. Gibson, son of William Gibson, late of this town,

practised physic for a number of years at Newport. In 1836 he abandoned his profession and commenced the study of theology. In the winter of 1838 he went to Burlington, Vt., and there received Priest's Orders at the hands of the Right Rev. John H. Hopkins,* D. D., Bishop of Vermont. But, being driven from his lodgings by fire, the night following his ordination, the sudden exposure threw him into an illness which terminated fatally in a few hours.

(E.)

TABLE,

Containing the names of those who have been appointed Deacons in the Congregational Church, with the time when they were chosen—when they died—when they removed from town—and the places to which they removed.

Names.	When Chosen.	Died.	Removed.	Where removed.
John Cooper,†	1783.	1805.		
Moses Whipple,	1783.	1814.	1809.	Charlestown, N. H.
Stephen Powers,	1783.	1813.		
Sherman Cooper,	1807.			
Ebenezer Hall,	1811.	Not known.	1819.	Boscawen, N. H.
Seth Littlefield,	1819.			
Caleb Smart,	1834.		1835.	Comstock, Mich.
Jonathan Powers.	1835.			

Remarks. John Cooper, Moses Whipple, and Stephen Powers were set apart to the work by the imposition of hands, agreeably to apostolic example; the others never were ordained.

Dea. Smart, since his emigration to the west, has been instrumental of gathering a church at Comstock, of which he has been appointed Deacon. He has also been elected to civil offices of trust and profit. In 1838 he was chosen Town Clerk, and reëlected to the same office in 1839. He has also been appointed a Justice of the Peace.

(F.)

TABLE, showing the annual number of births in Croydon, from 1790 to 1800, inclusive.

Years.	Males.	Fem.	Total.	Years.	Males.	Fem.	Total.
1790,	20	13	33	1796,	26	15	41
1791,	15	19	34	1797,	24	21	45
1792,	21	14	35	1798,	26	18	44
1793,	21	12	33	1799,	16	16	32
1794,	17	17	34	1800,	18	16	34
1795,	21	25	46	Total,	225	186	411

* Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

† Grandfather of the writer.

Remarks. The first birth in Croydon occurred May 13, 1767. It was of Katharine, daughter of Moses Whipple, Esq. The second was Joshua, son of Seth Chase, born Oct. 29, 1767. The probable number of births, from 1790 to 1800 inclusive, is 2267; of which 1241 were males, and 1026 females. The annual average number is probably about 37,36.

BILL OF MORTALITY FOR CROYDON.

The following TABLE exhibits the annual number of deaths for fifty years, commencing with Jan. 1, 1790, and ending with Jan. 1, 1840.

Years.	Children.	Adults.	Total.	Years.	Children.	Adults.	Total.	Years.	Children.	Adults.	Total.
1790	7	1	8	1807	11	6	17	1824	2	8	10
1791	4	2	6	1808	12	5	17	1825	7	9	16
1792	4	2	6	1809	4	5	9	1826	8	8	16
1793	3	6	9	1810	7	3	10	1827	17	4	21
1794	10	1	11	1811	5	5	10	1828	2	7	9
1795	23	1	24	1812	6	4	10	1829	4	7	11
1796	11	3	14	1813	12	18	30	1830	5	2	7
1797	4	4	8	1814	3	2	5	1831	4	15	19
1798	8	1	9	1815	5	6	11	1832	19	9	28
1799	2	6	8	1816	9	3	12	1833	2	10	12
1800	6	1	7	1817	4	4	8	1834	10	8	18
1801	4	3	7	1818	5	4	9	1835	4	9	13
1802	5	5	10	1819	13	6	19	1836	4	5	9
1803	14	5	19	1820	10	6	16	1837	3	7	10
1804	10	4	14	1821	6	4	10	1838	8	7	15
1805	6	5	11	1822	10	12	22	1839	5	10	15
1806	14	6	20	1823	4	3	7				
Total, 365 277 642											

Remarks. In the foregoing table, those who were under fourteen years of age are called children, while those who were fourteen or upwards are considered adults. By the table it appears that the annual average number of deaths which have occurred in Croydon during the last fifty years, is about 13, or one of every seventy-one of the inhabitants.

Of twenty-four that died in 1795, twenty-three were under fourteen years. This uncommon mortality amongst children was occasioned by the ravages of the "Canker Rash." This disorder, which

at that time was very mortal, was regarded with as much dread as the Small Pox, and considered as contagious.

Near the commencement of 1813, an epidemic of the most malignant type, called the "Spotted Fever," made its appearance. At first, its ravages were marked with fearful mortality. Robust men who, one day, were in the enjoyment of perfect health, were, the next day, stretched upon their dying beds, and, on the third, carried to the house appointed for all the living. For a time the healing art was of no avail; for those who obtained medical attendance and those who did not, were alike hurried to the grave. At length, the disease assumed a milder aspect, and appeared to yield to medical treatment; so that those who were attacked during the latter part of winter generally recovered. Of the thirty deaths that occurred that year, eighteen were occasioned by that disorder.

Croydon has generally been considered a healthy town. The diseases most common here are fevers, (particularly the typhus fever,) dysentery and pulmonary consumption. A case of small pox has never occurred in town. CROYDON, March, 1840.

ORDER OF THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL RESPECTING THE CURRENCY IN NEW-HAMPSHIRE—1683.

New-Hampsh. in }
New-England. } By the Governor and Council :

WHEREAS there was an Act passed in this Province in January last, in hopes of bringing Plenty of Money into this Province, That Peeces of Eight Ryals of Spain, or Dollars of Sevil, Mexico, and Pillar, and all lesser Peeces, (provided they be good silver,) shall pass in payment at Six shillings eight pence by the ounce, Troy weight :—Which said Act, it is found by experience, doth not answer the ends it was intended for : It is, therefore, hereby Ordered, That the Peece of Eight Ryals of Spain, or Dollars of Sevil, Mexico, or Pillar, shall pass at Six shillings the Dollar ; at Three shillings the half Dollar ; At One shilling Six pence the Quarter Dollar ; At Nine pence the Ryal ; and all other Moneys or Bullion of the fineness of the Standard of England, at Seven shillings the Ounce, Troy weight ; And the Dollar of Peru at Five shillings ; and so proportionably for lesser Coins :—All which Moneys shal continue to pass currant within this s'd Province, till our Sovereign Lord the King, His heirs or Successors shall think fit to alter and change the same. Dated the Fourth of October, in the 35th Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord, Charles the 2d, King of England, &c., Aq. Dni, 1683.

Vera copia from ye Council Book : }
 Teste : R. Chamberlain, Cl. of Co'ncil. }

Table of Mortality in Concord,

From 1825 to 1849, inclusive; from records kept by Rev. N. Bouton.

Years.	Infants under 1 year.	Between 1 and 10.	Between 10 and 20.	Between 20 and 40.	Between 40 and 70.	Between 70 and 90.	Over 90.	Oldest in age.	Total number.	Estimated populat'n.	Av. to population.	Total ages.	Av. age for each year.
1825	15	38	6	19	12	6		90	96	3300	34.3	1977	20
1826	9	17	5	8	13	7	1	94	60	3400	56.4	1769	29
1827	4	7	1	12	7	6	1	93	38	3500	92	1381	36
1828	11	4	4	8	9	7		87	43	3550	82	1386	32
1829	9	12		11	9	9	3	96	53	3600	68	1754	33
1830	6	4	3	13	9	4		89	39	3702*	95	1279	32
1831	7	12	1	8	8	6		90	42	3800	90	1159	27
1832	3	16	3	13	4	8		90	47	3920	83	1365	29
1833	5	9	3	6	10	12		89	45	4050	90	1665	37
1834	20	7	5	13	16	10	3	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	71	4170	56	2130	30
1835	17	10	7	14	7	6		90	61	4300	71.5	1323	21
1836	11	13	5	18	16	13	2	96	76	4450	58.5	2432	32
1837	16	17	7	8	12	12	1	97	72	4570	63.4	1977	27
1838	12	17	8	18	16	9		90	80	4690	58.6	2196	27
1839	13	18	2	9	7	15	3	100	65	4800	72.8	1937	30
1840	11	11	3	16	19	13		87	73	4903*	67	2484	34
1841	12	18	3	13	14	12	1	98	72	5050	70	2160	30
1842	2	10	5	12	13	9		88	51	5200	101	1805	35
1843	15	22	6	13	21	13		89	90	5400	60	2403	27
1844	24	26	9	20	19	15	2	96	113	5700	50.5	2904	25
1845	20	15	3	29	15	14	2	94	98	6000	61	2940	30
1846	26	23	10	27	25	6	1	93	120	6300	52.5	2820	23
1847	20	22	10	20	30	6	3	100 $\frac{1}{4}$	123	7000	57	4268	34
1848	27	19	11	24	17	14	1	100	113	7500	66.3	2938	26
1849	28	28	16	41	22	23		88	158	8700	55	4424	28
25	343	395	136	393	350	257	24		1899	Average, 70.4	Av., 29		

* U. S. Census.

STAGES ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO.

In the year 1672, when throughout Great Britain only six stage coaches were constantly going, a pamphlet was written by one John Cresset, of the Charter House, for their suppression; and among the many grave reasons given against their continuance, is the following: "These stage coaches make gentlemen come to London upon every small occasion, which otherwise they would not do, but upon urgent necessity; nay, the convenience of the passage makes their wives often come up, who, rather than come such long journeys on horseback, would stay at home. Here, when they have come to town, they must presently be in the mode, get fine clothes, go to plays and treats, and by these means get such a habit of idleness and love of pleasure, that they are uneasy ever after."

Schedule of the Bills of Mortality

In the town of Gilmanton, as kept by Rev. Daniel Lancaster, from 1825, the first year of his settlement there, to the present time, 1850,—a period of twenty-five years.

Years.	Total.	Males.	Females.	MONTHS OF THE YEAR.												AGES OF THE PERSONS.										
				January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	Septem'r.	October.	Novem'r.	Decem'r.	Under 5.	5 to 10.	10 to 20.	20 to 30.	30 to 40.	40 to 50.	50 to 60.	60 to 70.	70 to 80.	80 to 90.	90 to 100.
1825	62	29	33	5	4	3	6	2	1	2	8	7	9	8	7	7	8	6	4	3	2	4	9	8	6	3
1826	71	36	35	7	5	4	6	3	2	4	15	12	5	5	3	13	9	8	6	5	3	7	12	6	3	2
1827	50	23	27	3	2	1	3	1	2	5	7	6	8	7	5	6	4	5	3	2	1	5	6	8	5	2
1828	35	18	17	2	3	4	1	5		3	7	6	2	1	3	7	2	5	2	6	3		6	3	1	
1829	29	12	17	6	2	3	8	2			1	3	1	2	1	10	1	1	4		3	1	1	3	3	2
1830	43	22	21	6	9	5	8	2	3	2	2	3	1	2	1	10	1	1	4		3	1	1	3	3	2
1831	54	25	29	4	8	6	9	3	2	5	8	2	5	1	1	9	3	4	8	3	2	4	9	8	6	3
1832	26	14	12	3	2	2	1		1		5	5				1	4	3	6		3	1		7	6	
1833	38	17	21	6	3	4	4	4	1	4	5	1	3	3	2	5	9	1	3	1	5	2	5	1	2	4
1834	39	18	21	2	5	3	2	1	1	2	3	5	1	2	4	7	5	3	3	6	2	3	1	5	2	
1835	40	16	24	4	3	2	2	1	2	4	6	3	2	5	6	6	4	3	2	2	3	4	6	5	2	1
1836	35	19	16	3	4	1	2	3	3	7	6	2	1	3	3	7	6	3	2	2	3	2	4	4	2	2
1837	39	12	27	5	3	2	7	2	1	4	8	3	1	1	2	8	1	3	3		4	1	4	4	5	3
1838	36	15	21	6	1	1	3	3		3	6	1	4	4	4	9	3	6	5	3		4	3	2		1
1839	49	26	23	2	4	7	6	5	3	4	3	3	3	4	5	11	3	6	5	2	3	1	4	6	8	
1840	44	23	21	6	1	7	1	1	2	3	4	4	5	3	7	7	2	4	7	3	1	4	3	6	6	1
1841	49	23	26	6	5	5	3	4	1		7	6	3	3	6	8	1		4	6	2	7	1	5	3	1
1842	51	20	31	4	3	3	8	11	3		2	2	3	3	9	6	9	3	6	3		3	7	9	4	
1843	34	14	20	3	2	3	2	1	1	2	3	3	6	4	4	5	1	4	2	3	3	4	4	4	2	
1844	24	11	13	1	2	4	2	1		3	3	1				4	5	4		1	2	1	4	4	2	3
1845	32	19	13	1	5	6	2	2		2	3	5	2	2	2	2		7	1	3	2	4	3	4	3	3
1846	60	28	32	6	4	3	3	5	2	4	3	7	4	3	7	5	5	4	7	7	5	5	8	2	5	3
1847	45	21	24	1	4	7	5	2	6	2	3	2	3	5	2	9	5	5	5		4	2	4	3	4	1
1848	76	34	42	4	1	3	9	5	4	2	17	15	7	5	4	15	9	5	7	7	3	5	11	6	6	2
1849	53	25	28	3	2	12	5	2	4	4	3	5	5	5	3	6	2	4	3	4	5	3	7	6	7	4

Of the persons included in this Schedule, 200 died of Consumption, or an average of 8 annually; 120 of Dysentery; 99 of Typhoid fever; 92 of old age; 82 of Lung fever; 76 of Scarlet fever; 46 of Disease of the Heart; 42 of Palsy; 33 of Apoplexy; 52, sudden and accidental; 39 of Dropsy; 15 of Erysipelas; 12 of Scrofula; 16 of Intemperance; 16 of Influenza; 11 of Cancer; 12 of Suicide, and the remainder of various other diseases.

OLD TIMES.

“The first notice of London as a place of commercial importance, occurs in the Annals of Tacitus, who speaks of it as the *nobile emporium* of his time; the great resort of merchants, and famous for its trade and intercourse, though not a colony.”

TWO HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

[From the Records kept by ALEXANDER LADD, Esq., Secretary of the Com. of Arrangements.]

Portsmouth, N. H., March 3d, 1823.

On the evening of the 28th of February, at a meeting of a Literary Society in this town, at which a number of gentlemen from other towns were present, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That a commemoration of the First Settlement of our Country is a duty which we owe to the memory of our Ancestors.

Resolved, That the Anniversary which completes two hundred years from the first settlement of New-Hampshire, will be a period too remarkable to be passed without some public celebration.

Resolved, That a committee of eighteen persons, from Portsmouth and other towns in the State, be appointed to take such measures as may be necessary in order that a Public Celebration be made of the Two-Hundredth Anniversary of the Settlement of New-Hampshire, and that the committee appoint such time and place, and manner of making the Celebration, as they may think best adapted to promote its object.

Resolved, That the following gentlemen constitute the Committee :

Ichabod Bartlett, Alexander Ladd, Timothy Upham, Nath'l A. Haven, Jr.	}	of Portsmouth ;
Charles Cushing, of Little Harbor ;		

Andrew Peirce, James Bartlett, Charles W. Cutter,	}	of Dover ;

Stephen Mitchell, of Durham ;
David Barker, Jr., of Rochester ;
John Kelly, of Northwood ;

William Smith, Oliver W. B. Peabody, Peter Chadwick, Samuel D. Bell, of Chester ;	}	of Exeter ;

Jacob B. Moore,
John Farmer,
Richard Bartlett, } of Concord.

Resolved, That the committee have power to associate with themselves such persons in other parts of the State as they may think necessary or proper, for the purpose of giving full effect to the design of their appointment.

And afterwards, at a meeting of such members as could be assembled at Portsmouth, on the 3d of March, instant, it was

Voted, That a meeting of the committee be held at Emery's tavern, in Exeter, on Thursday, the 13th day of March inst., at 12 o'clock, at noon, and that every member of the committee be requested to attend.

In pursuance of the foregoing resolutions and vote, the committee assembled at Emery's tavern, in Exeter, on Thursday, the 13th day of March, 1823:

Present: Ichabod Bartlett, Alexander Ladd, Timothy Upham, Nathaniel A. Haven, Jr., Andrew Peirce, James Bartlett, Charles W. Cutter, Stephen Mitchell, David Barker, Jr., John Kelly, William Smith, Oliver W. B. Peabody, Peter Chadwick, Jacob B. Moore, Richard Bartlett.

Col. Ichabod Bartlett being requested to take the chair,

Voted, That the committee now proceed to consider the subject for which they are assembled.

Voted, That Alexander Ladd be secretary of this committee.

Voted, That Hosea Hildreth and John Rogers, of Exeter, be associated with this committee.

Voted, That Wednesday, the 28th day of May, 1823, be celebrated as the day which completes two hundred years from the landing of the first settlers of New-Hampshire.

Voted, That Portsmouth be selected as the place where this event shall be celebrated.

Voted, That two persons be now appointed to deliver an address and poem on the day of the Celebration.

Voted, That General Upham, Mr. Smith and Mr. Kelly be a committee to nominate suitable persons to deliver said address and poem.

The committee having reported the names of NATHANIEL A. HAVEN, Jr., to deliver the Address, and OLIVER W. B. PEABODY to deliver the Poem:

Voted, unanimously, That the above named gentlemen be requested to deliver the Address and Poem, conformably to the before mentioned vote.

Voted, That Thomas C. Upham, of Rochester, be requested to prepare a number of appropriate odes, to be sung at the religious exercises on the day of the contemplated Celebration.

Voted, That Ichabod Bartlett, Timothy Upham, Nathaniel A. Haven, Jr., Charles Cushing, and Alexander Ladd, be a sub-committee, for the purpose of carrying the resolutions and votes of this committee into effect.

Voted, That the sub-committee before named be empowered to adopt any other measures which they may think necessary, for the purpose of duly celebrating the period which completes two hundred years from the landing of the first settlers of New-Hampshire at Little Harbor.

Voted, That this committee do now adjourn, to meet at Wild's hotel, in Portsmouth, on Tuesday preceding the last Wednesday in May, 1823, at 3 o'clock, P. M.

Attest: ALEXANDER LADD, Secretary.

At the meeting of the committee in Exeter, a letter from James Savage, Esq., of Boston, (who had been for some time engaged in collecting for the Historical Society of Massachusetts such facts relative to the early settlement of New-England, not contained in general history, as can now be redeemed from oblivion,) to Mr. Nath'l A. Haven, Jr., a member of the committee and editor of the "Portsmouth Journal of Literature and Politics," was read by the chairman of the committee, and the following extract from the letter and remarks of the editor appeared in the Journal published on the 15th of March, 1823.

"We are indebted to a friend in Boston for the following remarks upon the date of the first landing at Little Harbor. They were contained in a private letter, not intended for publication; and we are sure will lose nothing of their interest from the ease and sprightliness of the style. Were we at liberty to give the writer's name, it would carry with it the stamp of authority in every thing connected with the early history of New-England."

"As to the date of the first landing at Little Harbor for permanent

settlement, an *approximation* to the truth is all that can be obtained now. No glories blaze around the bark of the earliest dwellers at 'Pascataquack.' The May-Flower is fragrant for Plymouth; the Arbella characterizes the chivalry of the Massachusetts; but the humble colony of Little Harbor came over in an unknown bottom, and their descendants must look to the *conduct*, and not the *carriage* of their fathers.

"The most laborious of all antiquaries in New-England, in 1736, could give no *precise* date, and no discovery of documents since has made definite the generality of 1 Prince Ann. 133, 134. You observe he quotes, &c., and you will find his authority in Hubbard, 105 and 214. Unhappily, our recent enquiries detract much from the weight of Hubbard, unless when he quotes Winthrop or Morton; and he is never to be received as *original* authority, except in the meagre and trifling occurrences related subsequent to 1649. You see in the first passage, (page 105) he says Tomson 'removed down into the Massachusetts Bay within a year after.' (1623.) Now his cotemporary, Gov. Bradford, (1 Prince 161) mentions his living at Piscataquack, 1626; and I *suppose* he came down and took that beautiful island in our harbor ever since called by his name. But another authority of Prince, *in loco*, is W. See Winslow, in 8th Hist. Coll. 276. Now Winslow is the very man who ought to tell us the place, hour, and ship to which, in which, and by which your planters came. Unfortunately he is not so particular as he commonly is about Plymouth, and we must resort to conjecture. He says, 'that spring began a plantation twenty-five leagues N. E. from us, at Pascataquack.' Now I believe '*Spring*' must have a liberal construction.

"No English vessel is mentioned as coming upon our coast, (fishing vessels always out of the question,) before that remarkable case in 1 Prince 137, from Gov. Bradford. The *Admiral* West (as he is called) arriving at Plymouth about the *end of June*, had probably landed your Tomson and the two Hiltons late in May, or early in June. In July, Standish came up from Piscataquack, whither he went to buy provisions (probably brought by the ship, whichever she was, that brought the *canabula* of Little Harbor) and Tomson came with him to Plymouth. You must work hard to get *near* the date, but in Prince it may be approached. So, in my judgment, you should look

to the *nameless* bark of West for your passage over the billows, and take the *pleasantest day in the year for your landing*."

(Copy.) Portsmouth, March 16, 1823.

Mr. THOMAS C. UPHAM, *Rochester*: Sir: I take the liberty to inform you that at a meeting of the committee appointed to make the necessary preparations for celebrating the 28th day of May next, as the completion of the period of two hundred years from the landing of the first settlers of New-Hampshire, you were appointed to prepare a number of appropriate Odes, to be sung at the religious exercises on that occasion.

The committee will be happy in your company, to join in the Celebration.

Per order: ALEXANDER LADD,
Secretary of the Committee.

At a meeting of a considerable number of the Committee of Celebration, from Portsmouth and the other towns, held by agreement at Col. Bartlett's office, in Portsmouth, on Thursday, the 8d day of April, 1823,

Voted, That in consideration of many circumstances, rendering it extremely inconvenient to hold the *Centennial Celebration* on the 28th day of May next, not known at the time when that day was selected, and most of the absent members having signified their assent thereto, that the time for holding said Celebration be now altered.

Voted, That the *twenty-first day of May, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three*, be fixed as the day on which the celebration be made, instead of the 28th of May, agreeably to the former vote.

