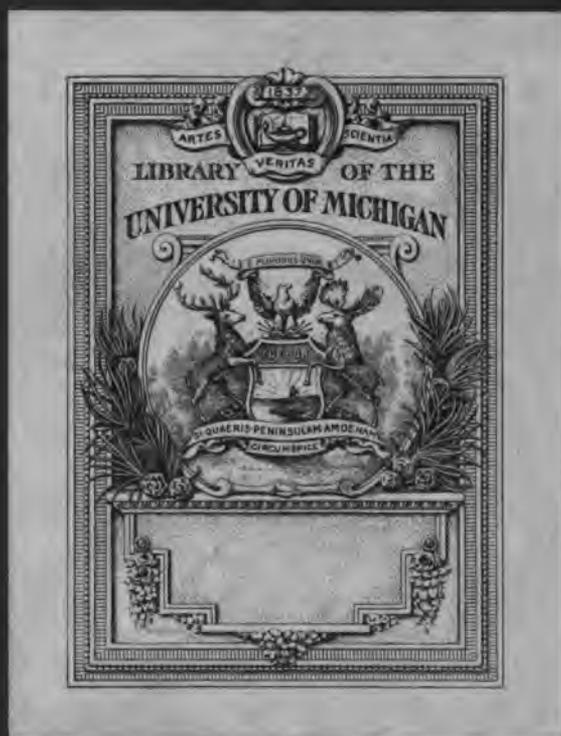


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PROCEEDINGS



OF THE

Massachusetts Historical Society.

1863-1864.



BOSTON:
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PREFATORY NOTE.

THIS volume contains the Proceedings of the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, — with the exception of such as relate to its private business, — from the Annual Meeting in April, 1863, to the stated Monthly Meeting in September, 1864, inclusive.

The Society is indebted to the respective families of LUTHER V BELL, M.D., LL.D., and the Rev. CHARLES MASON, D.D., for the Portraits which accompany the Memoirs of those esteemed members.

The historical portion of this volume is published at the charge of the "Appleton Fund."

CHARLES DEANE,
For the Committee of Publication.

BOSTON, Dec. 1, 1864.

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MEMBERS DECEASED.

The following named Resident, Honorary and Corresponding Members have died since the publication of the last volume of Proceedings, April 1, 1863 :—

Resident.

Hon. Josiah Quincy, LL.D.
Rev. Convers Francis, D.D.
Rev. Alvan Lamson, D.D.

Frederic Tudor, Esq.
Hon. William Sturgis.
George Sumner, Esq.

Honorary and Corresponding.

Benjamin Silliman, LL.D.
Carl Christian Rafn, P.D.
Rev. Benjamin Tappan, D.D.
George Atkinson Ward, Esq.
Thomas C. Grattan, Esq.

Rev. Joseph Romilly, A.M.
Lord Lyndhurst, D.C.L.
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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 9, 1863.

THE SOCIETY held its annual meeting this day, Thursday, April 9, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

Donations were announced from the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York; the Essex Institute; the Royal University of Norway; the Vermont Historical Society; the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association of Cincinnati; John Appleton, M.D.; Rev. Caleb D. Bradlee; John H. Bufford, Esq.; Hon. John Cradlebaugh; George T. Curtis, Esq.; John W. Dean, Esq.; J. Francis Fisher, Esq.; Peter Force, Esq.; B. P. Johnson, Esq.; Thomas S. Kirkbride, M.D.; L. A. Huguet-Latour, Esq.; Benson J. Lossing, Esq.; Henry Phillips, jun., Esq.; John R. Bartlett, Esq.; Benjamin S. Shaw, M.D.; Hon. William Willis; Hon. Henry Wilson; and from Messrs. Bartlett, Brooks (W. G.), Deane, Folsom, Robbins (C.), Sibley, Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, the Recording Secretary communicated a letter of acceptance from Count Agénor de Gasparin of Switzerland.

The President remarked as follows : —

At the last monthly meeting, a new volume of Collections was laid on our table, of which many of you already have copies. At this, our annual meeting, a new volume of Proceedings is ready for delivery, containing many valuable memoirs and miscellaneous papers, with not a few interesting illustrations, engraved or lithographed. Our thanks are especially due to our faithful and devoted Recording Secretary for preparing and publishing this volume with so much despatch. It brings the record down to the close of the very last meeting ; so that henceforth we may follow the example of some of our sister societies, in having our Proceedings printed in serial pages or numbers from month to month, if the Committee on this subject shall think it wise to do so.

In the brief interval which has elapsed between the dates of these two volumes, our Honorary Roll has been deprived of a name which must not be suffered to disappear from it without a passing tribute. I refer to that of the Hon. James Louis Petigru of Charleston, S.C., whose death has recently been noticed in the public journals.

Mr. Petigru was the President of the Historical Society of South Carolina, before which he delivered an eloquent inaugural discourse a few years since. He was elected an Honorary Member of our own Society in February, 1861 ; and his formal acceptance was announced by our Corresponding Secretary at the following March meeting. The pleasant personal relations with Mr. Petigru which I had enjoyed many years previously, and the interest which I took in his course at that critical period of our public affairs, induced me to write to him immediately after his election ; and I have brought his reply here to-day, in the assurance that

the Society would be pleased to hear the following brief extracts from it:—

CHARLESTON, Feb. 25, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR,— Nothing could exceed the kindness of your note giving me notice of the honor done me by the Massachusetts Historical Society. To be chosen for a colleague and an associate by such a Society is a distinction of which anybody might be proud; but it is rendered much more flattering by the way it is announced.

I remember with the greatest distinctness the hours which I passed so many years ago in the house of your venerable father, as well as under your own hospitable roof. . . . How willingly I would make any sacrifice that might avert from our common country the consequences of that miserable discord that now prevails between communities that ought for ever to be united! I say *miserable*; for such we may certainly deem a controversy odious to the best men on either side. History will adjust hereafter the degree of reprobation due to each party; but I venture to say, that, whatever may be thought of the motives of the actors, their folly will be as much the subject of wonder as of censure. We are here in such a disturbed condition, that the things that are going to happen in a week are as uncertain as if they belonged to a distant future.

With great anxiety for a peaceful solution of difficulties, but with very little hope, I am, my dear sir, very truly and sincerely yours,

J. L. PETIGRU.

The Hon. R. C. WINTHROP.

This letter was written more than two months after South Carolina had adopted her Ordinance of Secession, and only six or seven weeks before the bombardment of Fort Sumter. But Mr. Petigru was not of a complexion to be moved from his firm devotion to the cause of the Union, either by any thing which had been done, or by any thing which it was proposed to do. He had stood fast for the Union in the days of Nullification, thirty years before; and had resisted alike every temptation and every menace which could be employed to induce him to swerve from his loyalty to the Constitution of the United States. We might almost hear him saying to the abettors of this later conspiracy, “*Contempsi Catalinæ*

gladios, non pertimescam tuos." He stood fast for the Union again in these days of Secession and Rebellion, in defiance of all intimidations or blandishments; and if the wisdom and virtue and eloquence and patriotism of any one man (for he seemed to stand almost alone in the community in which he lived) could have availed any thing to arrest the madness of those around him, and to avert the dreadful catastrophe of civil war, the example, the influence, and the appeals of Mr. Petigru would not have been lost.

It is not my purpose to go further into his personal history or his public life on this occasion. A great lawyer, an admirable orator, an accomplished, virtuous, and brave man, rich in all the qualities and resources which rendered him the most delightful of companions and the most valued of friends, he has left a name and a fame which would adorn the annals of any land or any age. But I have desired to recall him here to-day only as one who had twice signalized his devotion to the American Union under circumstances and in a manner which must secure him the grateful remembrance of all to whom that Union is dear. He died before the worst results of this deplorable Rebellion had fallen upon the city of his residence in the struggle which is probably at this moment in progress; and his friends may well feel that he was kindly and mercifully "taken away from the evil to come."

And now, gentlemen, before closing these introductory words, it devolves upon me, most unexpectedly, to notice a still nearer and more recent loss which our Society has met with. The grave has not yet closed upon one of our most esteemed and respected Resident Members, whose death, though not unexpected by his immediate friends, has taken many of us by surprise.

The Rev. Convers Francis, D.D., was elected a member of this Society in 1831; and his name stands ninth in order of seniority on the revised roll of the volume which is still wet

from the press. He was for sixteen or seventeen years one of our Standing Committee, and assisted in the preparation of at least four volumes of our Collections. He has repeatedly contributed valuable papers to our volumes, and has exhibited a constant and earnest interest in the cause in which we are associated. It will be for others to dwell on his fidelity as a pastor, his eminence as a professor, his acquirements as a scholar, and on those personal virtues and excellences which endeared him to those among whom he lived. I will only trespass further by, offering, in behalf of the Standing Committee, the following resolution:—

Resolved, That we have learned with deep regret the death of our esteemed and respected associate, the Rev. Convers Francis, D.D.; and that the President be requested to appoint one of our number to prepare a Memoir of him for a future volume of our Proceedings.

Dr. HEDGE, in seconding the resolution, spoke substantially as follows:—

Mr. PRESIDENT,—I have been requested, as one associated with Dr. Francis in the work of instruction at the Divinity School in Cambridge, to say a few words by way of response to your official announcement of his decease.

I am not prepared to speak of him as I would, not knowing that the subject would come before us at this meeting; but this I am prepared to say, that in Dr. Francis our Society and this community have lost one of the ripest and best scholars in the land. In theological learning, and especially in a thorough knowledge of the literature of theology, he had, I think, no superior among us.

Immediately on taking his Bachelor's degree at Cambridge in 1815, he began his preparation for the work of the Christian ministry; and entered at once on a course of theological study, in which he labored with a diligence and a zeal that never slackened until his death. It chanced that the com-

mencement of his career was the date of a new era of theological science in this country. It coincided with the first introduction, into these parts, of the study of the language and literature of Germany. Previous to that date, there was hardly an individual in all this community who had read a German book. It was wholly an unknown tongue. But, from various causes, about that time there commenced among scholars an interest in, and a sedulous study of, the German; among theologians especially, a study of German theology. Dr. Francis was one of the first to engage in this pursuit: he applied himself with all diligence to the study of the language; and soon became, in the department of German theology, one of the best read scholars in the country.

While thoroughly versed in the German, he did not neglect the theological literature of other languages, especially the English, in all the departments and epochs of which he was perfectly at home. He was a good classical scholar at the same time; a diligent reader of Latin and Greek; to which he added a considerable familiarity with French literature, and a competent knowledge of the Italian.

Much has been said of the extraordinary acquirements and vast learning of the late Theodore Parker. I am far from wishing to question or qualify his title to such repute: at the same time, I am able to affirm, from personal knowledge, that Mr. Parker was largely indebted for aid in his studies to Dr. Francis; who, however, was far from sharing Mr. Parker's theological views.

As a preacher, Dr. Francis, in the earlier part of his professional life, had a high reputation in the churches of his communion in this vicinity. I well remember, that, during the years of my college-life, there was no preacher whom we students welcomed more gladly in the pulpit of the College Chapel; and I believe there were few who were more acceptable in the churches of the neighboring towns. He

was then minister of the territorial parish of Watertown, to which he was called immediately on entering the ministry,— I think, in 1818,— and where he remained until he was made theological professor at Cambridge; a period of twenty-three years.

In his discharge of the duties of his professorship, and in his connection with the Divinity School, he was uniformly and eminently faithful and conscientious, thorough in his investigation, and unwearied in the presentation and illustration of the topics which belonged to his department of instruction. The students who came under his care could not but respect his devotedness and indefatigable industry; and many a young man has been indebted to him for impulses which have given a healthy stimulus and a right direction to his future life.

In social relations, he was a warm friend and a genial companion to those who were intimate with him, but not what you would call a popular man. It has often seemed to me, Mr. President, that all men have not full justice done to them in this world, in *all respects*. There are certain quite extrinsic qualities which throw their lustre over the whole man, and, where they appear, insure success. Graces of manner, a personal charm, a winning address,— these are attributes which secure popularity and command good-will; and the individual in whom these are wanting, however venerable in moral excellence, and however rich in intellectual gifts, is seldom appreciated according to his desert. Dr. Francis's retired habits, his modesty and reserve, precluded a wide popularity; but all who were blessed with his friendship, and all who enjoyed his near acquaintance, will retain the indelible impression of his solid worth as a scholar and a man.

Dr. ELLIS also paid a brief tribute to his late associate, in the following terms:—

It is not from any omission in the substance, or of heartiness and simple sincerity in what has just been spoken, that I add a few words. I could not be wholly silent; and should wish, at least, to express my full sympathy with that appreciative tribute which has just been paid to one with whom the speaker and myself, besides sharing together the privileges of this pleasant fellowship, were also associated in sacred duties in the University. The remains of our late esteemed associate now lie in his home, awaiting burial to-morrow. The son and daughter, constituting the surviving remnant of his family, shrink from any publicity in his obsequies; and therefore it is the more becoming that we should make this recognition of our respect for his pure character, and of his claims upon our gratitude for the long and fruitful service of his well-filled life. Such gifts of mind, and such opportunities of culture, as had been granted to him, — and they were of generous measure, — were most religiously improved by him. He turned them in very many ways to the benefit of a wide circle of friends and pupils whom he was privileged to influence. His quiet, private hours were spent among his books, and in deep, thoughtful musings, that he might bring from them aids and means for the knowledge and the application of truth. Though his studies engaged him very much with the past, he lived in the living world, and sought to leave the impression of his honest and deep convictions of the right and the good, and to impart his own loyalty of faith and purpose to his contemporaries around him. It is well known to his friends, that his principles and his feelings alike engaged him with quite an ardent interest, as well in the most advanced discussions opened by the free thought of our age as in the agitations of practical reform. He was, however, a reverent pleader for a healthful conservatism in the beliefs and usages of true piety; and his philanthropy never led him to bitterness or passionate invective, even against what he hated most. Knowing, as

some of us do, how intense were the elements of zeal within him, we may claim it as no little to his praise, that his deportment and his utterance were characterized by a dignified moderation.

The method of his discharge from the congenial labors of so many years as a theological professor was very gentle and very merciful. It seemed to us that he was not aware that the weakness which so rapidly enfeebled him, so manifestly indicated the near closing of his life. He spoke of it, and he appeared in cheerful hopefulness to think of it, as if it was to be a means of recuperation for continued work; requiring, while it lasted, not a cessation, but only a variation in the way of doing that work. When he could no longer go to his recitation-room, he received his classes in his own study. He said he could not live unless he did his work. And so it proved. Work and life stopped together. He was spared all the pains and discomforts of a lingering decay. His last conscious hours found him cheerful and sociable at his household table. A few days of unconscious truce with death intervened, and his spirit passed away.

The resolution was then unanimously adopted.

Mr. WASHBURN, from the Committee appointed to "advise with the Treasurer in regard to the funds of the Society, and to make any investment of the same which they may deem advisable," reported a Declaration of Trust, which, together with the votes and orders attached to the same, was unanimously accepted and adopted.

The President made the gratifying announcement, that in addition to the sums which had been invested, from the Appleton Fund and the Dowse Fund, in the Society's building, he had just received from our associate, the Hon. William Sturgis, a check for eleven

hundred and ninety-seven dollars, — being the whole amount necessary to the discharge of the mortgage on said real estate; and that the edifice is now the property of the Society, with no other encumbrance except such as is imposed by the Society's obligations to its own trust-funds.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the Hon. William Sturgis for his liberal and timely donation.

The Chairman of the Standing Committee presented his Annual Report, which was accepted.

Report of the Standing Committee.

In compliance with the requisition of the By-laws, the Standing Committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society submit their Annual Report: —

Charged with the oversight and promotion of the interests of the Society, and the general management of its affairs, the Committee have endeavored to be faithful to that high trust.

The record for the year contains no events, affecting the prosperity of the Society, its usefulness, or its means of usefulness, of such magnitude and marked importance as some that have occurred, and may be found in the records of the last seven or eight years; yet it has been a year of prosperity, of increased interest and valuable labors on the part of the members, and of generous contributions from our friends.

The first duty with which the Committee stand charged in the By-laws is the nominations to fill vacancies in the lists of Resident Members: and this is rightly placed first, as one of the most important and responsible of its duties; for upon the character of its members will depend the character, the labors, and the progressive usefulness, of the Society. There ought not to be any drones in a society constituted

like this. The symbol on its seal is significant of this idea; and was for this reason, probably, adopted by the founders of the Society. There are few, if any, honors in this world that do not carry with them a corresponding weight of obligation; and, if it be an honor to be a member of this Society, it should be regarded as carrying with it an obligation to do something, according to power and opportunity, in advancing its interests and usefulness. In general, it is so regarded; and yet, among some whose names are upon our roll of members, there is room, perhaps, for improvement in this respect. In making their nominations, the Committee — while they have allowed no bias of sect or party, political or religious, to influence them, and have duly considered all scholarly and gentlemanly qualifications — have also laid some stress upon the question, whether the candidate would be a working member of the Society, and thereby confer, as well as receive, honor; and their decisions, after the most careful deliberation, have been largely determined by their judgment upon this point. Two Resident Members have been nominated during the past year, and they have been elected; two — Hon. Nathan Hale, and Rev. Convers Francis, Parkman Professor in the Divinity School at Cambridge — have died; leaving the number of Resident Members, at this date, ninety-five. Of our Honorary Members, two have died during the year, — M. Edme François Jomard, and James Louis Petigru of South Carolina, — and two have been added by election to the list; leaving the present number of Honorary Members fifteen. No death has occurred among the Corresponding Members during the year, while three persons have been added to the list; making the number of Corresponding Members thirty.

The old list of Honorary and Corresponding Members, chosen before the late alteration in the charter, has fifty-one names: so that the whole number of persons now connected with the Society, as Resident, Honorary, or Corresponding Members, is a hundred and ninety-one.

The next duty with which the Standing Committee is charged by the By-laws is to pay the current expenses of the Society: drawing on the Treasurer, from time to time, for such sums as may be necessary for that purpose. During the past year,—owing to the publication of two volumes (one of Collections, and one of Proceedings), and the arrangements made for procuring a considerable increase of shelf-room, the binding of a considerable number of volumes, and other improvements connected with the library,—these expenses have been large: but the increase in the value of the stocks held by the Society, and the large income from some of them, have enabled the Treasurer to meet all the demands upon him. As the Treasurer's Report—always a correct and carefully prepared document—will present all the details, the Committee need do little more than congratulate the Society on its financial condition, which was never better than at this moment. At the suggestion of the President, the question, whether it would not be well to take advantage of the high price of certain stocks to change some of the investments of the Society in a way to promote its permanent interests, was brought before the consideration of the Society some months ago, and subsequently referred to the discretionary action of a Special Committee. Through the authority thus given, the Bowditch Donation, the Dowse Fund, and the Appleton Fund, which were held in manufacturing shares, have been invested in the Society's building; the shares having been sold at a large advance upon the valuation under which they became our property. The sums realized from these sales, with the addition of a donation of eleven hundred dollars, made for the purpose by our esteemed associate, Hon. William Sturgis, have enabled the Treasurer to pay off the whole mortgage on their building, which the Society now owns free of all encumbrance outside of itself.

The general care of the library and museum, and the

examination of each at the close of the year, and a report on the same, is the next duty which is incumbent upon the Committee.

In the discharge of this duty, the Committee have made some changes, and provided some additional shelves; and thus made all our books accessible to an extent which they regard as a great improvement.

The Committee examined the library, as required, on Monday last, and found every book in its place save two; one of which is accounted for, and the other is missing.

The number, character, and value of the accessions received during the past year, and all other particulars respecting the condition of the library, will be given, it is presumed, in the Annual Report of the Librarian.

In regard to the museum, or cabinet of curiosities, that portion of it in cases in the next room is appropriately arranged, and in good condition. In the small room at the right of the stairs, on the next story, there is a large collection of various things, some of them curious and valuable, not arranged with much order, for want of room. It is hoped that when the close of the war permits the return of our Cabinet-keeper, Dr. Green, these things may be so arranged as to provide for their better exhibition, and thus for a more intelligent and just appreciation of them.

The Committee are further charged with the duty of suggesting such business as they may deem it advisable to bring before the Society, and facilitating its transaction; a duty which they are confident has been discharged to the unqualified and grateful satisfaction of all, through the honored President of the Society.

The meetings through the year have been interesting, and, in general, well attended. The change in the hour, made two or three months ago, from twelve, noon, to eleven, A.M., seems to have been acceptable. The attendance has been somewhat larger, and the proceedings less hurried; and, so far as

can be judged from a brief experience, it will be well to continue to hold the meetings at this hour.

In the appropriate work of the Society, in the way of historical investigation and the presentation of its results, one of the most important events of the year, and one that may be justly noticed in this Report, is the very admirable paper prepared by our eminently faithful associate, Mr. George Livermore, on the "Opinions of the Founders of the Republic on Negroes as Slaves, as Citizens, and as Soldiers." Like the paper on the Exchange of Prisoners, prepared by a Committee of which Mr. George T. Curtis was Chairman, last year, this is a most important historical document, bearing directly, in its facts and principles, upon questions of deep interest occupying the attention of the public mind, and facilitating their settlement. If some one of our associates could or would now, with equal thoroughness and in the same calm and generous spirit, prepare another historical research into the opinions of the founders of the Republic upon the subject of State Rights, and the power of the Federal Government as affecting them, this Society would, in the course of three years, have made most valuable contributions to the political history of the country, and thrown light upon questions lying at the bottom of our present national difficulties. Mr. Livermore's paper was most beautifully printed and largely circulated at his own expense, and has excited much attention throughout the country. It is now printed by the Society in the fourth volume of Proceedings, — copies of which are on the Society's table this morning, — a volume equal, in the interest and variety of its contents, to either of the three which have preceded, and, in its arrangement and execution, marked by the perfect taste and accuracy which distinguish every volume that is published under the inspection of our excellent Secretary. But the most important event in the work of the Society is the publication of another volume of Collections, the sixth in the Fourth Series. This volume

has been carefully prepared under the auspices of the Hon. President of the Society, the Rev. Dr. Robbins, and Mr. Charles Deane, as Publishing Committee; and is, perhaps, one of the most interesting and valuable volumes the Society has ever published. It contains a selection from the correspondence of Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts, and from his son, John Winthrop, jun., Governor of Connecticut; and in this correspondence are to be found letters from very many of the prominent individuals of that day interested in American affairs. This volume, besides many from several other persons, and none of them ever published before, contains sixty letters of Roger Williams, forty-nine of Emanuel Downing, and twenty-six of Edward Howes. At the close of the volume are plates with *fac-similes* of the autographs of the writers, and of the seals used by them, that have been preserved. Most of the letters were written during the lifetime of the first Governor Winthrop, and afford numerous and important illustrations of the character and action of the early settlers of New England, and of their friends and correspondents in Europe; but the whole period embraced in the letters printed in this volume extends from 1613 to 1675. It was the purpose of the Standing Committee to prepare a little circular, calling the attention of the public to this volume, and to the whole of the Society's Collections, in such a way as to increase the sale of them; but, having failed to do so through the pressure of other duties, they hope that work will be done by their successors in such a way that the volumes of Collections now published through the proceeds of the Appleton Fund, without expense to the Society, may, through the sale of them, become a source of income. There have been sold during the year four whole sets of Collections, a hundred and forty-one of single volumes; the amount of the sales being \$595.09.

Respectfully submitted for the Committee.

S. K. LOTHROP, *Chairman*.

HISTORICAL ROOMS, April 9, 1863.

The Treasurer presented his Annual Report in print, which was accepted.

Annual Report of the Treasurer.

The Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society presents the following statement of its financial condition:—

GENERAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL, 1863.

DEBITS.

Interest to Suffolk Savings Bank	\$1,571.31
John Appleton's Salary	849.96
George Arnold's Salary	549.98
Insurance	367.50
Boston Taxes	210.00
Sundries	383.75
Massachusetts Historical Trust-fund	120.00
Suffolk Savings Institution:—	
Investment of Appleton Fund	12,203.00
Investment of Dowse Fund	10,000.00
Balance of Society note of \$27,500	2,597.00
Balance to new Account.	270.21
	<u>\$29,122.71</u>

CREDITS.

Balance of Account of 1862	\$126.62
Rent of Suffolk Savings Institution	2,200.00
Income of Dowse Fund	600.00
Assessments	385.00
Admission Fees	30.00
Sales of Society's Publications	595.09
Tax of Suffolk Savings Bank	210.00
Copyright on Sales of "Life of John Quincy Adams"	1.20
Dividends on one Share in Cotton Mills	300.00
One Share of Cotton Mills	1,150.00
Net Proceeds of manufacturing Stocks, constituting the Appleton Fund	12,203.00
Note of Edward Hyde and O. W. Watris, constituting the Dowse Fund	10,000.00
Hon. William Sturgis, donation to discharge the Mortgage on the Society Building	1,197.00
Return Premiums on Insurance Policy	124.80
	<u>\$29,122.71</u>

THE APPLETON FUND.

This fund consisted of ten thousand dollars, presented to the Society, Nov. 18, 1854, by the executors of the will of the late Samuel Appleton, on the condition that its income be applied to the purchase, preservation, and publication of historical material. It was received from the executors in ten shares of manufacturing stocks. These stocks were sold in February and March; and the net proceeds, amounting to twelve thousand two hundred and three dollars, were invested in the real estate of the Society, according to the declaration of trust on file, and recorded in the Register of Deeds' office, book 827, p. 63. Volumes three, four, five, and six, of the Fourth Series of the Society's Collections, were printed from the income of this fund, and a portion of the Society's Proceedings.

Account ending April, 1863.

DEBITS.

John Wilson and Son, printing Sixth Volume of Fourth Series of Collections	\$879.33
Kilburn and Mallory, engraving	130.00
John Wilson and Son, printing	604.78
Balance in Treasurer's hands	1,351.51
	<u>\$2,965.62</u>

CREDITS.

Balance of Account of 1862	\$935.62
Dividends on 2 Shares Stark Mills	300.00
" " 2 " Amoskeag Mills	500.00
" " 1 Share Hamilton "	200.00
" " 1 " Appleton "	300.00
" " 1 " Suffolk (sold with March Dividend on)	40.00
" " 1 " Massachusetts Cotton Mills	300.00
" " 1 " Manchester Print-works	250.00
" " 1 " Merrimack Company	140.00
	<u>\$2,965.62</u>

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND.

This fund consists of two thousand dollars, presented to the Society, Oct. 15, 1855, by Hon. David Sears; the annual

income of which may be expended in certain specified objects, as the Society may by special vote direct. It is invested in the real estate of the Society.

Account to April, 1863.

DEBITS.	
Balance in the Treasurer's hands	\$390.57
	<u>\$390.57</u>
CREDITS.	
Balance of Account of 1862	\$270.57
Income to March 1, 1863	120.00
	<u>\$390.57</u>

THE DOWSE FUND.

This fund, of ten thousand dollars, was presented to the Society, April, 1857, by the executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse; and it was invested in a note signed by Edward Hyde and O. W. Watris, secured by mortgage on real estate. This note was paid on the 7th of April, 1863; and the whole fund was then invested in the real estate of the Society.

PROPERTY OF THE SOCIETY.

The Estate on Tremont Street.—The Society purchased, March 6, 1833, of the Provident Savings Institution, the second story and one-half of the attic story of this building, for \$6,500; and on the 13th of March, 1856, the remainder of the interest of this institution, for \$35,000. A portion of this was paid by subscription; and, for the remainder, the Society mortgaged the whole estate to the Suffolk Savings Bank for Seamen and Others, for \$27,500. This mortgage was discharged on the 7th of April, 1863. The payments of the note have been as follows: Two thousand dollars from the legacy of Miss Mary P. Townsend; sixteen hundred dollars from the legacy of the late Nathaniel I. Bowditch; five hundred dollars from the Historical Trust-fund; twelve thou-

sand two hundred and three dollars from the net proceeds of the sales of stocks of the Appleton Fund; ten thousand dollars from the note of Hyde and Watris, constituting the Dowse Fund; and the balance, eleven hundred and ninety-seven dollars, from a donation by Hon. William Sturgis, to enable the Society to discharge the mortgage. The lower floor is rented to the Suffolk Savings Institution for fifteen years from March 1, 1856, at an annual rent of \$2,200.

The Library, Paintings, and Cabinet.—The general library consists of about nine thousand bound volumes and fifteen thousand pamphlets.

The Dowse Library.—This library was presented to the Society by the late Thomas Dowse, and consists of about five thousand volumes.

The Society's Publications.—These consist of the thirty-six volumes of the Collections, four volumes of Proceedings, and two volumes of the Catalogue, — nearly seven thousand volumes, — which are for sale.

The Appleton Fund, of ten thousand dollars; *The Massachusetts Historical Trust-fund*, of two thousand dollars; *The Dowse Fund*, of ten thousand dollars, — all invested in the real estate of the Society, as explained in this Report.

The Copyright of the "Life of John Quincy Adams."—This was presented to the Society by Hon. Josiah Quincy. A new edition is on sale by Crosby and Nichols.

THE INCOME.

The income of the Society consists of an annual assessment, on each Resident Member, of five dollars, or, instead, the payment of sixty dollars; the admission-fee, of ten dollars, of new members; the rent of the lower floor of the Society's building; the sales of the publications of the Society, and the sales of the "Life of John Quincy Adams."

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, *Treasurer.*

BOSTON, April 9, 1863.

The Annual Report of the Librarian was read and accepted.

Annual Report of the Librarian.

The Librarian of the Society respectfully submits the following as the Annual Report required of him, exhibiting "the condition and wants of the library, with a notice of the important accessions that have been made to it during the year."

The accessions have, since the last Report, been almost exclusively from donations made to the Society by its members, or by persons interested in the pursuits for which the Society was established, and the several kindred institutions with which the customary interchange of current publications exists. The exceptions to the above consist of a few volumes obtained by exchange, the printed volumes of the Collections of the Society forming the basis of exchange on our part. These accessions are, — three hundred and eighty-one bound volumes, fifteen hundred and thirty-two pamphlets, four bound volumes of newspapers, four unbound volumes of newspapers, seventy-three numbers of various newspapers, seven manuscripts, forty broadsides, and three maps.

The donations to the library, included in the above-named number of accessions, have been numerous and of great value. Among them may be mentioned the gift of James Lawrence, Esq., of two hundred and twenty-five volumes, comprising works on history, biography, genealogy, heraldry, voyages and travels, and bibliography, together with dictionaries and other books of reference, none of which were previously in the library. These were selected from the library of his father, the late Hon. Abbott Lawrence.

Among the donations should also be noticed, as important, the following: Archæologia and Proceedings of the Society

of Antiquaries of London, from the Society; a choice copy of the Ritual for the Use of Christ's Church, Longwood, in rich binding, from the Vestry; twelve volumes of Public Documents of Ohio, from the State; Sussex Archæological Collections, vols. xiii. and xiv., from the Archæological Society; five volumes from the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon; seven volumes of the Congressional Globe, and two volumes of the Pacific-railroad Surveys, from Hon. Henry Wilson; thirty numbers of Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History, from the Institute; Plymouth-Colony Records, vol. xiv., and three volumes of Public Documents of Massachusetts, from the Commonwealth; six volumes of publications of the Royal University of Norway, from the University; Portraits of Eminent Painters, London, 1739, from Charles Deane, Esq.; Wall's History of the Martyrs (two volumes), a volume of sermons by Rev. Samuel Ward, and other old tracts, from William G. Brooks, Esq.

The largest donations of pamphlets have been received from Harvard College and Mrs. Catharine H. Harris, and from the President, and Messrs. Gray, Parsons, Sibley, and Webb, of the Society.

All of the accessions to the library have been catalogued, together with all the necessary cross-references, making the supplementary catalogue of the printed books complete to the present time.

During the year just passed, the Standing Committee having appropriated a sum not exceeding fifty dollars for the purpose, upwards of two thousand of the most valuable pamphlets have been bound in one hundred and twelve volumes, — comprising two volumes of Fast-day Sermons, eleven of Funeral Sermons, one of Centennial Sermons, three of Dedication Sermons, three of Convention Sermons, two of Election Sermons, four of Historical Sermons, two of Installation Sermons, six of Ordination Sermons, nine of Society

Sermons, two of Thanksgiving Sermons, two of Congressional Journals, sixteen of Historical Pamphlets, three of Historical Memoirs, three of Centennial Celebrations, seven of Historical Addresses, three of Boston Orations, three of Fourth-of-July Orations, thirteen of Biographical Memoirs, two of Town Histories, three of Genealogical Memoirs, seven of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, three of Proceedings of Historical Societies, and two of works published by the Society of Antiquaries of London.

The library now contains fourteen thousand nine hundred and thirty bound volumes of printed books (including four thousand six hundred and fifty in the Dowse Library); six hundred and eighty-six volumes of bound newspapers; five hundred and nine volumes of bound manuscripts; and about fifteen thousand of unbound pamphlets, arranged temporarily in pamphlet-cases, preparatory to being permanently bound in volumes.

The volumes of the printed Collections of the Society, which have occupied for some time past the shelves in the upper hall, have been removed to proper accommodations in the attic story of the building; and the space thus obtained on the north side of the upper hall has been filled with the volumes of United-States Congressional Documents.

An additional shelf has been placed in the vacant space above the bound volumes of newspapers in the upper hall, and filled with books. A range of cabinets and shelves, affording room for works of reference chiefly, has been placed in the Librarian's room. Shelves have also been added to those already in the closet in the third story; and these are now occupied by the cases containing the unbound pamphlets.

Many pamphlet-cases are yet needed to contain the pamphlets, all of which have been carefully re-arranged under proper classification since the last Report.

The shelf-room for books is very nearly occupied: therefore additional accommodations will soon be required for the increasing accessions to the library.

The books taken from the library during the year have been returned; and no book is known to have been lost during the same time. One book, missing at the enumeration and marking of the books in 1862, has not as yet been found.

The necessity for a fund for the purchase of such books as are needed to supply the deficiencies in the several departments of the library is greatly felt. Without this, it is almost impossible to collect and preserve the ephemeral publications of the day, which will be pre-eminently valuable to the future historian, and which cannot be secured except as they appear.

The Librarian cannot close his Report without calling the attention of the Society to the valuable services rendered by the Assistant Librarian, Dr. Appleton; and also to the unwearied attention of Mr. Arnold to the interests of the Society.

Respectfully submitted.

NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, *Librarian.*

BOSTON, 9 April, 1863.

In the absence of the Cabinet-keeper, Dr. Samuel A. Green, the following Report from his department, prepared by Dr. Appleton, the Assistant Librarian, was read and accepted:—

Report on the Cabinet.

The Cabinet-keeper being still absent in the service of the country, I would respectfully submit the following Report of the condition of the cabinet.

The accessions to this department have not been as numerous in the last year as in former times; yet the donations received since the last Report evince that the members and friends of the Society have not lost their interest in its prosperity and success.

Among the donations received may be mentioned the portrait of Captain Isaac Collins, a naval commander in the service of the United States during the war of the Revolution, painted in the year 1790, presented by Nathaniel Willis, Esq.; the standard presented by Governor Hancock to the company of colored soldiers called "the Bucks of America," the gift of Mr. William C. Nell; a series of five colored lithographs, entitled "Old Boston," and representing views from different points in the vicinity of the State House, taken during the progress of removal of the summit of Beacon Hill, presented by Mr. George G. Smith; a two shilling and sixpence stamp, issued in the time of the Stamp Act, presented by Mr. Thomas Groom; a piece of silver dug up on one of the Chincha Islands, near the coast of Peru, from a depth of twelve feet below the surface, presented by the Rev. Alfred L. Baury; and the blender used by Washington Allston, the gift of Miss E. M. Judkins.

Among the memorials of the Rebellion received during the year are a musket, three bayonets, and an axe, from the battle-field of Williamsburg, Va., presented by Mr. O'Rielly of New York; a portion of the United-States flag, torn from the mint at New Orleans by William B. Mumford, for which treasonable act he was afterwards executed,—the gift of Lieutenant H. Bartlet; a friction fuze found in Fort Pulaski at its surrender in 1862, presented by J. M. Forbes, Esq.

The articles belonging to the cabinet, which were deposited in the upper hall, have (with the exception of the portraits and busts) been removed to the small apartment over the Librarian's room, and placed as conveniently as pos-

sible for inspection, in the want of suitable cases for their exhibition.

The coins and medals belonging to the Cabinet, some of which are very rare and valuable, require to be arranged in a proper case, in order that they may be readily examined and securely kept.

The space upon the walls of the upper hall and the Librarian's room, not occupied by book-shelves, is already nearly covered by the portraits (seventy-four in number) belonging to the Society or deposited in the Cabinet; and any large addition to their number will require a new arrangement and an increased appropriation of room for their exhibition. The condition of these works of art is nearly the same as described in the last Report.

JOHN APPLETON.

LIBRARY OF THE MASS. HIST. SOC.,
April 9, 1863.

On motion of Colonel ASPINWALL, it was *voted*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Rev. Dr. S. K. Lothrop and his associates, on retiring from the Standing Committee, for their valuable services.

On motion of Mr. WATERSTON, it was *voted*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the Committee on publishing the Proceedings, and especially to the Chairman, for his faithful and highly satisfactory labors in editing and publishing the admirable volume of Transactions this day presented to the Society.

The following list of officers of the Society, reported by the Committee of Nomination, was unanimously elected: —

President.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D. BOSTON.

Vice-Presidents.

JARED SPARKS, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

COL. THOMAS ASPINWALL, A.M. BOSTON.

Recording Secretary.

REV. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D. BOSTON.

Corresponding Secretary.

JOSEPH WILLARD, A.M. BOSTON.

Treasurer.

HON. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, A.M. CHARLESTOWN.

Librarian.

NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, M.D. BOSTON.

Cabinet-keeper.

SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D. BOSTON.

Standing Committee.

HON. EMORY WASHBURN, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

THOMAS C. AMORY, JUN., A.M. BOSTON.

WILLIAM G. BROOKS, Esq. BOSTON.

REV. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D. CHARLESTOWN.

HORACE GRAY, JUN., Esq. BOSTON.

The Hon. Millard Fillmore, of Buffalo, N. Y., was elected an Honorary Member ; Henry B. Dawson, Esq., of Morrisania, N. Y., a Corresponding Member ; and Geo. B. Emerson, LL.D., of Boston, a Resident Member.

On motion, *voted*, That the article in the By-laws relating to the hour of holding the stated monthly meetings of the Society be amended by striking out the word "noon," and inserting eleven o'clock, A. M.

Dr. ELLIS communicated a Memoir of Hon. Luther V Bell, M.D., prepared in accordance with a vote of the Society.

MEMOIR

OF

LUTHER V BELL, M.D., LL.D.

BY REV. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D.

LUTHER V BELL came of an honored parentage and a worthy ancestry. His immediate family, their kindred and associates, through several generations, were of a stock, which, while winning the bread of life by labor on the soil, contributes to society the healthful and vigorous element for all intellectual, professional, and public services. His ancestor in this country was John Bell, who was born in Ireland in 1678. The family were of the designation known among us as the "Scotch-Irish." They belonged to a colony which had migrated about the year 1612 from Argyleshire, in Scotland, to the city and neighborhood of Londonderry, the capital of the county of that name in the province of Ulster. The city was of ancient origin; and, after having suffered almost to its destruction in the early distractions and revolutions of the country, it had been rebuilt by a company of adventurers from London, in the reign of James I., who prefixed the name of their own capital to the original Derry. The emigration of Scotch Protestants to that locality had been encouraged by the liberal offer of land, extending over nearly the whole of the six northern counties, made by James I. to invite settlers, after the suppression of the Roman-Catholic rebellion in those regions. The natural animosity which sprang up between the new-comers and the old proprietors, led, thirty years

after the emigration, to the rebellion in the reign of Charles I. An addition was made, near the close of the seventeenth century, to the Scotch colony in Ireland, by families who sought refuge from the sword of Claverhouse, and whose descendants united with those of the earlier emigrants in seeking a new home in our land. During the time of Cromwell, the colony enjoyed a temporary prosperity; but the memorable "siege of Derry," in 1688 and 1689, has given to history one of the most heroic of its records, as an episode in the fearful strife which followed. Some of those with whom John Bell was associated in the emigration to this country had taken part in the defence of the city. So highly did King and Parliament appreciate their prowess, as to pass an act, exempting from taxation, throughout the British dominions, all who had, during the siege, borne arms in the city. The settlers in the New-Hampshire Londonderry shared the benefit of that act down to our own war of Independence, their farms being known as "exempt farms."*

To secure for themselves, as Presbyterians, fuller civil and religious privileges than they enjoyed under English monarchical and Episcopal rule in Ireland, the thoughts of several comparatively thriving families in the North of Ireland were turned towards this country. The arrangements for effecting their purpose were made early in 1718 by an agent whom they sent to Governor Shute, of Massachusetts; and we find the settlement in progress in Londonderry, N.H., in 1719.

John Bell, the great-grandfather of the subject of this Memoir, followed in the second company of emigrants. His name is found in a record of the distribution of lands, dated in 1720; which is supposed to have been the year of his arrival. Other lands were allotted to him in 1722 and afterwards. He was born in Ballymony, near Coleraine. He brought with him his wife (Elizabeth Todd) and children,

* See History of Londonderry, N.H., by Rev. Edward L. Parker. Boston, 1851.

and the means of making what was then regarded a comfortable start for existence in a wilderness. He shared with his townsmen the responsibilities of trust and office in the settlement; and died July 18, 1743, aged sixty-four years. His name descended to his youngest child, John Bell, born in Londonderry, Aug. 15, 1730. In this American scion of an Old-World stock were found the qualities needed for the stirring times in which he was himself to live, and for transmission to a posterity, which, like his own, has been called to service in the loftiest and most arduous tasks for the public. He was the father of two governors. He received the common education of the place and time,—the training of the home, the school, the church, and the circumstances of a frontier life. He lived on the homestead as a farmer; and married, Dec. 21, 1758, Mary Ann Gilmore, of the same Scotch-Irish stock as himself. At the age of forty-five, and then the parent of eight children, he found the Revolution opening upon him, and calling on him for service which he was ready to pay. With a strong, muscular frame, exceeding six feet in stature, and a stentorian voice, having been for twenty years the champion of the village wrestling-ring, he would still, notwithstanding his age and numerous family, have entered the ranks, had he not been needed in civil office. He was town-clerk, and a member of the Committee of Safety, when he was elected a member of the Provincial Congress which met at Exeter, Dec. 21, 1775; a body which, the next year, necessarily assumed the functions of independent government. He was frequently re-elected to the same representation. In 1776, he was appointed a muster-master; and, in 1780, colonel of the eighth regiment of militia. From 1786 to 1791, he was a senator under the new Constitution of the State. Besides being a Special Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, he, of course, bore the various trusts of moderator, selectman, justice of the peace, elder of the church, guardian and administrator. His fourth son, John,

born July 20, 1765, engaged in trade; represented Londonderry in the Legislature; removed to Chester, where he spent the remainder of his life; and was successively senator, councillor, Sheriff of Rockingham County, and Governor of the State in 1828. He died in March, 1836. He was one of a family of twelve children, only three of whom outlived their parents. The mother died in 1822, aged eighty-six; the father, in 1825, aged ninety-five. The fifth son of John Bell, 2d,— Samuel, the father of our present subject,— was born Feb. 9, 1770; sharing a common-school education in the winter, and the labors of his father's farm in the summer. His strong entreaties and his own efforts obtained for him the privilege of a college course. He graduated at Dartmouth in 1793; studied law with the Hon. Samuel Dana, of Amherst, N.H.; and was admitted to the bar in 1796, rising at once to distinction. He married in November, 1797, Mehitable Bowen Dana, daughter of his law-tutor. She died in August, 1810; leaving four sons and two daughters. He practised law at Francestown and at Amherst. Samuel Bell, besides being appointed Attorney-General of the State (which office he declined), was successively a member and speaker of the House of Representatives, a member and president of the Senate, and one of the five Executive Councillors. A temporary release from public duties being necessary on account of declining health, he regained his vigor by spending portions of several years in excursions on horseback. He was appointed an Associate Justice of the Superior Court on the re-organization of the State Judiciary in 1816, and discharged his duties with eminent ability till his election as Chief Magistrate of the State in 1819. He served as Governor four years, and then declined re-election. In 1822, and again in 1828, Governor Bell was chosen to the Senate of the United States, and retired from public life in 1835. He had married a second time, in 1826, Lucy Smith, daughter of Jonathan Smith, Esq., of Amherst, and niece of his first wife;

and died at the farm in Chester, to which he had retired, Dec. 23, 1850, in his eighty-first year. He received the degree of LL.D. from Bowdoin College in 1821.

Samuel Dana Bell, the eldest son of Governor Samuel Bell, and a graduate of Harvard College in 1816, is now Chief Justice of the State of New Hampshire.