Voted, That the time to which the Committee last adjourned be also altered to Tuesday preceding the 21st of May.

Voted, That the Secretary notify all the members of the Committee of this alteration, and that he likewise give public notice of the same, in the newspapers published in this State.

Attest: ALEXANDER LADD, Secretary.

Copy of a Circular Letter from the Secretary, to the members of the Committee resident in the several towns.

Portsmouth, April 4th, 1823.

Gentlemen: Circumstances having rendered it indispensably necessary that the "*Centennial Celebration*" should be fixed for the

twenty-first, instead of the twenty-eighth of May, (public notice of which will be given in the papers,) the adjourned meeting of the General Committee will consequently be held on *Tuesday preceding the 21st*.

It is desirable that a number of appropriate original songs, adapted to some of our favorite national airs, or other popular tunes, should be prepared to be sung at the Dinner. A goodly number of toasts will also be requisite on that occasion. The Committee for Portsmouth will be happy to receive from the Committees of the other towns such assistance as can be rendered in these particulars, and leaves to them the sources from whence the assistance may be drawn.

Respectfully yours, ALEXANDER LADD,
Secretary of the Committee.

Advertisement in the Portsmouth Journal.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

The celebration of the period which completes two hundred years from the landing of the first settlers of New-Hampshire, will take place at Portsmouth, on *Wednesday, the 21st of May next*; not on the 28th, as published in several papers.

Per order of the Committee,

ALEXANDER LADD, Secretary.

Portsmouth, April 5th, 1823.

N. B. Printers of the several newspapers in the State are requested to insert the above.

At a meeting of the Committee for Portsmouth, holden at Colonel Bartlett's office, on Wednesday, April 30, 1823,

Voted, That the Rev. Bennet Tyler, President of Dartmouth College, be invited to perform the religious exercises on the day of the Celebration.

Voted, That his Excellency the Governor, the ex-Governors, and the Justices of the Superior Court, be invited to join in the Procession and Celebration.

Voted, That the Chairman be requested to give the foregoing invitations in behalf of the Committee.

Voted, That the several Masonic Lodges of New-Hampshire be requested to join in the Procession and Celebration, and that Messrs.

Samuel Larkin, Samuel Cushman, James Ladd, Thomas S. Bowles, and Thomas Clapham, be a committee to make the necessary arrangements, and to request the attendance of such of their Fraternity as they may think proper.

Voted, That the "Associated Mechanic and Manufacturers' Society of New-Hampshire" be requested to join in the Procession and Celebration.

Voted, That the Secretary communicate the two preceding votes to the Committee from the Masonic Lodges, and to the President of the "Associated Mechanic and Manufacturers' Society."

Portsmouth, May 1st, 1823.

R. W. SAMUEL LARKIN, *Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of New-Hampshire.*

Sir: At a meeting of the Committee appointed to make arrangements for celebrating the period which completes two hundred years from the landing of the first settlers of New-Hampshire, (which celebration will take place on Wednesday, the 21st inst.,) it was voted, "that the several Masonic Lodges of New-Hampshire be requested to join in the Procession and Celebration, and that Messrs. Samuel Larkin, Samuel Cushman, James Ladd, Thomas S. Bowles, and Thomas Clapham be a committee to make the necessary arrangements, and to request the attendance of such of their Fraternity as they may think proper."

By order of the Committee,

ALEXANDER LADD, Sec'y.

Portsmouth, May 1st, 1823.

BENJAMIN CARTER, *Esq., President of the Associated Mechanic and Manufacturers' Society of New-Hampshire.*

Sir: At a meeting of the Committee appointed to make arrangements for celebrating the period which completes two hundred years from the landing of the first settlers of New-Hampshire, (which celebration will take place on Wednesday, the 21st inst.,) it was *voted*, "That the associated Mechanic and Manufacturers' Society of New-Hampshire be invited to join in the Procession and Celebration."

By order of the Committee,

ALEXANDER LADD, Sec'y.

Portsmouth, May 1, 1823.

Rev. BENNET TYLER: Sir: A number of citizens of New-Hampshire have made preparation to celebrate, at this place, on the 21st of May inst., the completion of two hundred years from the first settlement of the State. Public exercises will be performed at the meeting-house of Rev. Mr. Putnam; address by Mr. Haven; poem by Mr. Peabody.

The Committee of Arrangements request that you will do them the honor to be present, and to perform the appropriate religious services on the occasion. With sentiments of high respect,

I am, your ob't servant,

(Signed.) ICHABOD BARTLETT, for the Committee.

Portsmouth, May 1, 1823.

His Excellency SAMUEL BELL, Governor of New-Hampshire.

Sir: A number of citizens of New-Hampshire have made preparation to celebrate, at this place, on the 21st of May inst., the completion of two hundred years from the first settlement of the State over which you preside.

The Committee of Arrangements respectfully request that you will do them the honor to be present and to partake with them of a public dinner on the occasion. With high respect, I am

Your most ob't servant,

(Signed.) ICHABOD BARTLETT, for the Committee.

The Chairman of the Committee likewise forwarded invitations to the following named gentlemen, of which no copies have been received by the Secretary.

Hon. John Taylor Gilman,	} Who have at different
Hon. Jeremiah Smith,	
Hon. William Plumer,	
Hon. William M. Richardson,	} periods been Governors
Chief Justice of the Superior Court of New-Hampshire.	
Hon. Levi Woodbury,	} Associate Justices.
Hon. Samuel Green,	

Copy of President TYLER's answer.

Dartmouth College, May 8, 1823.

Dear Sir: Having been absent from College for several days past, I did not receive your favor of the 1st inst. in sufficient season

to return an answer by the last mail. My present purpose is, if no Providential hindrance should prevent, to be at Portsmouth on the 21st; and although it would have been gratifying to me if some other person, who has resided longer in the State, had been designated to perform the religious services of the day, yet I will not decline. Please, sir, to present my acknowledgements to the Committee for their polite invitation.

I am, dear sir, with sentiments of esteem,

Your most ob't servant,

Hon. I. BARTLETT, Portsmouth.

BENNET TYLER.

Copy of his Excellency GOV. BELL's answer.

Chester, May 10, 1823.

Dear Sir: I have received your polite invitation from the Committee of gentlemen associated to celebrate the close of the second century from the first settlement of New-Hampshire, to attend their meeting on the 21st instant.

Have the goodness to present to the gentlemen of the Committee my respectful acknowledgements, and inform them that I highly appreciate the patriotic and honorable feelings which have induced their association for this object, and that it would afford me the greatest pleasure to unite with them in this Celebration, but that previous engagements will put it out of my power.

With great esteem, your ob't servant,

Col. BARTLETT.

SAMUEL BELL.

Copy of the Hon. JOHN TAYLOR GILMAN's answer.

Exeter, May 12, 1823.

Sir: Your favor of the 1st inst., in behalf of the Committee of Arrangements respecting the celebration of the completion of two hundred years from the first settlement of the State, was duly received.

When I first heard of the proposal, it met my approbation, and I determined to be present at the meeting, if not prevented by unforeseen circumstances.

The Committee of Arrangements will please to accept my respectful acknowledgements for their politeness on this occasion.

Hon. ICABOD BARTLETT.

J. T. GILMAN.

Copy of the Hon. JEREMIAH SMITH's answer.

Exeter, May 15, 1823.

Dear Sir: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st inst., covering an invitation to a public dinner, given by the citizens who propose to celebrate the completion of two centuries from the first settlement of the State. It would give me great pleasure to be a partaker in the feelings and joys the occasion is so well calculated to inspire. I am glad that a spirit of enquiry into our origin has been awakened, and assure you that nothing would afford me more pleasure than to have it in my power to contribute my mite to the good and pleasant work of collecting materials which may serve to illustrate our history and antiquities. If these are scanty, there is the more reason why we should endeavor to make the most of them.

Though not in my power to attend the Celebration, in heart I am with you.

Very respectfully, yours,

I. BARTLETT, Esq.

JEREMIAH SMITH.

Copy of the Hon. WILLIAM PLUMER's answer.

Epping, May 5, 1823.

Dear Sir: I received by the mail of to-day your letter of the 1st inst., politely inviting me, in behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, to partake of a public dinner at Portsmouth, on the 21st of the present month. You will please to make my respectful acknowledgements to the Committee for the honor of the invitation, and to assure them that it would have given me much pleasure to have accepted it, if I was not obliged on that day to attend two proprietary meetings for the settlement of a portion of the State yet unsettled.

I hope and trust you will at your intended meeting adopt the necessary measures to establish an Historical Society in New-Hampshire, and that at the approaching session of our Legislature you will prefer a memorial, requesting an act of incorporation. Such a society is much wanting in the State, to collect and preserve the materials for its history; and it appears to me the present time is favorable to its establishment. You and the gentlemen associated with you have my best wishes for success in such an undertaking.

I am, with respect and esteem, sir, your ob't,

Hon. I. BARTLETT.

WILLIAM PLUMER.

Portsmouth, May 20, 1823.

Agreeably to notice publicly given, the Committee met at Wild's hotel, in Portsmouth, on Tuesday, at 3 o'clock, P. M., this 20th day of May, 1823.

After calling the meeting to order, the chairman proceeded to read the letters received from the President of Dartmouth College, His Excellency Gov. Bell, and the past Governors of the State, and no business offering which required the attention of the Committee,

Voted, That the Committee do now adjourn to meet at this place on Thursday morning at 10 o'clock.

The following is a copy of the order of the day, published in the newspapers and circulated in handbills on the morning of the 21st.

FIRST SETTLEMENT OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

Portsmouth, May 21, 1823.

Order of the Day.

A procession will be formed at the south meeting-house, where citizens and strangers are requested to assemble at 10 o'clock, A. M. The procession will move thence precisely at half past ten, through Pleasant, Broad, Middle and Congress streets, (and, if pleasant weather, will be continued through Vaughan, Deer, Fore and Market streets,) to the north meeting-house, under the following escort:

Marshal.

Military Corps.

Masters of the several schools, with their scholars.

Marshal. Mechanic Association. Marshal.

Masonic Fraternity.

Marshal.

Committee of Arrangements.

Orator, officiating Clergyman, and Poet.

Clergy.

Marshal. { His Excellency the Governor } Marshal.
 { and past Governors of the State. }

Judges of the United States Courts, and of the Superior Court of this State.

Senators and past Senators of the United States.

Representatives and past Representatives of the United States.

Officers of the Army and Navy.
 Civil Officers of the State and of the United States.
 Foreign Consuls and Commercial Agents.
 Officers of the Militia in uniform.
 Marshal. Citizens. Marshal.
 Marshal.

The wall pews will be reserved for ladies, and no other persons will be admitted till after the procession, except by order of the committee of arrangements. The pit-pews on the south side of the broad aisle are appropriated for the procession. The lower south gallery will also be reserved for any part of the procession which may not be accommodated below. The pit-pews on the north side are appropriated for the Masonic Fraternity and Mechanic Association. The military corps will have seats in the aisle. The lower north gallery will also be reserved for any part of the escort or procession which may not be otherwise accommodated. The two upper galleries are appropriated for the masters with their scholars.

The services will be in the following order: music under the direction of the Handel Society.

Instrumental Music.

Prayer and reading of Scripture by Rev. President Tyler,
 of Dartmouth College.

Anthem.

Oration by Nathaniel A. Haven, Jr., Esq., of Portsmouth.
 Ode.

Poem by O. W. B. Peabody, Esq., of Exeter.
 Ode.

Benediction by Rev. Israel W. Putnam.

From the meeting-house the Masonic Fraternity will move in procession with the military escort to Masons' Hall.

Dinner will be provided at Jefferson Hall. Gentlemen who intend to partake will assemble at the Academy Hall, at 2 o'clock, where they will be introduced to the President and Vice-Presidents of the day, and where gentlemen from other towns, and all strangers who may not have had opportunity to procure tickets, will be provided with them. The company will move in order to Jefferson Hall precisely at half past 2 o'clock, at which time dinner will be upon the table.

There will be a ball in the evening at Franklin Hall. Strangers will be furnished with tickets on application to Samuel Larkin, Ebenezer Wentworth, Thomas Haven, or Joshua W. Pierce, managers. Dancing to commence at 8 o'clock.

By order of the committee,

ALEXANDER LADD, Sec'y.

Portsmouth, Thursday, May 22d, 1823, 10 o'clock, A. M.

The committee met at Wild's hotel, according to adjournment.

Voted, That the thanks of the committee be presented to Nathaniel A. Haven, Jr., for his Address, and that the President request, in behalf of the committee, a copy for publication.

Voted, That the thanks of the committee be presented to Oliver W. B. Peabody, for his Poem, and that the President also request, in behalf of the committee, a copy for publication.

After the warmest expressions, on the part of the committee, of their entire satisfaction with all the exercises, proceedings and ceremonies of the day and evening, and with the manner in which the views of the committee had been carried into effect, and their thanks to all those gentlemen who have rendered them assistance,

Voted, That the committee do now adjourn *sine die*.

Attest :

ALEXANDER LADD, Sec'y.

Copy of an Advertisement by the Secretary.

CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

The General Committee of Arrangements for the late Celebration met by adjournment at 10 o'clock on the morning of the 22d inst., and, after passing a vote of thanks to the orator and poet of the day, requested copies of the oration and poem for the press.

The members of the committee united in expressing their warmest acknowledgements to all those gentlemen who so cheerfully and generously assisted in carrying the designs of the committee into effect, and to whom are chiefly to be ascribed the order and regularity of the day, the festive enjoyments of the table, and the amusements of the evening. They then adjourned *sine die*.

ALEXANDER LADD, Sec'y of the Com.

Portsmouth, May 23, 1823.

Among the several accounts of the celebration which have been

published, the following, from the New-Hampshire Republican, printed at Dover, and edited by Charles W. Cutter, Esq., (an active and intelligent member of the committee, who doubtless prepared the article for publication,) is the most particular and the most correct which has appeared.

Centennial Celebration.

The first settlement of New-Hampshire was commemorated at Portsmouth on the 21st in a style which does credit to the public spirit of its citizens. Heaven seemed to smile propitiously on the occasion, for the weather was delightful, and a bright sun and a clear sky lent all their animation to the brilliant spectacle, and gave additional vivacity to a scene of unusual splendor and festivity.

At ten o'clock the citizens and strangers began to assemble at the south meeting-house, and at half past ten the procession, arranged by Gen. Upham, chief marshal of the day, moved in the order which has been published, toward the north meeting-house, wherein the exercises were performed.

The procession was escorted by two light infantry companies under command of Major Blunt, of the Gilman Blues, whose detachment deserved and received much commendation for its fine appearance and correct deportment. The procession was made up of the Mechanic Association, the Masonic Fraternity, clergymen, civil and military officers, (the latter in uniform,) masters of schools with their scholars, and citizens; and from its great extent, the richness and variety of the dresses and decorations, and the admirable order and regularity with which everything was conducted, it was one of the most remarkable ever witnessed in this State or any other. The north meeting-house is one of the largest in New-England. It contains about ninety pews on the lower floor, and has two rows of galleries. The building was filled throughout when the exercises commenced, and presented a brilliant and imposing spectacle. The wall-pews were crowded with beauty and fashion. The broad aisle was occupied by the military escort, the right centre being filled with strangers and citizens, and the left with different societies, with their various badges and decorations. The upper gallery was occupied exclusively by the boys, who made part of the procession.

After an appropriate prayer by President Tyler, an Oration was pronounced by Nathaniel A. Haven, Jr., Esq., of Portsmouth. Mr.

Haven gave a rapid but distinct sketch of the characters of our forefathers, and enumerated the circumstances wherein the "merchant-adventurers of Pascataqua" differed from the pilgrims of New-Plymouth. He portrayed the character of John Mason, the original proprietor of New-Hampshire, and rescued him from the obloquy with which the prejudice and injustice of his contemporaries had partially covered him; the puritan character of our ancestors was next adverted to, and their industry, sublime piety and stern integrity were eloquently delineated. The present character of the people of New-Hampshire, as it is formed by their occupations, climate and localities, and as it has been exhibited by her distinguished sons, in war, in science and literature, was next the fruitful topic of discussion; and the orator claimed and substantiated for his native State a place among the first for patriotism and intelligence; and, in proportion to its extent, for moral and physical energy.

The Poem, by Mr. Peabody, of Exeter, was a vigorous and spirited performance. That gentleman proved to the public, what his friends have long known, that he possesses fine talents. His poem was by turns playful, serious and impassioned; he occasionally sported among the flowers and scaled the steep of Parnassus. Of both these excellent performances we shall only say at present, that we join in the general wish that they may be given to the public.

Some appropriate odes, written for the occasion by the Rev. Thomas C. Upham, of Rochester, were sung in very fine style by the members of the Handel Society of Portsmouth. The exercises were about three hours long, yet probably no one perceived their length. Every one regretted their conclusion.

After the exercises were concluded, about two hundred gentlemen dined together in Jefferson Hall, which had been repaired and put in order by the town in honor of the occasion, and was tastefully decorated with flags and paintings.

Hon. John F. Parrott presided at the dinner, assisted by John Haven, Edward Cutts, Jr., Benjamin Penhallow, Enoch G. Parrott and Samuel Larkin, Esqs., of Portsmouth, Peter Chadwick, Esq., of Exeter, and Andrew Peirce, Esq., of Dover. Among the strangers present were Judge Story, of the Supreme Court U. S., Rev. Mr. Palfrey, Daniel Webster, George Blake and Nathan Hale, Esqs., of Boston, President Tyler and Professors Adams and Haddock, of

Dartmouth College, together with many of the reverend clergy and gentlemen from the adjacent towns.

The dinner was chiefly of fish of all known names, and cooked in all possible variety. After the cloth was removed the following toasts were drunk, and many fine songs finely sung; copies of which we hope to obtain soon.

Toasts.

1. The *planting* at "Pascataquack" in the spring of 1623, and the rich harvest it has yielded.
2. The goodly forests, fair vallies and chrystal hills of Laconia.
3. The heroes of Louisbourg; an earnest of New-Hampshire prowess.
4. Major Sullivan and Captain Langdon; our delegates to Congress in '75; who supplied Bunker Hill with powder from his majesty's fort at Pascataquack.
5. The New-Hampshire regiments in '77 and '78. Bennington, Stillwater and Sarotoga, Germantown and Monmouth.
6. Mesheck Weare; at once Speaker of the House, Chief Justice and first President of the State.
7. The fisheries; the first interests of the first settlers of New-Hampshire.
8. The absent sons of New-Hampshire, who have made her name abroad to be respected; let us at home with gratitude remember them.
9. Our literary and religious institutions; monuments erected to the memory of our ancestors, with their own hands.
10. The surviving patriots of the Revolution; a few bright stars yet adorn the horizon.
11. Our fathers two hundred years ago, and their descendants two hundred years hence; may there be no weak link in the great chain which connects them.
12. The *cause* of '76 all over the world; may the *spirit* of '76 maintain it.

Volunteers.

The Hon. Daniel Webster being called upon for a toast, remarked that though not *at home*, he hoped he should not be considered entirely a *stranger*. He reminded the company (of what none had forgotten) that he was a native of New-Hampshire. He briefly but

eloquently remarked that this was the land of his birth, of his education, and of his dearest associations ;—the pleasures of the day were not a little heightened by the consciousness that those were present who directed his studies in youth, and assisted him with their counsel in manhood. He said he could not better express his feelings than by the words of the poet :

New-Hampshire :

“ Where'er I roam, whatever realms I see,
My heart untravell'd fondly turns to thee.”

Hon. Judge Story remarked, that although not a native of this State, he was a citizen of New-England ; and he adverted to those circumstances which did excite and which ought to excite throughout New-England a similarity of feeling and sentiment, as they produced a unity of interest. He then called the attention of his auditors to that country from which New-England was settled, and gave—

England—the land of our forefathers and the land of their descendants ; may it ever enjoy with us a common learning, a common religion, and a common liberty.

By George Blake, Esq., of Boston :

This day a thousand years hence ; may it find our posterity as free, as prosperous and as happy as it has found us.

By the Rev. Mr. Palfrey, of Boston.

The two *May-Flowers*—the one which bore the pilgrims to New-England and the other the strawberry blossom, which met the first settlers of New-Hampshire on the banks of the “Pascataqua.”

By the Rev. Mr. Burroughs :

Doctor Belknap ; the Historian of New-Hampshire.

By the Hon. John F. Parrott, President of the Day :

The manners and principles of the first settlers of New-Hampshire ; bold in enterprise, persevering in action, intrepid in danger, patient in adversity ; may a double portion of their spirit rest on their descendants to the thousandth generation.

By Mr. Moore, of Concord :

The orator and poet of the day.

By Judge Hale, of Barrington :

The militia of New-Hampshire.

By Edward Cutts, Jr., Esq :

The fisheries, and John Quincy Adams, their modern defender.

By Alexander Ladd, Esq.:

The memory of captain John Mason, to whose enterprise and energy New-Hampshire is indebted for its first settlement.

In the evening a very superb ball was given at Franklin Hall, in which it is supposed there were present nearly four hundred ladies and gentlemen.

The walls were entirely covered with portraits of eminent persons who flourished in this State before the Revolution; viz: the Wentworths, Pepperrells, Jaffreys, Warners, Sparhawks, Moffatts and Atkinsons of old times. After spending the evening in innocent gaiety, the company separated at an early hour. Every one was pleased with the transactions of the day. The most perfect order and good conduct were manifest in every particular. There was no confusion and no disappointment. The sentiment was universal, *that every thing which could have been done, was done, and every thing that was done, was well done.*

The following Odes, written by the Rev. THOMAS C. UPHAM, of Rochester, were sung during the exercises in the meeting-house, by the members of the Handel Society:

SONG OF THE PILGRIMS.

Tune—RISE COLUMBIA.

The breeze has swelled the whitening sail,
The blue waves curl beneath the gale,
And, bounding with the wave and wind,
We leave old England's shores behind:
Leave behind our native shore,
Homes, and all we loved before.

The deep may dash, the winds may blow,
The storm spread out its wings of woe,
Till sailors' eyes can see a shroud
Hung in the folds of every cloud:
Still, as long as life shall last,
From that shore we'll speed as fast.