John Bell, second son of the Governor, graduated at Union College in 1818, pursued the study of medicine in Boston and Paris, and attended medical lectures at Harvard and Bowdoin Colleges, from the latter of which he received the degree of M.D. in 1823. In that year he commenced the practice of his profession in New York; and, during the two years of his residence there, became one of the editors of "The Medical and Physical Journal." He was appointed Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the University of Vermont; but a disease of the lungs compelled him to seek a change of climate. After a temporary residence in Natchez, Miss., he removed to Louisiana; where he died in 1830, at the age of thirty.

Of two daughters of Governor Bell, the youngest died in infancy. The other, Mary Ann, married John Nesmith, Esq., afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts.

James, the third son of Governor Bell, graduated at Bowdoin College in 1822, studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1825, practiced his profession in Exeter, was a senator of the United States, and died in 1857, aged fifty-three.

Governor Bell left four sons by his second wife. The youngest member of the family of his first wife, whose virtues and honors we have thus briefly recorded, was Luther V Bell, the subject of this Memoir.*

* In the commemorative tribute offered by the writer at the funeral of Dr. Bell in St. John's Church, Charlestown, Feb. 17, 1862, I spoke of him as Luther *Virgil* Bell; having been informed by a cousin of his that such was his name in full. His brother, Chief-Justice Bell, writes me, "Until I heard your eulogy of him, I had never heard him so called. V had been to us all a *letter* only." I have since been told by an intimate friend of Dr. Bell, that he once pleasantly affirmed that the V did not

He was born in Francestown, Hillsborough County, N.H., Dec. 20, 1806. The family was broken up by the death of his mother in August, 1810. The father moved to Chester, N.H., near the close of 1812. The two youngest sons, James and Luther, had been placed under the care of their grandparents in the native place of the father, Londonderry (now Derry); which was regarded as the home of the family until the removal of Governor Bell to Chester. Luther was fitted for college at the academies in Atkinson and Derry. His surviving brother writes to me, "He was a lovely boy,—kind-hearted, affectionate, generous, unselfish, eminently sincere and truthful, quick to learn, and of a very ready, retentive, and suggestive memory; and these traits have seemed to my partial eyes to mark his character through life, while years had developed in him great good sense and a sound judgment."

He entered Bowdoin College in 1819 under a disadvantage of youth, still lacking some months of thirteen years of age. Among his classmates were Governor Crosby and Senator Fessenden. Among his associates and intimate friends in contemporaneous classes were Hon. Franklin Pierce, now Ex-President of the United States, who, one year the junior in standing of young Bell, was also his chum; Prof. Stowe, of Andover; Nathaniel Hawthorne, the novelist; and Longfellow, the poet. The reverend President of Bowdoin informs me, that "the only entry which he finds against young Bell in the records of the college, during a period noted for dissipation, is a charge of twenty-five cents for playing at bowls in study-hours." Probably the slender student was perfectly willing to make that contribution to the college-funds for the

represent any word, but that, when quite a lad, he adopted it from a boyish fancy, "that he might show as many initials in his signature as other boys." For particulars relating to the genealogy of the Bell Family, I am indebted to the "History of Londonderry;" to "Sketches of Alumni of Dartmouth College," in the "New-Hampshire Repository," vol. i.; and to letters from Chief-Justice Bell, and J. M. Pinkerton, Esq., of Boston, brother-in-law of Dr. Bell.

sake of the benefit which his chest derived from the exercise ; doubtless a full equivalent, especially if, as is altogether likely, he had a classmate to set up the pins. The mothers of Bell and Pierce were cousins, and their fathers had been close friends till the sharply drawn lines of political parties in 1828 disturbed many personal relations. There is a pleasant reminiscence, so honorably fragrant of college friendship, and so characteristic of the manliness and magnanimity of our subject, that it deserves mention, though by anticipation, here. Dr. Bell was known in this neighborhood as a very earnest Whig. As such, he was a delegate from the Middlesex District to the Convention at Baltimore in the exciting Presidential campaign of 1852 ; the Convention which, to the grievous disappointment of himself as of so many others, failed to nominate Daniel Webster, though it received their loyal acquiescence in its choice of General Scott. At a subsequent "ratification meeting" in Faneuil Hall, Dr. Bell appeared, with other delegates, as a speaker. General Pierce was at that time the candidate of the Democratic party ; and in a campaign Memoir of him, just put in circulation, the friendly relations between him and Dr. Bell had been referred to, while the usual defamatory representations had been made on the opposing side to the extent of blackening his character as a man and a soldier. Dr. Bell had expressed his intention of vindicating his old chum from such slanders, in his proposed speech. In spite of the remonstrance of a partisan, that it was "enough for each side to praise its own men," he fulfilled his own generous purpose, and paid "a warm and earnest tribute to the generosity, magnanimity, and courage of his character from his youth upwards, which drew down the applause of the vast assemblage, — Whigs, Democrats, and Free-soilers." *

* From an excellent Memoir of Dr. Luther V Bell which appeared in the American Journal of Insanity in October, 1854, during the lifetime of the subject. (Utica, N.Y.)

To go back from this anticipation of an event in Dr. Bell's later life to the college relations of his youth. He graduated in 1823. He at once commenced the study of medicine with his brother John, then in New York; afterwards attended medical lectures at Hanover; and received his professional degree, Sept. 26, 1826, before he was twenty years of age. He returned to New York; and, while seeking for occupation in his chosen profession as soon as he should pass his maturity, he engaged temporarily in mercantile business in connection with his brother-in-law, Mr. Nesmith. Mrs. Nesmith, being, like so many of the family, a victim of pulmonary disease, was advised to undertake a sea-voyage. Her brother Luther accompanied her to St. Augustine, Fla., where her life closed. On his return, he yielded to the solicitations of his friends that he should pursue the practice of his profession in the neighborhood of his early home. He commenced that service at Derry in 1831, and continued in it till called to the charge of the McLean Asylum in 1837. He married, Sept. 1, 1834, Frances Clark Pinkerton, daughter of James Pinkerton, Esq., of Derry.

During the six years of his professional service in New Hampshire he won esteem and obtained eminence for his devotion, fidelity, and skill; for that affectionate sympathy with sufferers which was so conspicuous a trait and so felicitous a qualification in his subsequent career of arduous labor; and for that earnest spirit of investigation and philosophic research which made him a genius in his chosen work.

The recent death of his brother, Dr. John Bell, and of his only sister, Mrs. Nesmith, had so reduced the family circle, as to make it doubly grateful to him and to his kindred that he could be near his surviving parent. The change of the habits and facilities of professional life to which he had been addicting himself, in our largest capital, to the exigencies of his new position as a "country doctor," must have been fully

realized by him ; but his principles and qualities of character would bring him into easy conformity with the necessities of the case. His long rides over hilly highways and by-roads, in heat and cold and storm, by night and day, might balance their effects of danger or benefit on his constitutional tendencies. The sparsity and distance of professional brethren, whose counsel he might seek in cases of perplexity, would throw him more confidently on his own resources. As an agricultural population has its full share of fractures, maimings, dislocations, and other inflictions requiring surgical skill, the country doctor must be equally competent for the two chief branches of his profession, which in a city may engage the peculiar talent of two classes of practitioners. A signal instance of Dr. Bell's skill, and fertility of resource, is kept in vivid remembrance where it was exhibited. The scene was a country farm-house, several miles from his own home, and twenty miles from Lowell,— the nearest place at which the proper requisites for the occasion could have been obtained. The patient was a corpulent, elderly, and intemperate farmer, whose lower limb required amputation, having been crushed in a rocky rut by a heavy load passing over it. The first re-action of the system had taken place ; the delay of a few hours would be fatal : at once, or never, was the condition of the operation. The reputation of the young doctor and the life of the old patient were both at stake, however differently their value might have been estimated. Dr. Bell, without a moment to lose, extemporized his instruments from the scanty resources of the farm-house. The patient's old razor well strapped, an antique tenon-saw freshly filed, and a darning-needle, with the temper taken out of it to admit of its being bent, as a *tenaculum*, served for the emergency. An inexperienced assistant had the place for his pressure on the artery indicated by a stain which the doctor had made with ink on the groin. The patient, thus beautifully dealt by, lived many years ; and the last report of him was as a working bricklayer,

topping out a tall chimney, supported by a wooden leg carved out for him by the skill of the hand which had relieved him of his damaged member.

In the year 1834, Dr. Bell was a successful competitor for the Boylston Medical Prize. His dissertation examined and opposed the theory of vegetarian diet, as revived under the advocacy of Dr. Sylvester Graham; and argued that a far more substantial nutriment was adapted to the New-England stomach.

In the year following, he wrote a dissertation on the "External Exploration of Diseases," with principal reference to the modern diagnosis of diseases of the chest. It was published by the Massachusetts Medical Society, and occupies a portion of the ninth volume of the Library of Practical Medicine. Dr. Bell's third contribution to the literature of his profession was "An Attempt to investigate some Obscure and Undecided Doctrines in Relation to Small-pox and Varioliform Diseases." This essay will always be historically valuable. Its interest comes from its relation of experience gathered under peculiar local circumstances. Variolous diseases, ravaging regions unprotected by inoculation, caused an intense panic over the wide neighborhood in which Dr. Bell had become known. He relates some very curious particulars of a sporadic case, as well as of infected and epidemic places and conditions.

The attention of many public-spirited and philanthropic persons in his native State had been turned most earnestly to the demand for some public provision for the insane; and Governor Dinsmoor, in his message, June, 1832, had introduced the subject; as did also Governor Badger in 1834, and Governor Hill in 1836. The institution then in such successful working in Worcester, Mass., with the wide dissemination of the frightful sufferings and abuses which the preliminary efforts for its establishment had exposed, engaged a like zeal in our border Commonwealth. General Peaslee, Hon. Frank-

lin Pierce, Samuel E. Coues, Charles J. Fox, and others, were the devoted champions of this cause. They encountered much popular indifference, and even opposition; in part to be accounted to actual ignorance of the extent and misery of that class of maladies whose victims were hidden away or treated as only the evil spirits, who were once believed to possess them, might righteously be dealt by. But the arts of demagogues and of croakers, who foreboded intolerable public burdens from "fancy-philanthropy," were also used with great success to withstand for a long time, and greatly to embarrass, the generous efforts of the humane. Dr. Bell, engaging with all his heart in these efforts, allowed himself to be sent as the representative of his town to the General Court, for the sole and simple purpose of furthering the object. He was placed on a Special Committee to report on the subject of the number and condition of the insane in the State, and the means of providing for them. The report, which, by particular request, was drawn up by him, was printed for distribution by the Legislature, and reprinted in the Journals of both Houses. He proposed the establishment of an institution, the cost of which terrified the representatives of the people, as involving an immediate outlay equal to half the annual expenses of the State Government. The General Court transferred the decision of the great question to a popular vote by the constituency.* Dr. Bell most laboriously followed up the advocacy of his project by writing a series of articles in the leading papers, and by delivering public addresses in various places. Circulars were addressed to proper persons in every town and village in the State, for the sake of obtaining accurate and exhaustive statistics and accounts of every existing case of

* The question to be voted on was, "Is it expedient for the State to grant an appropriation to build an Insane Hospital?"— See "Reports of the Board of Visitors, &c., of the New-Hampshire Asylum for the Insane, June Session, 1862," for a detailed account of the persistency and the obstinacy of the respective parties in the legislation for this establishment. Less than one-half of the legal voters cast ballots, and these were about equally divided on the proposition.

insanity; an eminently noble and satisfactory enterprise, in a State then containing 300,000 widely distributed inhabitants. A final and full reward was realized, after six years of agitation, in the establishment of the New-Hampshire Asylum for the Insane in 1838; the edifice being erected in Concord in 1842.

The published essays of Dr. Bell had given him fame, and his devoted labors in the cause just recognized had drawn attention to him as qualified for a special service. It was while he was attending a second session of his membership in the Legislature,* that, without any agency of his own, and quite to his own surprise, he was invited to become the Superintendent of the M'Lean Asylum for the Insane, then in that part of Charlestown which has since been set off as Somerville. This institution was, and is, a branch of the Massachusetts General Hospital. It was Dr. Bell's peculiar felicity, in assuming his most arduous trust, that he received his appointment to it, and all along obtained the most generous, cordial, and intelligent co-operation, from that select body of high-minded, highly cultivated men who administer this noble agency of benevolence. As the parent institution has had its treasury enriched by the lavish bequests of the merchant princes and the munificent Christian women of Boston, and its

* When expressing to the writer, in grateful terms, his high appreciation of his membership of the Massachusetts Historical Society, at the time of his election, Dr. Bell remarked, in a humorous way, that he might venture to compare claims with some fellow-members on the score that he had once been instrumental in saving from destruction a large mass of public documents of value of the State of New Hampshire. I cannot recall, if he then specified them, the particulars of this good service. It was doubtless performed while he was in the Legislature. The Hon. W. H. Y. Hackett, President of the New-Hampshire Historical Society, has kindly aided me in an attempt to discover the facts of the case by sending me a series of extracts from the Legislative Records. It appears from these, that Governor Hill, in his message of Nov. 23, 1836, called attention to the scattered, exposed, and imperfect files of the State documents; that the subject was referred to a Committee, of which Dr. Bell was a member; that, on Dec. 29, he made a report embracing a resolution (nominating John Farmer, Esq., to gather and arrange the public papers, &c.), and that this resolution passed. While serving on this Committee, our late associate probably found opportunity to save some precious documents.

offshoot has equally shared in the splendid charities of that class of our citizens who have given a world-wide honor to our capital; so, in the oversight and management of Hospital and Asylum, our selected gentlemen have most devotedly engaged their heartiest zeal. It would have made an incalculable difference, not only with the comfort but with the success of Dr. Bell, in the score of years of his intercourse and responsibility, had he been in any wise subjected to dependence upon incompetent or narrow-minded men. The class of gentlemen who were elected Trustees of the Hospital, and the terms and method of their service, — by routine visitation, — made his position eminently favorable for the trial of the experiments, and the testing of the measures, by which the Asylum, from simply empirical and tentative principles, has been developed to a scientific management confessedly unsurpassed over the world. Dr. Bell, in his Annual Reports to these trustees, seemed to take a hearty pleasure, beyond all formal recognition, in acknowledging the sympathetic relations which engaged them with entire mutual respect and confidence in their exacting duties. He was wont to do this even more warmly in private and friendly conference outside the circle of the trustees. After he had resigned his office, he looked back gratefully upon his intercourse with them; and used to refer his satisfactory conduct of the institution to the fact, that, instead of having been annoyed or thwarted by any petty dictation or niggardly restrictions, he had found, in those to whom he was to give and from whom he was to receive advice, a company of high-toned and large-hearted men. The name of "William Appleton," which he gave to one of his children, was his tribute to one so long the President, and a munificent benefactor, of the Asylum.

The McLean Asylum, the earliest institution for the insane in the northern part of our country, and ever since acknowledged to be without a superior, had a history of nineteen years when Dr. Bell assumed the charge of it. His honored

predecessors, Drs. Wyman and Lee, had served it most faithfully. At his accession, it had but seventy patients. It was laboring under many disadvantages, which only the most persevering pains and zeal could remove. Its humane objects, though of so exigent and manifest a need, were very imperfectly apprehended or estimated. Blind prejudice, stolid indifference, hardened tolerance of abuses, and hopelessness of any great good to be accomplished for them, characterized the general feelings of our communities towards the victims of mental disease. And, strange to say, the well-meant and most essential conditions required in the wise and really merciful conduct of the institutions provided for their benefit called out severe reproach, and often even the foulest obloquy, upon their devoted managers. The natural friends of patients were, in some cases, the worst offenders of this sort. The simple truth is, that the science of this arduous and often baffling ministration was yet to be acquired. Ignorance, whose errors and blunders were not relieved by any amount of good intention, had first obtained the field. Empiricism, routine, legalized errors, traditional maxims, and ill-chosen authorities, were the next possessors and stragglers over it. The history of philanthropic and scientific inquiry and effort, in reference to the treatment of the insane, forms one of the most interesting episodes in the annals of humanity. The antagonism between the advocates of private and public institutions for the purpose was very intense; as it was found, that, in the main, they represented, respectively, two very different theories as to the wisest way of dealing with such sufferers. As we read, at this day, some of the publications issued by the disputants in that controversy, we are rather impressed with a sense of the deficiencies and errors of knowledge and opinion in both parties, than with the feeling that the weight of demonstrative argument lay on the side of either of them. The necessities of the case, however, carried the decision in favor

of very energetic and liberal public provision by legislation for the establishment and oversight of Insane Asylums. But so far as my own inquiries, extended yet not exhaustive, enable me to make an assertion in a matter covering so much ground, I will venture to affirm, that, with the exception of the asylums founded by the State of Massachusetts, at Worcester, Taunton, and Northampton, that in the city of Boston, and perhaps as many more in other States through the Union, private munificence has contributed far more than the public treasury to the establishing and endowment of all our existing institutions for the treatment of the insane.

The death of the excellent and devoted Dr. Lee, after a short superintendency of the M'Lean Asylum, had subjected the trustees to a very serious exercise of their responsibility in the appointment of a successor. They felt that they needed just such a man as Dr. Bell proved to be, — constitutionally and naturally endowed with the special qualities, and trained to the exercise and culture of those special capacities of mind, which would adapt him to his work; and then engaged by a lofty and most conscientious sense of duty, amounting almost to fearfulness in its weight and burden. His deliberation and calmness and poise of judgment secured him most thoroughly from any excess of mere enthusiasm; though the concentration and intensity of his interest in all the phases of the disease to which he ministered had in it the finest elements of enthusiasm. His sympathies were warm, deep, tender; but manifested, as they needed to be, under the restraints of a cautious discretion. He harmonized in his development and self-education those speculative and practical talents which so wonderfully adapted him to his new tasks of study and experiment. Even the cast of his features, the tones of his voice, the gentleness, courtesy, and dignity of his manners, would of themselves have suggested his fitness as a candidate for his trust, as in the discharge of it they did eminently and most graciously prove the wisdom

of his appointment, and win him signal success in it. How many sufferers, recovered under his care, have delighted in yielding themselves to grateful and ardent acknowledgments of the personal comfort and assurance which they derived, even under the excitements and fancies of their disease, from his "manners and ways," his looks and mild words, his quiet but searching eye, his wise sympathy!

Having had frequent occasions, during the period of Dr. Bell's official charge, to visit the institution and to confer with him, I never left it without feeling anew the deepening impression, that nature and grace had given him a most felicitous endowment for a service in which a single strongly marked personal deficiency would have neutralized many other positive qualifications. One incident illustrative of this remark is so strongly and affectingly impressed upon my memory, that I will yield to the impulse to record it. As I approached the entrance-door of the Asylum, on an occasion which called me there, a carriage drew up, from which issued the most distressing and heart-piercing screams, as of one in the intensest agony of body and mind. Three men, friendly, but not professional, attendants, had alighted from the carriage; thus wholly disabling themselves from any power of control over their charge, whom they left in it. That charge was a woman suffering from extreme mania. She thought herself surrounded by flames, and blazing in torture. She threw herself wildly about in the carriage, lacerating herself with the broken glass, beating her dress as if to extinguish the fire, and screaming most piteously for "water! water!" Surrounded by a group of paralyzed observers, who knew not what it was wise or safe to do, the sufferer was left to herself for a few minutes that seemed hours. Dr. Bell, summoned from some inner apartment, appeared, to give us all sweet relief; for we felt that we shared it with the patient. He approached the door of the carriage, fixed his gentle eye upon her, and, with mild tones of ordinary speech, said,

“Madam, come with me, and you shall have water.” The evil spirit seemed to have gone out of her at the look and word. She smiled pleasantly, took the proffered arm, and passed into the Asylum as if bent on a stroll through its beautiful gardens.

Dr. Bell, having been chosen to his joint office of physician and superintendent of the Asylum in December, 1836, assumed the charge at the opening of the new year; adopting, of course, the moral and medical system then accepted as the result of the experience of his predecessors. This he wisely made the basis, as they would have done, for such improvements as further experience should warrant. He at once identified his heart, mind, and every hope of honorable fame, with entire devotion to the institution. He had not served many years, however, before he found it essential to the healthfulness, cheerfulness, and vigor of his own frame and thoughts, while exposed to so many morbid and exhausting influences, to keep open some channel of intercourse with the outside world, and to interest himself in some wider converse with human improvement.

I have before me a solid volume, arranged by himself, containing, besides other matters, his own copy of his successive Annual Reports to the Trustees, beginning with the first, which bears date Jan. 1, 1838; that being the twentieth offered of the institution. I had read most of these documents, as, from time to time, he had put them into my hands; and supposed I had a general apprehension of their contents. But while engaged upon this tribute to his memory, and holding his own book before me, I have found myself deliberately reading in their order, and with abundant recompense, the whole series of his reports. And they belong together: they ought to be brought and kept together wherever they are to be found; for they present the professional, and, in good part, the personal history of an eminent public servant and scientific man, as well as the history of many of the most

important stages of progress in one of the most humane of all sciences. Competent as he was to undertake his office, he felt that he received it with most exacting demands upon him, a full and cheerful compliance with which alone could qualify him for it. Easily adapting himself to the conditions of residence, and of daily and almost hourly intercourse with his patients, he conscientiously denied himself, for many years, all the relaxations and privileges of society which were so temptingly within his reach in the neighboring capital. He gave his great powers and his signal aptitudes of mind to philosophical observation and practical experiment upon all the facts and phenomena of mental disease. While it was of the very essence of his good sense, and clearness of understanding, to look hopefully for help and light towards improved methods and more correct views of the subject of his study, and while he most generously accepted the least contribution to any real advance in it, he was too cautious and well balanced in judgment either to invent any crotchets or fancies of his own, or to be influenced by those of others. The opportunity and the duty seemed equally to press and keep themselves before him, that he was to construct a science out of well-observed facts and phenomena for his own guidance, and to reduce its principles to practical trial; thereby testing and rectifying it. He gathered documentary materials and statistics from all accessible quarters. He found more to question, to doubt about, and to subject to rigid examination, than he did to approve or blindly follow, in the accepted theories and methods of treatment of insanity. As for the statistics of asylums from which were deduced the conclusions confided in, as he thought, too readily, by some of his professional brethren, the reader of his reports will be profoundly impressed with the shrewdness and sagacity with which he challenges their value, and indicates their utterly misleading influence when they fail in exhaustiveness of detail, in com-

prehensiveness of conditions, or complete and exact parallelism of circumstances.

In reading Dr. Bell's reports in their series, we note how he himself grew to the standard of true science,— how he felt and inquired his way on with equal caution and confidence. He invites the trustees and alternating visitors to weigh the value and to interpret the significance of the facts which he authenticates for them, as rectifying errors, or suggesting improvements, or favoring the trial of wise experiments, for the better conduct of the institution. He commits himself confidently to their support in the adoption of any measure or regulation which withstood prejudice, or was likely to offend that watchful but not always wise class of persons, the friends of patients and the critical public. One of the most striking and grateful impressions derived from the perusal of these documents suggests itself from the relation in which Dr. Bell placed himself with all who, within the walls, shared with him in the anxious responsibilities of the daily conduct of the Asylum. Cordial tributes to them appear in all his reports. But these were not formal recognitions of perfunctory services. Far otherwise. Most of those who ministered there in any capacity had felt the influence of his mind, and were trained by his help to the prudence, fidelity, gentleness, and devotion so essential to their charge. A large number of attendants is there requisite, with an exact division of the duties of subordinates and helpers, and strict fidelity in obeying regulations. The institution was most fortunate, and its superintendent was enviably favored, in the characters and qualities of those on whom he needed to rely for co-operation. It would be wrong to omit, from a tribute to Dr. Bell himself, all mention of the names of some of those with whom he shared so much helpful and happy intercourse. His first assistant, Dr. Fox, had resigned, much to his regret. His assistant and successor, Dr. Booth, so soon snatched away

from the office for which he was so admirably qualified and trained, had Dr. Bell's entire confidence and love. Mr. Tyler, the steward, and his wife, the honored matron, had both of them, by long years of service (still happily continued), by their genial manners, their zeal, fidelity, and experience, been recognized as ornaments and securities for the well-managed economies of the Asylum. And what shall we say of the excellent and devoted Miss Relief R. Barber, — the angel of light and peace, the sweet and patient and self-denying ministrant of love and trust to hundreds of female patients? I will crave the liberty to express as of my own opinion, from observation and the heart-eloquent testimony of many whom she has soothed and saved, — what I believe was literally the opinion of Dr. Bell, — that she is an especial provision of the Divine Love and Wisdom for an especial service. Her Christian name was prophetically chosen.

The subjects to which Dr. Bell applied himself with chief interest were successively pressed upon his attention as he penetrated deeper into the materials for wise theory, and watched cautiously the trial-tests of experiment, in the treatment of the various forms and degrees of mental disease. Its causes and agencies, direct and indirect, constitutional and incidental, inherited or original; conditions of treatment as depending upon stages of disease, — its aggravations, change of surroundings, the withdrawal of previous influences, and the substitution of new influences; the classification of patients, — to what extent possible and essential; its effect upon the comfort of the patients, and as an aid to their recovery; the use of physical restraints, — the question as to the possibility of absolutely dispensing with them; the exposure of the uncandid and deceptive pretence, that, in some foreign institutions, such restraints had been wholly disused, when searching inquiry proved that there was equivocation about what really was signified by restraints; the provision of relaxations and amusements, of opportunities and materials

for manual labor, for garden and field work, for reading and for religious exercises; the extent to which these appliances might wisely be availed of, and their influence upon patients; the internal discipline of the institution,—its regulations respecting attendants, and the intercourse by visits or correspondence between patients and their friends; arrangements for heating and ventilation, to secure the best conditions for physical health or comfort; the addition of new and commodious edifices for the sake of offering elegancies and luxuries to a class of patients whose habits and education had made such indulgences essential to them, and whose means would afford a proportionate compensation; careful revisions and rectifications of the statistics published by other institutions of like design, for the purpose of securing more accuracy in estimating comparative results and comparative methods,—these, and a multitude of incidental and subordinate topics, will be found to engage the well-rewarded attention even of an unprofessional reader, as he follows the progress of Dr. Bell, identical, in many respects, with the progress of science in a department of most melancholy but humane interest.

It has been already intimated, that, after a few years of entire absorption and concentration of time and thought in the care of the Asylum, Dr. Bell found some variation and enlargement of his mental occupation essential to him. There offers here a convenient opportunity for rehearsing some of his incidental employments and interests during the term of his service. These, however, for the most part, were strictly of a professional character. In 1840, he went abroad, by permission of the trustees, for four months, for the sake of health, and in order to gather information about foreign asylums. His report the next year is of very great interest, relating his observations on the structure and arrangements of insane hospitals, recent improvements introduced in them and in their management, the abuses of the “private madhouse”

system, the employment and the nature of the physical restraints still practised, &c.

In 1845, the Trustees of the projected Butler Institution for the Insane, at Providence, R.I., wishing to avail themselves of his helpful services, and under the most favorable circumstances, asked of the Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital leave for Dr. Bell to repeat his foreign visit on their behalf. Permission being granted, he undertook a wintry voyage; sailing from New York, Jan. 2, 1846, and spending two most diligent months in Europe. On his return, he addressed a letter from Sandy Hook to the Butler Trustees, that he was ready to give an account of his mission. His report, or rather an abstract of it, with plans and diagrams, especially full in reference to ventilation, was published; and his suggestions were largely followed in the new edifices.

In 1848, Dr. Bell delivered the discourse before the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Medical Society, choosing for his subject that on which he was then so earnestly engaged, the "Practical Methods of ventilating Buildings;" which was published by the society, and also separately, with a valuable appendix. In 1857, the high compliment was paid him of an election as president of that society. He is regarded as a highly authoritative, though, of course, not an infallible expert on the structure, the warming and ventilating, of large edifices. Chief-Justice Bell writes me, "I remember to have heard him mention that he received a prize of a hundred guineas from the authorities of one of the West-India islands for the plan of a hospital edifice." On Aug. 13, 1850, Dr. Bell delivered a eulogy on President Taylor before the city authorities and people of Cambridge, which is in print.

Deferring a reference to his participation in the affairs of party politics, his strictly official employments call us back to his annual reports. The number of patients in the Asylum steadily increased, till the capacity of the spacious edifices, even though enlarged and made more commodious, interposed

a limit. This fact was all the more significant of the admirable administration within the walls, when we remember, that, during the years we are reviewing, new asylums were established and old ones were extended over localities which had previously depended upon that in Somerville. It is observable, likewise, that public and private confidence was more heartily yielded to the institution, notwithstanding an increasing strictness in some parts of its discipline, and a decided position taken by its trustees on some points where popular prejudice still had sway. In the first year of Dr. Bell's superintendency, he had under his care 191 patients; in 1838, he had 224; in 1840, he had 263; in 1842, he had 271; in 1844, he had 292. The largest number given for any one year is that for 1851, when there were 364 patients. During his whole term of service, he had had 2,696; of which number, sixty-two per cent had recovered. In his report for 1841, he recognizes the increasing interest then manifested in various parts of the country in provision for the insane and in the science of the subject. He dwells upon the necessity of close personal attention and acute observation, instead of relying on theory or tradition. In the report for 1842, he pays a fine tribute to the virtues and the professional qualities of the first incumbent of his office, Dr. Rufus Wyman, then recently deceased. In the next report, Dr. Bell gives a cursory review of his seven years' experience, and introduces some very important hints upon the urgent necessity of a revision of the jurisprudence of insanity, with particular reference to English legislation on the subject. In his report for 1844, he refers to the provision which the Legislature had made in its last session for a Board of Commissioners for investigating the mental condition of convicts suspected of insanity. Of this commission he was afterwards a member, and performed in it some special service. He also makes mention of a newly formed "Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane." Of this association he was for five years the pre-

sident, and always the leading spirit. At its first annual meeting after the decease of Dr. Bell, a discourse on his life and character was read in Providence, R.I., June 10, 1862, by his friend Dr. Ray, of the Butler Asylum. This discourse, which is now in print, is a most just, eloquent, and appreciative tribute from one who was best qualified to render it. Dr. Bell read before this association, in 1849, a paper, which those competent to judge regard as indicating powers of most acute original investigation and scientific skill, given to a subject that would baffle ordinary powers. His theme was, "On a form of disease resembling some advanced stages of mania and fever, but so contradistinguished from any ordinarily observed or described combination of symptoms as to render it probable that it may be an overlooked and hitherto unrecorded malady;" published in the "Journal of Insanity," vol. ii. This form of disease has since been known as "Bell's Disease." In Dr. Bell's report for 1845, we find his deliberate opinion, "that in this country the type of insanity is much more intense than in Europe." Some special suggestion or theme of interest will be found in each one of his reports, giving to it a value of its own, and helping towards the cumulative observations and experience which have won for their author the place of eminence and distinction in his professional service. His fellow-townsmen in Somerville regarded him as their most distinguished citizen; and in that relation his advice and aid were often sought in private ways, while it furnished the occasion and opportunity for some of his interminglings with political issues. Among the pamphlets from his own pen which he left bound together, I find two reports prepared by him as Chairman of the School Committee for the years 1845-6 and 1846-7. In the same volume appears, as a "city document," a letter addressed by him, in answer to inquiries, to the Mayor of Boston, in 1845, on the construction, warming, and ventilation of the proposed new City Prison.

Dr. Bell's name and reputation have been widely and

closely, and to a great extent erroneously, associated with what goes by the name of "Spiritualism." Very many persons have adopted the impression, that he was a "believer" in it; and several of his friends have expressed regrets that he afforded so much countenance to it as to be willing to be quoted for his known interest in it, and his patient devotion of so much valuable time to its investigation. Having very frequently and very deliberately discussed the subject with him, and been his companion—not without a measure of shamefacedness on the part of both of us, though in other good company—to the "sittings" and exhibitions of "mediums," the writer feels himself entitled and under obligation to speak with some confidence on this incidental topic, and on Dr. Bell's true position in reference to it. With full assurance, then, it may be affirmed, that Dr. Bell showed no further and no different interest in "Spiritualism" than the facts and the phenomena which it presented before this community not only warranted, but demanded of one in his professional position, and especially of one who had such a remarkable aptitude and skill for the inquisition as he possessed. And, further, it may as confidently be affirmed, that so far from indorsing the claims of any thing preternatural, miraculous, or even immaterial, in the phenomena, such as involved the supposed agency of beings or powers from "the other world," Dr. Bell, from first to last, positively and emphatically, in his speech and in what he has left in writing by his own hand, utterly discredited all such claims, as wholly unsupported. The simple fact that so many people,—as, at one time alleged, three millions in our own country,—embracing, too, all classes and grades, were interested in "Spiritualism," was one more likely to engage his inquisitive curiosity than any of the mere phenomena which were adduced as accounting for it. His natural and professional tastes for psychological investigations would attract him to it. The intelligent part of the community would look to him as under a peculiar obligation, as well

as opportunely qualified, to investigate the subject, exposing the delusions and frauds connected with it, and instructing them by his own opinion as to whether any occult or unrecognized or newly developed agency was disclosed in its workings. He opened the subject twice before the Association of Medical Superintendents of Insane Asylums, and indicated the claims of the community on those especially qualified to investigate the alleged phenomena. He himself thought that the delusion or excitement had been unwisely dealt by, — unwisely, that is, considering the obligations which intelligent and cautious persons owe to the weak, the credulous, the excitable, and the unsuspecting, who are the victims of the designing; unwisely, too, as regards the ends of true and pure science. He found thousands around him, including several worthy personal friends and neighbours, in a fervor of excitement and sympathy about a supposed new channel of communication opened with another world. Neither the fanatical nor the ludicrous aspects of the phenomena were so interesting to him as were the simply psychological elements of the subject. He might have thought it, on the whole, a good thing, that those who had lost faith, or ardor or living experience of faith, in the solemn sanctities and the august secrecies of things spiritual and divine, should have their sluggish or clouded apprehensions vivified by any semblances which would represent such realities. If spirits are not entertained as angel visitants in the heart through their own tongues and tones of converse, better is it, than that they should not come at all, that they should be believed to play antics with household chairs and tables, and spell out names by a child's alphabet, and convince in any way that the dead are alive. But while Dr. Bell took note of the astounding sweep and extent of the excitement about "Spiritualism," and had patients brought to him crazed by its agency, he regretted that it was left, in the main, to be treated with blank indifference or with sarcasm by another class of the

community, instead of receiving a rigidly critical and scientific investigation by the multiplied tests available for the purpose. He was himself a deeply and devoutly religious man, holding views more in sympathy with those of the Friends than of any other class of Christians. His tone, and cast of feeling, were, in the finest sense of the term, spiritual. He had a profound respect and a most catholic charity for all the workings of the sentiment of religion and all its manifestations in others. He argued, that, if the delusion of witchcraft had been subjected to the inquisition of even the imperfect science and philosophy of the age of its prevalence, thousands of lives would have been spared, and millions of hearts would have escaped the rack of intense suffering. The persistency with which Dr. Bell pleaded for and engaged himself in an examination of the phenomena of *belief*, as well as of the phenomena which were the *grounds* of the belief, in "Spiritualism," was mistaken by many for a credence of it. It chanced that at each of several "sittings" in a circle with a "medium," at which the writer was present with Dr. Bell, the spirits alleged to be offering a communication assumed the names of deceased members of his family, and sought conference with him. Touched and tender affections, without a ray of confidence in their agency in the scene, would explain the emotion which he manifested. So far as he reached, and felt disposed to give shape or definiteness to, any conclusion from his continued and numerous examinations of the phenomena of the subject, there are abundant means for fixing his position in reference to it. Utterly discrediting, and positively repudiating, as before affirmed, all the supernaturalism or real spirituality of the phenomena, and knowing full well that the mixture of fraud, chicanery, artifice, and collusion, connected with them, would justify even legal proceedings against some of the adepts, he did recognize in many cases the proved agency of some mechanical or material or occult principle not yet brought under the terms of science. He thought he

had reason to acknowledge the possible existence and the working energy of some mesmeric or other force, by which one person might be told of something *already known to him*, by another man or woman who was supposed not to have gained the information in the ordinary way. This was the extent of Dr. Bell's indorsement of "Spiritualism."

Another service in which Dr. Bell turned his talents and professional acquisitions to important uses, for the benefit of individuals and for the security of public interests, was as an expert in his science before courts of justice. It was somewhat remarkable, that during the years of his fullest experience in the Asylum, and those which immediately followed his resignation, a number of very striking cases, involving principles of the jurisprudence of insanity, presented themselves in the region over which his reputation was established. There were also circumstances of peculiar complication and embarrassment under which professional skill was called into exercise in some of these cases. One of the many forms of philanthropic zeal in our community engaged itself in behalf of prisoners and criminals. In the view of a sterner and less sentimental class of observers of this possibly exaggerated tenderness for convicts, the real safety and the rights of the public were perilled by this form of philanthropy. Felons were likely to be dealt with too leniently, if not even to be pitied as the victims of misfortune and of malignant social usages. Pleas were advanced, that quite a large *percentage* of what was punished as crime was referable to causes identical with those which produce insanity; and that probably quite a number of the sentenced convicts in all our prisons ought, by humane principles, to be transferred to asylums. No doubt, there was a basis of truth in these pleas; and there is as little doubt that they were exaggerated and overplied. Of course, the reasonable apprehensions, as well as the jealousy and the ridicule, of the conservative portion of the community, were engaged against the so-called sentimentalists on this sub-

ject; and the opposition was, in its turn, in danger of running to excess. It was under such circumstances, intensifying the inherent difficulties of the service, that Dr. Bell was frequently summoned to the cell and to the court-room to examine convicts and to testify before juries. There were cunning culprits who undertook to simulate insanity. There were convicts who neither raised the plea themselves, nor had friends to raise it for them, who yet were entitled to the benefit of it, at least to the extent of a professional inquisition in reference to it. It required often rare and well-trained qualities in a professed expert to meet the demands of some special cases, and to stand the ordeal of judges, counsel, and jury, in the court. Very nice learning, very acute discrimination, cool self-possession, and a command of all his professional skill, were needed in the witness; and, even with all these qualifications and guaranties of his testimony, only one who felt sure of his ground would be a match for the subtleties which a purchased or interested advocacy might ply against him. As if to give us a new illustration of the compensatory methods of Providence, legal processes, turning upon the question of the lack of wits or mental soundness of one person, have been the occasion of proving a marvellous amount of intellectual furniture in several other persons.

Dr. Bell secured high distinction and entire confidence in himself, and gradually vindicated the application of rigid scientific principles to this branch of jurisprudence. In connection with his commissionership for the transfer of feeble-minded or irresponsible persons confined in prisons to the public hospitals, his appearance as an expert in the courts gave him an official as well as an eminent professional reputation. He drew attention to the very different methods and tests relied upon in the English courts, and sought to reduce judicial proceedings on the subject to some degree of harmony. He was well aware of the perplexities and risks attendant upon the judicious and faithful use of the confidence reposed

in him by individuals and by the community. The plea of insanity was not only the last shelter sought by some cunning criminals, whose hope from any other quarter was desperate, but it bore a mingled burden of dread and ridicule from the public, as likely to be, in many cases, the easy delusion of a morbid philanthropy. Our late honored associate, Chief-Justice Shaw, one of the most critical and competent of the many clear-minded and acute listeners before whom Dr. Bell frequently appeared as an expert, — occasionally before the court, but more freely in private intercourse, — expressed his high appreciation of the dignity, the wisdom, the sagacity, and the professional ability, which Dr. Bell manifested when on the stand under oath. After he had sought the retirement of private life, his services were yet more constantly engaged, alike in civil as in criminal cases, before the courts, where many delicate questions, involving personal liberty or restraint for individuals, as well as large pecuniary interests, were under litigation. His opinion as an expert in the famous "Parish Will Case," before the Surrogate of the city of New York, covering sixty-eight pages in one of the published volumes of that most fertile matter for lawyers and printers, will richly repay the perusal by an unprofessional reader.*

Many of the warmest friends of Dr. Bell regretted that he should have had any other concern with politics than in simply exercising his privileges and doing his duty as a private citizen. Not a few allowed themselves to express this regret very candidly to himself. More than one of those who entertained the loftiest admiration of his professional abilities remonstrated with him against the division of his time and interest, or the diversion of his mind from a work in which he rendered service so highly appreciated, to any share in the political agitations which were peculiarly excited and imbittered when his name was associated with them. Probably he

* In volume iv. Medical Opinions upon the Mental Competency of Mr. Parish.

himself would have acknowledged, that his political episode appeared to him, near the close of his life, as the element in it from which he had derived least satisfaction. The high civic honors and the political distinctions which had been won and maintained by so many members of his family might seem to draw him by traditional and domestic influences to the discharge of his personal obligations in the same direction. He might be impelled by the loftiest motives to stamp the impress of his own convictions and influence upon the party issues of the day, and not feel bound to deny himself a participation in any of the measures, primary or matured, in the results of which he had all a citizen's interests at stake. As a member of the Executive Council of the State in 1850, under the chief-magistracy of Governor Briggs, whom he highly esteemed,* he had an opportunity to perform public service well appreciated by all parties. Especially as a member of the Committee on Pardons, his professional skill, as well as his feelings as a man, and his responsibility as an arbiter in matters of life and death for others, were put to severe and painful tests. Among other cases that engaged his most conscientious and rigid scrutiny was that of Professor Webster. His decision upon it was justified in its developments.

Dr. Bell declined being a candidate for re-election on the Council; finding that the amount and nature of its business made too heavy draughts upon his pre-occupied time. Reference has already been made to his having been a delegate from Middlesex District to the Whig Convention in Baltimore,

* When intelligence of the shocking disaster visited upon Governor Briggs by the accidental discharge of a gun reached Dr. Bell, he referred to it as follows, in a letter to a friend, dated Camp Union, Bladensburg, Md., Sept. 17, 1861: "What a strange, sad death was that of Governor Briggs! The telegraph at first only said, 'Governor Briggs shot!' Of course, imagination could scarce connect the idea of fire-arms or a violent death with him of all men. The speedy explanation demonstrated, that even that manner of death was not inconsistent with his life. I have known my share of the presumptively eminent men of our state of society. My intimate connection with him, officially and socially, in the eventful year 1850, places him the highest on my catalogue of the truly great;—averaging intellect, moral and affective powers."

in the Presidential campaign of 1852. If he had needed initiation into the vexations, antagonisms, and disappointments of party warfare, of factious elements, and of decisions depending upon questions of availability, first and second choices, and the balancings of sectional strength with fixed preferences, and even with righteous principles, he would have received it there. But he was no novice in the arts and passions which have their play in such a scene; still less in a knowledge of those human elements which lie behind them and work through them. We have learned, on no less satisfactory evidence than that of demonstrative experience, to assign a generally corrupting and malignant influence, if not to the essential, certainly then to the incidental, conditions of successful political life; and we are far from admitting, that failure of success in political ambition or office is to be accounted generally to the obstruction interposed by delicacy of sentiment or by severity of principle. Pliny learned and said, in his day, that "the Forum inspires the best men with some degree of malice." But, while we charge upon political life the burden of so demoralizing character, we ought to remember that something depends upon the sort and phase of the politics which from time to time puts its leaders and partisans to trials that may prove too severe for them. The corrupting quality in politics is a varying element in it; and it never can reach such a degree and intensity as necessarily to exclude all honest men from engaging in it, or to inflict the stain of baseness upon all who entered into it with right hearts. If we repeat, as verified, the cynical saying, that "every man has his price," we must be careful to guard ourselves against sharing in an original human plagiarism in the use of the maxim, by remembering that the first known authority for it was Satan, in the Book of Job: "Doth Job serve God for nought?" Let us quote our author, and perhaps that will dissuade us from repeating the maxim.

It happened that our politics, at the time when Dr. Bell

was for a brief season a participant in its strifes, was of a particularly poor character. He doubtless found in his own experience, that the existence of two, and even of three, parties, did not afford a good man an opportunity of choice, by however strong a preference, of identifying himself with the whole of the truth or the right in the espousal of either of them. Still less would he have acknowledged full sympathy with all the details of measures, and all the acts and opinions of men, of his own party. He was a strong and earnest Whig. He wrote in the newspapers, he attended and addressed meetings, in the interests of that party. But it was at a time when that party had lost power, and was rapidly disintegrating; when its life, many of its best ornaments and champions, and, as the event proved, its former dominancy, were passing into a new organization on different issues, which steadily strengthened from a so-called faction into a dispenser of state and national offices. Dr. Bell served the Whig party at a time when its honors were those of defeat, tradition, and the surviving esteem and allegiance of many excellent men, who were again enjoying private life. *O fortunati si nōrint!* &c. He was the candidate of the Whig party of the Seventh Congressional District of Massachusetts in 1852, unanimously so designated by a convention at the first balloting. At the first trial for an election, he received a plurality of fifteen hundred ballots; so that, by the provisions of some of our States then, and of our own now, he would have acceded to the office: but, as a majority of the ballots was then required here, he failed of it. On the second trial, by a coalition of the two opposing parties, he was defeated by some three hundred ballots. He was a working member of the State Convention in 1853 for revising the Constitution. His name was used against his will as the Whig candidate for Governor in 1856.