For we had rather never be,
Than dwell where mind cannot be free,
But bends beneath a despot's rod,
E'en where it seeks to worship God:
Blasts of heaven onward sweep!
Bear us o'er the troubled deep!

Oh, see what wonders meet our eyes !
Another land and other skies !
Columbian hills have met our view,
Adieu ! Old England's shores, adieu !
 Here at length our feet shall rest,
 Hearts be free and homes be blest.

As long as yonder firs shall spread
Their green arms o'er the mountain's head ;
As long as yonder cliffs shall stand,
Where join the ocean and the land,
 Shall those cliffs and mountains be
 Proud retreats for liberty.

Now to the King of kings we'll raise
The pæan loud of sacred praise,
More loud than sounds the swelling breeze,
More loud than speaks the rolling seas !
 Happier lands have met our view,
 England's shores ! adieu ! adieu !

THE PILGRIMS WERE OUR FATHERS.

Tune—YE MARINERS OF ENGLAND.

The Pilgrims were our fathers,
Though cold in earth they lie,
The story of their noble deeds
 Shall never, never die ;
As long as ocean girds the land,
The sufferings that they bore
 Ne'er shall part,
 From our heart,
But be repeated o'er ;
And their deeds of glory live
Till time shall be no more.

Loud heav'd the stormy ocean,
And dangerous was the deep,
The Pilgrims started on their way,
And along their way did sweep ;
No toils nor terrors kept them back,
They gave their feet no rest
 Till their eyes
 Saw the skies

That shine along the west—
Where the Pilgrims found a home,
No more to be oppress'd.

They trusted in Jehovah,
He proved a faithful friend,
He bade the sea to roll them on,
And the winds their aid to lend;
'Twas He that built the Western World,
And led them where it lies,
So the wave
Bore the brave
To nobler lands and skies,
And they kneeled with one accord
To God, the great and wise.

Now sing unto the Pilgrims,
Now make a noble strain,
Recall their toils, recall their deeds,
Let the song be heard again,
While sings the raven o'er their grave
Or flowers are blooming there;
Oh! the song
We'll prolong,
And that shall be our care,
Till far through all the land
Their glory it shall bear.

It was the intention of the Committee to preserve and record the names of all the company who dined at Jefferson Hall on this occasion; and for this purpose each one who partook of the festivities of the table was requested by the President of the Day to write his name on the back of his ticket of admission, before delivering the same to the head waiter, who was directed to collect the tickets on the removal of the cloth; but amid the joy and hilarity which prevailed, few attended to the request, and consequently such names only can now be given as can be done from recollection, and many will doubtless be omitted.

The whole number who sat down at the table was about two hundred, viz:

From the State of Massachusetts:

Boston—Hon. Daniel Webster, Hon. George Blake, Rev. John

G. Palfrey, Nathan Hale, Esq., Joseph Joy, Esq., George Ticknor Esq.

Salem—Hon. Joseph Story.

Of the State of New-Hampshire.

Exeter—Ex. Governor John Taylor Gilman, Dr. Benjamin Abbot, LL. D., Rev. William F. Rowland, Rev. Hosea Hildreth, Hon. Nathaniel Gilman, Col. Peter Chadwick, Joseph Tilton, Esq., Oliver W. B. Peabody, William Smith, and John Rogers, Esqs.

Concord—Hon. Samuel Green, Jacob B. Moore, John Farmer, and Richard Bartlett, Esqs.

Of Dartmouth College, Hanover—President Bennet Tyler, D. D., Professor Ebenezer Adams, Professor Charles B. Haddock.

Dover—Hon. William Hale, Hon. Andrew Peirce, James Bartlett, Charles W. Cutter, Daniel M. Christie, and Joseph Smith, Esqs.

Barrington—Hon. Samuel Hale.

Epping—Hon. William Plumer, Jr.

Rochester—Rev. Thomas C. Upham, Hon. David Barker, Jr.

Northwood—Hon. John Harvey, John Kelly, Esq.

Durham—Stephen Mitchell, Esq.

Chester—Samuel D. Bell, Esq.

Rye—Rev. Huntington Porter, Dr. John W. Parsons.

North-Hampton—Rev. Jonathan French.

Little Harbor—Charles Cushing, Esq.

Donald Mackintosh, Esq., *his Britannic Majesty's Consul for Maine and New-Hampshire, residing at Portsmouth.*

Portsmouth—Ichabod Bartlett, Alexander Ladd, Nathaniel A. Haven, Jr., Col. Timothy Upham, Samuel Cushman, James Ladd, Col. Joshua W. Pierce, Enoch G. Parrott, Andrew W. Bell, Samuel Sheafe, John Hale Sheafe, Jacob Sheafe, Jr., Edmund Roberts, John L. Thompson, Stephen Pearse, William Rice, Robert Rice, John Rice, Thomas W. Penhallow, Wm. Jones, Jr., Lewis Barnes, Samuel Lord, Hon. Jeremiah Mason, Hon. James Sheafe, Hon. Nathaniel A. Haven, Hon. John F. Parrott, Hon. Wm. M. Richardson, Hon. Levi Woodbury, Dr. Nathan Parker, Rev. Charles Burroughs, Rev. Israel W. Putnam, Hon. Hunking Penhallow, Jacob Sheafe, Thomas Sheafe, Benjamin Penhallow, John Haven, William Haven,

Thomas Haven, Henry Ladd, Edward Cutts, Ebenezer Wentworth, Samuel Larkin, Edward Cutts, Jr., Mark W. Peirce, Hon. Clement Storer, Col. Robert Harris, Samuel E. Coues, Major John S. Hunt, John N. Sherburne.

A collation was also provided by the Associated Mechanics' and Manufacturers' Society, on the lower floor of the court house, of which a large number of the citizens of Portsmouth, and visitors from neighboring towns, partook, but no particular account of the names or numbers has come to the knowledge of the secretary. There were also several private parties and social gatherings.

The ball in the evening was a most splendid affair. Old and young united in the amusements. Grandsires and grandams danced in the same sets with their children and grandchildren, and all ages seemed to take equal delight in the scene around them. The walls of the hall were completely covered with ancient portraits by some of the best masters, Copley and others, in which Portsmouth is particularly rich. All present inscribed their names on a parchment roll, prepared by the managers for that purpose, together with their ages. The parchment was presented by the managers to the Portsmouth Athenæum, to be preserved among the valuable historical books and papers of that Institution.

The following interesting account of the distinguished persons whose portraits were exhibited at the Centennial Celebration, is taken from a work entitled "Collections, Historical and Miscellaneous, and Monthly Literary Journal," p. 196; and is here inserted as an important appendage to the preceding notice of the Celebration.

JOHN WENTWORTH, son of Samuel Wentworth and grandson of Elder William Wentworth. He was a native of Portsmouth, and was born January 16, 1671. He was a counsellor from 1712 to 1717, and lieutenant governor from 1717 to his death, December 12, 1730. Of his sixteen children, fourteen survived him.

BENNING WENTWORTH, son of the preceding, graduated at Harvard College in 1715, and afterwards went to England and Spain, where he remained several years. He was appointed counsellor in 1734, and was governor from 1741 to 1767, when he was superseded by his nephew, John Wentworth. He died Oct. 14, 1770, in his 45th year.

JOHN WENTWORTH, son of governor Wentworth.

Lady FRANCES WENTWORTH, wife of governor John Wentworth. Her name before marriage was Frances Deering, and from her the towns of *Francestown* and *Deering*, in Hillsborough county, were named. Her first husband was Theodore Atkinson, jr., whose widow she remained about a fortnight. She then became the wife of governor Wentworth.

THEODORE ATKINSON, son of Hon. Theodore Atkinson, of New-Castle, where he was born Dec. 20, 1697. He graduated at Harvard College in 1718; was a counsellor in 1734; subsequently a judge of the superior court and secretary of the province. He died Sept. 22, 1779, aged 82. He is painted with a roll in his hand, with the inscription, "Expenses of Government."

THEODORE ATKINSON, jr., son of the preceding, graduated at Harvard College in 1734; was a counsellor and secretary; died in 1769.

RICHARD WALDRON, son of Capt. Richard Waldron, and grandson of Major Richard Waldron, who was killed by the Indians at Dover in 1689. His mother was Eleanor Vaughan, daughter of Maj. William Vaughan. He was born Feb. 21, 1694; was graduated at Harvard College in 1712. He was a counsellor from 1728 for many years, and secretary of the province to about the time of his death, in 1753. His right hand is on the motto, "*Salus populi suprema lex.*"

THOMAS WESTBROOKE WALDRON, son of the preceding, was a captain in the expedition against Louisburg—afterward a commissioner at Albany—a counsellor in 1782, and died in 1785.

GEORGE JAFFREY, counsellor from 1702, to his death in 1706.

GEORGE JAFFREY, son of the preceding, graduated at Harvard college in 1702; appointed a counsellor in 1716. He was also treasurer of the province; died in 1749.

GEORGE JAFFREY, graduated at Harvard College in 1736; was counsellor in 1766; was also treasurer. He died in December, 1802, aged 86.

BENJAMIN GAMBLING, judge of probate and counsellor from 1734. He was born in 1681; married a daughter of Samuel Penhallow, well known as the author of the History of the Wars with the Eastern Indians; graduated at Harvard College in 1702; died 1737.

RICHARD WIBIRD, son of Richard Wibird, of Portsmouth, was

born July 7, 1702; graduated at Harvard College in 1722. He was appointed collector of customs for the port of Portsmouth in 1730, and counsellor in 1739. He died 1765, aged 63.

THOMAS WIBIRD, brother of the preceding, was born at Portsmouth, Oct. 1, 1707; graduated at Harvard College in 1728. The father of these brothers was counsellor from 1716, and died in 1732.

Col. WILLIAM PEPPERRELL, who came from England during the reign of William and Mary. He lived many years at the Isles of Shoals; afterwards removed to Kittery Point, where he became an eminent merchant. He died Feb. 15, 1734.

Sir WILLIAM PEPPERRELL, Bart., son of the preceding, was born at the Isles of Shoals; he was commander of the expedition against Louisbourg, and for his services in that enterprize the king conferred upon him the dignity of a baronet, the first honor of the kind conferred upon a native of New-England. He was a counsellor of Mass. 32 years. He died at Kittery, July 6, 1759, aged 63.

There were also portraits of the mother of Sir William and two sisters, one of whom was Mrs. Newmarch, wife of the Hon. John Newmarch.

Hon. HENRY SHERBURNE, a counsellor, and chief justice of the province from 1735 to 1744.

NATHANIEL SPARHAWK, a counsellor of Massachusetts, a colonel of the militia, and an eminent merchant. He was brother of Rev. John Sparhawk, the respected minister of the first church in Salem from Dec. 6, 1736, to the 30th of April, 1755, the time of his death. Col. Sparhawk married the only daughter of Sir William Pepperrell, and died at Kittery in 1776.

Hon. JAMES PITTS, of Boston, who graduated at Harvard College in 1731; was many years a counsellor of Massachusetts, and died after the commencement of the Revolution. He was father to the late Hon. John Pitts, of Tyngsborough, and Samuel Pitts, Esq., of Chelmsford.

Col. JOHN MOFFATT, a merchant of Portsmouth about 1740; his wife and a Miss Moffatt.

[Note by ALEXANDER LADD, Sec'y.]

JOHN MOFFATT, Esq., an eminent and wealthy merchant of Portsmouth, about 1740 to 1760.

He was born in England in 1692, and came to New-Hampshire as commander of one of the King's Mast-ships (so called,) employed in carrying

masts from the Piscataqua for the royal navy. He was also one of the purchasers of Mason's Patent, but never held any military commission. He died Jan. 22nd, 1786, aged 94 years. His wife was

CATHERINE CUTT, grand-daughter of John Cutt, the first President of New-Hampshire under the Royal Government. Miss Catherine Moffatt, (their daughter,) married Gen. William Whipple, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and General of the First Brigade of New-Hampshire Troops during the war of the Revolution. He commanded an important post at the surrender of Burgoyne, and did good service. He died in the house of his father-in-law, November 10th, 1785, aged 55 years. His widow was living at the time of the Centennial Celebration, at a very advanced age.]

Rev. JOHN EMERSON, minister of New-Castle, 1703; of Portsmouth, 1715; died June 21, 1732.

Madam EMERSON, wife of the preceding.

Rev. NATHANIEL ROGERS, (painted 1623;) son of Rev. John Rogers, of Dedham, in England, who died Oct. 18, 1639, aged 67. The latter was a grandson of Rev. John Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, Vicar of St. Sepulchre, and Reader of Divinity, who was burnt at Smithfield, Feb. 14, 1555. Mr. Rogers came to New-England in Nov., 1636; settled in Ipswich, Mass., 1639; died July 2, 1655, aged 57.

Rev. SAMUEL HAVEN, D. D., who graduated at Harvard College in 1749; ordained minister of the 2d Church in Portsmouth, May 6, 1752; died March 3, 1806, aged 79.

Madam MONTGOMERY, (painted in Scotland in 1555.) One of her descendants came to New-England and settled in Portsmouth in 1720.

POEM,*

Delivered at Portsmouth, N. H., on the Centennial Celebration of the first settlement of New-Hampshire, A. D. 1623. By O. W. B. PEABODY, Esq.

Bright on the ocean burns the evening west,
As our worn barks bound lightly o'er its breast;
While sad we seek, beyond the billows' foam,
A humble shelter but a peaceful home.

* The Address of Mr. HAVEN, delivered on the Centennial Celebration, has been printed, and is thus preserved for the perusal of posterity; and the same should be said of Mr. Peabody's Poem. Accordingly it is inserted in the present volume of the Collections.

Shame on the tyrants whose vain pride began
 To bind their fetters round the mind of man,
 And forced at last our weary feet to go
 To savage shores where savage oceans flow ;
 For like the chosen people when they came,
 Led from their bondage by the cloud and flame,
 We wander forth, to find beyond the waves
 Unshackled rights and no dishonored graves ;
 In trackless wilds, where no profaning rod
 Prevents the worship of the Christian's GOD.
 So deem the Pilgrims—and their course they keep,
 All undismayed along the dark blue deep.
 What though their bark in timid swiftness rides,
 As the mad waves dash wildly on her sides ;
 What though each moment, danger's varying form
 Moves loud and dreary on the sounding storm ;
 What though the lead-star hides its friendly spark,
 As nearing tempests shroud the waters dark ;
 Though every gale that lifts the thundering sea
 Tells them how near the hour of doom may be ;
 Though borne by hurricanes, their light sails spring
 O'er waves untravelled by the sea-bird's wing ;
 With them the bitterness of death was past
 When first they threw their canvass to the blast ;
 Now calm and cold, with nought beside to fear,
 The willing exiles hold their high career,
 Firm in His promise whose Almighty power
 Moves on the waters in their wildest hour.
 For if their homes, with many a tear resigned,
 Rise in bright visions on their weary mind,
 'Tis but the memory of a foreign shore,—
 'Tis now their Country and their Home no more.
 And wherefore do their slender barks explore
 Unbroken ocean and a wintry shore ?
 Had they no home beyond the heaving wave ?
 Was there not there a dwelling and a grave ?
 Oh, yes ! they dwelt where summer loves to smile
 On the rich verdure of the English Isle.
 She first away the chains of bondage hurled—
 She gave the day-spring to a slumbering world ;
 Her gallant hosts o'er many a nation sweep ;
 Her fleets march forth in glory o'er the deep ;
 Her streams of knowledge from their fountains flow,
 Rich in all arts that man can ever know ;
 Yet in that isle our fathers once felt bound
 To raise new altars on their native ground ;
 They thought the worship of their God might be
 Free from restraint, if nought beside was free ;
 Nor dreamed that power would close the lips of prayer,
 And forge the fetters which they could not bear.
 But all their wrongs with patient hearts they bore,
 Till manly spirits could endure no more,
 And their oppressors shudder as they wake
 To high resistance hearts they cannot break.

SETTLEMENT OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

No coward tears their mournful fate deplore,
 As fast they gather on the wintry shore,
 In holy calmness they kneel down and pray
 That God will guide them on their dangerous way;
 Though long, long friendships and the living chain
 Binds hearts to hearts that shall not meet again;
 Though anguish rests on many an aching brow
 That never looked so beautiful as now;
 Though many a glance through gathering tears is cast,
 In fond reproach that this must be the last;
 Till wearied love, heart-broken, turns away
 From the deep sorrows of that parting day;
 With high resolve and hearts unbent they fly
 To mourn, to suffer, and perhaps to die.
 Long as in memory's treasured page appears
 One spot kept sacred to departed years;
 Long as the friend of liberty desires
 To watch the kindling of her earliest fires,
 At deeds like theirs admiring tears will start,
 And words of praise come burning from the heart.

But short had Heaven ordained their rest to be,
 Nor dwelt their dangers only in the sea;
 And one by one their flattering visions fled,
 Till more might envy than lament the dead.
 Hard was their fortune o'er the deep to fly,
 In roaring winds and billows towering high;
 But darker fate had doomed them still to bear
 A longer hour of suffering and despair.
 Their foes were fiercer than the wildest waves,
 Where every gust throws wide a thousand graves;
 But their hearts shrunk not from the sternest blow
 That fell in vengeance from the savage foe;
 The father saw, with fixed and frenzied eye,
 His only dwelling light the midnight sky,
 While her own woes forgot, with anguish wild,
 The helpless mother mourned her captive child;
 The flames roll swiftly o'er the ruined field,
 No cheerful weight the blackened harvests yield,
 But the deep accents of the funeral wail
 Come fast and frequent on the dying gale.
 The death-shriek echoes through the troubled air,
 And the shrill war-cry drowns the voice of prayer,
 While at each murmur of the far-off gun,
 Some eyes are closed, some warrior's work is done.
 So sires to sons the mournful tale relate
 Of Lovewell's gallant band and Waldron's fate,
 And injured Wheelwright, doomed once more to roam,
 A friendless exile from the exile's home;
 And all who first the fearful desert trod,
 Firm in their courage and their guardian God.

Nor failed their children in the dangerous hour,
 When suffering freedom called on God for power,

And from afar the British legions poured
 To meet the vengeance of the patriot sword.
 Hark! the shrill trumpet peals its angry knell,
 And on the breeze the cries of battle swell;
 Where gallant fleets on Slavery's errand sweep
 High o'er the wave and darken all the deep;
 Then, as their summons echo through the sky,
 The cannon rolls its deep and stern reply;
 Then all your vales in peaceful slumbers break,
 Then all your sires to stern resistance wake;
 With giant strength they rend the long-worn chain,
 From hands and hearts that shall not bend again.
 Then, like the dashing of the mountain flood,
 Forth rushed your fathers to the field of blood;
 Then lisping childhood felt the kindling fire,
 And trod the ranks of danger with the sire,
 Till the last challenge of the weary gun
 Told their proud triumph and their labors done.

Such were the men in wintry deserts drear,
 Who laid a nation's deep foundations here.
 Years have rolled onward, and what hand has paid
 One grateful tribute to the wanderer's shade?
 What proud memorial tells their humble lot?
 Scarce memory points or reverence guards the spot
 Where the bleak shore their toils and dangers knew,
 And justice still had slumbered but for you.
 Too long unhonored slept the mighty dead,
 Who for a bleeding country toiled and bled;
 But now the memory of the brave imparts
 A kindred spirit to all kindred hearts;
 O'er them shall freedom all her altars rear,
 Veil her bright eye and shed her warmest tear;
 Such tears as once the Spartan mother gave
 To the last victory of the dying brave.

Now Heaven has listened to their latest prayers,
 And many a heart hath caught the fire from theirs;
 Their light is on the nations bursting forth,
 Like the red banners of the flashing north;
 Earth's farthest regions starting from their sleep,
 Exulting hail its dawning o'er the deep.
 On Greece, lost Greece! the heavenly day-spring falls,
 Through mouldering arches and deserted halls,
 Forth to her ranks her glorious martyrs spring,
 And ruined towers with youthful voices ring,
 As if the grave had rendered back the train
 Of all their heroes to the world again.
 "Why should we not?" the opening graves reply,
 "Our gates are closed, but heroes never die,
 And they by thousands from their rest shall start,
 If fire like theirs inspires one living heart!"
 For the long blast that bellows through their fields,
 And the red light the blaze of Scio yields,

And War's deep thunder bursting o'er their head,
Have waked the living and shall wake the dead.

All is not lost—the cry is heard again,
Where freedom trembles in the vales of Spain,
And the dread notes of battle, long and loud,
Roll from the edges of the folded cloud.
And let them come, their arms and chains prepare,
But God will listen to the sufferers' prayer;
His sword is bare—his vengeance never sleeps,
Where power grows proud and injured freedom weeps.
Let all their hosts the hills of Spain array,
Wide as the out-spread of the rising day :
Let all the nations crowd her boundary waves,
And Russia join her continent of slaves ;
Then if the fire of years and ages past
Must sink beneath, and be borne down at last,
The earth has graves, and storms are on the sea,
And heaven has thunders to avenge the free.

Let History's voice in loftiest accents tell
The anxious hours when nations rose and fell ;
For her grave pen no flight of fancy knows,
She posts her ledger in plain English prose ;
While more retired the modest muse of rhyme
Scarce gleans her handful in the fields of time ;
Asks but a single hero's single act,
Detests a date and shudders at a fact.
For brighter strains and longer time deserves
The endless tale of patents, grants and curves,
And captured Louisburg, whose fatal shore
Beheld the thankless toil our fathers bore,
Where England hailed her foe's dominion lost,
And took the glory, as she paid the cost.
Or worthy Massachusetts' deep design
To seize our acres as she ran the line ;
Sure 't was the Tempter urged our sister State
To ask the crooked when we chose the straight.

My native State ! if few memorials tell
Thy bloody fields where many a hero fell ;
If clouds, that History cannot melt away,
Hang o'er the dawning of thy earlier day,
We ask no registry of former times,
With leaves of blood and pages stained with crimes,
And scorn the praise of every foreign strand,
While our hearts hail thee as our native land.
No columns here, by slaves or tyrants built,
Preserve the fame that glory lends to guilt ;
No vast cathedral, where fear hides within,
Its false atonement for the deeds of sin ;
No funeral stones, where lingering justice sheds
Her withering curse on great and guilty heads.