Dr. Bell experienced many severe domestic bereavements, during his superintendency of the Asylum, in the loss of chil-

dren; and, finally, in the decease of his wife. He was a most affectionate and faithful husband and father. His own delicate health, and that of every member of his immediate family, made him thoughtful and watchful of all the risks and all the conditions of security attendant upon human life. He enjoyed very many of the attractions of a private home in the centre of such a circle of patients and professional assistants. The sumptuous and spacious mansion, erected on a commanding site by the late Joseph Barrell, Esq., with its extensive gardens and fields, had been the original edifice, and continued to be the centre of the many solid structures built in connection with it for the uses of the institution. Architectural arrangements, greatly improved under Dr. Bell's supervision, gave easy access to all the parts of the establishment. The site was unsurpassed for convenience and healthfulness; and there was no drawback upon its local advantages or surroundings, till the numerous railroad crossings in the neighborhood seemed for a time to threaten the necessity or expediency of a removal. The almost constant shriek of the steam-whistle was a sound certainly not favorable to jarred nerves and morbid sensibilities. Dr. Bell was for a time exceedingly disturbed by this increasing annoyance. Having given such zeal and fertile ingenuity of invention to the perfection of every external and internal arrangement of the institution, it was not strange that he should have feared great mischief from this evil, and have remonstrated with some warmth against the sacrifice of so much benevolent and scientific outlay to the conveniences of engineering. He thought that the lines of radiation from the city might have laid the road-beds a little farther off from the grounds of the institution; or, at least, that some provision might have been made for abating the nuisance of that shrieking discord from the engines, which sounded far more dismally to his sympathetic ears than any of those human outcries supposed by popular fancy to be the chief horror of an asylum for the mentally diseased. This

passing reference to a subject of very natural apprehension to all who were interested in the institution has been made here, because Dr. Bell was personally at the time visited with some sharp censure from those who were prominently concerned in the arrangements against which he remonstrated.

In the centre of such surroundings, Dr. Bell found his home for a score of years. All that his warm domestic attachments could do towards making it a happy place, and relieving any sombre associations with it for those whom he loved most tenderly, was done. But many clouds came over that home, and broke in great sorrow upon the father and husband. Three of his seven children died there: viz., Mary, Aug. 22, 1847; Henry James, Oct. 3 of the same year; and then his eldest son, Samuel John, a member of Harvard College, and a youth of great promise, Nov. 9, 1853. She who had shared these afflictions with him, his excellent and much-endearred wife, died in her confinement, March 1, 1855, aged forty-two years.

Probably the severe trial of these afflictions, the exhaustive effects upon mind and body of so many years of the most exacting professional service, and the desire "to husband out life's taper" for some ends yet attractive and possible to him, were the occasions, as they certainly were satisfactory reasons, for his resignation of office, contemplated some time before it took effect. There were intimations in some quarters that his interest in his work had declined, or yielded to the attractions of political life. These intimations, so far as they touched his fidelity or implied ambitious aims, were simply idle. He had frequently intimated his wishes for relief; but the trustees felt the difficulty of finding a fit successor. At length, in his Report, presented Jan. 23, 1856, he avows his decision. We will now allow him to speak for himself:—

"I communicated to your Board, several months since, my intention not to be a candidate for re-election to the office which I have

held by your appointment for so many years. Having made my arrangements to retire to a spot not far distant, where I shall have the happiness of opening my eyes each morning on this blessed institution, and feeling that my own happiness will be intimately connected with witnessing its continued prosperity, I hope hereafter to be no stranger within its walls. Hence I feel that no melancholy valedictory is required, or would be in keeping with the occasion of my handing over this charge to another. I will only say, that, as far as I know, I leave this Asylum prosperous in its own affairs, and amply possessed of the confidence of the community. I leave it with a heart grateful to that superintending Providence which shielded me for so many years from those bereavements and that ill health which have of late overwhelmed me, so that I have been enabled to do something for those placed under my care, as well as for the general cause of the insane over our country, — grateful for the uniform support, the indulgent forbearance, the kind sympathy in my many trials, of the members of your Board, present and past; grateful to the medical profession, whose cheerful and ready confidence and uniform courtesies are, and ever will be, very dear to my memory; grateful to a community which has, in the various attacks to which this and all such institutions are ever liable, from the mistaken, the ungratified, and the malignant, sprung promptly to our relief, rendering explanations and defences superfluous; grateful to a long line of recovered patients of both sexes, whose kindly recognition of our efforts has inspired new activity, and made labors pleasant, however in themselves anxious and exhausting; and, lastly, grateful to those associated with me in various capacities, — most of them for many years, and some during my entire service, — in the discharge of our holy functions. I can mark the day of my leaving these walls, with a ‘white stone;’ and enter again the world, without one feeling other than that of kindness and good-will to all mankind.

“The experience of the nineteen years since I was called unexpectedly to the superintendence of the M‘Lean Asylum, without application on my own part, or knowledge that I was thought of for the office, an entire stranger to every member of the Board, and almost equally a stranger in the Commonwealth, has not passed, I trust, without adding something to the common stock of knowledge of the treatment, moral and medical, of insanity. The experience of this institution — almost the earliest of the curative hospitals of the land — has been most freely shared with those which have been added suc-

cessively to the long roll now extending from Maine to California. Christianity can hardly show a mightier triumph than the fact, that, since the brief date just named, the number of hospitals for the insane, in the United States, has increased from half a dozen to between forty and fifty; and the accommodations for patients have risen from about five hundred to between ten and eleven thousand. Even the four larger British Provinces adjoining us have caught the influence of our zeal; and each of them has, during that period, provided itself with a large and well-furnished institution essentially upon our models.

“While the moral treatment of the insane, in its great principles, was as well established half a century since as at this hour, the means of carrying out the highest forms of such treatment have been constantly augmenting, because their necessity has been more and more recognized by those on whom hospitals depend for support. The only limit now seems to be in the ingenuity and industry of those who have the charge of applying those means. While many things, which promised well in words and in theory, have been tried, some of the most lauded have so far failed as to be abandoned by the wise and judicious. The character of the patients at different institutions obviously requires differences of moral treatment; and this may change in the same institution. For example: mechanical and agricultural labor, which was foremost in the moral appliances of this Asylum, has long since been abandoned, because the class of sufferers has entirely changed since the establishment of so many hospitals around us.

“The trial was made here, for several years, of the entire disuse of all forms of muscular restraint. Much was said and vaunted of this experiment elsewhere, and it was thought well to give it a full trial. The result was the conviction, that no such exclusive system was, here at least, compatible with the true interests of all patients.

“The experiment was also made here, of allowing certain patients, in pretty large numbers, to go abroad on their parole. No accident occurred in consequence, and very rarely was the pledge broken. But instead of making the patient more contented, and adding to his happiness, the reverse was eminently the case; and the conclusion was forced upon us, that almost every patient, who was so far disordered in mind as to justify detention at all, was too much disordered for even a qualified liberty.

“The intermingling of patients of both sexes, under the eye and

supervision of officers and attendants, both in daily religious exercises and in occasions of festivity, was very thoroughly tested in several years' experience. Its inconveniences led, long ago, to its abandonment. Whatever may be the case in other institutions, here such interminglings proved unprofitable and unwise.

“Other elements of moral treatment have been verified in our experience, as in all the preceding history of the insane and the institutions for their relief. The interdiction of the visits and correspondence of friends is ever one of the severest trials of those in charge of hospitals. As the indispensable necessity of such separation was one of the earliest of the recorded facts of medical observation, so it remains true and prominent in every day's experience of every asylum. If the head of an institution can be tempted in any point to yield or evade his convictions of duty, it will be here; for such convictions he must have with his first practical lessons, and they will keep strengthening with each year of experience. He will be pressed to abandon his duty by those who must be assumed to have a far nearer interest in the sufferer than he can have. After earnest and prolonged expositions of his grounds of action and the results of his often-repeated experimentings, and after the most earnest appeals that the welfare, and perhaps recovery, of his patient shall not be put in jeopardy by any feelings or false reasonings or capricious suspicions of friends, he will find fathers and mothers, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, whose whole knowledge of the subject is bounded by the case in hand, willing and anxious to assume all responsibilities, and take all risks, for obtaining this strange gratification. The hospital superintendent who will the most readily yield to such importunities, backed by perhaps the most degrading intimations as to the grounds of refusal, will be the most popular. Like the medical practitioner who allows his patient to have his own way as to diet and regimen, he will be deemed and loved as a very indulgent physician. The temptation of the selfish heart to yield after half a dozen or more pressing solicitations, connected with insinuations which the superintendent is naturally desirous to meet by the easy demonstration of their falsity, is very strong. This fact ought to be recognized by the friends of the patients; and they should respect his judgment when he opposes their wishes at the cost of pain to himself. Yet probably not one person in fifty would ever have a pang at the reflection, that his pertinacity had destroyed or materially lessened the chances of restoration to a loved relative.

“After a life devoted thus far almost exclusively to this specialty, were there any one counsel which I would impress on any one who may be called to this trust, it would be to stand firm to his convictions on this greatest item of moral treatment. Receive no patient where only a half confidence in your character as an honest and competent man is extended. Receive no patient whose friends are not fully cognizant of what duty demands of them in the way of co-operation. Thus assuming a sacred trust, discharge it fully by resisting unreasonable demands, or return it to the responsible friends by a dismissal of the patient. And should you live long enough, as I have done, to look over a catalogue of two or three thousand patients who have been under your care, you will be surprised to see how close a relation has obtained between recovery, and a full, cheerful, patient co-operation on the part of friends. Such co-operation extends throughout every ward of an asylum. Each attendant, fit by intelligence and zeal for such duties, does not fail to perceive the waste of bestowing labor where the superstructure is at intervals to be dashed to the ground; and it is not in human nature to re-engage with earnestness and spirit in a task sure to prove abortive.

“An erroneous impression prevails as to this system of separation from old associations calculated to keep fresh the disease. That is spoken of, as a general rule, which, in fact, is only applicable and applied to the probably recoverable classes of patients. Where a case is deemed beyond cure, or is here merely for custody and as much comfort as possible, no objection is made to the correspondence or visits of proper friends. If such visits obviously kindle up the fires of disease, and subject an institution to great disturbance and expense, or, as is often the case, re-awaken a suicidal propensity, and thus involve the necessity of watching night after night, for weeks or months, it is but just that a proper understanding with friends should be had, or further care declined.

“About closing my duties in this field, I shall be glad, by leaving a record of these solemn convictions of my best judgment and experience, to strengthen the hands of those who may come after me, in this most perplexing, as it is one of the most momentous, of the incidents of the moral treatment of the insane.”

These paragraphs, crowded with the results of Dr. Bell's experience, may serve as the summary of his labors for the best years of his life. Any one, who would appreciatingly esti-

mate their character and value, must aid whatever knowledge he may have upon their subject by large draughts on his imagination for following into details nearly three thousand cases, each of which made some special demand upon the skill and resources of the physician. Yet, probably, Dr. Bell would have said, if closely catechized upon the point, that what he did for his patients directly was but a moiety of the occupation which engaged him from day to day. Intercourse and correspondence with their friends outside the walls was labor enough of itself to engross a single mind; and often the vexations connected with it were of a sort from which he might without impatience, and not unreasonably, have expected that he might have been spared. Taken in the sum of all its requisitions and responsibilities, his task was one than which all the manifold demands made by men and women upon a man exact none requiring a finer combination of talents, acquisitions, and virtues. To resign such an office with dignity, after discharging it with all fidelity and with eminent success, would have been the crowning honor of Dr. Bell's life, had he not yet a sacrifice reserved for him by Providence to be rendered to his country. The trustees, in their Report for the same year, make the following acknowledgment:—

“It will be seen by Dr. Bell's Report, that he has resigned the superintendence of the McLean Asylum, which he has conducted with signal ability and success since his election in December, 1836. The number of patients has nearly trebled under his administration, and the institution has gained a high and wide-spread reputation. It is unnecessary for us to say how much the trustees regret to lose his services. His skill and kindness and care, his activity, decision, and fertility of resources, have been conspicuous in his management of the patients; his quick perception and uniform courtesy have given him that influence over their friends which is one of the first requisites for the successful treatment of the insane; while his weight of character has won the confidence of the community, and preserved the Asylum in a great measure from that suspicion and obloquy to

which such institutions are peculiarly exposed. In retiring from his arduous and responsible post, we trust that he will find an opportunity to recruit his strength for new services to his fellow-men."

Dr. Bell had provided for himself, in the proximity of his new place of residence, the privilege of frequent and ever-welcome visits to the Asylum, as one who, having discharged himself from the severity of such a service, takes pleasure in friendly overseership and sympathy with his successor. That successor, as already named, was Dr. Booth, who had been for so many years the assistant and hourly friend of Dr. Bell. "His devoted and useful labors," as the trustees characterized them, when "recognizing his merits as an officer, and deploring the loss which the institution has sustained in his early and lamented decease," were closed in less than two years. While he was wasting within the walls by pulmonary disease, the trustees called upon Dr. Bell, near the close of the year 1857, to assume temporarily the superintendency; and he acceded to the request, preparing also the Report for that year.

His own plans were carried out in the erection of a commodious dwelling-house on the north side of Monument Square, in Charlestown. He supervised its construction, and seemed to take great pleasure in the work; having an opportunity to carry out his own theories of ventilating and warming, — more successfully, however, as some of his neighbor visitors in the winter thought, in the former than in the latter condition. Surrounded by his books, he knew how to read them, how to value them, and how to add to them. He had with him his four surviving children, — Clara, Frances Pinkerton, William Appleton, and Charles John, — between the ages of one and nine. His own tender care of them was shared by near female relatives residing with him. As a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, he highly enjoyed the occasions of their respective meetings. He had, in 1847,

received the degree of D.C.L. from King's College, Nova Scotia; and, in 1855, that of LL.D. from Amherst College. His inquisitive cast of mind would have made him eminent in any walk of science, as it did interest him in experimental research in very many branches of it. Mr. Columbus Tyler, his daily intimate at the Asylum for twenty years, communicates so much about him in a few words, that I will quote it from a note written to me by him two days after Dr. Bell's obsequies:—

“His character was pure and sincere, without selfishness or pride. Liberal in his religious views, he saw some good in every Christian sect: the good he adopted and secured; the dogmas fell harmless at his feet. A just man, he utterly loathed any thing like cant or hypocrisy. He was fond of architecture and the mechanic arts. With an eye quick to perceive, he had a wonderful power in the adaptation of means to ends. He had great skill in the rough drawing of beasts, birds, and men; and, to please the children, by a few strokes of the pen would make otherwise natural figures most grotesquely ridiculous. He was always candid and merciful in his judgments of others; and believed every man had an *average*, which should be estimated before an opinion was formed of him. I have no doubt that he was the first person who passed communications over the electric telegraph. He declared such to be the fact. The communications were fully and accurately established; but owing to some difficulty in the machinery for expressing the thoughts conveyed, and funds failing, the labor was for the time suspended; and, in the interim, his friend and associate died. He petitioned Congress for remuneration, and claimed himself to be the inventor. At the same time, he was interested in a loom, or gin, for the manufacture of flax; which, I understood from him, was perfected, and is now in successful operation abroad. I was quite interested in a bed he made with his own hands to keep himself dry while in or out of camp. Taking two India-rubber sheets, he sewed them together on the sides and at one end, with blankets intervening,—leaving one end open like a great bag, into which he slipped; reposing dry and warm, however damp the ground or atmosphere might be.”

Dr. Bell's occupancy of his new dwelling in Charlestown was attended at first by tokens of failing health, which, as in-

terpreted by the experiences he had witnessed in members of his family, might well excite his intense anxiety, not for himself, but for those over whom he exercised the fondest earthly guardianship. Some private papers have been intrusted to my perusal, which I have read with an interest and a sensibility that may not be transferred by any attempted rehearsal of them to these pages. They are of so sacredly confidential a character, that I have hesitated whether even the existence of them, and still more any reference to their contents, might with propriety be introduced here. But I am writing a Memoir of Dr. Bell. Besides contributing to it the facts and dates of his life, to be set forth with the narrative and comments which they suggest, he is entitled to contribute something of himself,—something that indicates the tone of his inner being, the outlook of his heart, and the bearing of his spirit, as he contemplated the loftiest responsibilities of existence, and faced the grim realities drawn on this side of the veil that hides its mysteries. The image in which he is most likely to rise before the minds of his fellow-citizens, during the last five years of his life in Charlestown, is as a pensive, serious, and dignified man, leading two or three little children through the streets, or stopping with them to gaze at any thing that attracted them in the shop-windows or the highways. His tall form did not prevent his coming down to their familiarity in all things. At congenial seasons, he was seen with them, or alone, training or weeding the flowers in the garden-patch adjoining his house. Appointed a commissioner to superintend the erection of the State Insane Asylum at Northampton, and often summoned to a distance to attend courts as an expert, he was frequently absent at short intervals, when his health permitted. His skill was constantly enlisted for advice and prescriptions for patients, or the friends of patients calling at his dwelling. But his home—in one sense, a new experience; and, in a very serious sense, a place of profoundly realized responsibility to him—

was the centre of his life. He had really never been a house-keeper, in the fullest sense of the term, until then. In connection with his first complete experience as such, under the burden of a doubled parental trust, he was called to contemplate the reasonable probability that he was very soon to follow his deceased partner, and leave his children wholly orphaned. It was under such forebodings that he prepared some papers just referred to, a reserved notice of which may not only be allowable, but most appropriate, as revealing to us alike the tender and the solid qualities which entered into the composition and substance of the man. I must consider his cautioning presence near me as seeking to seal up again what he left to be read for only one eye, though not forbidding those who esteemed him to catch here and there a sentence of his secrets. In a closed package, addressed to his brother-in-law and executor, and most confidential friend, "John M. Pinkerton, — not to be opened until after I shall have ceased to live," — was found a document of five well-covered sheets, written in Dr. Bell's firm and legible style, not showing any tremulousness from disease, or from the contemplation of the themes with which it deals in a manly and Christian-hearted simplicity. It is dated "Charlestown, Sunday evening, April 11, 1858." Such extracts as we venture to copy may be taken chiefly from the beginning of it:—

"Your dear sister left us on the 1st of March, 1855. Three years ago, perhaps to a day, on one of the early April days, a month after her departure, I came down to the house in which I am now writing this, with two of our children. I suppose we looked over its unfinished rooms, which, just in the same state, she and I had visited a few months before. By the wish of the children, we went out upon Monument Square, with one of them (Clara) in my hand, and Fannie in my arms. We walked around the Monument. As I was wearily and heavily turning across the path parallel to High Street, and facing my house, I felt an irritation and tickling about my throat, which resulted in the ejection of a small quantity of bloody expecto-

ration. Having had no previous symptoms of pulmonary trouble, I tried to make myself believe that it was consequent upon some small exudition of blood in the nasal or pharyngeal passages. Yet, in the recollection of my brother John's first symptoms and my general acquaintance with the subject, I could not shut my eyes to the probability of its having come from the lungs, and of its being the indication of tubercular disease awakened into action. I think I can say, without affectation (for of that you would not suspect me in a communication like this), that, in itself, this sudden and unexpected warning gave me no pain. It was only on the second instantly recurring idea of my four little children that I recoiled at this mission of the grim messenger. I returned home [to the Asylum]; went about my duties; and no human being ever heard of this first symptom of my illness until your eye now rests upon it in this record."

He then describes, with particulars, a second attack, which, after riding from the Asylum to Boston and doing some errands, he experienced in the city on June 29:—

"As I drove up through Court Square to Bowdoin Square, I found myself raising pure blood; evidently from my lungs, as it came with a light and easy cough, unlike nasal hemorrhage. After a few minutes, it abated and ceased. On my arriving at home, I was internally agitated, externally calm. My brother's case, who died in some few weeks of an unchecked pulmonary hemorrhage, was before me. I sat myself at a drawer of private papers, and assorted and destroyed such as I thought best. About dinner-time, I felt another oppression and bleeding to be impending. I retired to my chamber; sent for Dr. Booth and Mr. Tyler; and, as the bleeding had commenced, Dr. Wyman was called in at their suggestion. You know the subsequent history of my life. On my journey to the British Provinces the next July and August, I had no subsequent attack; nor have I had any, up to this day, of hemorrhage, with an exception scarcely worth mentioning. On my way to Halifax, N.S., I had a sleepless night on board the miserable steamer 'Creole' (recently the property of Lopez and his wretched adventurers to Cuba) up the bay. Leaving my cold and offensive berth at early dawn, I sat myself in a chair, took up a Bible which was at hand, and read some of the Psalms. A slight irritation occurred, and an ejection of blood upon its page! This was some three weeks after the turn of illness in which you will recall me as lying in Mr. Tyler's chamber, surrounded

with ice, and in great distress. From the earliest of my expectorations of blood, I have felt that the question of my continuance in life was simply one of time. I had a perfect consciousness that pulmonary disease was present. I knew, that, at the age of nearly fifty, its progress might be more protracted; but I think I can say, that, from that moment to this hour, the idea of a full recovery of health has never been before me. My highest hope has been, that the fatal event might be procrastinated as long as possible. I have already been blessed with the fruition of a portion of my hopes. The three years which have passed away have carried my dear children along through so much — so large a proportion, I may say — of the most anxious and difficult part of their career. . . . When I contemplate all that has been saved and secured us between the close of my life three years ago and the present time, I know not what terms of gratitude will express my obligations to the great Disposer of events.

“In casting your eyes back over the events of the three past years, you may be ready to express your astonishment at my avowal, — sincere as you may be ready to receive it, — that I have never indulged the expectation of recovery. ‘What!’ you will exclaim: ‘has he not been a candidate for office, made public speeches, been honored with promotions in the Medical Society, &c.; been engaged in building a hospital, in buying and selling?’ All admitted. The uncertainty of the event, whether this year, or the next, or the next after, will account for much, if any, inconsistency. Anxiety to have things, both as to character and property, in a way to make my name and my memory dear to my children, may explain any indifference in my daily life to that impending event. Even habit does not fail of rendering the most solemn of human events familiar to the mind.

“Still, I may say, in all candor and truth, that, while giving such attention as I have to the affairs of the world, I never have failed to realize the insignificance of the present. In the silence and quiet of the night, — such as this in which I am now writing, — I have pondered on the great questions, — ‘If a man die, shall he live again?’ and, ‘How shall a man be just with God?’ I have studied and thought, as a man may be presumed to study and think who has no motive to bias him beyond the hope of arriving at the great truth.

“Few men have been more torn and distressed than I have been in this research. The truths of the Bible have, for many years, been

fully accepted by me. The internal evidences of Christianity have been overpowering to my mind. A system, as compared with all that the world had dreamed of up to that day of the Saviour's appearance, so infinitely exalted, — a system so infinitely exalted above all that men have reached since, or which they ever can reach, could leave no room for doubt of its celestial origin on the part of any reasonably enlightened mind."

What follows in this connection I refrain from transcribing. In summary, I may report, that in the same earnest and heart-revealing sincerity, characteristic of a profound piety and a manly independence of spirit, Dr. Bell attempts to define, not even to all his nearest friends, but to the most confidential of them, who knew his inner being through other sympathies, his religious position and experience. It is substantially the same as has been revealed to us by many devout yet thoroughly free-minded and deep-thinking men, whose reverent faith and allegiance were won to the essentials of Christian piety, but who were confounded by, and were conscious of dissenting from, the doctrinal standards and the recognized tests of sectarianism. The honored memories of the departed of his own lineage, especially of him whom he calls his "noble grandfather," of his "sainted wife," and the affectionate influence of his nearest friends, would have availed much to set for his personal aim — as his "yearnings" were for — their own standard of belief and experience. He says, —

"For myself, I can only say, in my inability to reach, after many and prayerful hours, days, months, and years, any full, clear, satisfactory views as to what manner of Christian I am, — if worthy of that sacred name, in the language of my friend Dr. Brigham, cut off in sudden disease, instead of having the long opportunity indulged to me, — 'Lord, I believe: help thou mine unbelief.' I hope my friends will think of me with all charity as to my religious opinions. If it has not been in my power to accord my assent to any form of creed, I know nothing of pride, of conceit, of desire for eccentricity, to prevent my having done so."

These heart-revelations are the introductory matter of a document whose further contents have no place here. They are laden with the affectionate thoughtfulness and the wise planning and provision for an endeared little flock, which any rising or setting sun might find wholly orphaned. Prudent plans, which provide for their needful modification, are laid down; and the gradations of family affection are recognized as defining such requisitions as are to be made upon it. The father reads the character and traces the development of each of his children as the art of the phrenologist—making all account of brain, and none of heart—never can do. The Scotch-Irish and New-England factors, in the resultant estimate of the greater needs of humanity, are tersely embodied in a sentence, in which that father requires that the purchased or rented home for his children and their guardians should be “near to schools, churches, and good society.” He left them means sufficient to meet their needs.

Leaving the envelope to which he had committed this document unopened, on two occasions, at subsequent dates, this ever-thoughtful parent signified, in a similar way, his posthumous wishes. The first of these, dated “Evening of Dec. 12, 1859,” after gratefully expressing the thanks of the writer for his continuance in life, is, in the main, occupied with a reiteration of his desires, under some slight modifications, and with tender utterances of affection and confidence. The other paper, bearing date Jan. 22, 1861, is introduced as follows:—

“A day of unusually poor health has naturally again turned my thoughts upon that event, which, now for nearly six years, has never been absent from me. Not that I would allow you to think that I have looked the wrongfully termed ‘grim messenger’ in the face with dread or trembling, but only as connecting my removal hence with the welfare of my dear children. . . . I have not been unwilling to manifest to you the processes of my mind and sensibilities during the past years, wherein I have walked cheerful and composed,

I think you will bear me witness, 'through the shadow of the valley of death.' With what mercy have I been spared since that hour, — six years ago next April, — when, while walking on the square opposite my house, with a too-heavy child in my arms, I discovered that my constitution, gradually failing since the death of my dear wife, gave me notice, in a moderate turn of hæmoptysis, of that which my professional experience compelled me to accept was my inevitable fate! I would have put the cup away from me, not, as far as I believe, on my own account, for my own life was then 'played out;' but," &c. . . . "My prayers have been answered more fully than I dared ask or think," &c.

The writer then indicates it as his testamentary wish, that his library and philosophical instruments should be given to the college at Amherst, Mass., which "had conferred on him its highest literary honor, without his knowledge or any outside solicitation."

On the anniversary of the fifth birthday of his youngest boy, and, soon after, for each of his other children, he who could recall "the feelings of a motherless boy," wrote, for the same posthumous uses, words of affectionate and wise counsel. Each of these autographs of him who would have fallen on his last sleep before they would be unsealed, was accompanied by a bound collection of most of the pieces which had been published from his pen. In all the private papers which have thus been partially communicated to eyes for which they never were designed, are found the most engaging evidences of a wealth of fine sentiment and lofty principle, veiled under the modest, and, as some thought, the too-reserved, or even moody, exterior of our subject. It is impossible but that the occupation in which an earnest and able man has been engaged for a score of years, should convey to his features and demeanor some characteristic symbol of its nature and effect on himself. As his features settle into the mould which mature and repeated and continuous thought and occupation have applied to them, they become an index of his calling, and, to some extent, of the character which that calling has helped

to develop. One can hardly conceive, that a man, who had been engaged in such labors and ministrations as had so thoroughly tasked the qualities so congenial to them in Dr. Bell, should be a man of a light or gay aspect. The marvel, to be explained only by the wondrous resources of human nature, is, that such labors as his had been, leave the capacity of cheerfulness, or the ability of intercourse with the ordinary world of men and things, unimpaired. Not unfrequently, the question would be asked by those, who, having no personal acquaintance with Dr. Bell, drew an inference from his aspect, whether he was not a sad or melancholy man. He certainly was not a jovial or hilarious man. It would not have added to, it would rather have abated from, the esteem of his friends to have found him so. But he was far from being a man of a melancholy spirit. His brooding and introspective look indicated the cast and tone of thought and sympathy which he had so long engaged upon the graver elements of human life. But there was in him a capacity as well as an appreciation of humor. He was a very delightful, as well as most instructive, companion for a quiet country drive or an evening conference. He was a ready listener, and a very communicative, though a quiet and moderate, talker. His knowledge was various, and his resources extensive. His library, moderate in size, is curiously catholic and comprehensive in its contents; the especial paucity of medical books being significant of his marked professional characteristic, of preferring observation to authority. His philosophical instruments show that he had used them. Every thing of his own that he left behind him — his tools of trade, correspondence, and unfinished work — indicates a mind, which, while its chief devotion had been given to a specialty, had reserved capacity and interest for a variety both of profound and of practical pursuits. The last theme of speculative study in which he was engaged, before the alarming state of national affairs wholly engrossed him, was that of the "Demoniacs of the New Testament." The noble collection

of "Heath Papers," then recently presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society by Mr. Amos A. Lawrence, drew him often to the Library Rooms to spend some pleasant hours in their examination. He had a sense of obligation moving in him—accepting the hint given to the members of this Society by the bee-hive so prominent in its seal—to prove his right in its fellowship by some contribution in its service. Had his life been spared for peaceful labors, he would certainly have left some other evidence of his membership than now appears in tributary honors in the publications of the Society.

The posthumous disclosures made by the private papers that have been referred to show to us that Dr. Bell's continuance in life, and especially with such a measure of bodily vigor as to qualify him for any active duties, was unexpected to himself. Of course, the longer the reprieve granted to him, the more hopeful would he be,—so human nature works in us,—that a disease which did not fulfil its first threats might indefinitely lengthen its truce, if not wholly yield the ground which it had gained in his constitution. His friends recognized his condition to be that of permanent invalidism. His intense sense of parental responsibility, and the conviction that nothing could supply, by substitution, his own personal oversight of his children, made him cling strongly to life, even if under limitations of its common enjoyments. He acquiesced in the necessary restraints which his invalidism imposed. He seems to have been one of the few persons, under medical supervision, who can with safety allow themselves to feel their own pulse, and study the symptoms of their own maladies. Most of his chance acquaintance were surprised, when, at his decease, they came to learn that he was no older in years; for though the honors of his head, unthinned and unbleached, left him one token of youth, his stooping gait, and the thoughtfulness stamped on his unfurrowed features, gave him the aspect of more advanced age.

It is possible that kindly home-nursing, easy circumstances, and the gentle bodily exercise on which Dr. Bell relied, might have given him a few more years, not so much for lengthening his own life, as for leading his children, still under his eye, out of childhood to an appreciation of his wishes for them. But a service was in preparation for him, which, whether or not shortening his life, gave him an opportunity to discharge, in a conspicuous field, some of the noblest duties of a patriot and a Christian. The political party with which Dr. Bell was in full sympathy foreboded civil war, as the inevitable result of the agitations and measures in attempting to resist which it lost its own dominancy. This Memoir is no proper medium for the discussion of such themes, however the writer might be tempted to pause upon them in order to plead indirectly for his own convictions as in harmony or in opposition with those of Dr. Bell. Whatever judgment one may form of his party affinities, principles, or purposes, he belongs, by a noble self-consecration, to a better than any partisan fellowship. When the fearful strife which he had foreboded actually opened, he sought no immunity from self-sacrifice in falling back upon his despised prophecies, but owned the stern presence of an occasion which spoke no longer to party, but to patriotism. Before the first flash of rebellion lit the Southern sky, he watched the omens of each passing hour with dismay. He read the papers, the speeches, the bulletins, with an intense avidity; and with slender hope, because of overwhelming apprehension, waited for the catastrophe. He knew that what was left in him from the training of his life was a gift of merciful ministration for such scenes as battle-fields would crowd before him. It was reason enough for him to become a soldier, that he was skilled in all the direful tasks of high professional care. To the amazement of all who knew him, he became a soldier.

We follow Dr. Bell into his new field of service, — the doubtful convalescent or valetudinarian, the man of peace,

habituated to all the comforts and refinements of a sheltered life, the father of four motherless children, the patriot soldier. He knew well what was before him. He probably fixed his eyes, with a gaze such as draws the heart out with it, upon the furnishings of his library, upon the children whom he was to leave to such faithful care as he had provided for them, and upon the rugged monumental shaft rising before his windows in the light of early spring-time, when he wrote the letter we are now to read. His correspondence with the department, official, indeed, but essentially private, — on file in the State House, — has been kindly submitted to me; and I am allowed to make a discreet use of it. It may well be introduced by the following letter, the date of which was already historic when it was written; and, unknown to the writer of it, was perhaps, while his pen was upon the paper, receiving a new consecration, at least for Massachusetts, by the tragedy transpiring in the streets of Baltimore, in the wild rage of a mob upon our soldiers marching to the defence of the nation's capital. "The nineteenth of April" was the right day for a citizen of Middlesex County, living under the shadow of Bunker-hill Monument, to select for the date of this manly offer.

MONUMENT SQUARE, CHARLESTOWN, April 19, 1861.

To Adjutant-General SCHOULER.

DEAR SIR, — We are at that point where every man who can devote himself to his country's service should come forward.

I beg that you would put on file this my application for any position in the medical service of the Commonwealth in which I could be useful.

I am aware of the law under which surgeons are appointed, and of course understand that you have no direct control of this matter. But there may be exigencies, from deaths, resignations, unusual demands, or unforeseen circumstances, when you may be called upon to advise or suggest. If such a call is made, be pleased to remember this application of your old personal and political friend.

I may be allowed to say, should this communication ever be brought up for consideration, that, while I am known mainly in another specialty, I was educated in the New-York hospitals for a surgeon; and for some years, in a wide field, I was much engaged in that capacity. Inquiry in New Hampshire would show that there are few of the greater operations of surgery which I have not performed.

I am a little above fifty; in health so good as not to have been confined to my house a day in the past three years, and entirely removed from all cares by easy personal circumstances. Of course, am ready, at the shortest notice, for any duty.

As this application is for *use*, not *show*, may I beg of you that it may not reach the press, which, in its avidity for paragraphs, might be ready to put me unnecessarily before the public?

With sincere regards, I am very truly yours,

LUTHER V BELL.

As the staff of the militia was full, immediately on the issuing of the President's proclamation, calling "for a volunteer force to aid in the enforcement of the laws, and the suppression of the insurrection," Dr. Bell went to the Surgeon-General, Dr. William J. Dale, at the State House, and renewed his offer of service. Dr. Dale mounted to the Governor's room, and stated the wishes of the applicant. The Governor at once replied, "Tell Dr. Bell, I consider the State would be honored by a commission conferred upon him. Ask him to step up here." After a few words of conversation, the Governor, expressing to Dr. Bell his high appreciation of his patriotism, directed that a commission should be made out for him as surgeon of the Eleventh Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, dated June 10, 1861.

On the 1st of May following, Dr. Bell makes an official return of his examination of seventy-three recruits, of which he rejects four. On June 25, he makes a communication from Camp Cameron, North Cambridge, on hospital-stores. Every moment of his time was engrossed by anxious cares and wise provisions for his men, and by a general supervision

reaching beyond his immediate province, to prepare for a hurried departure for the scene of war. A letter dated from New York, June 30, 1861, describes the transit of his regiment, and its arrival in that city. He refers cheerily to his extemporaneous discharge of the duty, shaken off on to him by his colonel, of responding, in front of the City Hall, to a welcome given to the regiment by the sons of Massachusetts, through their president, Richard Warren, Esq. After a few words of thoughtful professional and official wisdom, showing how faithfully his work would be done, he adds, "It is said by some, that Baltimore will begin with us in opposing General Banks's recent sternly proper measure. Well, *n'importe*. I had as lief begin service at that city as any other place." His regiment was stationed for a while at "Camp Sanford," Washington; whence he writes frequently in reference to what he finds necessary, as ambulances, stretchers, &c., giving the results of some already dear-bought experience, and drawing ingenious ink-sketches of proper beds and cots for the camp. It is evident, even from his briefest communications, that Dr. Bell apprehended the nearness and the possibly disastrous results of a decisive engagement with the enemy. The records and descriptions of the awful scenes which followed are fearfully voluminous; but we cannot refrain from putting into print yet one more, in an intensely interesting letter from his pen. It is addressed to his friend Dr. Dale, and is dated, —

AT OUR FORMER CAMP, NEAR ALEXANDRIA,
Wednesday, July 24, 1861.

MY DEAR DOCTOR, — Knowing that you would feel an interest in my movements and fate during the past eventful week, I seize the earliest moment, after our regaining this place of safety, after the most terrible defeat of modern times, to give you a brief and crude narration of what concerns me personally; aware that you must already know vastly more of the general events than I have the means of doing. I will begin with last Tuesday week. After

resting a day or two at this beautiful spot, whence I wrote you at a late hour before we left, the order came for us to march at two o'clock, P.M.

With four or five regiments more, we set out in fine spirits for unknown regions, as not a whisper ever passes from those at the head as to the route or destination. Soon the column began to move at a snail's pace; and, after many hours, in this way we reached Aquatink Creek, where the bridges were burned, and the whole division had to pass over a single plank, which explained the strange delay. The creek was at the bottom of the deepest ravine, and then the hill on the other side was to be surmounted over the most horrible obstructions. At half-past three, A.M., we lay on the ground for an hour. Recommencing, we dragged along all day, under a burning sun, and through paths cut in the forest, so as to avoid the trees cut down and masked batteries. At night, we bivouacked near what is called Sangster's Station. That afternoon, we again marched forward to Centreville. On entering this at nine or ten, P.M., the light of a thousand camp-fires shed their glow over a vast ravine, in which it was plain that the great division of the army was encamped, — forty or fifty thousand men, with batteries of artillery, baggage-wagons, &c. Here we bivouacked two nights. Dr. Josiah Curtis joined our camp here, and Mr. Henry Wilson was with us a night. At two o'clock, Sunday morning, the order to march was obeyed; and, as the mighty mass moved forward, it was manifest that the hour for the great action was near. At nine or ten, we saw, away at the southwest, clouds of smoke and dust, with plain sounds of cannon, and volleys of musketry. We hurried on, and about noon turned down into a field, where there was a creek, to rest and drink. In about two minutes, the order came to form into line, and push forward, as we were wanted. At half-past one, we were at the verge of the battle-field. As I passed, I noted a pretty large, rough-stone church, — large for Virginia, — which I decided would be one of the depots for the wounded. Curtis and I went up to the field, and there were abundant proofs of the awful work going on, — hundreds of dead men, horses dead and half killed, wounded men, in all directions. I notified all the officers of the regiment where their wounded should be carried; tried to aid some wounded, for whom I had carried my pocket full of tourniquets; but found that there was no hemorrhage. The ambulances then came up, and were heaped with wounded: no attempt could be made to separate regiments, or even friends and

enemies. Getting back to the church, I found work enough; for, in an hour, the entire floor and gallery (pews torn up) were covered with wounded to the number of seventy-five or eighty. The wounds were awfully ghastly; being made much with shell, Minie-balls, and rifled canon. We turned to with all our might (*i.e.*, Dr. Foye, myself, and Dr. Curtis, — to whose noble, fearless, volunteer devotion, too much honor cannot be given), and, until late in the afternoon, cut right hand and left hand. There were three or four other surgeons at the church; and I recollect seeing Dr. Magruder, U.S.A., who was said to have some directing power; although we all did as we saw fit.

About six o'clock, we were informed that the mighty stampede of our panic-stricken columns, flying for life, approached its end. Curtis coolly asked me if I meant to risk assassination or capture. I replied, "that in no civilized country could a surgeon be injured with his badge in sight, his hospital-flag set, and about his duty of mercy. This is our post of duty: let us stand by it." Curtis and Foye both replied, "Doctor, we shall do just as you do." We went to work again in full activity, though I was almost exhausted with fatigue. No water could be had: our dressings, chloroform, &c., were exhausted. A half-hour after, Curtis said, "Doctor, if you should decide to change your design, you have but a moment to do it in. The enemy are just upon us. In hot blood, it is not likely they will spare us." I had a young man from New Hampshire on the board laid over the chancel-rail, just having applied a tourniquet; and was about making my first incision to amputate the leg. I thought an hour in a moment. I felt I had no right to sacrifice men who thus relied upon me. I said, "Let us go!" seized my coat and sash, and we rushed out. I had my valuable horse and equipments at hand; but there was no time to save them. I lost all, — sword and belt, every surgical instrument, and some family tokens which I valued much, such as my son Samuel's (you recollect the boy) shawl and my brother James's revolver.

We rushed through a creek, and took to the woods, making a few units of that vast, dilapidated, panic-stricken mass, crowding the road for five or eight miles, every now and then alarmed by the outcry that the enemy was after us, when we would all rush out one side into the woods. A kindly cook, to whom I had shown some trifling kindness, and who had seized a horse, discovered me, and insisted on my riding, while he went on foot by my side, hurrying up

my horse. After a while, we saw a Charlestown lieutenant (Sweet) much exhausted and sick, and got him up behind me.

After riding so (and all the horses carried double; a great many of them had been cut away from the cannons) for some six or eight miles, we approached a narrow, high bridge, over "Cub Run." In an instant, the bridge was a mass of artillery, wagons, cavalry, infantry, and ambulances, crushed together. The water-way at the side was equally jammed. At this instant, the incarnate fiends fired repeated charges of their rifled canon (doubtless planted by day-light for that range) into the mass, killing many. I was a few rods from the bridge; but, on hearing the awful sounds of those missiles, I drove straight into the woods, then forward, hoping to cross the creek below. A second discharge struck the trees as if lightning had crushed them. I told Sweet we must abandon the horse. He thought so too, and slipped off, and made for the creek. At this moment, my faithful cook cried to me not to leave the horse; for that the only crossing-place possible was at the bridge. He rushed back, seized the animal, forced him over a stone wall and into the water. Here the animal insisted on stopping to drink. Cook laid over him a naked sword, which he had picked up; and one of our regiment urged him ahead with a bayonet. Just at this moment, a young negro was forced up into the deep water next the bridge, and was drowning; when cook seized him, and pitched him up upon the bank. Cook then compelled my horse to rise the almost perpendicular bank; and on we went. At the top of the hill, by a strange Providence, we again encountered Sweet, and took him on. In this way we reached Centreville, whence we had set out in such brilliant array. My cook asked me if I could ride to Washington that night. I replied, that I could do so better than the next day. We started on, I riding and he walking, Sweet left behind, until we reached Fairfax Court House. Here I spied a wretched old lager-beer wagon bound to Arlington. I deputed cook (who said he could ride the horse, beat out as he seemed to me) to hire a ride at any price, as I happened to have some money left. He agreed for ten dollars; and about eight, A.M., I reached the fortification at "Columbian Springs," opposite Washington. Here I was compelled to stay the livelong day, useless, in the rain and mud, because I could not get a pass into the city. Towards night, I persuaded the colonel in command to give me one, and reached Willard's. Here I found my servant Prentiss, whom I had directed, by a sergeant

flying to our old camps here, to bring up my baggage. I was soon dressed in clean and dry clothes, and soon encountered an old Charlestown friend (Captain Taylor, U.S.A.) there on ordnance duty. He took me to his boarding-house; and I think I must have amazed him by the way I ate, for I had seen nothing but wretched hard bread and poor coffee since we left this place. He then gave me a beautiful bed; and, having had six nights with nothing but earth and sky below and above me, I enjoyed it. Next morning, had a splendid breakfast, and bore away for Mr. William Appleton. Found him quite ill, but glad to see me, as it had been currently reported that I was among the slain. I told him some of my story, and said I wanted money. I had started with enough: but our staff and officers are very poor, as a general thing; and, having received no pay as yet, I was obliged to share with them. Of course, he put me at my ease cheerfully, and I left him happy. Got a ten-dollar gold-piece changed into quarters; and, before I got to the Surgeon-General's office to report the loss of all instruments, I met enough of our unbreakfasted stragglers to use it up. The next day (*i.e.*, yesterday), we came back here in the baggage-wagons, and are again comfortably fixed in the old Virginia mansion of which I wrote you in a former letter. To-day, our pioneers have been cutting down the large trees of the pleasure-grounds, to allow a sweep for the big guns of Fort Ellsworth. Last night, we had an alarm that the enemy was upon us. I, with some half-dozen regiments encamped round about, turned out to arms. It was, of course, a false alarm. . . .

Thus, doctor, I have given my share in those awful scenes. How much of life has been compressed in less than a month! I have seen more gun-shot wounds, performed more operations, and had a harder experience, I fancy, than most army surgeons in a lifetime.

I have enjoyed, from first to last, excellent health and spirits. I never, even when those cursed missiles were sent into my rear, felt one sentiment of regret at the step I had taken, or the slightest thought of receding. . . .