These are not ours—but History numbers here
 Some names and scenes to long remembrance dear,
 And summer verdure clothes the lowly breast
 Of the small hillock where our fathers rest.
 Theirs were the dauntless heart, the hand, the voice,
 That bade the desert blossom and rejoice ;
 Their restless toil subdued the savage earth,
 And called a nation into glorious birth ;
 Their living floods with tides extending still,
 Poured o'er the vales and climbed the highest hill ;
 And now the cottage that o'erlooks the scene
 Of youthful revels on the village green ;
 The laughing fields where earliest verdure springs,
 And Nature glories in the gifts she brings ;
 The flocks that gather in the peaceful shade,
 Where once the deer in careless freedom played,
 The spires that redden in the rising sun—
 All these will tell you what their hands have done.

Here the dark forest's midnight shade began
 To own the power of cultivated man ;
 Here is the shore, whose wide-extended breast
 First gave its borders for the wanderer's rest.
 Once your broad river saw the Indian glide
 In pictured splendor down its silver tide,
 Or through the forest glancing into view
 Chase the wild deer, or launch the light canoe ;
 Where, with his calumet or bow unstrung,
 And the light quiver at his shoulder hung,
 With fearless step, in danger never changed,
 The haughty monarch of the forest ranged.
 Yet there are some o'er other days who sigh,
 And mourn to think our fathers did not buy,
 But spoiled the Indian of his ancient right,
 And fixed their titles in superior might.
 Oh ! if their hand the wretched race oppress,
 In sacred silence may their frailties rest.
 'Twas hard indeed their savage friends to draw
 To strict observance of the forms of law,
 While they, reposing in their humble walls,
 Were oft subpoenaed by the Indian balls,
 Who dared at noonday o'er their fields to run,
 Or send his quitclaim from the loaded gun.
 Forgive the crime if our degenerate race
 Will love the market better than the chase,
 And if old pride forbade our sires to vote
 To wear the blanket rather than the coat,
 Or their strange prejudice more beauty saw
 In English fashion than the painted squaw ;
 For had the Indian reigned in triumph still,
 Unquestioned monarch of the vale and hill,
 No filial pride had traced our fathers' way,
 And ah ! no poet sung their praise to-day !

Soon might you see a bold but scattered band
 Go forth from home and hurry through the land,
 Where'er their course of quick improvement turns,
 The ancient forest bows its head and burns.
 There the log hut rears up its shapely form,
 Where the old pine tree struggled with the storm;
 The streams where bards might tune their holiest strains,
 Send their bright waves to fill ten thousand dains;
 The lake, that lay for ages clear and still,
 Bursts from its bank to turn the clattering mill;
 Where'er the rill in sparkling freshness steals,
 Comes bright invention with her saws and wheels.
 Where'er the fields in mildest beauty spread,
 Where'er the forests rear their loftiest head,
 There led by fate the sturdy settlers stalk,
 Like restless spirits on their midnight walk.
 Soon shall Connecticut her waters pour
 To feed canals that line the busy shore,
 And Walpole's falls no more repeat the shock,
 Her mighty torrent dwindled to a lock!
 Thus lazy Nature yields to active man,
 And the White Hills may stand it if they can!

Soon in their course behold the stubborn soil
 With answering harvests crown the hopes of toil,
 And humble schools allure the feet of youth
 To the straight path of virtue and of truth;
 And soon religion spreads throughout the wild
 The sacred precepts of her Author mild;
 Then on the sod by no rude footsteps prest,
 The aged fathers laid them down to rest.
 Cold is the heart, how lone soe'er the spot,
 Though careless steps pass by and mark it not,
 That will not fondly turn where'er he roam,
 And, where his kindred sleep, behold his home;
 And pray, when heaven his weary hour shall close,
 His mouldering ashes may with theirs repose.
 Yet say our foreign foes, no taste imparts
 Its ancient beauty to our dying arts;
 No modern prospects can the painter trace
 But the fair outlines of the human face,
 Where decent wisdom crowns each stately head,
 And beauty blushes in eternal red.
 That Architecture's hand creative still
 On each new building wreaks her cruel skill,
 Where posts, pilasters, pediments, combine,
 And, scorning order, all the orders shine.
 And pining Sculpture sees with chastened pride
 Her classic forms the schooner's bowsprit stride,
 Or proudly soaring to their native sky
 On iron spindles, wooden eagles fly.
 If feeble skill the hand of art inspires,
 We mourn the evil, not reproach our sires;

Small cause had they the rules of art to learn,
 And carve and build for savages to burn ;
 Why should they labor on the flinty rock,
 To carve the statue from the shapeless block;
 When, ere the head in finished beauty shone,
 The Indian's tomahawk might cleave their own ?
 If Architecture with Palladio fled,
 And Sculpture weeps her own Canova dead,
 And Raphael's glowing pencil was the last
 That stole the radiance of the brighter past,
 What shame for us with patient hearts to bear
 The same reproach which other nations share ?

And why should they their noble works resign,
 To breathe a verse and live along the line ?
 Their lines caught salmon to their utmost wish,
 But ours procure us neither loaf nor fish ;
 And here where Nature all her power displays,
 To warm the heart and fire the noblest lays ;
 When all your valleys, lakes, and hills appear
 In brightest forms to tempt the minstrel here,
 Shall Genius here no genial influence own,
 And court the summer sunshine of a throne,
 Where humble bards to mighty monarchs raise
 The measured tribute of their annual praise ?
 Oh ! could old Time his age of gold bring back,
 When bards were paid in glory not in sack ;
 But modern luxury suits the modern muse,
 And our bards thrive not on Castalian dew ;
 To worldly cares they stoop their airy crest,
 And, lured by Mammon, scramble with the rest.

Oh ! why should we, when hope displays forlorn
 A brighter picture, laugh the dream to scorn ;
 When native scenes the native bard inspire,
 And all our country wakes the jewelled lyre ;
 Round Great Boar's Head the wave of Zetland rolls,
 And fairer Brendas grace the Isles of Shoals,
 When patriot Floras crown our mountains high,
 And other Oldbucks haunt the coast of Rye ;
 Old Sherwood's band in Greenland rise again,
 And Ashby's tournament on Portsmouth Plain ;
 And sure, if chivalry her champions spare,
 No Queen of Beauty will be wanting there.*
 And thou, my country ! in thy glowing skies
 New splendors open and new prospects rise ;
 Forth walk thy navies with unmeasured sweep,
 To bear thy glory o'er the foaming deep,
 Where in its strength thy powerful thunder rides
 On the glad homage of the weltering tides.

* The Pirate, Waverley, Antiquary and Ivanhoe.

Thy gallant hosts, in dark and stern array,
 Throng the red field when danger points the way ;
 Thy thousand sails in countless paths explore
 Earth's farthest realms and each untrodden shore,
 And all the waves that lash thy cliffs sublime,
 Roll back the treasures of a foreign clime.
 Thy laws rest free from every angry shock
 On pillars deep and lasting as the rock.
 Long shall thy sons their fathers' influence own,
 Their only homage paid at Virtue's throne.
 Thy best ambition, as thou art to be
 The last retreat of freedom and the free ;
 The stranger's refuge and the wanderer's rest,
 For God has blest thee, and thou shalt be blest.

LETTER OF MATTHEW THORNTON, 1775.

Exeter, July 18th, 1775.

SIR : The Members of the Committee present being Four, have tho't that your proceeding to Print of the £8000 ordered by the Congress, is not adviseable at present, but that it would be better to postpone it until a Conference can be had with Gen'l Washington, and the Massach'ts General Court, which is intended Imediately.

Therefore, would recomend your striking of the £2000, and omit the other until such Conference can be had, the Result of which we will let you know as soon as it can be Obtained.

Hon'ble Meshech Weare, Esq'r.

MATTHEW THORNTON, *Chairman.*

Prov : of }
 N. Hamp'r, } May 17, 1739.

These may Certify, that Lient. Governor Wentworth, with the advice of His Majestys Council (Governor Shute being gone to England,) on the twentieth day of May, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, Granted five Townships, and Every member of the House of Representatives at that time was made a Proprietor in Each of the said Townships, and that Andrew Wiggin, Esq'r, was then one of the Representatives and one of the Grantees of Each of the said Townships.

RICHARD WALDRON, *Sec'y.*

NEW-HAMPSHIRE STATE SOCIETY OF THE GENERAL SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.

That we may give an accurate account of the State Institution, it will be necessary to revert to the establishment of the Parent Society. This Order was erected in 1783, by the preliminary measures and the adoption of the Constitution which follow :

Institution and Regulations.

CANTONMENTS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY, }
On Hudson's River, May 10th, 1783. }

PROPOSALS, for establishing a Society upon principles therein mentioned, whose members shall be officers of the American Army, having been communicated to the several regiments of the respective lines, they appointed an officer from each, who, in conjunction with the General Officers, should take the same into consideration at their meeting this day, at which the Honorable Major General Baron STEUBEN, the senior officer present, was pleased to preside.

The proposals being read, fully considered paragraph by paragraph, and the amendments agreed to, Major General KNOX, Brigadier General HAND, Brigadier General HUNTINGTON, and Captain SHAW, were chosen to revise the same, and prepare a copy to be laid before this Assembly, at their next meeting, to be holden at Major General Baron de STEUBEN's quarters, on Tuesday, the 13th instant.

Tuesday, 13th May, 1783. The representatives of the American Army, being assembled agreeable to adjournment, the plan for establishing a Society whereof the officers of the American Army are to be members, is accepted, and is as follows, viz :

It having pleased the Supreme Governor of the Universe, in the disposition of human affairs, to cause the separation of the Colonies of North America from the domination of Great Britain, and, after a bloody conflict of eight years, to establish them free, independent and sovereign States, connected by alliances founded on reciprocal advantages, with some of the great princes and powers of the earth :

To perpetuate, therefore, as well the remembrance of this vast event, as the mutual friendships which have been formed under the pressure of common danger, and, in many instances, cemented by the blood of the parties: The officers of the American Army do hereby, in the most solemn manner, associate, constitute and combine themselves into one society of friends, to endure as long as they shall endure, or any of their eldest male posterity; and, in failure thereof, the collateral branches who may be judged worthy of becoming its supporters and members.

The officers of the American Army, having generally been taken from the citizens of America, possess high veneration for the character of that illustrious Roman,

LUCIUS QUINTUS CINCINNATUS,

and being resolved to follow his example by returning to their citizenship, they think they may with propriety denominate themselves THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.

The following principles shall be immutable, and form the basis of the Society of the Cincinnati: An incessant attention to preserve inviolate those rights and liberties of human nature for which they have fought and bled, and without which the high rank of a rational being is a curse instead of a blessing:

An unalterable determination to promote and cherish between the respective States that union and national honor so essentially necessary to their happiness and the future dignity of the American Empire:—To render permanent the cordial affection subsisting among the officers—this spirit will dictate brotherly kindness in all things, and particularly extend to the most substantial acts of beneficence, according to the ability of the Society, towards those officers and their families, who, unfortunately, may be under the necessity of receiving it.

The General Society will, for the sake of frequent communications, be divided into State Societies, and those again into such districts as shall be directed by the State Societies:

The societies of the districts to meet as shall be agreed upon by the State Society; those of the State on the *4th day of July annually*, or oftener if they shall find it expedient; and the General Society on the first Monday in May annually, so long as they shall

deem necessary, and afterwards at least once in three years. At each meeting the principles of the Institution will be fully considered, and the best measures to promote them adopted.

The State Societies will consist of all the members residing in each State respectively; and any member removing from one State to another is to be considered in all respects as belonging to the Society of the State in which he shall actually reside.

The State Society to have a President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer and Assistant Treasurer, to be chosen annually by a majority of votes at the State meeting.

Each State meeting shall write annually, or oftener if necessary, a circular letter to the other State Societies, noting whatever they may think worthy of observation respecting the good of the Society, or the general union of the States, and give information of the officers chosen for the current year. Copies of their letters should be regularly transmitted to the Secretary General of the Society, who will record them in a book assigned for that purpose.

The State Society will regulate every thing respecting itself and the societies of its districts, consistent with the general maxims of the Cincinnati; judge of the qualifications of the members who may be proposed, and expel any member who, by conduct inconsistent with a gentleman and a man of honor, or by an opposition to the interest of the community in general, or the Society in particular, may render himself unworthy to continue a member.

In order to form funds which may be respectable, and assist the unfortunate, each officer shall deliver to the Treasurer of the State Society one month's pay, which shall remain forever to the use of the State Society; the interest of which, if necessary, shall be appropriated to the relief of the unfortunate.

Donations may be made by persons not of the Society, and by members of the Society, for the express purpose of forming permanent funds for the use of the State Societies, and the interest of those donations appropriated in the same manner as the month's pay.

Moneys, at the pleasure of each member, may be subscribed in the societies of the districts, or the State Societies, for the relief of the unfortunate members, or their widows and orphans, to be appropriated by the State Society only.

The meeting of the General Society shall consist of its officers and representatives from each State Society, in number not exceeding *five* ; whose expenses shall be borne by their respective State Societies.

In the general meeting, the President, Vice-President, Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Treasurer, and Assistant Treasurer Generals, shall be chosen, to serve until the next meeting.

The circular letters which have been written by the respective State Societies to each other, and their particular letters, shall be read and considered, and all measures concerted which may conduce to the general contentment of the Society.

It is probable that some persons may make donations to the General Society, for the purpose of establishing funds for the further comfort of the unfortunate ;—in which case such donations must be placed in the hands of the Treasurer General ; the interest only of which to be disposed of by the general meeting.

All the officers of the American Army, as well those who have resigned with honor after *three* years' service in the capacity of officers, or who have been deranged by the resolution of Congress upon the several reforms of the army, as those who shall have continued to the end of the war, have a right to become parties to this Institution, provided that they subscribe one month's pay and sign their names to the general rules in their respective societies ; those who are present with the army, immediately ; and others within six months after the army shall be disbanded, extraordinary cases excepted.

The rank, time of service, resolution of Congress by which they have been deranged, and place of residence, must be added to each name ; and, as a testimony of affection to the memory of the offspring of such officers who have died in the service, their eldest male branches shall have the same right of becoming members, as the children of the actual members of the Society.

Those officers who are foreigners, not residing in any of the States, will have their names enrolled by the Secretary General, and are to be considered as members in the Societies of any of the States in which they may happen to be.

And as there are and will at all times be men in the respective

States, eminent for their abilities and patriotism, whose views may be directed to the same laudable object with those of the *Cincinnati*, it shall be a rule to admit such characters as honorary members of the Society, for their own lives only; provided, always, that the number of honorary members in each State does not exceed a ratio of one to four of the officers, or their descendants.

Each State Society shall obtain a list of its members; and at the first annual meeting, the State Secretary shall have engrossed on parchment two copies of the Institution of the Society, which every member present shall sign, and the Secretary shall endeavor to procure the signature of every absent member; one of these lists to be transmitted to the Secretary General, to be kept in the archives of the Society, and the other to remain in the hands of the State Secretary.

From the State list the Secretary General must make out, at the first general meeting, a complete list of the whole Society, with a copy of which he will furnish each State Secretary.

The Society shall have an Order by which its members shall be

known and distinguished, which shall be a medal of gold, of a proper size to receive the emblems, and suspended by a deep blue ribbon, two inches wide, edged with white, descriptive of the union of America and France, viz :



The principal figure, CINCINNATUS; three Senators, presenting him with a sword, and other military ensigns in the field. On the back ground his wife, standing in the door of their cottage; near it a plough and other instruments of husbandry.

Round the whole :

Omnia reliquit servare rempublicam.

On the reverse :

Sun rising; a city, with open gates, and vessels entering the port.

Fame crowning Cincinnatus with a wreath, inscribed, *Virtutis præmium*. Below, hands joined, supporting a heart, with the motto, *Esto perpetua*.

Round the whole :

Societas Cincinnatorum, Instituta A. D. 1783.



The Society, deeply impressed with a sense of the generous assistance this country has received from France, and desirous to perpetuate the friendships which have been formed and so happily subsisted between the officers of the allied forces, in the prosecution of the war, direct that the President General transmit, as

soon as may be, to each of the characters hereafter named, a medal containing the order of the Society, viz :

His Excellency the Chevalier de la LUZERNE, Minister Plenipotentiary; their Excellencies, the Count de ESTAING, the Count de GRASSE, the Count de BARRAS, the Chevalier de TOUCHES, admirals and commanders of the navy; His Excellency the Count de ROCHAMBEAU, Commander-in-Chief, and the Generals and Colonels in his army; and acquaint them that the Society do themselves the honor to consider them members.

We, the subscribers, officers of the American Army, do hereby voluntarily become parties to the foregoing Institution, and do bind ourselves to observe and be governed by the principles therein contained, for the performance whereof we do pledge to each other our sacred honors.

Done in the Cantonments on Hudson's River, in the year 1783.

That the members of the Society, at the time of subscribing their names to the Institution, do also sign a draft on the Paymaster Gen-

eral, in the following manner ;—the regiments to do it regimentally, and the Generals and other officers not belonging to regiments, each for himself individually, viz :

To JOHN PIERCE, Esq.,

Paymaster General to the United Army of the

United States :

SIR :—Please to pay to ———, Treasurer for the ——— State Association of the *Cincinnati*, or his order, one month's pay of our several grades respectively, and deduct the same from the balance which shall be found due to us on the final liquidation of our accounts, for which this shall be your warrant :

That the members of the several State Societies assemble as soon as may be, for the choice of their President and other officers, and that the Presidents correspond together, and appoint a meeting of officers who may be chosen for each State, in order to pursue such further measures as may be judged necessary :

That the general officers, and the officers delegated to represent the several corps of the army, subscribe to the Institution of the General Society for themselves and their constituents, in the manner and form before prescribed :

That General HEATH, General Baron de STEUBEN, and General KNOX, be a committee to wait on His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, with a copy of the Institution, and request him to honor the Society by putting his name at the head of it :

That Major General Heath, second in command in the army, be, and hereby is, directed to transmit copies of the Institution, with the proceedings thereon, to the commanding officers of the southern army ; the senior officers in each State from Pennsylvania to Georgia inclusive, and to the commanding officer of the Rhode-Island line, requesting them to communicate the same to the officers under their several commands, and to take such measures as may appear to them necessary for expediting the establishment of their State Societies, and sending delegates to represent them in the first general meeting, to be holden on the first Monday in May, 1784.

The meeting then adjourned without day.

STEUBEN, Major General, *President*.

CANTONMENTS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY, }
June 15th, 1783. }

At a meeting of the General Officers and the Gentlemen delegated by the respective regiments as a Convention for establishing the Society of the Cincinnati, held by the request of the President, at which were present,—Major General Baron de STEUBEN, President; Major General Howe, Major General Knox, Brigadier General Patterson, Brigadier General Hand, Brigadier General Huntington, Brigadier General Putnam, Colonel Webb, Lieut. Colonel Huntington, Major Pettingill, Lieut. Whiting, Colonel H. Jackson, Captain Shaw, Lieut. Colonel Hull, Colonel Cortlandt, and Lieut. Colonel Maxwell. Gen. Baron de Steuben acquainted the Convention that he had, agreeable to their request at the last meeting, transmitted to His Excellency the Chevalier de la LUZERNE, Minister Plenipotentiary from the Court of France, a copy of the Institution of the Cincinnati, with their vote respecting His Excellency and the other characters therein mentioned, and that His Excellency had returned an answer, declaring his acceptance of the same, and expressing the grateful sense he entertains of the honor conferred on himself and the other gentlemen of the French nation, by this act of the Convention.

Resolved, That the letter of the Chevalier de la LUZERNE be recorded in the proceedings of this day, and deposited in the archives of the Society, as a testimony of the high sense the Convention entertains of the honor done to the Society by his becoming a member thereof.

The Baron having also communicated a letter from Major Le Enfant, enclosing a design for the medal, and order containing the emblems of the Institution :

Resolved, That the Bald Eagle, carrying the emblems on its breast, be established as the *order* of the Society, and that the ideas of Major Le Enfant respecting it, and the manner of its being worn by the members, as expressed in his letter hereto annexed, be adopted :

That the Order be of the same size, and in every other respect conformable to the said design, which for that purpose is certified by the Baron de Steuben, President of this Convention, and to be deposited in the archives of the Society, as the original from which all copies are to be made ; also, that silver medals, not exceeding

the size of a Spanish milled dollar, with the emblems as designed by Major Le Infant, and certified by the President, be given to each and every member of the Society, together with a diploma, on parchment, whereon shall be impressed the exact figure of the order and medal, as above mentioned, anything in the original Institution respecting gold medals to the contrary notwithstanding.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be transmitted by the President to Major Le Infant, for his care and ingenuity in preparing the aforementioned designs, and that he be acquainted that they cheerfully embrace his offer of assistance, and request a continuance of his attention in carrying the designs into execution, for which purpose the President is desired to correspond with him.

Resolved, That His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief be requested to officiate as President General until the first general meeting, to be held in May next :

That a Treasurer General and a Secretary General be ballotted for, to officiate in like manner.

The ballot being taken, Major General McDougall was elected Treasurer General, and Major General Knox Secretary General, who are hereby requested to accept said appointments.

Resolved, That all the proceedings of this Convention, including the Institution of the Society, be recorded from the original papers in his possession, by Captain Shaw, who, at the first meeting, was requested to act as Secretary ; and that the same, signed by the President and Secretary, together with the original papers, be given into the hands of Major General Knox, Secretary General to the Society ; and that Captain North, aid-de-camp to the Baron de Steuben, and acting Secretary to him, as President, sign the said records.

The dissolution of a very considerable part of the army, since the last meeting of this Convention, having rendered the attendance of some of its members impracticable, and the necessity of some temporary arrangements previous to the first meeting of the General Society being so strikingly obvious, the Convention found itself constrained to make those beforementioned, which they have done with the utmost diffidence of themselves, and relying entirely on the candor of their constituents to make allowance for the measure. The principal object of its appointment being thus accomplished, the members of the Convention think fit to dissolve the same, and it is hereby dissolved accordingly.

STEUBEN, Maj. Gen., *Pres.*

NEW-HAMPSHIRE STATE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.

Copy of a Letter from the Honorable Major General Baron STEUBEN to Major General SULLIVAN.

SIR: I have the honor, as President of the Convention for establishing the Society of the Cincinnati, to present you with a plan of its formation, together with several resolves which have taken place relative to it.

The principles on which the Society is founded, will, I hope, meet your approbation, and engage you to become one of its members and supporters. Not only your character and station in civil life, but the superior rank you held in the army of the United States, point you out as the most proper person in the State of New-Hampshire to whom the forming the Society in that State can be committed. Your friendship for the officers of the American Army, with whom you were so long acquainted, induces me to believe that you will embrace with pleasure the opportunity of joining them in an Institution, the chief motive of which is to perpetuate that virtuous affection which in so exemplary a manner existed among them while in arms for the defence of their country.

With the greatest respect,

I have the honor to be, &c.,

West Point, July, 1783.

STEUBEN, Maj. Gen., *Pres.*

Maj. Gen. SULLIVAN.

Major General SULLIVAN having received from Major General the Baron de STEUBEN the foregoing letter, with the transactions of the General Convention, as here recorded, together with a copy of the emblem of the order, as designed by Major Le Infant, proceeded to notify the persons pointed out as fit members for the Society of the *Cincinnati*, to meet at Col. Samuel Folsom's, at Exeter, on Tuesday, the 18th day of November, A. D. 1783, for the purpose of forming a State Society for the State of New-Hampshire.

Exeter, Tuesday, November 18th, 1783. Then met in Convention the following gentlemen, viz:

Major General Sullivan, Col. Cilley, Lieut. Colonel Commandant

Dearborn, Captain Cass, Captain Sullivan, Captain Munro, Captain McClary, Lieut. Mills, Lieut. Gookin, Lieut. Adams, Lieut. Cilley, Lieut. McGaffey, Lieut. Wilkins, and Lieut. Emerson; and after hearing and approving the regulations for the order of the *Cincinnati*, proceeded to choose Major General Sullivan Chairman, and Captain Sullivan Clerk *pro tem.*, to record the minutes.

The gentlemen above named as met in Convention, unanimously

Voted, That they cheerfully embrace the opportunity of forming a Society in this State, and hereby engage to become members of the order of the *Cincinnati*, and to regulate themselves and support the honor and intent of the Institution, according to the regulations transmitted by the Honorable Major General Baron de Steuben to Honorable Major General Sullivan.

They then proceeded to sign the following Covenant, viz :

We, the subscribers, officers of the American Army, do hereby voluntarily become parties to the foregoing Institution, and bind ourselves to observe and be governed by the principles therein contained; for the performance whereof we do pledge to each other our sacred honor.

Done at Exeter this 18th day of November, in the year 1783.

After signing, the members proceeded to elect by ballot the officers prescribed by the Institution.

The ballot being taken, Major General Sullivan was elected President, Lieut. Col. Commandant Dearborn Vice-President, Captain Sullivan Secretary, Colonel Cilley Treasurer, Captain Cass Assistant Treasurer.

The Society being formed, and after duly considering the method proposed for establishing a fund for the Society, for the purposes and in the manner prescribed by the Institution communicated by Baron de Steuben, it is considered by the members of this Society that a number of the members have no right to draw bills on John Pierce, Esq., Paymaster General to the United Army of the United States : It is, therefore,

Resolved, That the fund for this Society be established by each member's depositing in the hands of the Treasurer General, for this Society, (instead of bills on the Paymaster-General of the United Army of the United States,) public security of the State of New-Hampshire to the amount of one month's pay for his services in the

office he held in the American Army ; which security, by the members who have now signed and who shall sign on the next meeting of the Society, shall at that time be deposited in the hands of the Treasurer General.

Voted, That the Secretary be directed to make out a copy of the proceedings of this meeting, together with a notification to such persons as have a right to join the Society, that they may give their attendance at the time and place to which this Society shall think proper to adjourn, and that he cause the same to be published in the New-Hampshire Gazette.

Voted, That the Society do adjourn to Wednesday, the 7th day of January next, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, then to meet at this place. By order of the Society :

EBENEZER SULLIVAN, *Secretary*.

Covenant.

We, the subscribers, officers of the American Army, do hereby voluntarily become members of the foregoing Institution, and do bind ourselves to observe and be governed by the principles therein contained : for the performance whereof we do pledge to each other our sacred honors.

Done at Exeter, this 18th day of November, in the year 1783.

Names.	Rank.	Time of service.	Time of resignation, or resolution of Congress by which they were deranged.	Place of Residence.
John Sullivan,	Major General.	4 yrs. 6 mo.	Nov. 19, 1779.	Durham.
Joseph Cilley,	Colonel.	5 y. 6 m. 3 d.	Deranged 21 Oct., 1780.	Nottingham.
Henry Dearborn,	Lient. Col.	7 y. 10 m.	Deranged	Exeter.
	Commandant.		Deranged	
Jonathan Cass,	Captain.	6 y. 4 m.	1 March, 1783.	Exeter.
Ebenezer Sullivan,	Captain.	7 y. 9 m.	Deranged.	Durham.
Joseph Mills,	Lient.	6 y.	End of War.	Nottingham.
		A soldier 1 y.		
Daniel Gookin,	Lient.	7 m.; an officer 6 y. 6 m.	End of War.	No. Hampton.
Samuel Adams,	Lient.			
Josiah Munro,	Capt.			
Jonathan Cilley,	Lient.			

Neal McGaffey,	Lieut.			
Michael McClary,	Capt.	4 y.	Oct., 1779.	Epsom
Signed February 5th, 1784.				
William Parker,	Surgeon.	3 y. 4 m.	Nov., 1778.	Exeter.
Nicholas Gilman,	Capt.	6 y. 3 m.	Deranged.	Exeter.
Joshua Merrow,	Lieut.			
Amos Emerson,	Capt.	5 y.	Resigned	Chester.
			March, 1780.	
James Harvey } McClary, }	Son to the late Major McClary, killed at the } battle of Bunker Hill, . . . }			Epsom.
John Adams,	Lieut.	End of War.		Stratham.
Joseph Boynton,	Lieut.	7 y.	Deranged.	Stratham.
Samuel Cheney,	Capt.	8 y.	End of War.	Londonderry.
Francis Frye,	Capt.	9 y.	End of War.	Wilton.
Z. Rowell,	Capt.	8 y.	End of War.	Epping.
Jonathan Perkins,	Lieut.	6 y.	End of War.	Epping.
Adna Penniman,	Capt.	4 y.	Deranged.	Moultonboro'.
John Harvey,	Lieut.	4 y.	End of War.	Northwood.
Jere. Fogg,	Capt.	8 y. 6 m.	End of War.	Kensington.
Jeremiah Richard,	Lieut.	3 y. 8 m.	July, 1780.	Hollis.
James Reed,	Brig. Gen.	8 y.	End of War.	Keene.
John Sullivan, son to the late Captain Ebenezer Sullivan, <i>deceased</i> .				
Joseph Mills, son to the late Lieut. Joseph Mills, <i>deceased</i> .				
John W. Gookin, son of Lieut. Daniel Gookin, <i>deceased</i> ; a Captain in United States Army from 1812 to 1815, during last war.				

Exeter, January 7th, 1784. Then met according to adjournment. The President and Vice-President being absent, Captain Cass was appointed President *pro tem*.

Voted, That as the travelling is such that few members could attend, this meeting proceed to no business relative to the Society at this time, but adjourn to some future day.

Voted, That the meeting of this Society stand further adjourned to Thursday, the 5th day of February next, then to meet at this place at 10 o'clock, A. M.: That the Secretary be directed to notify the persons concerned to give their attendance on the adjournment, by publishing the same in the New-Hampshire Gazette.

JONATHAN CASS, President *pro tem*.

By order of the Society:

EBENEZER SULLIVAN, *Secretary*.

Exeter, February 5th, 1784. Then met according to adjournment. The President being absent, the Vice-President presided.

After several members joining whose names are herein enrolled,— It is considered by the Society that as it is probable this Society, not knowing where the next annual meeting of the General Society will be held, may be unable to send on a member timely, to represent them in the General Meeting,

Resolved, In case a member should not be sent, that the Society request the President to represent by letter to the General Society the state of this Society, and request such information as he shall think necessary; at the same time making known to the General Society that the members of this Society wish to be considered as fully desirous of complying with every regulation prescribed by the General Society, and will, to the extent of their ability, conform themselves thereto.

Resolved, That this Society adjourn to the 4th day of July next, being the day proposed by the Institution for the annual meeting of the State Societies; then to meet at Col. Samuel Folsom's, in Exeter, at 10 of the clock in the forenoon, and that the Secretary be directed to cause the same to be published in the New-Hampshire Gazette.

HENRY DEARBORN, *Vice-President*.

By order of the Society :

EBENEZER SULLIVAN, *Secretary*.

Exeter, April 2nd, 1784. At a meeting of the New-Hampshire State Society of the *Cincinnati*, held by request of the President, for the purpose of seeing whether the Society will agree to send a member to represent them in the General Meeting, to be held at Philadelphia on the 1st Monday in May next,

The motion being put, unanimously agreed to send a member, who is to be chosen by ballot. The ballot being taken, Lieut. Col. Dearborn was appointed.

Passed, That the Society raise one hundred and sixty-three dollars, which at present is to be raised by subscription, and paid in to Col. Dearborn, at Exeter, by the subscribers, within eight days from this date, which said sum shall be refunded to the subscribers with interest, out of the public stock, so soon as may be found convenient by the Treasurer General of this State.

Sums subscribed as follows :

Subscribers.	Sum in Dolls.	Subscribers.	Sum in Dolls.
Gen. Sullivan, . . .	\$40.00	Lieut. Cilley, . . .	\$10.00
Col. Cilley, ...	20.00	Capt. Boynton, . . .	10.00
Capt. Sullivan, . . .	10.00	Lieut. Gookin, . . .	8.00
Capt. Cass, ...	10.00	Doct. Parker, . . .	12.00
Capt. Adams, ...	10.00	Lieut. Mills, ...	10.00
Lieut. Adams, ...	8.00	Capt. Gilman, ...	15.00

Passed, That this Society do adjourn to Monday, the 5th day of July next, at ten of the clock in the forenoon, then to meet at this place ; the day appointed by the Institution for the annual meeting of the State Societies happening on Sunday, a day which this Society hold too sacred for any business except the worship of the Divine Being.

JOHN SULLIVAN, *President.*

EBENEZER SULLIVAN, *Secretary.*

Exeter, Monday, May 5th, 1784. Met according to adjournment. The Society proceeded to the choice of officers. The following persons were elected by ballot, viz. :

Major General Sullivan, President ; Colonel Cilley, Vice-President ; Captain Sullivan, Secretary ; Captain McClary, Treasurer ; Captain Cass, Assistant Treasurer.

The Society took into consideration the circular letter of the General Society, of the 15th of May last, and, after some debate thereon—

Voted, That Gen. Sullivan, Col. Cilley and Maj. Fogg be a committee to draft an answer thereto, and lay the same before the Society at their next meeting.

Voted, That the present Treasurer wait on the late Treasurer for the State securities now in his hands, who is requested to deliver over the same, and take the present Treasurer's receipt therefor.

Voted, To accept Col. Henry Dearborn's account, amounting to £76, 4s. 8d., for his time and expenses attending the general meeting at Philadelphia.

Voted, That the Treasurer receive certificates for interest on the public securities belonging to the Society, and convert the same into cash, for the purpose of paying the balances due from the Society.

Voted, That the Treasurer apportion the expenses of our late

representation among the several members, and notify them to pay their respective quotas thereof.

Voted, That the balance of Col. Dearborn's account, after deducting his proportion, be first paid, and then the balances due to members who have advanced money to the Society, after deducting their respective proportions of the expense incurred by the late representation at the General Meeting.

Voted, That the meeting stand adjourned to Thursday, the 3d day of February next.

CIRCULAR LETTER FROM THE GENERAL MEETING.

To the State Society of the Cincinnati in New-Hampshire :

Gentlemen,—We, the Delegates of the Cincinnati, after the most mature and deliberate discussion of the principles and objects of our Society, have thought proper to recommend that the enclosed "Institution of the Society of the Cincinnati, as altered and amended at their first meeting," should be adopted by your State Society.

In order that our conduct on this occasion may stand approved in the eyes of the world ; that we may not incur the imputation of obstinacy on the one hand or levity on the other ; and that you may be induced more cheerfully to comply with our recommendation, we beg leave to communicate the reasons on which we have acted.

Previous to our laying them before you, we hold it a duty to ourselves and our fellow-citizens to declare, (and we call heaven to witness the veracity of our declaration,) that in our whole agency on this subject we have been actuated by the purest principles.

Notwithstanding we are thus conscious for ourselves of the rectitude of our intentions in instituting or becoming members of this Fraternity ; and notwithstanding we are confident the highest evidence can be produced from your past, and will be given by your future behavior, that you could not have been influenced by any other motives than those of friendship, patriotism and benevolence ; yet, as our designs in some respects have been misapprehended ; as the instrument of our Association was of necessity drawn up in a hasty manner, at an epoch as extraordinary as it will be memorable in the annals of mankind, when the mind, agitated by a variety of emotions, was not at liberty to attend minutely to every circumstance

which respected our social connection, or to digest our ideas in so correct a form as could have been wished ; as the original Institution appeared, in the opinion of many respectable characters, to have comprehended objects incompatible with the genius and spirit of the Confederation ; and as in this case it would eventually frustrate our purposes, and be productive of consequences which we had not foreseen—Therefore, to remove every cause of inquietude ; to annihilate every source of jealousy ; to designate explicitly the ground on which we wish to stand, and give one more proof that the late officers of the American Army have a claim to be reckoned among the most faithful citizens, we have agreed that the following material alterations and amendments should take place :

That the hereditary succession should be abolished ; that all interference with political subjects should be done away ; and that the funds should be placed under the immediate cognizance of the several Legislatures, who should also be requested to grant charters for more effectually carrying our humane designs into execution.

In giving our reason for the alteration in the first article, we must ask your indulgence while we recall your attention to the original occasion which induced us to form ourselves into a society of friends.

Having lived in the strictest habits of amity through the various stages of a war unparalleled in many of its circumstances ; having seen the objects for which we contended happily attained ; in the moment of triumph and separation, when we were about to act the last pleasing melancholy scene in our military drama—pleasing, because we were to leave our country possessed of independence and peace ; melancholy, because we were to part, perhaps never to meet again ;—while every breast was penetrated with feelings which can be more easily conceived than described ; while every little act of tenderness recurred fresh to the recollection, it was impossible not to wish our friendship should be continued ; it was extremely natural to desire that they might be perpetuated by our posterity to the remotest ages. With these impressions and with such sentiments, we candidly confess we signed the Institution. We know our motives were irreproachable. But finding it apprehended by many of our countrymen that this would be drawing an unjustifiable line of discrimination between our descendants and the rest of the community, and averse to the creation of unnecessary and displeasing dis-

tinctions, we could not hesitate to relinquish every thing but our personal friendships, of which we cannot be divested, and those acts of beneficence which it is our intention should flow from them.

With views equally pure and disinterested we proposed to use our collective influence in support of that government and confirmation of that union, the establishment of which has engaged so considerable a part of our lives ; but learning, from a variety of information, that this is deemed an officious and improper interference, and that, if we are not charged with having sinister designs, yet we are accused of arrogating too much, and assuming the guardianship of the liberties of our country ;—thus circumstanced, we could not think of opposing ourselves to the concurring opinions of our fellow-citizens, however founded, or of giving anxiety to those whose happiness it is our interest and duty to promote.

We come next to speak of the charitable part of our Institution, which we esteem the basis of it. By placing your fund in the hands of the Legislature of your State, and letting them see the application is to the best purposes, you will demonstrate the integrity of your actions as well as the rectitude of your principles. And having convinced them your intentions are only of a friendly and benevolent nature, we are induced to believe they will patronize a design which they cannot but approve ; that they will foster the good dispositions and encourage the beneficent acts of those who are disposed to make use of the most effectual and most unexceptionable mode of relieving the distressed. For this purpose it is to be hoped that charters may be obtained in consequence of the applications which are directed to be made.

It is also judged most proper that the admission of members should be submitted to the regulation of such charters ; because, by thus acting in conformity to the sentiments of government, we not only give another instance of our reliance upon it, but of our disposition to remove every source of uneasiness respecting our Society.

We trust it has not escaped our attention, gentlemen, that the only objects of which we are desirous to preserve the remembrance, are of such a nature as cannot be displeasing to our countrymen or unprofitable to posterity. We have retained accordingly those devises which recognise the manner of our returning to our citizenship ; not as ostentatious marks of our discrimination, but as pledges of our

friendship, and emblems whose appearance will never permit us to deviate from the paths of virtue.

And we presume in this place it may not be inexpedient to inform that these are considered as the most endearing tokens of friendship, and held in the highest estimation by such of our allies as have become entitled to them, by having contributed their personal services to the establishment of our independence ; that these gentlemen, who are among the first in rank and reputation, have been permitted by their Sovereign to hold this grateful memorial of our reciprocal affections, and that this fraternal intercourse is viewed by that illustrious monarch and other distinguished characters, as no small additional cement to that harmony and reciprocation of good offices which so happily prevail between the two nations.

Having now relinquished whatever has been found objectionable in our original institution ; having, by the deference thus paid to the prevailing sentiments of the community, neither, as we conceive, lessened the dignity nor diminished the consistency of character which it is our ambition to support in the eyes of the present as well as future generations ; having thus removed every possible objection to our remaining connected as a society, and cherishing our mutual friendships to the close of life ; and having, as we flatter ourselves, retained in its utmost latitude, and placed upon a more certain and permanent foundation that primary article of our Association which respects the unfortunate—on these two great original pillars, Friendship and Charity, we rest our institution ; and we appeal to your liberality, patriotism and magnanimity ; to your conduct on every other occasion, as well as to the purity of your intentions on the present, for the ratification of our proceedings ; at the same time we are happy in expressing a full confidence in the candor, justice and integrity of the public that the Institution, as now altered and amended, will be perfectly satisfactory, and that acts of legislative authority will soon be passed, to give efficacy to your benevolence.

Before we conclude the Address, permit us to add that the cultivation of that amity we profess, and the extension of this charity, we flatter ourselves will be objects of sufficient importance to prevent a relaxation in the prosecution of them to diffuse comfort and support to any of our unfortunate companions who have seen better days, and merited a milder fate ; to wipe the tear from the eye of the

widow, who must have been consigned, with her hapless infants, to indigence and wretchedness but for this charitable institution ;—to succor the fatherless, to rescue the female orphan from destruction ; to enable the son to emulate the virtues of his father, will be no unpleasing task. It will communicate happiness to others, while it increases our own ; it will cheer our solitary reflections, and soothe our latest moments. Let us, then, prosecute with ardor what we have instituted in sincerity ; let heaven and our consciences approve our conduct ; let our actions be the best comment on our words, and let us leave a lesson to posterity that the glory of *soldiers* cannot be completed without acting well the part of *citizens*.

Signed by order :

G. WASHINGTON.

Philadelphia, May 15th, 1784.

THE INSTITUTION OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI,
(*as altered and amended at their first general meeting.*)

It having pleased the great Governor of the Universe to give success to the arms and to establish the United States free and independent ;—therefore, gratefully to commemorate this event, to inculcate to the latest ages the duty of laying down, in peace, arms assumed for public defence, by forming an Institution which recognizes that most important principle ; to continue the mutual friendships which commenced under the pressure of common danger, and to effectuate the acts of beneficence dictated by the spirit of brotherly kindness towards those officers and their families who unfortunately may be under the necessity of receiving them, the officers of the American Army do hereby constitute themselves into a Society of *Friends* ; and possessing the highest veneration for the character of that illustrious Roman, LUCIUS QUINTUS CINCINNATUS, denominate themselves THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.

SECTION 1. The persons who constitute this Society are all the commissioned and brevet officers of the Army and Navy of the United States, who have served three years, and who left the service with reputation ; all officers who were in actual service at the conclusion of the war ; all the principal staff officers of the Continental

Army ; and the officers who have been deranged by the several resolutions of Congress upon the different reforms of the army.

SEC. 2. There are also admitted into this Society the late and present ministers of His Most Christian Majesty to the United States ; all the Generals and Colonels of regiments and legions of the land forces ; all the Admirals and Captains of the Navy ranking as Colonels, who have coöperated with the armies of the United States in their exertions for *liberty*, and such other persons as have been admitted by the respective State Meetings.

SEC. 3. The Society shall have a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Assistant Secretary.

SEC. 4. There shall be a meeting of the Society at least once in three years, on the first Monday in May, at such place as the President shall appoint. The said meeting shall consist of the aforesaid officers, whose expenses shall be equally borne by the State funds, and a representation from each State. The business of the General Meeting shall be, to regulate the distribution of surplus funds, to appoint officers for the ensuing term, and to conform the By-Laws of State Meetings to the general objects of the Institution.

SEC. 5. The Society shall be divided into State Meetings ; each meeting shall have a President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer respectively, to be chosen by a majority of votes annually.

SEC. 6. The State meetings shall be on the anniversary of Independence ; they shall concert such measures as may conduce to the benevolent purposes of the Society ; and the several State meetings shall, at suitable periods, make application to their respective Legislatures for grants of charters.

SEC. 7. Any member removing from one State to another is to be considered in *all respects* as belonging to the meeting of the State in which he shall actually reside.

SEC. 8. The State meeting shall judge of the qualifications of its members, admonish and (if necessary) expel any one who may conduct himself unworthily.

SEC. 9. The Secretary of each State meeting shall register the names of the members resident in each State, and transmit a copy to the Secretary of the Society.

SEC. 10. In order to form funds for the relief of unfortunate members, their widows and orphans, each officer shall deliver to the Treasurer of the State meeting one month's pay.

SEC. 11. No donations shall be received but from citizens of the United States.

SEC. 12. The funds of each meeting shall be loaned to the State, by permission of the Legislature, and the interest only annually to be applied for the purposes of the Society; and if, in process of time, difficulties arise in executing the intentions of the Society, the Legislatures of the several States shall be requested to make such equitable dispositions as may be most correspondent with the original design of the Institution.

SEC. 13. The subjects of His Most Christian Majesty, members of this Society, may hold meetings at their pleasure, and form regulations for their police, conformably to the objects of the Institution and to the spirit of their government.