To Dr. WILLIAM J. DALE.

Dr. Bell shared with his regiment the experience of various removals and camps; working with unabated zeal, and, evidently to his own surprise, enjoying, in spite of fatigue, and exposure to rough circumstances, a measure

of health which he had not known for years. He writes, Aug. 24, 1861, "My own health and spirits continue excellent. Some of my friends have prognosticated, that, when my zeal had cooled, there would be a re-action, under which I should wilt. As I never experienced any enthusiasm, of which I was conscious, beyond a plain, simple, every-day desire to discharge what seemed a duty, I never accepted their theory, and see no reason to do so now."

In this letter he announces his having learned through General Hooker, the commander of his division, his appointment as an "acting brigade-surgeon." In this, as in other parts of his correspondence, he speaks in the loftiest terms of General Hooker; admiring his manly and his military qualities. He also recognizes the personal friendliness and official courtesy which he himself receives from every one with whom he is brought in contact. On receiving official notice of his promotion in the medical service, he of course, in a letter to the State Department, resigns his commission in the Eleventh Regiment of Massachusetts. In accepting his resignation, the Governor makes a felicitous and just recognition of the fidelity and eminent quality of the patriotic and professional devotion which he had manifested. His new function, with its higher rank, was one to which Dr. Bell had every just claim; for a subordinate place, however thoroughly and faithfully he might give himself to its duties, might properly be regarded, in a relation where rank ought as nearly as possible to correspond with merit, as limiting rather than exercising his full abilities. It is evident, from frequent references to his long-expected promotion in his letters, that Dr. Bell's self-respect, and consciousness of fitness for an advanced position, made him earnest to secure it. At the same time, the same promptings restricted him to a most scrupulously dignified way of pressing his claims amid the multitude of aspirants who were moving the springs of influence at Washington. His friends to whom he

intrusted his advocacy have in their possession very striking evidences, that the first condition of honor attaching to any place that he could win, was, that it should have been honorably won. He was made acting brigade-surgeon in August, 1861; and his subsequent commission was dated from the third of that month. When Hooker was commissioned as major-general, Dr. Bell was again promoted to be "medical director of division." As such, he had under his supervision twenty-two medical officers and fifteen thousand men, scattered over a reach of six miles on the bank of the Potomac. Though it was mainly his duty to receive reports in his tent, he was in the habit of riding, on an average, a score of miles each day on visits of inspection. He acquired great skill in horsemanship over "detestable roads," which were in strange contrast with the granite highways once traversed by him as a country doctor in New Hampshire. We may be sure that he was a diligent observer of all those features of scenery, influences of climate, and various circumstances of his new mode of life, as well as of the rich and diversified manifestations of human nature opened to his intelligent and appreciative view. There are among his papers some half-dozen manuscripts of "lyceum lectures," which he had written many years ago, and delivered to great acceptance when the epidemic craving for those entertainments had spread over this neighborhood. Their subjects, never trite or commonplace, but in themselves indicative of genius, show a bent of mind adapted to the conveyance of profitable instruction in a lively way. Not the least among the regrets that he should not have been spared to see the end of the war, arises from the conviction of his friends, that he was eminently qualified to have made some valuable contribution by his pen to its literature. He prized chiefly among the prerogatives of his promotion his place on the staff of General Hooker,—of which he was the senior in rank as well as in age,—and the proximity of his tent and

the privilege of intimate intercourse with an officer, between whom and himself there grew a warm friendship, founded on mutual regard.

Dr. Bell must have been a most diligent writer of letters, even amid the distractions of a camp and the deprivation of ordinary conveniences. A large number of epistles, of great variety in form and contents, are now before me, addressed by him to his children. He exacted from them all, in person or by proxy, constant communications covering the affairs of home-life and their education. He set them the example of fidelity in this direction by an almost daily message from his pen. These letters of his are crowded with the proofs of his wise affection; of his resolution to keep strong every tie of love, as a medium of tender regard, and of constant influence in the formation of his children's characters; and of his desire to communicate to them a conception of the nature of that struggle in which their father was daily risking his life. There is a vivacity in their tone and contents, such as make them the channels of lively amusement as well as of information. He tells the story of a valuable horse lost in the rout at Bull Run, and of his efforts to replace him; and describes the tricks and short-comings of his new steed, which, though heinous and dangerous, were offset by the evidence of some undeveloped or untrained qualities of good and by some positive merits. The medical director does not fail to recognize the fact, that horses as well as men are affected by change of climate. As the damps and chills of autumn drew on, instead of allowing his horse to be tethered, as hundreds around him were, in the open night-air, he is careful to procure him a warm board shelter, while the owner sleeps under canvas only. He describes to his children the two costumes in which their father appears at different times,—one an undress of most primitive and scanty materials, in which he runs down to a clay puddle, with a towel in his hand, for ablutions; the other, in which, tricked with

stripes on his pantaloons, gold lace, epaulets, and a chapeau, he mounts his horse as a fierce warrior. His skill in draughting and caricature-etching serves him and his correspondents to good purpose here. He draws a sketch of his tent, as seen from outside; and another, as disposed within, describing its parts and uses. One of these letters, dated "Away off five hundred miles from my infantines," addressed to his youngest boy, covers three pages printed by the pen with great beauty and regularity, so that the child may be able to read it as his own. It is adorned with an admirable sketch of a "contraband," — being a "side-view of Cupid, waiter to the mess," — preceded by an escort of very small chickens of a rather pensive expression. Some, who knew Dr. Bell in quite other relations, would hardly have recognized his identity, had they looked over his shoulder as he was engaged upon such an illustrated epistle, in a tent surrounded with clay a foot deep, and of a consistency which suggested brick-making.

In January, 1862, Congress had before it a bill providing for a re-organization of the medical department of the army. The brigade-surgeons, in which class Dr. Bell stood as No. 10, were to be merged with the surgeons of the regular army: and certain "inspectors" were provided for, with rank and emoluments a little higher; their duties being to exercise a supervision over the hospitals, the hygiene regulations, &c. Dr. Bell proposed applying for one of these places; feeling confident that his pursuits and studies would make him more useful in such a position than in the ordinary line of duty. He well knew how earnest would be the struggle between competitors and their patrons in the political arena for these coveted places. He might be excused from all imputation of vanity or over self-estimate, if he had quietly assumed, that, were the question to turn simply upon an ordeal or inquisition that should proceed upon the fitness of candidates, one of the places would have sought him, without any effort of his own.

He was well aware, however, that circumstances required him to stand as his own friend, and to rally others. Yet, as before, there was only one way in which he could seek or use patronage. It must come to him, if at all, from competent men, his own neighbors, through direct channels, and with the sanction of the highest professional authority. The last interest, as it proved, which he had to engage his thoughts and feelings, apart from filling the range of his duties where he served, was given to this object. He sent to Massachusetts for proper testimonials for his fitness for one of the new "inspectorships." In two letters before me, the last which I received from him, he makes known his wishes, and indicates the way in which he would be aided. He did not decline having signatures set to his application by men holding political places. He had many warm friends among them, and they were ready to advance his purposes. "But," he writes, "it seems to me, that, for an office requiring capacity for such duties and trusts as those suggested, if offices are ever bestowed because of fitness, the appointing power should have the testimonials of some other than political names. I should be glad at least to offer something different," &c.

He proceeds to express, in a modest and diffident way, his preference for such support as he would derive from the testimonials of some of his associates in the societies of which he was a member. Such testimonials were most gratefully furnished him, and a professional man might well take pride in offering them on his own behalf. Among the signatures on one of the papers is that of Hon. William Appleton. Not satisfied with putting his name on a list with those of others, he felt that the relations in which he had stood for so many years with Dr. Bell warranted a special attestation. Mr. Appleton, therefore, paid the candidate this tribute: "I am not satisfied with simply signing the annexed; but will add, that I, for many years, was intimately acquainted with Dr. Bell while I was acting as president and trustee in the M'Lean

Asylum. I do not, nor did I ever, know the man I could so highly recommend for the office asked for."

The most eminent members of the Massachusetts Medical Society and the Medical Faculty of Harvard University united in a special testimonial to the President of the United States and the Secretary of War in his behalf. The papers reached him on the day preceding his fatal illness. They were found among his files, and bear his indorsement. If they served no other use to him, they must at least have afforded him a generous gratification. Providence had appointed that they should have no occasion to test their efficiency with those who dispense places of public trust and emolument; but they were a fitting expression to the receiver of them, in his last days, of the high personal and professional estimation in which he was held by those who could put their names to such terms of confidence only in behalf of one whom they knew to be fully worthy. It is pleasant to think of our departed associate as enjoying in this form the last sympathetic pleasure of communion with many of his warmest friends at a distance from the scene where he was soon to loose his hold upon life.*

In one of these two letters, whose main purport has just been referred to, Dr. Bell adds something concerning himself, especially confident as regards his health. Its date is Jan. 13, 1862, — less than a month previous to his decease.

"It is some seven months since I left my home at what I then regarded, and still regard, to have been the call of duty. I have successively passed through the posts of regimental surgeon, brigade surgeon, and my present place. I have seen a vast amount of malarial disease; and the whole volume of military surgery was opened

* The writer's eye falls upon a casually written sentence of his own, in a note dated Feb. 1, accompanying the transmission of certain papers to Dr. Bell, as follows: "So many of those who have signed your papers have asked me to convey to you their best wishes, that you must regard the enclosed fully as much in the light of a greeting to yourself as in that of an appeal to authorities."

before me one Sunday afternoon, — July 21, — with illustrations horrid and sanguinary. ‘Sudley Church,’ with its hundred wounded victims, will form a picture in my sick dreams so long as I live. I never have spent but one night out of camp since I came into it; and a bed and myself have been practically strangers these seven months. Yet I never have yet had one beginning of a regret at my decision to devote what may be left of life and ability to the great cause. I have, as you know, four motherless children. Painful as it is to leave such a charge, even in the worthiest hands, I have forced myself into reconciliation by the reflection, that the great issue under the stern arbitrament of arms is, whether or not our children are to have a country. My own health and strength have amazed me. I have recalled a hundred times your remark, that ‘a man’s lungs are the strongest part of him.’ It has so proved with me. Had I another page, I should run on into a narrative of my exploits in horseback excursions, reviews, &c.; which sometimes make me question, whether, in the language of our ‘spiritualistic’ friends, I have not ‘*left the form,*’ and certainly I have entered on another ‘*sphere.*’

“The general in whose staff it is my happiness to serve fills my highest idea of what a general officer should be. He was through the Florida and Mexican wars, and is said to have been ‘more times under fire’ than any officer in the service. He is under fifty, of splendid person, never had a sick day, and is a ‘model man’ as to every high-bred and generous trait. He has the confidence of all who have been with him through the summer to this time.”

The last letter which Dr. Bell wrote was addressed to his friend Dr. J. W. Bemis, of Charlestown, and bears date Feb. 4, 1862, — the day preceding the night when fatal disease came upon him. In this letter he writes, “I have no point fixed in my calculations for a visit homeward, beyond the idea, that if we prevail in the grand conflict on the other side, which all anticipate, I might, after the wreck is cleared off, solicit a month’s leave of absence; but I do not contemplate leaving the service (health of myself and children continuing) until this wicked Rebellion is for ever quelled.” Thus his hope for the nation, and his self-devotion to insure its fulfilment, animated him to the last.

He retired that night in his usual health, save that he felt slightly the symptoms of a cold. His attendant, Prentiss, who had been for many years one of the most efficient servants in the Asylum, and in whose intelligence and fidelity Dr. Bell reposed great confidence,—sharing his tent with him,—rose long before daylight to write a letter. About four o'clock on the wintry morning of Feb. 5, under his canvas shelter at Camp Baker, two miles from Budd's Ferry, on the Potomac, Dr. Bell very suddenly announced to him that he was suffering in most severe distress, and must die if not soon relieved. He directed Prentiss to administer chloroform to him. His pain was in the lumbar region, and was so excruciating, that Dr. Bell was from the first convinced that his death was inevitable. He said he had never in his life before known what pain was. Prentiss proposed to go for Surgeon Foye, Dr. Bell's former assistant in the Eleventh Massachusetts Regiment. "No," said the sufferer: "you can do for me all that any one can." To the further entreaty of his attendant, pleading that he did not like to be alone with him while he was in such distress, Dr. Bell gave him permission to send for the surgeon. His pains continued for the six following days, and were made endurable only through the constant use of chloroform. On Tuesday, Feb. 11, his disease had reached the vital parts, and resulted in metastasis. The patient retained his full consciousness, and saw the end of earth close upon him. He calmly directed to whom telegrams should be transmitted as soon as he had ceased to live. In the afternoon, General Hooker and staff were present in the tent, and showed their profound respect and sympathy for the sufferer. The Rev. Henry E. Parker, chaplain of the Second Regiment of New-Hampshire Volunteers,—to whom, as a true-hearted Christian and a most admired preacher, Dr. Bell often refers in his letters with warm approbation,—was with him for nearly two hours. He conversed freely on the subject of the great change awaiting him, and upon his religious

hopes. He closed the conversation by stretching out his arm, taking hold of Mr. Parker's hand, and saying, "Now one word of prayer." Surrounded by this group of friends, he calmly drew his last breath about nine o'clock in the evening.

His remains were transported homewards under the charge of Chaplain Parker, and rested for a while in the library-room of his dwelling in Charlestown. Monday, Feb. 17, was appointed for his funeral. His body—the casket containing it being draped with his country's flag, and not without the gentle adorning of flowers—was followed by a long procession to St. John's Church, Charlestown. Many distinguished and honored men had gathered there; and friends and citizens, crowding the edifice, all united in their silent tribute of grateful respect to one who had crowned a well-spent and most devoted life by a peaceful death in the service of his country in its crisis of trial. The burial-rites of the church were conducted by the rector, Rev. T. R. Lambert; and a brief commemorative address was made by the writer. The remains were interred at Mount Auburn. His life closed soon after he had entered upon his fifty-sixth year.

Doubtless his one last earthly wish, not realized, would have been to have spoken his last words to his children. With only that one natural yearning of heart ungratified, the circumstances of his decease were in harmony with the tenor of his life, and must have been made familiar to his contemplations as not only possible, but probable. He had lived longer than his reasonable anxieties had assigned as the span of his existence. His infirmities for the last seven years of his life, not exercising him with much severity of pain, had deepened the natural contemplativeness of his temperament, and allowed him to cast upon the problems of existence a study which is more searching and discerning than philosophy. He realized, if any man ever did, the length and depth, the sweep and compass, of the shadows which are thrown over



human life. Materialism was no solution of those problems for him; nor was science the highest light or guide which he recognized. The unknown was always, in its volume and its significance, the ocean of infinite possibilities and of transcendent realities to him. He had well learned the lesson commended by the highest sage of antiquity, — that the limitations of man's range and understanding divest even his best knowledge of all completeness and certainty.

There is something whose suggestiveness is measured only by one's imaginative or appreciative powers for pursuing it, in contemplating the life-work of a man whose professional career was so peculiar as that of Dr. Bell. Any individual in the ordinary circumstances of life, who has had occasion to recognize the fact, knows that no more severe exaction could be made upon his judgment, his patience, or his affections, than would be called for in the wise and proper management of a single person suffering under mental malady. Never are the most intelligent and well-informed, and the capable for all other exigencies, so instantly and consciously driven to their own "wits' end" as when called upon to use their own "wits" as a substitute for those of another. The timid fear that they may catch the malady; the discreet are apprehensive, that, even with the best intentions, they may confirm and aggravate it. The responsible head of an insane asylum is thoroughly educated in a lesson which has its most perfect illustration there, though familiar by other applications of it in the home, the school, and the fields of politics, — that, the less wise or reasonable the subjects of any man's oversight or sympathy, the more wise and reasonable must he be in order to discharge his trust. There probably are not less than five thousand legal voters in this Commonwealth who would feel no sense of unfitness for, or indisposition to accept the office of, its Governor, after having encountered the first slight surprise of being nominated for it. But it is not likely that there are as many scores of persons who would hesitate in

avowing. not only their present incompetence, but even the impossibility of their ever qualifying themselves, for the guardianship and the relief of those mentally diseased. When we summon before us the three thousand patients to whom, for longer or shorter periods, Dr. Bell ministered, we realize at once that some of the conditions of his service utterly excluded the facility which is acquired in any merely routine work. Of course, he has much to say in his reports about the "classification" of patients. But he found that the most elaborate or the most simple classification still left a specific peculiarity attaching to every case. He had to do with individuals as such, and not with groups. Every conceivable type and phase of mental malady presented itself before him in the course of his career; and he found that there was a possibility of infinite combinations of simple morbid symptoms. Cases of disease which manifested the least in amount of mere aberration, and which would have been regarded by one not an expert as the easiest to be dealt with, did, in fact, make the heaviest requisitions upon his science and skill.

That he could put himself in communication with so many disordered minds in a way to win confidence, and to any hopeful purpose, — standing as he did, before the majority of the sufferers, as representing both the restraint which isolated them from home and liberty, and also the friend on whose skill and kindness they must depend for relief, — proves that he had qualities of mind and character rarely found together. No detail of particulars could add to the moral impression of that fact, taken in its completeness. He had to be the confidant of many secrets of heart and life that were willingly revealed, and to penetrate to many more that were disclosed simply by the over-jealousy and watchfulness which guarded them. That Dr. Bell could retain the exercise of his own healthful mental faculties during all this experience, was all but marvellous. Retaining their health, it was but natural that he should sharpen, stimulate, and increase the vigor of

those faculties. He was wont to say to his intimate friends, that the severest demands made upon all his resources, especially those of tenderness, sympathy, and heart-learning, were engaged by that large but by no means homogeneous class of patients whose mental infirmities or delusions were connected with religion. He had to be a master of the "inner philosophy" to communicate with such patients. Any harsh or unsympathetic, any impatient or unskilled, dealing with their scruples or fancies, their diseased sensibilities, or their occasionally almost inspired hallucinations and rhapsodies, would have thrown a barrier between him and them, which, once there, would be likely to be permanent. How far to indulge, and when to prohibit, the free outpourings of the sensibilities of his patients, was a difficult question, whose wise decision, in each case, was sure to require in their guardian an appreciation of all that is healthful, as well as a discrimination of all that is morbid, in the workings of the religious element of human nature. These qualifications, which are the finest results of spiritual insight and true culture in the professional divine, are indispensable in the effective administration of an asylum, in which the consciences and spirits of its inmates are often more grievously burdened by compunctions for imaginary sins, than are those of the physically healthful out of doors for actual guilt of the real offences.

In reviewing Dr. Bell's professional career for the purpose of drawing from it an estimate of his talents, attainments, and character, the above hints must be accepted in place of any fuller attempt to delineate him. His last claim upon our respectful and grateful tribute addresses us through that self-offering, in the spirit of pure patriotism, which closed his mortal life. As these lines are written, the cause to which he gave himself with such entire devotion still suspends its issue. The hope and confidence that never failed in the heart of this not the least distinguished and beloved among the many noble and good whom it has already claimed as its vic-

tims, still keeps alive in patriot hearts the same full assurance of success. It is not, then, in forgetfulness or depreciation of the soldierly qualities and services manifested by the subject of this Memoir, that the writer shrinks from closing it with a reference to the occasion in which he closed his life. That was simply an emergent occasion, a surprise, an uncongenial occupation in most of its conditions, even to one whom it found so ready to meet them. Our last words concerning him should recognize him as nobly and faithfully, with consummate ability and a well-crowned success, discharging for a score of years one of the most exacting tasks required of the professional man and the Christian. There are words already in print better than the writer can choose or fill with meaning for that purpose.

The following tribute was paid to Dr. Bell by Dr. John E. Tyler, his honored and accomplished successor in the Asylum at Somerville. The extract closes his Report to the Trustees, dated Jan. 1, 1863. The reference to Mr. Appleton has a peculiar appropriateness, as he died while the remains of Dr. Bell were awaiting burial.

“Seldom does there come to any institution, in the experience of a single year, so sad a duty as that of chronicling the decease of two such men as the Hon. William Appleton and Dr. Luther V Bell. They were long and most harmoniously associated as officers of this institution, and were borne to their last resting-place within a few days of each other. . . .

“For nearly twenty years, Dr. Bell held the position of Superintendent of the Asylum, identifying himself with all its interests, and directing its daily management with a comprehensive skill, sagacity and forecast, a purity and elevation of purpose, and a scrupulous faithfulness to every relation involved, which secured for him, for those intrusted to his care, and for the institution, the happiest and the most abundant results. The accuracy and variety of his knowledge, the soundness of his judgment, and his remarkable faculty of adapting means to ends, meet one here at every step; while the recognized method of treatment, the traditionary usages and rules of the



house, bear the indelible stamp of his thorough and exact comprehension of the needs of the insane, and his wonderful tact in providing for them. His active and commanding intellect; his extraordinary attainments as a scholar, philosopher, and psychologist; his extensive knowledge of every thing pertaining to the phenomena, management, and history of insanity; his able and long-continued efforts, and success, in diffusing and establishing correct views of the nature and treatment of the disease, — have justly caused him to be regarded as one of the most distinguished of the many great men who have ever adorned the medical profession. His inbred sense of honor; his entire removal from all meanness and duplicity; his sterling integrity and inflexible moral courage; his keen sense and ardent love of right, leading him to its defence, in utter disregard of any personal consideration and in the face of any obstacle, and qualifying and inspiring all his every-day life, and yet with no touch of pharisaical exactness or pretension, — commanded the admiration and respect of all who knew him, and gave him an uncommon power of personal influence, while it made him of inestimable worth as a friend. His courteous and dignified bearing, his gentle manner and quiet humor, his inexhaustible store of anecdote and useful information, gave him a wonderful charm as a companion. Strong, though not demonstrative, in his feeling, warm in his attachments, he loved his home, his friends, and his daily associations, and devoted himself to their welfare. He loved his country, and felt the severity of her fiery trial; and faithful as always to his convictions of right, and personal obligation, he gave her as his last offering the rich accumulation of his experience, and his life; a brilliant example of lofty Christian patriotism.

“The influence of such men does not die when they step from the earth. ‘They rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.’”



MAY MEETING.