SEC. 14. The Society shall have an Order, which shall be a Bald Eagle of gold, bearing on its breast the emblems hereafter described, suspended by a deep blue ribbon, edged with white, descriptive of the union of America and France. The principal figure, Cincinnatus; three Senators presenting him with a sword and other military ensigns;—on a field in the back-ground, his wife standing in the door of their cottage; near it a plough and other instruments of husbandry. Round the whole—*Omnia reliquit servare Rempublicam*. On the reverse—sun rising; a city with open gates, and vessels entering the port. Fame crowning Cincinnatus with a wreath inscribed—*virtutis præmium*. Below, hands joined, supporting a heart, with the motto, *Esto perpetua*; round the whole—*Societas Cincinnatorum, instituta A. D. 1783*.

SEC. 15. A silver medal, representing the emblems, to be given to each member of the Society, together with a diploma on parchment, whereon shall be impressed the figures of the Order and Medal, as above mentioned.

Exeter, Feb. 3, 1784. The Society met according to adjournment.

Voted, That the sentiments comprehended in a letter laid before them, are agreeable to the minds of the meeting, and that a committee be appointed to draft a letter consistent with said sentiments, and put it in the hands of the Secretary, who is directed to transmit copies to each State Society, as soon as may be.

Voted, That the former Committee, or the major part of them, be empowered to draft the letter and put it in the hands of the Secretary, who is to forward copies of the same according to the foregoing vote. Adjourned to this place, July 4th, 1785.

Circular Letter from the Society, in consequence of the proposed alterations in the Institution.

The Society of the Cincinnati of New-Hampshire, at their State meeting held this day, have read and considered the circular letter from the general meeting, with the plan proposed by them instead of that which was first adopted.

We viewed with grief and astonishment the uneasiness which the establishment of our Society gave to some of our fellow citizens; and were no less surprised to find the pen of malice so successfully employed, in construing actions that flowed from the purest motives into secret and dangerous attempts to subvert a government which we had toiled and bled to bear up and defend.

Nothing could afford us more pleasure than to quiet the minds and remove the fears of our fellow citizens; but to yield to arguments that have no force, to acknowledge danger that cannot exist, to recede from a plan founded on the most laudable principles, thereby stamping the mark of suspicion on the most virtuous actions, or to adopt a conduct which might imply a concession, that by our serving as soldiers we have forfeited our right of citizens, and are not entitled to those privileges which our fellow subjects enjoy without control,—would be making a sacrifice which they have no right to expect.

The institution of Societies, establishing of funds, and wearing the badges of the respective Orders, will readily be acknowledged a right claimed and exercised by the citizens of this and every other free country; and if wearing the emblems of our Order establishes a rank of nobility in America, contrary to the Confederation, we can see no reason why the badge worn by the Free Masons does not as effectually do it.

If the officers, before their separation, had agreed to have their garments cut differently from other persons, and that their children should follow the example, we believe few persons would seriously pronounce this a creation of an order of nobility. But if medals

only can have the effect, Congress have already ennobled many of the American, and even foreign officers, by bestowing medals upon them for brilliant services.

If it should be said the difference lies in the descent of one being limited and the other not,—our answer is, that if this proves anything, it must prove that the descent of a medal ennoble a descendant which had no such effect upon his ancestor, and is an argument too feeble and absurd to deserve a serious refutation.

We are not tenacious of the power of writing to each other as Societies, though it might be difficult to assign a reason why every town-meeting, convention, committee of safety, societies of every kind, and even the individuals in the respective States, should enjoy without molestation the privilege of corresponding with each other upon any subject, and the officers of the American army alone deprived of it.

It will not be denied that all Societies, even companies of merchants, have repeatedly established funds and disposed of them according to their pleasure, without alarming the people; and surely the right of individuals to appropriate part of their property to charitable uses has never before been called in question, or such distribution thereof been decreed a crime.

But if every jealousy, however founded, is to be removed, and the tongue of envy to be silenced at all events, would not this have been more effectually and more honorably done, by laying the axe to the root of the tree, and abolishing the Society at once, than by partially receding from a plan established in the sincerity of friendship, and that rectitude of mind which led us to encounter every danger and endure the severest toils, to save a sinking country and emancipate her sons from the shackles of slavery?

When the arduous task was completed, and heaven had crowned our endeavors with success, a separation became necessary between officers whose friendship commenced with the contest, increased with every danger through a severe and tedious war, and was cemented by their blood.

We rejoiced at the event which divided us, while we lamented a separation from the partners of our fatigues, whose patriotism, virtue, patience and fortitude had endeared them to us, and bound us to them by the strongest ties of friendship.

To perpetuate this harmony, we instituted the Society, and considered the emblems of the Order as the most endearing marks of that friendship which we wished might be held in grateful remembrance by ourselves, and cherished among our children to the latest posterity; and the more effectually to witness our regard for each other, and for those who depended for support on our brethren who bravely fell in defence of their country, we established funds to relieve the distresses of their widows and orphans.

Having done this, we returned to our respective families, who had patiently borne a long and painful absence; many of them fallen from a state of affluence to the most trying circumstances,—all considerably reduced, and some even in the extremes of distressing poverty.

The continent being unable to fulfil its contracts, we had no means for relieving their wants; we could only present them with scars instead of cash, and ruined constitutions in lieu of the spoils of war.

This being the state of facts, can it possibly be expected that we should tamely submit to give up into the hands of the respective Legislatures the small funds which we established with the price of our blood, to be disposed of as they shall think proper, without our having the least control over it, or voice in disposing of it,—to become at our deaths a gift to the Legislatures; or, if the Society is kept up, (as in the plan proposed,) be enjoyed, not by us or our descendants, but by others that we know nothing of, and between whom and us there never existed any ties of blood or friendship?

If the Society cannot exist as originally instituted, we shall acquiesce in the abolishing it altogether; but as we became members by signing articles which we then and still suppose originated in virtuous friendship, we cannot conceive ourselves bound by articles we never subscribed.

When any new system is recommended, we shall individually claim a right of judging for ourselves the expediency of becoming members; but we never shall accede to any plan which permits any man or body of men to dispose of or even direct us in the disposition of our property.

With the greatest respect,

We are, gentlemen,

Your most humble servants.

By order of the Society:

EBENEZER SULLIVAN, *Secretary*.

Exeter, July 4, 1785. This day the Society of the Cincinnati met according to order. The President and Secretary being absent, the Vice-President presided, and Major Fogg was appointed Secretary *pro tempore*, when the Society proceeded to the election of officers for the ensuing year. The ballots being taken, the following gentlemen were declared elected :

The Hon. General Sullivan, President ; the Hon. General Cilley, Vice-President ; Colonel McClary, Treasurer ; Captain Cass, Vice-Treasurer ; Major Fogg, Secretary.

Voted, That the President be desired to direct the former Secretary to deliver unto the present Secretary, or his order, the records and proceedings of the Society.

Voted, That the next annual meeting be at Nottingham Square, and that the proceedings of this day be published in the New-Hampshire Gazette.

Nottingham, July 4, 1786. The Society of the Cincinnati met, and chose the following gentlemen officers for the ensuing year, viz :

His Excellency General Sullivan, President ; Hon. General Cilley, Vice-President ; Colonel McClary, Treasurer ; Major Cass, Assistant Treasurer ; Major Fogg, Secretary.

Voted, That the Treasurer be authorized to draw the interest now due on the public securities in the fund of the Society, and exchange the same for State notes on the best terms in his power, and as soon as may be convenient.

Voted, That all members of this Society who have not paid their respective quotas to the Treasurer, pay the same before the first day of January next, or be excluded from the privileges of the Society, and that the Treasurer notify them accordingly.

Voted, That Major Fogg, Major Cass and Doctor Parker be a committee to form some further rules for the better regulating the Society, and make report at the next annual meeting.

Voted, That Major Fogg, Major Cass and Lieut. Gookin be a committee to take into consideration a letter from the Ohio Company to this Society, and report at the next meeting what measures are proper to be taken ; and that the Secretary, in the mean time, acquaint Mr. Winthrop Sargent with our proceedings thereon.

Voted, That the next annual meeting be held at Mr. Benjamin Lamson's, at Exeter.

Exeter, April 16, 1787. At a meeting of the Society of the Cincinnati of New-Hampshire, by special order of the President,

Voted, That the following sentiments of the Society be transmitted to the general meeting, to be held at Philadelphia in May next, with a copy of the circular letter written from the Society, by order of a meeting held at Exeter on the 3rd day of February, 1785.

1st. This Society object to the plan proposed by the last general meeting, to submit the appropriation of funds to the Legislatures of the respective States, or to leave the existence of the Society to the regulation of charters, which may never be obtained, and on failure of which the Society must cease to exist.

2nd. That the abolition of hereditary succession, adopted by said general meeting, is so repugnant to the design of the Institution, and so destructive to the principles on which it was originally founded, that it ought not to be agreed to.

3rd. A liberty of correspondence being the right of freemen of every denomination in America, this Society can never consent to relinquish that right, and thereby degrade themselves below every other class of citizens.

The Society propose that the descendants of new elected members be entitled to the privilege of admittance, upon the death of an ancestor, in the same manner as the descendants of ancient members; and that upon the death of any new elected or ancient member, it shall be the business of the Society in the State where such deceased members dwelt, to nominate such of his sons (if any he have,) as will be most likely to fill the place of his ancestor with credit, and to notify him of his appointment; upon which he shall, upon appearing and subscribing to the Institution, be considered as a member, and entitled to all the privileges of other members.

Voted, That the proceedings of this meeting, with the copy of the aforesaid circular letter, be transmitted by the Secretary to the next general meeting, and that the Hon. Nicholas Gilman, Esq., be, and hereby is, appointed a delegate for the Society to the next general meeting, with full power to agree to such alterations in the Institution of the General Society as he may think proper.

Exeter, July 4th, 1787. At a meeting of the Society of the Cincinnati, held this day, the following gentlemen were elected officers for the ensuing year:

His Excellency General Sullivan, President; Hon. General Cilley, Vice-President; Major Fogg, Secretary; Colonel McClary, Treasurer; Major Cass, Assistant Treasurer.

Voted, That the Secretary summon Lieut. Jonathan Perkins to appear at the next general meeting, to answer for conduct unbecoming the character of a gentleman and member of this Society, and that he notify him that, in case of his non-attendance, he will be excluded from the Society.

Voted, That the operation of the vote passed at the last annual meeting respecting the delinquents in paying their several quotas, be suspended till the next annual meeting.

Voted, That the next annual meeting be held at Mr. B. Lamson's, at Exeter.

[We here cease to publish the Records of the Society, as they contain matter of little interest except the choice of officers at the annual meetings, and a few votes making charitable donations.]

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY FROM ITS ORGANIZATION.

PRESIDENTS.

Maj. Gen. John Sullivan, of Durham,	from 1783 to 1794.
Gen. Joseph Cilley, of Nottingham,	" 1794—1799.
Maj. Joseph Mills, of Nottingham,	" 1799—1809.
Col. Amos Cogswell,* of Dover,	" 1809—1823.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Lieut. Col. Henry Dearborn, of Exeter,	from 1783 to 1784.
Gen. Joseph Cilley, of Nottingham,	" 1784—1794.
Maj. Joseph Mills, of Nottingham,	" 1794—1799.
Lieut. Jonathan Cilley,	" 1799—1802.
Col. Samuel Adams, of Durham,	" 1802—1803.
Col. Amos Cogswell, of Dover,	" 1803—1809.
Col. Bradbury Cilley, of Nottingham,	" 1809—1823.

SECRETARIES.

Capt. Ebenezer Sullivan, of Durham, from 1783 to 1785.

* Col. Cogswell, who had been a member of the Cincinnati in Massachusetts, having removed into New-Hampshire, by the Constitution of the General Society became a member of the New-Hampshire Cincinnati. This is the reason why his name does not before appear.

Maj. Jeremiah Fogg, of Kensington, from 1785 to 1808.
 Capt. Daniel Gookin, of North-Hampton, " 1808—1823.

TREASURERS.

Col. Joseph Cilley, of Nottingham, from 1783 to 1784.
 Gen. Michael McClary, of Epsom, " 1784—1823.

ASSISTANT TREASURERS.

Maj. Jonathan Cass, of Exeter, from 1783 to 1794.
 Lieut. Jonathan Cilley, of Nottingham, " 1794—1799.
 Col. James H. McClary, of Epsom, " 1799—1811.
 Capt. John Sullivan, Jr., of Durham, " 1811—1819.*

PLACE AND TIME OF MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

Exeter,	Nov. 18,	1783.	Portsmouth, July 4,	1802.
"	Jan. 7,	1784.	" "	1803.
"	Feb. 5,	1784.	" "	1804.
"	April 2,	1784.	" "	1805.
"	May 5,	1784.	" "	1806.
"	July 4,	†1784.	" "	1807.
"	"	1785.	Dover, "	1808.
Nottingham,	"	1786.	Epsom, "	1809.
Exeter,	"	1787.	" "	1810.
"	"	1788.	Portsmouth, "	1811.
Durham,	"	1789.	" "	1812.
"	"	1790.	" "	1813.
"	"	1791.	Epsom, "	1814.
"	"	1792.	Portsmouth, "	1815.
Deerfield,	"	1793.	" "	1816.
"	"	1794.	" "	1817.
Nottingham,	"	1795.	" "	1818.
"	"	1796.	Epping, "	1819.
"	"	1797.	Nottingham, "	1820.
"	"	1798.	Deerfield, "	1821.
"	"	1799.	Portsmouth, "	1822.
Portsmouth,	"	1800.	" "	†1823.
"	"	1801.		

* There was no Assistant Treasurer after this time.

† From this time we record no meetings but the Annual. There were occasionally other meetings, but they were few in number, and generally of minor importance.

‡ After 1823, the Society ceased to hold meetings, and the Society became extinct by the death of all the members. The book of records was presented to the New-Hampshire Historical Society, as the most appropriate place of deposit in after time, by John W. Gookin, of North-Yarmouth, Me.

The document conveying the property which is mentioned in the following letter, is here inserted as a matter of historic record.

LETTER OF JOHN W. GOOKIN, Esq.

North-Yarmouth, (Centre) Me., Oct. 24, 1842.

Rev. Nathaniel Bouton, Cor. Sec'y N. H. Historical Society :

DEAR SIR : I wish to present to the New-Hampshire Historical Society (through the hands of my nephew, J. Wingate Thornton, Esq.,) the book and papers of the New-Hampshire branch of the Society of the Cincinnati, which has become extinct by the death of all the members. My father, Daniel Gookin, was the last of the original members, and he has been dead about twelve years. I consider the Library of your Society the most safe and proper place for the deposit of this valuable record of some of our Revolutionary worthies ; and although they have gone to their long home, I hope the principles for which they contended may be perpetuated to the latest posterity.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your ob't servant,

JOHN W. GOOKIN.

REV. JAMES MACGREGOR.

Rev. James Macgregor, as he wrote the name himself, was the first minister of Londonderry ; came from the North of Ireland, where he formerly had the charge of a Presbyterian Society, and arrived at Boston, 14 October, 1718. He was led to emigrate to America from the sufferings of the Protestants in Ireland, and a strong desire for civil and religious liberty. With him came about a hundred families, of which sixteen commenced the settlement of a tract of land in New-Hampshire, called Nutfield, on the 11th April, 1719. For a short time after his arrival he preached at Dracut, but was invited to take charge of the Society at Nutfield, and soon became their minister, in which office he remained until his death, the 5th March, 1729. "He was a wise, affectionate and faithful guide to his people, both in civil and religious concerns," and his memory is still cherished with grateful recollections in the town which he assisted in founding.

A JOURNAL

Of the march of Gen. POOR's Brigade, from Soldier's Fortune, on the Western Expedition, May 17, 1779 : by DANIEL LIVERMORE, Captain in the Third New-Hampshire Regiment, with a short Sketch of his life.

[Furnished by JOSEPH B. WALKER, Esq., of Concord.]

DANIEL LIVERMORE was born in Watertown, Ms., A. D. 1749. Quite early in life, when some twelve or fifteen years of age, he went to Concord, N. H., and was apprenticed to Deacon John Kimball, a house carpenter of that town. He remained with him until the commencement of the Revolution, in 1775. In June, of that year, he received from the Congress of the Colony of New-Hampshire, a commission of Ensign of the Fifth Company in the Third Regiment of Foot, commanded by Col. John Stark, and entered his country's service. In January, of the following year, he was appointed by the Delegates of the United Colonies First Lieutenant of Capt. Woodbury's Company, in Col. Stark's Regiment. From his next commission, bearing date June 16, 1779, it appears that he received from the United States of America an appointment of Captain in the Third New-Hampshire Regiment, to take rank as such from the eighth day of November, A. D. 1776.

After the commencement of the war, the Indians of the Six Nations, instigated by British agents, and joined by a band of Tories, fell upon the defenceless inhabitants of the frontier settlements of New-York and Pennsylvania, and committed atrocities the most barbarous and cruel. Humanity was shocked at the recital of the horrible massacre at Cherry Valley and Wyoming ; and, as a part of the plan of the Campaign of 1779, it was determined to raise a force for the purpose of laying waste their country and driving them back from the frontiers. An expedition was accordingly fitted out in the Spring of this year, and the command given to Gen. Sullivan. The troops, numbering about five thousand, commenced their march through the wilderness towards the Indian settlements. They were met by a force of Indians and Tories, whom they routed ; and afterwards, proceeding through the Indian country, they destroyed their

villages, crops and provisions, and drove back the inhabitants to the vicinity of Niagara. Capt. Livermore commanded a Company of Foot in this expedition, and the following Journal was written from day to day during its progress.

Capt. Livermore continued in the army during the three succeeding years, and on the tenth of October, A. D. 1783, was promoted by Congress to the rank of Major by brevet in the army of the United States. Having served during the entire period of the war, which had now been brought to a close, and seen the independence of his country declared, maintained and acknowledged, on the nineteenth day of December, A. D. 1783, he asked permission to retire from the service, and returned to Concord. Soon after his return he was married to Sarah, eldest daughter of Hon. Timothy Walker, of that town. Here he continued to reside, engaged principally in the pursuits of agriculture, until his death. He was highly esteemed by the citizens of Concord, and, as a mark of their confidence in his abilities and integrity, they elected him, in 1794, to represent them in the General Court of New-Hampshire, holden that year at Amherst.

Several of Maj. Livermore's neighbors now living, and who knew him well, speak of him as a man possessed of more than ordinary mental abilities, and of much intelligence. They represent him as having been tall and slender in his person, easy in his manners, and exceedingly courteous; as having been a good citizen, and a most earnest patriot; ever ready to make any personal sacrifice that the welfare of his friends or his country might require. He died at the age of forty-nine years, on the twenty-second day of June, A. D. 1798.

JOURNAL.

Monday, May 17, 1779. This day at eight o'clock the remaining part of Gen. Poor's brigade leave Soldier's Fortune and march on the Western Expedition. At three o'clock, P. M., halt at Fishkill, where we dine, twelve miles from our old quarters. At five, P. M., march for the Ferry, which we make about sunset; five miles from town. Col. Read's regiment cross the North River this evening.

Col. Dearborn's take quarters for the night on the east side. Nothing remarkable happens during the day. 17 miles.

Tuesday, May 18. This morning the weather being fair we proceed to conveying our baggage and stores over the river, to Newburg Landing, which was completed at about twelve o'clock. Here the troops refresh. At two o'clock, P. M., are ready to march, near which time Gen. Poor arrives from New-Hampshire. The troops now proceed on their march by the way of New-Windsor, three miles; thence to Bethlehem, nine miles. Put up at Maj. Deboyse's. This place is in the State of New-York, and County of Orange. The country is not very good in general, although some of the farms are very fine. Nothing material has happened this day. 12 miles.

Wednesday, May 19. This morning the troops march, at seven o'clock, through a very fertile part of the country, and make a short halt at Bloomsgrrove Church, five miles. From thence proceed on our march five miles, to a small village called Chester. Here we halt an hour. The weather proves rainy, but we proceed on the march three miles, and are then obliged to put up for the night, by reason of the bad weather, in very disagreeable quarters. The country during this day's march is exceedingly good, but the inhabitants are not friendly. Nothing remarkable happens this day. 13 miles.

Thursday, May 20. This morning the weather still continues rainy; necessity obliges us to continue the march. The travelling is exceedingly bad. At nine o'clock make a halt at a small village called Warwick, six miles. Here we take breakfast at Beard's tavern, from whence we proceed on the march to Hardiston, seven miles. During this day's march we went past but few farms of any consequence. The land is not fertile, but on both sides of the valley very mountainous and broken. At about four, P. M., we arrived at the aforementioned place. The weather continues rainy. Put up at Hinksman's, formerly a tavern, but now a torified house. Nothing remarkable happens during this day. 13 miles.

Friday, May 21. The weather continues rainy. The troops lie by in their disagreeable quarters. Nothing remarkable happens during this day.

Saturday, May 22. This day the troops lie by for want of provisions, and are employed in washing and drying their clothes. Nothing remarkable happens this day except a dispute which arose between the landlord and some of the officers, on account of the uncivil treatment they received from him, which was carried to no small height. N. B.—A Tory.

Sunday, May 23. This morning the troops march at five o'clock. Proceed on their march seven miles, to the sign of the Ball. Here make a short halt. This is about two miles from New-York line, in the State of New-Jersey. We soon march on a few miles farther, and halt four hours in the heat of the day. At two o'clock proceed on the march through a mountainous, poor country, having but few inhabitants. At six o'clock arrive at Sussex State House, where we put up for the night. This is a small village consisting of about ten decent houses, with a large State House, built of stone. In the north-east part of the town the people are chiefly of the English descent, but the greater part are not friendly to our cause. We put up at Prentice's tavern, and had very good treatment. I passed the evening very agreeably with our own corps of officers, and Mr. Abial Frye. Nothing remarkable happens during this day. So ends the twenty-four hours. 22 miles.

Monday, May 24. This morning, at about seven o'clock, the troops proceed on their march for Easton. We make but very few halts during this day's march. At about five, P. M., we arrive at a small village called Moravian Mills, or Oxford. This place is pleasantly situated, lying on a small river, on which stands the most curious corn mill I ever saw. The inhabitants are of that denomination of people called Moravians. They are of a kind and benevolent disposition. The curiosities of this place are worthy of notice; their water-works in particular form a large fountain opposite the town, on a hill. The water is carried under ground down the hill and through the bottom of the river, to a considerable of an eminence on the opposite side. During the preceding day's march we travelled through an indifferent country. The people were chiefly of the Dutch descent. Nothing remarkable happens during this day's march. 16 miles.

Tuesday, May 25. This morning the troops march early. Make a short halt at Carr's Tavern, five miles; from whence we proceed on the march and make but few stops till we halt for the night. The troops encamp on the edge of a wood, on the left hand, near Col. Bond's. This night we lie on the ground in the open air. Sometime in the night it rains and makes it very uncomfortable. During the preceding day's march the weather was very hot. The country on the right hand is fertile. Some exceeding fine farms between the road and the river Delaware, which is from five to two miles distant. During the day's march nothing remarkable happens. 17 miles.

Wednesday, May 26. This morning the troops march early. At eight o'clock arrive at Easton Ferry, five miles. We then proceed to conveying the troops and baggage over the Delaware, which is completed at about ten o'clock. This day the troops are supplied with tents, and encamp on the south-east side of the town, on the banks of the river Lehigh, which empties itself at this place into the Delaware. The town of Easton is pleasantly situated, on a level plat of ground, on a point made by the Delaware and Lehigh. The buildings in this place are plain, and built of stone. Their State House is built in the centre of the town, where four roads meet. It is built of stone and lime, and makes an elegant appearance. They have one house of worship, near the State House. It is built of hewn stone; large and elegant, with a large organ. The inhabitants are chiefly Low Dutch, and they worship wholly in that way. There are some few Jews living here, who are the principal merchants of the place.

Thursday, May 27; Friday, 28; Saturday, 29, and Sunday, 30. Nothing material happens. We lie by, having little to do. Spend our time in fishing and other sort of diversions.

Monday, May 31. This day I set out on a party of pleasure, to Bethlehem, in company with a number of gentlemen, officers of the brigade. Had an elegant dinner, after which we walked out and took a survey of the town and its curiosities. The town of Bethlehem is a small, compact town, lying on the river Lehigh, about twelve miles from Easton. It lies on a small descent towards the south-east, and is pleasantly situated. The inhabitants are all Low

Dutch, and of that denomination called Moravians. They are much bigoted in their ways of worship, as also in their method of living. Their buildings are not elegant, though decent, and built wholly of stone and lime. They have but one place of public worship, and perform in the Dutch language, and one house of entertainment, which is supplied out of the public fund. Nothing extraordinary happens this day.

Tuesday, June 1. Nothing remarkable happens this day. We lay in camp, having little exercise.

Wednesday, June 2 ; Thursday, 3 ; Friday, 4 ; Saturday, 5 ; Sunday, 6, and Monday, 7. Nothing remarkable happens.

Tuesday, June 8. This day the troops are reviewed by Gen. Sullivan. They parade on the banks of the river Lehigh, about one mile from the town, on very disagreeable ground. Nothing remarkable happens during this day.

Wednesday, June 9. This day the two remaining regiments of Gen. Poor's brigade decamp and move up the river about one mile. There encamp on the banks, on good ground. Nothing remarkable happens during this day.

Thursday, June 10. This day the troops parade at four, P. M., for exercise ; march to town and go through various manœuvres, in forming and displaying columns, crossing defiles, &c. Nothing remarkable happens this day.

Friday, June 11. This day, at four o'clock, the troops march to town for exercise, and perform several manœuvres of displaying columns and reducing platoons to rank entire, and forming the same. Nothing remarkable happens this day. So ends the twenty-four hours.

Saturday, June 12. This day, at four, P. M., the troops parade to attend the execution of three criminals, inhabitants of this State, convicted of murder and highway robbery. They were tried before the civil authority, and have been under sentence eleven months. Nothing more worthy of notice this day.

Sunday, June 13. This day, one of the criminals executed yesterday was dug up and dissected, of which I was a spectator. Nothing further worthy of notice this day.

Monday, June 14; Tuesday, 15; Wednesday, 16, and Thursday, 17. Nothing worthy of notice happens. We follow our diversions while we stay at this place.

Friday, June 18. This morning, at four o'clock, the troops strike their tents and load their baggage, in order for marching at seven o'clock. With much regret we take our leave of that pleasant town, and pursue our intended expedition. We march on seven miles, through an indifferent part of the country. Here the troops halt and take breakfast. We then pursue our march, and travel through the poorest country I ever saw—so bad that even bushes can't grow thereon. About five, P. M., we encamp near Hill's tavern, in Hillstown. Nothing remarkable during this day's march. 12 miles.

Saturday, June 19. This morning the troops march early, and pass the Windgap, so called, for its being the only pass for a number of miles through the long chain of mountains that extend to the southernmost part of the Continent, called the ——— mountains. We continue our march through a very barren and mountainous part of the country, and make a halt at Brinker's Mills, seven miles. Here we breakfast, from whence we proceed on the march and make few halts till we halt for the night at Leonard's tavern, in Poconogo, nine miles, and the last house on that road till we came within seven miles of Susquehanna. Nothing remarkable happens during this day's march. 16 miles.

Sunday, June 20. This morning the troops march at eight o'clock; leave Poconogo, and proceed to Chowder Camp, where we encamp for the night, five miles. This day we march through a barren, mountainous country, and uninhabited. Nothing remarkable during this day's march. 5 miles.

Monday, June 21. This morning I mount guard. The troops march at sunrise, and soon enter the Great Swamp. Proceed seven miles and take breakfast. Here we cross the small river called Tunkhannunk, which empties itself into the Delaware at Easton.

We now proceed on our march through the Swamp, which is a dark and dismal place, being covered with a growth of large pines and hemlock, and small brush so thick that a man can't be seen a rod from the road. This swamp is not level, but has some considerable hills and ledgy mountains in it; and by accounts it extends between forty and fifty miles, north and south, and from twelve to twenty in width. In about seven miles we cross another small river, called the Tobahanna, much smaller than the former. We still proceed on the march, making few halts. About two came to Locust Hill, but, there being no water, obliged us to continue the march; the traveling very bad and the troops much fatigued. At about four, P. M., we cross considerable of a river, which is the principal branch of the river Lehigh. At about six, P. M., arrive at Barren Hill, alias Burnt Plain, much fatigued with our day's march. Here we encamp for the night. Nothing remarkable happens during this day's march. 19 miles.

Tuesday, June 22. This day the troops lie by till twelve o'clock, at which time we move off the ground, myself in the rear guard. The troops were scarcely gone when two savages were seen by our friendly Indians, and the first that had been discovered by our party during the march. At about five we arrive at Billock House, where we encamp for the night. Nothing extraordinary this day. 5 miles.

Wednesday, June 23. This morning the troops march at seven o'clock, and pass the Bear Swamp, and a place called the Shades of Death, by its being a dark, lonesome place. The sun is scarcely to be seen for the trees and bushes. Not far from this place is where Capt. Davis and Lieut. Jones, from Pennsylvania, were inhumanly murdered, April 18th, 1779, by the savages. During the whole of our march from Easton we travelled through the most barren part of the country I ever saw for so far together. Rocky mountains, sunken swamps and burning plains the whole of the way. At about two, P. M., we arrive at Wyoming, which lies on the east branch of the Susquehanna river. Here is a fertile country, but the town wholly destroyed by the savages; and, if I mistake not, about this time, twelve months ago, their settlements were very extensive both up and down the river. There are two hundred and fifty widows in this place, whose husbands were slain in Col. Butler's battle, about

the time the town was destroyed. The principal town was on the east side of the river. This was a County town, in the County of Westmoreland. The inhabitants are wholly from the State of Connecticut, and hold their land by its grant. The troops march about half a mile down the river and encamp. Nothing remarkable happens this day. 7 miles.

Thursday, June 24. Nothing remarkable happens this day. We lie by in our tents, having little or no duty to do. So ends the twenty-four hours.

Friday, June 25, and Saturday, 26. Nothing worthy of notice happens. All peace and quietness. So ends the forty-eight hours.

Sunday, June 27. This day the two regiments of Gen. Poor's brigade, 2nd and 3rd, cross the river, and move about three miles up stream and encamp on its banks, near a large picket fort, known by the name of Forty Fort. This fort derives its name from its being built by forty persons, original proprietors of the tract of land lying on that side the Susquehanna, and containing forty rights. The land here is very fertile, and the intervalle or meadow extends near four miles from the banks of the river. Nothing extraordinary happens during this day. 3 miles.

Monday, June 28 ; Tuesday, 29 ; Wednesday, 30 ; Thursday, July 1 ; Friday, 2, and Saturday, 3. Nothing remarkable happens. Scarcity of provisions, which makes uneasiness among the troops.

Sunday, July 4. This day, being the anniversary of the Independence of America, and being Sunday, the celebration was put off till tomorrow. This day we are joined by the other—2nd regiment—belonging to the brigade. Col. Cilley, New-Hampshire troops ; Col. Courtland, New-York troops. Nothing remarkable happens during this day.

Monday, July 5. This day General Poor makes an elegant entertainment for all the officers of his brigade, with a number of gentlemen from other brigades, and from the town. Gen. Hand and his retinue were present. The dining room was a large booth, about eighty feet in length, with a marquee pitched at each end. The day

was spent in civil mirth and jollity. The company consisted of upwards of one hundred, who graced the feast with a number of good songs. After dinner the following toasts were drank, to wit :

1st. The United States.

2nd. The Fourth of July, '76: The memorable era of American Independence.

3rd. The Grand Council of America.

4th. Gen. Washington and the Army.

5th. The King and Queen of France.

6th. Gen. Sullivan and the Western Expedition.

7th. May the Counsellors of America be wise, and her Soldiers invincible.

8th. A successful and decisive campaign.

9th. Civilization, or death to all savages.

10th. To the immortal memory of those heroes who have fallen in defence of American Liberty.

11th. May the husbandman's cottage be blessed with peace, and his fields with plenty.

12th. Vigor and virtue to the sons and daughters of America.

13th. May the New World be the last asylum of freedom and the arts.

Tuesday, July 6. This day nothing worthy of notice happens.

Wednesday, July 7. This day I sat on a court martial. Nothing remarkable happens this day. So ends the twenty-four hours.

Thursday, July 8, and Friday, 9. Nothing worthy of notice happens.

Saturday, July 10. This day I ride to town for recreation. Towards evening ride down the river about four miles, to a place called Shawney. The land is exceedingly good and pleasant. I return home late. Visit the guards at twelve o'clock at night. This day Capt. Frye and Capt. Ellis set out on their command to Brinker's Mills.

Sunday, July 11, and Monday, 12. Nothing happens worthy of notice.

Tuesday, July 13. This day a number of gentlemen and ladies

from town ride up to take a survey of our encampment; Col. Butler, Capt. Spalding and others, with their ladies.

Wednesday, July 14, and Thursday, 15. Nothing worthy of note happens.

Friday, July 16. This day I dine with Gen. Poor, in company with the Hon. Major General Sullivan and his Suite. The day was spent very agreeably. Nothing remarkable happens during the day.

Saturday, July 17. Nothing worthy of notice happens this day.

Sunday, July 18. This day, at ten, A. M., the brigade attend divine service. This afternoon considerable of a cannonade is heard down the river, the reason of which is not yet known. Nothing extraordinary.

Monday, July 19. Nothing happens worthy of notice this day. So ends the twenty-four hours.

Tuesday, July 20. Nothing this day to be mentioned.

Wednesday, July 21. This evening, by order of Gen. Poor, I sat out from camp for Easton, in company with Lieut. Hoite. At ten, P. M., leave Col. Butler's and enter the Shady Grove. At daybreak we arrive at Locust Hill, from whence we proceed, and at eleven o'clock join Col. Read at Brinker's Mills; halt two hours, and then proceed to Easton. Nothing remarkable happens during Wednesday night and Thursday. So ends the thirty-six hours.

Friday, July 23. This morning I feel the effects of my late journey; am employed in preparing for returning to camp. Nothing material during this day.

Saturday, July 24. This day I set out for Easton. Nothing remarkable happens this day.

Sunday, July 25. This day, after sending the party on, I stop, in company with Dr. Barnet and other gentlemen, and take breakfast; from whence we proceed on the journey and make a halt at Hiller's tavern, Plainfield, twelve miles from Easton. Here we halt for the night. Nothing remarkable happens this twenty-four hours.

Monday, July 26. This morning the weather still proves rainy, but we proceed on the journey to Brinker's mill; there dine; move on to Leonard's tavern and put up for the night. A dispute arises between Capt. Peatt and myself. So ends the twenty-four hours.

Tuesday, July 27. This day we move on the march through the woods and swamp. This evening, at seven o'clock, come up with Col. Read's party at Bullock's house, and there stay during the night with Capt. Frye. No more this day.

Wednesday, July 28. This morning I march early in, and leave Col. Read on the ground. At nine I arrive at Wyoming, and find the brigade have moved on to the east side of the river.

Thursday, July 29. Nothing remarkable during this day.

Friday, July 30. This day I am busy in preparing for the march.

Saturday, July 31. This day the troops march from Wyoming. They march on the east side of the river. At about sunset arrive at Lakawaonunk, ten miles. This was a new settlement, but destroyed by the savages. The land is very fertile, and bids fair to have made a very fine town. The river here takes a turn to about a west point. Nothing remarkable happens during this day's march. 10 miles.

Sunday, August 1. This day the troops march at twelve o'clock. The road here soon leaves the upland and takes the beach; the mountains here shutting close down on the river till we come to Quilutimunk, seven miles. Here encamp for the night on the intervale, the finest I ever saw. Nothing remarkable this day. 7 miles.

Monday, August 2. This day I improve in fishing with the seine, and catch some bass and other fine fish. So ends the 24 hours.

Tuesday, August 3. This morning, at 7 o'clock, the troops leave Quilutimunk; proceed on the march up the river, which we soon leave and take the upland. The country is very mountainous for near 10 miles. Here we encamp for the night at a small settlement called the Tunkhannunk. 10 miles.

Wednesday, August 4. This morning the troops march early

through a barren country. March 10 miles to a small river called — ; make a short halt and refresh, and then proceed 5 miles to Vanderlap's Ford. Here encamp for the night. The finest black walnut timber grows on the intervalle that I ever saw. This place is desolated, and the owner gone to the enemy. Nothing remarkable this day. 15 miles.

Thursday, August 5. This day the troops leave Vanderlap's desolated farms. I march on the flank guard, over the most mountainous country I ever travelled. Here the mountains shut down close on the river for 7 or 8 miles. At 6 o'clock we arrive at Wyeluting. Nothing remarkable happens this day. 10 miles.

Friday, August 6. This day the troops lie by for washing their clothes. Nothing remarkable happens during the day. This place is remarkable for its fertility. It is a considerable spot of intervalle, extending up the river about 2 miles, but not exceeding half a mile back from the river. This place was settled by a denomination of people called Moravian Indians, by the Moravians having missionaries among them. They are all gone back at present, and are with the enemy.

Saturday, August 7. This day the weather proves rainy. The troops lie by.

Sunday, August 8. This morning the troops proceed on their march up the river; the country not extraordinary, and the mountains shutting in on the river on both sides most of this day's march. At 1 o'clock halt at the Standing Stone, so called by there being a large rock on the side of the river standing on one end. Here we encamp for the night on the intervalle, there being considerable of a tract of good land at this place. Nothing remarkable during this day. 11 miles.

Monday, August 9. This morning the troops proceed on the march and make a short halt at 4 miles. Here is considerable of a body of intervalle, the finest I ever saw; the wild grass and wild beans higher than a man's head. Here are the finest buttonwood trees that I have seen in my travels, growing as tall and straight as any pine trees that I ever saw, and equally as large. We now proceed

on the march, leaving the river and taking the upland, and travel through a very indifferent country. At 6 o'clock arrive at Sullivan's Farms, formerly Shegekanunk Flats. Here encamp on the flats, twelve miles. Nothing remarkable during this day. 16 miles.

Tuesday, August 10. This day the troops lie by on the flats. Nothing remarkable happens this day.

Wednesday, August 11. This morning the troops march up the river 1 mile, and there ford the — branch, and march up on the south side of the river; and in marching about 2 miles come to where Queenchester palace was destroyed. It is a fine, open, level country. Here we cross the south branch of the river, into the old Indian town called Tiego, which lies in the arms of the two rivers. Their wigwams were all destroyed by themselves about a year ago, when they left the place.

Thursday, August 12. The troops lie by this day. At 6, P. M., orders come for marching to Chemung. At 9, this evening, set out on the expedition. The night is very dark and the road very indifferent; nothing more than a foot path, and in many places none at all. At daybreak we come to the town of Chemung, which consists of about seventeen Indian houses, or wigwams, deserted by the enemy. The land on the east side is but indifferent. On the west the intervale appears to be considerably extensive. At this place there are some fine fields of Indian corn, which we destroyed by fire. Gen. Hand, who marched in front, lost 6 men on the field, and Col. Cilley 1. Major Franklin, from Wyoming, is badly wounded.

Friday, August 13. We still lie on the ground until twelve o'clock, when we begin to move for our old quarters, Tiego. Col. Shrewler's regiment, of Jersey, and Col. Dearborn's, of New-Hampshire, form the left flank on our march back. At 9 o'clock in the evening we arrive at Tiego, where tents and baggage were left, much fatigued with our march. So ends the 24 hours.

Saturday, August 14. This morning I feel much fatigued with my late command, but, nothing of notice turning up, we lie by and rest.

Sunday, August 15. Nothing remarkable happens during this day.

Monday, August 16. This day a detachment of 900 men is sent up the east branch to join Gen. Clinton, who is expected to be on his march from lake —, the head of this river. The country during this day's march is poor, being chiefly pine plain, with some considerable hills. At sunset we encamp on the banks of the river, on the west side. Nothing remarkable this day. 13 miles.

Tuesday, August 17. This day the troops march early. I march on the flank guard. The country is very mountainous, with some fertile valleys. At 4, P. M., we arrive at a considerable Indian town, called Owago, 14 miles. Here is a very good tract of land on both sides of the river. The town consisted of about twenty houses, which we destroyed, together with considerable Indian corn, which is in the milk, just fit to roast. The town appears to have been evacuated but a little time. 14 miles.

Wednesday, August 18. This morning we march early. During this day's march we travel through a broken, barren country, having no path of consequence, but picking our way over mountains and through sunken swamps, the most disagreeable travelling I have seen. At 4, P. M., arrive at Churamuk, a considerable Indian town on the east side of the river, consisting of about — houses, which we destroyed. Here we found corn and cucumbers in abundance. The land here is exceeding fine; a large flat of 400 or 500 acres, clear run over to English grass, so thick and high it was with difficulty a man could travel through. Here we encamp for the night. At sunset we hear a cannon up the river, which we suppose to be at Gen. Clinton's encampment. Two men are sent off this evening as spies. 18 miles.

Thursday, August 19. This morning we hear another gun up the river, but, no intelligence arriving, the troops are ordered to march, and proceed about one mile, when our spies, sent off last evening, meet us with intelligence of Gen. Clinton's being near. We then return to the place of our last encampment. At 10, A. M., Gen. Clinton arrives with about — boats and 1500 men. We immediately proceed on the march for Tiego. At sunset arrive at the old encampment at Owago, and encamp. Nothing material happens this day. 14 miles.

Friday, August 20. This day it proves rainy. We suffer much by reason of the weather and want of tents.

Saturday, August 21. This morning the troops march early. Make but few halts during the day. At 5, P. M., encamp on the banks of the river opposite — farm, about 17 miles from Owago. Nothing remarkable this day. 19 miles.

Sunday, August 22. This morning the troops march early for the old encampment at Tiego, which we make at about 11, A. M. Nothing remarkable during this day. 8 miles.

Monday, August 23. This day a very melancholy accident happened. A soldier, in snapping his gun, insensible of its being loaded, it went off and shot Capt. Benjamin Kimball through the heart. The same shot went through two more tents, where were a number of soldiers, with no further hurt than slightly wounding a man in the leg.

Tuesday, August 24. This morning the remains of Capt. Kimball were interred with the honors of war. The troops are paraded and all the baggage loaded. Every thing is made ready for the excursion into the Indian country. At sunset all unloaded, and tents pitched on the old ground. The morning gun to be the signal for marching tomorrow morning.

Tiego, Wednesday, August 25. The day is very rainy, which prevents the troops marching. They lie by on the ground. Nothing remarkable this day.

Tiego, Thursday, August 26. This morning at 11, A. M., the troops march from Tiego, making our course about north-west, over a thick pine plain, clearing the road before us, and following the Allegana branch. Encamp at 3, P. M., near the river, by a large plat of intervale. Nothing remarkable this day. 4 miles.

Friday, August 27. This morning at 8 o'clock the army proceed on the march in two columns, about half a mile in distance and about a west course. The artillery deters our march this day, having the road to clear before us through an uncultivated wilderness.

The difficulties of this day prevent the troops from encamping till 12 o'clock at night, at which time we encamp on a large flat of intervalle, called Old Chemung. Here is a vast quantity of corn and vegetables, which we destroy. There are no buildings at this place, the town being built about 3 miles up the river. 6 miles.

Saturday, August 28. Having despatched the business here, at 11, A. M., march forward, and at sunset encamp at Chemung town, near the banks of the river. This evening several smokes and fires are discovered at some distance before us, supposed to be the enemy. 6 miles.

Chemung, Sunday, August 29. At 10 o'clock this morning the troops proceed on the march in the usual order. At about 12 o'clock our vanguard come in sight of the enemy's lines, thrown up by our left from the river, half a mile in extent, on a very advantageous piece of ground; the infantry beginning a slow attack on their flanks and advance parties, while Gen. Poor's brigade is sent round their left flank, to gain the enemy's rear, which he nearly completed, falling in with their flank, or rather their main body, lying off in the woods in order to cut off our rear. A very warm action ensued between about 600 chosen savages, commanded by Brant and Capt. Butler, of the Queen's rangers, and Poor's brigade, commanded by himself in person. The brigade marched on with coolness, with charged bayonets, not a gun being fired till within a short distance, when the enemy were obliged to give back, leaving their dead on the ground, amounting to about twenty. We took three prisoners. At sunset, after a complete victory, encamp near the field of action, carrying off our dead and wounded. Among the latter was Major Titcomb, Capt. Cloyes, and Lt. McCawley, and about thirty others. The killed amounted to but four or five. During the whole of the action Col. Reed's and Col. Dearborn's regiments fared the hardest. 6 miles.

Near Newton, Monday, August 30. This day Lieut. McCawley dies of his wounds. The whole of the army lie by and are employed in destroying the corn and vegetables at this place, which are very plenty. The wounded are sent down the river this evening to Chemung, and the remains of the dead buried. This evening the whole

of the army by their voluntary consent are reduced to half allowance ; half a pound of beef and flour.

Newton, Tuesday, August 31. This day the army proceed on the march in the usual manner. At 2, P. M., arrive at the forks of the river ; the Allegana branch keeping its former course, and the Tiego branch turning near a north-west course. Here are the principal improvements in Newton, and some good buildings of the English construction, some very large flats of intervale, and great quantities of corn, which were destroyed yesterday. Here the troops take dinner and burn the town. At 4, P. M., proceed on the march. At sunset encamp on a beautiful plain. We keep about a north-west course, following the Tiego branch. 12 miles.

Pleasant Plain, Wednesday, Sept. 1. This morning at 9, A. M., the troops proceed on the march, the travelling continuing good, about 4 miles ; then, crossing a mountain ; from thence into a swamp, about 8 miles through, very thick with bushes, and exceedingly bad travelling. Not finding an agreeable spot to encamp on, travelled till 12 o'clock at night, over the most disagreeable road I ever travelled. At 12 o'clock we arrived at an Indian town called French Catherines, deriving its name from a French lady debauched by an Indian chief ; afterwards marrying him, and made queen of the place. It is a small town, consisting of thirty houses and large fields of corn—the inhabitants leaving the town at our approach, in the greatest confusion. We take two squaws at this place, who inform us that the Indians are in the greatest confusion, not knowing what to do ; that the old Indians and squaws are for making peace on any terms, but that Butler and Brant would not let them, telling them they would all be scalped if they attempted any thing of that nature. Here is a small river that runs due north and empties itself into Seneca Lake, the head of which comes within 4 miles of Tiego branch, which empties itself into the Susquehanna. 14 miles.

French Catherines, Thursday, Sept. 2. This morning a small scout is sent out to reconnoitre the woods. They discover Butler and his party about eight miles off, on the opposite side of the Lake of Seneca. The troops lie by on the ground, and are employed in destroying the crops. We leave the squaws taken prisoners yester-

day, they being old and unable to do us any harm—leaving with them a sufficiency of food till we should return.

French Catherines, Friday, Sept. 3. This morning the troops march early. In marching about 3 miles we come to the Seneca Lake, which we follow on the east side. This lake is very pleasant, being from 3 to 5 miles in width. The land ascends gradually, and appears to be of the best quality. At night the troops encamp in the woods near the lake, having travelled about 12 miles. Nothing remarkable during this day.

Saturday, Sept. 4. This day we proceed on the march down the lake, passing by a small Indian town called Appletown. During the day's march we travel over a very fine level tract of land, and at night encamp near the lake. Nothing remarkable this day, having travelled about 12 miles.

Sunday, Sept. 5. This day we continue the march as usual, the country continuing very good. At 3, P. M., come to an Indian town called Conday. Here the troops encamp for the night. This is considerable of a village, consisting of about twenty houses, which were burnt, and appears to be an ancient settlement by the number and bigness of the fruit trees. Nothing remarkable during our stay here, except taking a soldier that had left the enemy. 4 miles.

Tuesday, Sept. 7. This morning the troops march early, following the lake 11 miles, where we come to the outlet, which empties itself into Cayuga Lake. We cross this outlet and march along on the beach on the lower end of the lake, which is very pleasant, having a prospect of the whole length, which is 42 miles. Near the end of this lake is the famous town of Kanadagago, the metropolis of the Seneca Nations. It is an old settlement, consisting of about 90 houses, very irregularly built, the land being much run over to bushes. Their corn fields are planted in bye places in the woods, at considerable distance from town, and very extensive. At this place was found in one of their houses an image which I think might be worshipped without any breach of the second commandment—not having its likeness in the heavens above or in the earth beneath, &c. Here we find a young boy the savages had left, and in the evening

his mother comes in, having deserted the enemy this day. She was an inhabitant of Wyoming, taken about a year ago at the capitulation of the fort at that place—her husband being killed at the battle of Wyoming. Here is a large burying place, with several large monuments raised over some of their chiefs. The enemy left this place the morning of our arrival. This town lies near 3 miles from the lake. 14 miles.

Kanadagago, Wednesday, Sept. 8. This day the army lie by, and a detachment is sent up the lake 7 miles on the west side, to a large town called ———, where they find vast quantities of corn, beans, peas, and other vegetables, the town consisting of about 20 houses, which are destroyed together with the crops.

Kanadagago, Thursday, Sept. 9. At 10 o'clock the army decamp and pursue the march for Genesee river, steering our course about south-west through an open country, hundreds of acres together with scarcely a tree on it, and the grass as high as a man's head. We march 9 miles and encamp. Nothing remarkable this day.

Friday, Sept. 10. At 10 o'clock the troops march. We travel over a fine tract of land, supposed to be an old Indian town, the grass being higher than our heads and but few trees to be seen. At 4, P. M., come on a large pond or lake, having but one outlet, which empties into Lake Ontario. We cross the outlet, near which is a fine Indian town called Canandaigua. Their improvements are two miles from the town. The town consists of between thirty and forty buildings, some of them the best I have seen on the march, which were destroyed by fire, together with the crops. Nothing remarkable during the stay here. 8 miles.

Canandaigua, Saturday, Sept. 11. This morning the troops march early, about a south-west point, over a country as heretofore, except being badly watered. At 4, P. M., encamp at an Indian town called Anagangaw. It is an old settlement, almost evacuated, having but about 20 houses left in the place, and the appearance but indifferent. 14 miles.

Canandaigua, Sunday, Sept. 12. The preceding night the weather proves rainy, and there is very severe thunder and lightning. At 1,

P. M., the troops march, leaving a small garrison of 100 men and 2 pieces of small artillery, the chief of the ordnance stores, with the whole of our flour for the army, except four days' half rations, which we take on with us. We travel over a fine tract of land this afternoon. At sunset encamp near a small town called Yorkjough. 11 miles.

Monday, Sept. 13. This morning the army march early and soon pass by Yorkjough, a small Indian town, consisting of about 30 buildings, evacuated this morning by the enemy. Considerable crops are growing at this place. The troops halt and refresh; likewise to repair a bridge the enemy had destroyed at their going off. Last evening Lt. Boyd of the Pennsylvania line was ordered forward to make discoveries. This morning, in attempting to return to the main body, he is attacked by the savages and a severe engagement ensues. The savage party being much superior, surrounded Boyd and his party. Three only of 27 escaped. Boyd and the rest of the party were either killed or made prisoners—the latter of whom were afterwards barbarously murdered, two of whom I saw myself—Boyd, and one Parker, a sergeant in the rifle corps. Boyd's head was cut off, his ears cut off, his tongue plucked out, his right eye likewise put out, and himself stabbed in twenty places, and Parker used in the same manner. The next day 13 more were found mangled in the same manner—the most horrid sight I ever saw. At 12 o'clock the troops get under way and march over a fine tract of land, and at sunset arrive at New Genesee, a small town pleasantly situated on the north branch of Genesee river. Here the enemy stay until our coming in sight gives us reason to expect a battle, but on our near approach they disperse without making any resistance. Here we encamp for the night. 8 miles.

Tuesday, Sept. 14. This morning the troops cross the east branch, coming on to the flats called Genesee Flats,—the most beautiful flats I ever saw, being not less than 4 miles in width, and extending from right to left as far as can be seen; supposed to be 15,000 acres in one clear body. On the opposite side of this flat is the main branch of the Genesee. The two make a junction about 4 miles down the river, near which is the old town of Genesee, which is the best town I have seen. It consists of upwards of 100 houses. The fields of

corn are beyond account, there being not less than 700 acres in the place. The river that runs here empties into Lake Ontario, and good bottoming almost any time of year, and does not exceed 25 miles to the lake. 6 miles.

Genesee, Sept. 15. This day the troops are employed in destroying the crops and buildings at this place. At 2, P. M., orders are issued for the march back to Tiego, and to our great joy at 3 get under way—returning by the same route we came—having fully accomplished the end of the expedition, and encamp at New Genesee.

New Genesee, Sept. 16. This morning the troops get under way, after destroying 100 acres of corn, not found on the march up. March about 5 miles and encamp at Yorkjough.

Yorkjough, Sept. 17. This day the troops make a rapid march. At 2, P. M., encamp at Annagaugaw.

Saturday, Sept. 18. This day, at 11, A. M., the troops march, and at sunset encamp near New Canandaigua. Nothing remarkable this day.

Sunday, Sept. 19. This morning at 9 the troops march. At sunset encamp on the old ground at Canandaigua.

Monday, Sept. 20. This day a detachment is sent up to Fort Stanwix, under the command of Col. Van Chort. Another detachment is sent off this day to Tiego Lake, commanded by Col. Butler, to make excursions into that part of the country. The troops march late in the day, cross the outlet of Seneca Lake, and encamp near its banks.

Thursday, Sept. 21. This day Col. Dearborn takes the command of a detachment sent to Tiego Lake, to follow the west side, while Col. Butler and his party scour the east side. The troops proceed on their march as usual, travel about 12 miles, and encamp. Nothing remarkable this day.

Wednesday, Sept. 22. This day the troops march about 14 miles and encamp. Nothing remarkable this day.

Thursday, Sept. 23. This day the troops march early, nothing remarkable happening during the day. At 12 make a short halt at French Catherines, then move on about 4 miles, and encamp in the edge of the swamp.

Friday, Sept. 24. This day the troops make a rapid march through the swamp. At 4, P. M., arrive at Fort Reed.

Saturday, Sept. 25. This day the troops lie by on the ground, and a *feu de joie* is fired on the news of the declaration of war by His Catholic Majesty the King of Spain. Thirteen pieces of artillery are fired, with a running fire from right to left of the line. Each brigade has a present of a fat ox. The day is closed with civil mirth. So ends the 24 hours.

Sunday, Sept. 26. The troops continue on the ground this day. Nothing remarkable happens.

Monday, Sept. 27. This morning a detachment of 500 men is sent up the Allegana Branch, and thirty boats, myself commanding the latter. The difficulty of getting the boats up so rapid and shoal a river prevented the party by land proceeding more than 5 miles. Where the boats landed we find some large fields of corn, with a few houses—the mountains closing nearly to the river on both sides. Here the boats are loaded with corn, beans, pumpkins, and other vegetables. At sunset I set out with my whole fleet, and at 9 arrive at Ford Reed, fatigued with my day's march.

Tuesday, Sept. 28. The troops continue on the ground, and at 11 o'clock the detachment under Col. Butler, sent out the 20th inst., arrives. Orders are issued for marching tomorrow morning.

Wednesday, Sept. 29. This morning at 12 o'clock the troops march from Fort Reed, passing over the field of action, and at 12 arrive at Chemung, and make a short halt; from whence we march to Old Chemung, about 3 miles below, and encamp, having marched about 11 miles. Nothing remarkable happens this day.

Thursday, Sept. 30. This morning at 8 o'clock the troops march. At 12 arrive at Tiego, in sight of Fort Sullivan. After making a

short halt, the troops march in, displaying all the honors of war and glories of victory. The fort saluted us with 13 pieces of cannon, and the compliment was returned by our corps of artillery. An elegant dinner is cooked by those left in the fort for our reception. All marks of joy appeared in the face of every soldier, having his brother messmate by the hand, appearing as happy as a prince. The day is closed with civil mirth.

Tiego, Friday, Oct. 1, and Saturday, Oct. 2. The troops lie by, and nothing remarkable happens.

Sunday, Oct. 3. This day a fatigue party is employed in destroying Fort Sullivan and other fortifications at this place, and preparing the boats. A sermon is preached this day by the Rev. Dr. Evans, chaplain to the brigade, and suitable to the time.

Monday, Oct. 4. This day at 9 the troops leave Tiego, having demolished all the fortifications at that place, and cross the river, marching about 15 miles, and encamp. Nothing remarkable happens this day.

Tuesday, Oct. 5. This morning the troops chiefly go on board the boats, myself going by land. I keep in front of the boats the whole of the day. At night encamp near Vandalap's desolated farms in front of the boats.

Wednesday, Oct. 6. This morning at daybreak I move on my journey, keeping in sight of the boats the chief of the day. I travel about 30 miles and encamp near Lackawannuk.

Thursday, Oct. 7. This day I pursue my journey. At 8, A. M., I arrive at Lackawannuk, where the boats lie by for the rear to come up. Myself and company go on to Wyoming, where we arrive at 12 o'clock. The boats soon heave in sight and are saluted from the fort with 13 pieces of cannon, and the compliment returned by our fleet.

Friday, Oct. 8, and Saturday, Oct. 9. The troops lie by at this place, cleaning their arms, washing their clothes, and preparing for marching tomorrow.

Sunday, Oct. 10. This day at 12 o'clock the troops get under way for Easton. Late in the evening we arrive at Bullock's desolated farm, where we encamp for the night.

Monday, Oct. 11. This day the troops march early, and move but slow, by reason of the bad roads. At 4, P. M., encamp near Locust Hill, having marched about 11 miles.

Tuesday, Oct. 12. This morning the troops proceed on the march through the Swamp. The latter part of the day proves rainy, and makes the travelling exceedingly bad. At night encamp at Chowder Camp.

Wednesday, Oct. 13. This morning the troops pursue their march. At 4, P. M., encamp at Brincoup's Mills.

Thursday, Oct. 14. This morning the troops march at about 11, A. M., and encamp at 3, P. M. at Hiller's Tavern.

Friday, Oct. 15. This morning the troops march early from Hiller's Tavern. At 1, P. M., arrive at Easton. From this day to the 23d the troops lie by at this place, where nothing remarkable happens.

Saturday, Oct. 23. This day the troops cross the ferry in Jersey, march about 4 miles, and encamp near Col. Bond's.

Sunday, Oct. 24. The troops lie by on the ground. Nothing remarkable.

Monday, Oct. 25. This day the troops lie by.

Tuesday, Oct. 26. This day the troops lie by, and a brigade court martial is called, of which Maj. Titcomb is President, for the trial of Capt. Isaac Frye, of the third battalion of New-Hampshire forces, of which I was a member. The charge brought against Capt. Frye was ungentlemanlike behavior, and defrauding the officers of the regiment of public stores. The charge was not supported, and Capt. Frye is acquitted.

Wednesday, Oct. 27. This day the troops march towards Sussex.

We proceed about 8 miles and encamp. Nothing remarkable happens during this day.

Thursday, Oct. 28. This day the troops pursue the march, mostly through Moraviantown, where we make a short halt and refresh; from whence we proceed to a place called Log Goal, and here encamp for the night.

Friday, Oct. 29. This day the troops pursue the march for Sussex, where we arrive at 2, P. M., and encamp for the night.

Saturday, Oct. 30. This morning the troops leave Sussex about 9 o'clock, and march on towards Warwick, about 14 miles, and encamp at Flagsborough. Nothing remarkable this day.

Sunday, Oct. 31. This day the troops proceed on the march, and at night encamp near Warwick church. Nothing remarkable this day.

Monday, Nov. 1. This day for want of wagons the march is deferred till 12 o'clock, when we proceed on the march. Being ordered to alter the route for Pumpton, we proceed over the mountains towards that place—the travelling very bad. At night encamp at Stirling, a place noted for making the best pig iron on the continent. Here is a fine furnace for casting cannon balls, &c.

Tuesday, Nov. 2. This day we get through the mountains, and at 3, P. M., arrive at —, where we encamp for the night. Nothing remarkable happens this day.

Wednesday, Nov. 3. This day the troops lie by on the ground. Nothing remarkable this day.

Thursday, Nov. 4. This day the troops lie by. Myself, in company with Maj. Whiting, Capts. Reed, Ellis and Dennet, ride out to Smith's tavern, and stay over night. Nothing remarkable during the twenty-four hours.

Friday, Nov. 5. This day in the afternoon we return to camp. Receive orders for marching tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock. Nothing remarkable this day.

Saturday, Nov. 6. This day Gen. Hand's brigade and the artillery march off the ground. The other two—Poor's and Clinton's—stay for want of waggons. Gen. Sullivan likewise sets out for Pumpton this afternoon.

Sunday, Nov. 7. This day Gen. Clinton's brigade march for Pumpton. Gen. Poor's lie by for want of wagons.

Monday, Nov. 8. This day Gen. Poor's brigade march for Pumpton, where we arrive at 4, P. M., and encamp near the fort.

Tuesday, Nov. 9. This day the troops lie by. His Excellency pays us a visit from head quarters—this day being the first since our arrival from the Indian country. The weather is exceedingly uncomfortable and cold about this time.

Wednesday, Nov. 10, and Thursday, Nov. 11. The troops lie by. Nothing worthy of notice.

Friday, Nov. 12. This day the troops shift their quarters. March about two miles south-east in a thick wood, on the east side of the river.

Saturday, Nov. 13. This day we lie by. Nothing remarkable.

Sunday, Nov. 14. This day the officers of Gen's Clinton's and Poor's brigades meet at Gen. Poor's quarters on business of a public nature.

Monday, Nov. 15. From this time to the 24th, the troops lie by, and nothing remarkable happens.

Wednesday, Nov. 24. This morning the troops march from Pumpton on the way to King's ferry. At night encamp at ———, near Smith's tavern, travelling about 16 miles.

Thursday, Nov. 25. This morning the troops march early. At 2, P. M., arrive at King's ferry, and immediately proceed to conveying the men and baggage of the regiment over the ferry, which is accomplished about sunset. The troops march about 2 miles, and encamp in the woods.

Friday, Nov. 26. The preceding night proves stormy, and the first snow that has fallen this winter prevents the troops from marching this day.

Saturday, Nov. 27. This day at 4, P. M., the troops get under way, and march about six miles towards Danbury, and encamp in the woods. The snow here is about eight inches in depth.

Sunday, Nov. 28. This day we proceed on the march, the travelling being very bad. At night encamp near Salem, travelling about 12 miles.

Monday, Nov. 29. This morning we proceed on the march. At 4, P. M., take quarters in houses three miles from Danbury, by reason of Gen. Stark's brigade lying in the town of Danbury.

Tuesday, Nov. 30. The troops lie by at Muddy Brook, by reason of the weather.

Wednesday, Dec. 1. This day the troops lie by and nothing remarkable happens.

Thursday, Dec. 2. This day the troops proceed on the march, and go on to the ground laid out for hutting, which is in the vicinity of Danbury, towards Newton.

Friday, Dec. 3 ; Saturday, 4, and Sunday, 5. These three days the troops are busy in clearing and fixing for laying the foundations of the huts.

Monday, Dec. 6. This day the huts go on rapidly, and in the evening the officers of the brigade attend at the Hon. Gen. Poor's quarters, to wait on the committee from New-Hampshire and choose a committee to send to New-Hampshire, to settle the depreciation of the continental currency.

Tuesday, Dec. 7. This day I lay the foundation of my hut, twenty-two feet in length and twelve in width.

[No farther entries were made by Capt. Livermore in his Journal until April 6, 1780, when he commences anew, with the following entry:]

April 6, 1780. After spending a very disagreeable winter in the outskirts of Danbury, bordering on Newton, at a place called Wild-Cat, and going through many disagreeable scenes, which circumstances have prevented my keeping a minute of, this day Gen. Poor's Brigade leave their winter quarters, and march for West Point, on the North River.

VOTE OF COUNCIL AND ASSEMBLY,

Appointing a Committee to repair to Grafton County, Jan'y, 1777.

In the House of Representatives, January 3d, 1777. The Committee on the affairs of the County of Grafton made their Report as on file, which being laid on the table, read and Considered, Voted, that the Same be Received & accepted—& thereupon, Voted, That two hundred Copies of the Plan of Government be immediately printed and Dispersed among those who have not yet had an Opportunity of seeing them—That the Hon. Meshech Weare, Esq'r, Benjamin Giles, Esq'r, & John Wentworth, jun'r, Esq'r, be a Committee to Repair to the County of Grafton & Other places dissatisfied with the present form of Government,—said Committee giving Previous notice to such Towns or Places to Meet them by Committees, or by similar Ways, at the times & Places they shall Judge most Convenient, & Endeavour to inform the People of the true Nature & form of the Present Government & Method of Representation, & in Particular that it was & is only Designed for the Present Contingencies, or Until the present War with Britain be ended, and the People at Leisure Deliberately (& with that attention absolutely necessary on Such Occasions,) to form & Settle a Lasting & Permanent plan of Government, and in the most Earnest manner to entreat the People to Consider the Consequences of such internal Discords and Divisions among ourselves;—That they would not Weaken the Hands of their Brethren in the Common Cause, & thereby be the Means of Bringing the Greatest Calamity & Distress on themselves and us, But Coolly, Calmly & Considerately enquire for themselves, and engage with Heart and Hand in Consulting the best Interest of the whole, & that in Case Said Committee should have a Desire of any District Sent to, who have not sent Members to Set in the General assembly, for a New Precept to be Sent to them;—That the President & Speaker be impowered to issue Such Precepts in the Same Form as those Sent for the Present House, Making such Alterations as will be Necessary for fixing the time of attendance of the Members chosen. Also, the time for the Committee in said County of Grafton to Meet & Receive the Votes for a Councillor, & in Case the President and Speaker aforesaid Should issue Such New Precepts, That they then send Precepts to the Upper Cohass District, also to Rumney and Thornton to Call Meetings and Vote for a Councillor,—Said Votes to be Returned with the Others of the New Precepts. Also, Voted, that on the Same Paper with the above Copies of the Plan of Government be printed the Copy of a Resolve of the General Assembly of the 19th of September last, Relative to New Towns increasing in Inhabitants, sending Delegates to Council & Assembly in proportion to numbers with Other Places.

Sent up for Concurrence:

JOHN LANGDON, *Speaker.*

In Council Eodem Die Read & Concurred:

E. THOMPSON, *Sec'ry.*