The Society held its stated monthly meeting this day, Thursday, May 14, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

In the absence of the Librarian, the Recording Secretary announced donations to the library from the American Antislavery Society; the City of Boston; the British Charitable Society; the Chicago Historical Society; the Essex Institute; the Trustees of Dartmouth College; the Trustees of the Peabody Institute, South Danvers; Rev. Caleb D. Bradlee; George E. Chambers, Esq.; Count Adolphe de Circourt; Mr. Thomas Y. Crowell; George T. Curtis, Esq.; Mr. John F. Eliot; Hon. Millard Fillmore; Hon. R. H. Gardiner; Reuben A. Guild, Esq.; Benjamin H. Hall, Esq.; Mrs. J. H. Hanaford; Clement H. Hill, Esq.; Frederic Kidder, Esq.; L. A. H. Latour, Esq.; Professor Francis Lieber; Rev. Abner Morse; Joel Munsell, Esq.; Henry Onderdonk, jun., Esq.; Mr. Stephen Randal; John Gilmary Shea, Esq.; Mr. Oliver Spurr; Mr. F. M. Stone; Mr. S. Urbino; William Winthrop, Esq., United-States Consul at Malta; and from Messrs. Bartlet, Brooks (C.), Deane, Folsom, Minot, Norton, Robbins (C.), Sturgis, Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The following donations to the cabinet, received during the last month, were announced:—

A *fac-simile* of the Warrant for beheading Charles I.; and a Photograph of St. Botolph's Church, Boston, Eng. (both framed).
From William G. Brooks, Esq.

1870

A Mezzotinto Portrait of Sir Jeffery Amherst (framed);* and two Specimens of Peruvian Pottery, brought from South America by Commodore John Percival, United-States Navy. From Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.

An Engraved Portrait of Hon. Increase Sumner. From Charles Deane, Esq.

A Ball extracted from the thigh of John Kelly, Company K, Ninth New-York State Militia, wounded at the battle of Fredericksburg, December, 1862. From Mr. M. E. Chandler.

The President, referring to the portrait of Sir Jeffery Amherst, presented to-day, read the following original letter, now in the possession of our associate, Mr. Deane : —

CAMP OF TICONDEROGA August 1st 1759

SIR, — I am very glad the big boat is returned, as every thing it brings will be of great use. pray be so good to forward the brewing Apparatus as fast as possible. The Army is beginning to grow sickly, & I believe from no other reason but drinking water wherever they find it, which Sickness will, I hope, be got the better of by Spruce beer. The Shoes will be of great use to us. I shall order the Regts to send for them directly, and to apply to Mr Kilby's Commissary for the issuing of them, you will therefore order Mr Kilby's man to deliver them according to the List I shall send him. Is there any appearance of more live Cattle coming?

I am your most Humble Servant

JEFF. AMHERST.

Col. BRADSTREET.

* On the portrait is the following engraved title: —

“ SIR JEFFERY AMHERST, K.B.,

“Commander-in-chief of the British forces in America from 1758 to 1764; created Baron Amherst of Holmesdale, in Kent, 1776; Governor of Guernsey; Colonel of the Second Regiment of Life Guards, and Colonel-in-chief of the Sixtieth or Royal American Regiment; one of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council; General commanding in chief the British troops in England from 1778 to 1782; and again from January, 1793, to February, 1796. Painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, P.R.A. Engraved by James Watson. Published by J. and J. Boydell, Cheapside; and at the Shakspeare Gallery, Pall Mall, London.”

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, the Recording Secretary read letters of acceptance from Hon. Millard Fillmore of Buffalo, N.Y., and from Rev. William G. Eliot, D.D., of St. Louis, Mo.

The President stated, that he had received the sum of one thousand dollars from Hon. William Minot, and William Minot, jun., — a gift to the Society from the estate of the late Miss Mary P. Townsend, of which they are the executors, — in addition to the sum of two thousand dollars heretofore presented by them from the same source.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Hon. William Minot, and William Minot, jun., executors of the will of Miss Mary P. Townsend, for this valuable contribution from the estate of that excellent lady, and this renewed token of their interest in this Society.

Voted, That the subject of the appropriation of this sum be referred to the Standing Committee.

Mr. NORTON presented a collection of manuscript papers, relating to privateering, from Rhode Island.

Mr. WHITNEY, from the Committee on collecting Documents relating to the Civil War, presented a large and valuable collection of French publications.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Whitney for this acceptable donation.

The Treasurer stated, that, in obedience to the instructions of the Society, he had executed the Declaration of Trust, constituting the investment of the Appleton Fund; and that he had caused the same to be recorded in the Registry of Deeds.

George Grote, Esq., B.C.L., of England, was elected an Honorary Member, and Professor James Russell Lowell, of Cambridge, a Resident Member, of the Society.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to William Winthrop, Esq., consul at Malta, for his valuable donation to the library.

Dr. JENKS communicated a paper upon the present Chinese Dynasty, of the Ta-tshing Family of Mantchoo origin.

Mr. PARSONS presented a specimen of the old paper currency of 1778, of North Carolina, of the denomination of five dollars, brought from Newbern, N.C., by Mr. Horace P. Tuttle of the Forty-fourth Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia.

Dr. PEABODY read the following Memoir of our late esteemed associate, Rev. Charles Mason; D.D.:—

M E M O I R

OF

REV. CHARLES MASON, D.D.

BY REV. A. P. PEABODY, D.D.

CHARLES MASON was a descendant, in the fifth generation, of John Mason, the hero and historian of the Pequot War, who was born in England in 1599; was one of the first settlers of Dorchester, Conn.; was for many years Major-General of the forces of Connecticut, and for ten years Deputy-Governor; and died at Norwich in 1672. Jeremiah Mason, the grandson of John, was also distinguished in the military service of his country; having held an important command on Dorchester Heights in the early part of the war of the Revolution. His son Jeremiah, the father of the subject of this sketch,—born in Lebanon, Conn., in 1768, and a graduate of Yale College,—was well known as long the leader of the New-Hampshire Bar, as in his latter years holding a similar professional rank in Boston, and as equally versed in the science of law and the art of advocacy,—equally eminent for his skill and tact in the management of jury-trials, and for his capacity of sound and weighty argument on questions exclusively legal. He married Mary, daughter of Colonel Robert Means, a native of Ireland,—an intelligent, high-minded, and successful merchant, and for many years a resident of Amherst, N.H. Mrs. Mason was a woman of rare gentleness, and sweetness of manner, spirit, and character; endowed

with the domestic virtues to a degree seldom equalled ; and with a simple, unostentatious piety, which gave grace to her speech, and beauty to her life ; as a wife, mother, and friend, loved, honored, regretted, as only those can be in whom the best gifts of nature and cultivation are consecrated by Christian faith and purpose.

Charles Mason, the youngest son of Jeremiah and Mary Mason, was born in Portsmouth, N.H., on the 25th of July, 1812. His early education was conducted under the choicest home-influences, both intellectual and moral. He inherited from his father a judicial cast of mind, habits of careful and accurate thought, and the tendency to form opinions on the deliberate weighing of argument and evidence ; while his mother's simplicity, modesty, and tenderness were happily blended in his boyhood with the attributes that gave presage of a genuine and self-sustaining manliness. He was fitted for college at the Portsmouth Academy, which at that period changed its preceptors annually or oftener ; so that, though young Mason won the strong attachment of all his teachers, no one of them could claim a predominant part in the formation of his character as a student. About the time when he would have entered college, he was seized with a dangerous illness, — the same disease that terminated his life after an interval of thirty-five years of almost uninterrupted health. His recovery was slow ; and for several months he was so feeble, that the care and comfort of his home were deemed essential to his entire restoration. He was accordingly intrusted to the writer of this sketch, then preceptor of the Academy, as a private pupil, to be prepared for advanced standing in Harvard University. His father's library was his study and his recitation-room. His conscientious diligence and fidelity, his maturity of judgment, his frankness, probity, and purity of character, are held in grateful remembrance, and gave full promise of all that he became in subsequent years. Seldom can there have been at so early an age so symmetrical a

development. The recent death of an elder brother, of distinguished ability and excellence, had impressed him deeply, and combined with the religious instructions of his childhood to form that profound yet cheerful seriousness which was hardly less the characteristic of his boyhood than of his riper years.

At the commencement of the summer term of 1829, he entered the freshman-class at Harvard. Here he assumed and maintained a high rank as a scholar, though with but little ambition for college-honors. His aim was to satisfy his own conscience by the faithful discharge of every duty, rather than to acquire a brilliant reputation. He brought to his classical studies a discriminating taste; and in these, as also in metaphysical and moral science, he manifested a peculiar aptitude and proficiency. His choice of the Hebrew language as an elective study indicated his future profession; and in this department he again, with several of the brightest and best among his classmates, came under the tuition of the writer. In this little class were destined ministers of several different denominations, — Unitarian, Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal, — their teacher at the same time a theological student; and the recitation-hour was often prolonged in friendly discussion of the great themes on which their views were so widely diverse, though with entire community and harmony of aim and spirit. In these conferences, Mason bore his part with the firmness of settled conviction, but with a meekness, gentleness, and modesty which commanded the respect of the whole circle for himself and for the church of which he was the sole representative among them. The college-course, though covering ostensibly nearly the same ground as at present (including, indeed, a larger *minimum* in the mathematical and classical departments), made a much less heavy draft upon the time and labor of a good scholar than it does now; and Mason availed himself of his leisure hours for the perusal of the best authors, particularly of those early English

classics which were his favorite reading through life, and which exercised a marked influence in the formation of his style. He was graduated with honor in 1832.

On leaving college, Mr. Mason spent a year, at his father's residence in Boston, in the study of the Greek and Latin classics and in theological reading. In the autumn of 1833, he entered the Andover Theological Seminary, where he remained a year. The two following years were spent at the General Theological Seminary of the Episcopal Church in New York; and, at the close of this term, he was ordained deacon by the venerable Bishop Griswold. In September, 1836, he was invited to become the Rector of Christ Church, Cambridge; but declined the invitation, in order to secure an added period for professional study. On the 1st of May, 1837, he was instituted Rector of St. Peter's Church, Salem; and retained that charge for ten years, interrupted only by a European tour of a few months, at a time when health somewhat enfeebled and symptoms of ophthalmic disease rendered an interval of relaxation necessary. His ministry in Salem was eminently successful, both as regarded the external growth and the spiritual prosperity of his church. Assiduous in his own field of labor; prompt, judicious, and persevering in all the offices of a Christian citizen; active in the administration of all local charities; courteous and kind in his intercourse with the ministers and members of other communions, — he left not only a cherished place in the hearts of his parishioners, but a hardly less fond regard and enduring memory in the whole community.

Domestic reasons, and especially the desire to minister to his father's relief and comfort in the growing infirmity of his advanced age, were among his strong inducements to resign a charge, which was relinquished only with mutual regret, and under a controlling sense of higher duty. In 1847, he became Rector of Grace Church, Boston; and the residue of his life was consecrated, with single-hearted zeal and

diligence, to the duties of that office, and to the various and numerous departments of charity and philanthropy which demand the advocacy and effort of a Christian minister worthy of the name. His labors as a minister, until his last sickness, were suspended only for a second and more prolonged European tour, on which he was accompanied by a part of his family.

Mr. Mason's domestic life, except for the shadow of one great grief, was singularly happy. On the 11th of June, 1837, he married Susanna, daughter of the late Amos Lawrence, with whose family he was already intimately connected; his mother's sister having become the second wife of Mr. Lawrence. Mrs. Mason closely resembled her father in the traits of character which rendered him — unostentatious as he was — one of the truly illustrious men of his time. She made her home happy, and a centre of hospitality and benignant influence. With a rare grace, beauty, and attractiveness of mien and manner, she united qualities that won the enduring respect and affection of all whose privilege it was to know her. She died, deeply lamented, on the 2d of December, 1844, leaving three daughters and one son. On the 9th of August, 1849, Mr. Mason was married to Anna Huntington Lyman, daughter of the late Hon. Jonathan H. Lyman of Northampton, a distinguished lawyer, and a man of eminent ability and worth, who had been cut off midway on a successful and honored career of professional and public life. In this new connection, he was again richly blessed. Thenceforward, few can have enjoyed so much as he in all domestic and social aspects and relations.

Late in the winter of 1862, Dr. Mason made a brief and rapid journey to Washington; and returned, as he supposed, suffering under unusual and extreme weariness. He, however, seemed to recover from his fatigue; and, after a few days, resumed his duties, apparently in perfect health. But, whether in consequence of an undue strain upon his vital

energies, or of some morbid infection contracted during his absence, or, it may be, without any predisposing cause that could be traced, symptoms of alarming disease were soon developed, and typhoid-fever set in. While his consciousness remained unimpaired, he manifested, under great depression and pain, the serenity, self-forgetfulness, and kind consideration for those around him, which had characterized him through life. He knew that he was very ill: but, before he had been made aware of the extremity of his danger, — indeed, while his physicians and friends still cherished some hope of his restoration, — he passed into a comatose state; and thence sank into painless dissolution, on the morning of Sunday, March 23, 1862. Funeral services were held at Grace Church on the following Wednesday, and were attended by a large and deeply sympathizing congregation, filling and exceeding the utmost capacity of the edifice. More than fifty clergymen of his own church were present, together with a large number of his professional brethren of other denominations. The services were conducted by Right Reverend Bishop Eastburn, assisted by Rev. Messrs. Babcock and Spear; and the bishop delivered an address commemorative of Dr. Mason's character and services.

We have thus glanced briefly at the leading dates and events in the life of our departed associate and friend. There remains the more interesting, delicate, and difficult task of presenting him on our record, in mind and heart, as we have known him.

His mental action was distinguished by precision, justness, and accuracy. Neither emotion, prejudice, nor enthusiasm, suppressed or distorted the judicial faculty. His strong yet thoroughly disciplined feelings received law from his intellect, instead of sweeping it into their channel; and they were both profound and quiet, because they flowed from well-grounded belief and thorough conviction; while unreasoning emotion may roll in a torrent to-day, and be dry

to-morrow. His mental processes, for a similar reason, were slow. But the work, once done, was well done. The ground, once taken, was permanently occupied. His mind thus had a continuous growth and a symmetrical development; and, to those who saw him only at somewhat distant intervals, he seemed more and richer at every interview. He had more taste than fancy. With a strongly marked individuality, he indulged in no eccentricities of speculation or utterance. A severely discriminating judgment, conformed to the highest standards, repressed all wayward tendencies of thought, and made his opinions always worthy of respect and deference.

His learning was at once extensive and thorough. A merited testimony to his reputation as a divine was paid to him by his Alma Mater in the degree of Doctor of Divinity, conferred on him in 1858,—a degree which he received in the same year from Trinity College, Hartford. He was especially conversant with the writings of the Christian fathers and of the early theologians of the English Church. In literature, he was most familiar with the best authors, particularly with the ancient classics and with the English writers of the Elizabethan age. He was greatly interested in legal subjects; and, particularly in the latter part of his life, had instituted special studies in that department, with reference to an important ecclesiastical suit then and still pending. In historical pursuits, we found him a prompt and cordial helper in the deliberations of this Society, from whose meetings he was seldom absent, and whose aims had his warm and constant sympathy and furtherance.

His style as a writer was severely chaste and accurate; seldom impassioned, never dull; rhythmical, pointed; elaborate without being involved; adapted, perhaps, to the eye rather than to the ear. His aim seemed to be the statement rather than the enforcement of the truth. He appealed to the judgment rather than to feeling or imagination. He was free from all rhetorical artifices; and his published writings

would command approval in proportion to the rigidity of the critical canons to which they were subjected. Indeed, his method of composition was conformed rather to the more exacting standards of an earlier generation than to a time like the present, when sensational writing, preaching, and oratory can override with impunity all the barriers of taste, and even of reverence and decency. We know not, but we think, that Tillotson may have been, in his estimation, a model preacher; for there is much in those of his discourses that we have read which reminds us of the simple, unexaggerated presentation of doctrine and duty in those of the archbishop.

In conversation, manners, and social intercourse, Dr. Mason filled out our idea of that most perfect style of man,—the Christian gentleman. Dignity and modesty were so evenly balanced, that we could not say which preponderated. The most delicate courtesy governed him in all the relations of life. His was the politeness, based on the golden rule of the gospel, which cannot say or do that to another which it would not have said or done in return. He could be severe against falsehood, wrong, or evil; but no provocation could betray him into personal invective or abuse, or make him otherwise than kind even to those from whom he dissented the most widely, or whom he held in the lowest esteem.

Thoroughly a Churchman in conviction, taste, and sympathy, he was still more profoundly a Christian; and, while he never swerved from loyalty to his own church, he was as free from exclusiveness and from limiting prejudices as the broadest latitudinarian ever professes to be. His relations with clergymen and Christians of other communions were cordial and intimate; and, in both the fields of his ministerial labor, he was held in as high esteem and as warm affection by the members of other churches as by those of his own. And, to all who knew him, he seemed a single-

hearted, close, and earnest follower of his Saviour,—loving all who loved the Lord; living only to do the Lord's work; and diligent as he was in every form of Christian activity, yet performing a still larger and nobler service by an example and influence which made piety beautiful, lovely, and attractive.

His labors in Boston far exceeded the limits of his parochial charge. At an early period of his residence in this city, he associated himself with Rev. Dr. Peabody of King's Chapel, and Rev. Frederic T. Gray, in measures for the amelioration of the condition of the friendless poor; and was one of the principal founders of the association for that purpose, which is still among the most actively beneficent institutions in our community. When this agency was efficiently organized, he turned his attention to the neglected children of the city. For some years, he connected missionary operations in their behalf with the charities of his own parish; enlisting the co-operation of benevolent persons among his parishioners. In 1853, he hired rooms for the reception of these suffering children, and employed a female missionary to aid him in his endeavors to minister to their physical comfort and their moral and spiritual well-being. In 1855, his efforts had been so successful, and had become so extensively known, that the larger public were prepared to second him in providing a permanent asylum for the objects of his charity; and the "Church Home for Orphan and Destitute Children" was established. It is impossible to estimate the extended and enduring good resulting to its beneficiaries and to the whole community from an institution of this class, in which children, who would otherwise grow up in ignorance and vice, are made the objects of a parental kindness, placed under the highest religious influence, and prepared for useful and respectable positions in life. This alone would be an adequate monument of Dr. Mason's unwearied toil in his chosen field of beneficent effort. But

these special services, by introducing him to the poor as their devoted friend, rendered him emphatically their minister. At all seasons, and in every way in which he could promote their good, he made himself accessible to their calls, familiar with their homes, and conversant with their needs. He forgot not that the preaching of the gospel to the poor was among the foremost of the prophetic designations of the Christian era; and no minister of Christ can ever have laid more solemn and intense emphasis than he did on this essential portion of his sacred calling. Nowhere, except in the hearts of his own household, can he have left so long and dear a remembrance as in the obscure, needy, and suffering homes in which he so lovingly ministered, and in which he so often saved the stricken from despair, and rescued the tempted from ruin.

We need not say that such a life was a happy life. None enjoyed more than he, or contributed more generously to the joy of others. He had a sunny temper, was accessible to all the brighter scenes and aspects of nature and of life, and had the warmest sympathy with childhood and mirth, with every thing glad and beautiful, with all that is genial in art and taste and the refinements of social culture. The fountain of youth, drawn from, it might seem, too sparingly in his grave and thoughtful boyhood, remained unwasted, full, and clear to the very last week of his life: he became young again with his children; and in the ripe maturity of years, and under the weight of thronging cares and duties, he manifested even more buoyancy of spirit than before the responsibilities of life rested heavily upon him.

Dr. Mason's first publication was a sermon, preached at Salem in 1843, upon the death of Bishop Griswold, who had been at a previous period Rector of St. Peter's Church.

In June, 1844, he preached at the Theological Seminary in New York a sermon entitled "The Divinity of Christ not Contradictory to Human Reason," which has been several

times reprinted, and which deserves emphatic praise as a specimen of the treatment of a controverted dogma with earnestness and warmth, yet with no admixture of asperity or bitterness.

In 1847, he preached the Annual Sermon before the Associate Alumni of the Theological Seminary, on "The True Power of the Christian Ministry;" which was published by the request of the Alumni.

In 1852, he preached at Grace Church, and published, a sermon on the death of Daniel Webster.

In 1853, he was invited by a committee in Philadelphia to deliver one of a series of twelve lectures on the Evidences of Christianity. From the list of subjects proposed, he chose the argument from miracles. The entire series was published; and, while all are worthy of the cause and the occasion, his lecture is second to no one of the twelve in close and cogent reasoning.

His last publication was a sermon preached in Grace Church on Jan. 4, 1861,—the day of the National Fast appointed by President Buchanan; a discourse marked equally by fervent patriotism, and by a keen and discriminating sense of the moral causes of the fearful public calamities then gathering over the whole people.

In addition to these discourses, he published various articles in religious and other periodicals, of which no list has been preserved, and which often appeared without the author's name. He had commenced the collection and arrangement of materials for a memoir of his father; which, we trust, will yet be completed by some adequate biographer.

JUNE MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, June 11, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

In the absence of the Librarian, the Recording Secretary announced donations from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; the Canadian Church Press; the Chicago Historical Society; the Mercantile Library Company of Philadelphia; the New-Jersey Historical Society; the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History; the Young Men's Association of Buffalo, N.Y.; Captain John W. M. Appleton, Fifty-fourth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers; Francis Brown, Esq.; Henry B. Dawson, Esq.; Mr. John F. Eliot; J. Francis Fisher, Esq.; Clement H. Hill, Esq.; Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq.; William A. Johnson, Esq.; Major L. A. H. Latour; John G. Roberts, Esq.; and from Messrs. Amory, Bartlet, Brooks (C.), Dana, Robbins (C.), Sibley, Webb, Wheatland, Whitney, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary read letters of acceptance from Hon. Luther Bradish of New York, and Henry B. Dawson, Esq.

The President communicated the following extracts from a letter recently received by him from Richard Almack, Esq., dated Melford, Suffolk, Eng., 29th April, 1863:—

“How strangely people are linked together. I can connect myself with the Winthrops in a tabular pedigree — and as to Hugh Peters! The Rector of Cavendish, almost adjoining to Melford, is Rev. Robert Godolphin Peter, son of William Peter of Harlyn and

Chiverton in Cornwall. His father married for his second wife the widow of the late Rufus King, mother of the present Rufus King. She is celebrated as a Roman Catholic — Foundress of some new order, and honored by Catholic princes. They are of Cincinnati. The Peters are our friends, and friendly with their step mother. I shall lend them your book. They have early portraits of Sir William Peter, &c., but they disclaim Hugh as their *kinsman* — which I tell them is ungrateful, as he saved the life of their ancestor. The Peters have lately succeeded to part of the great personalty of Lady Miller, daughter and coheirress of the last male Beauchamp of Pengreep in Cornwall, — a family with which my son in law, Henry Williams, is connected. His great grandmother was a Beauchamp of Pengreep.”

“Hugh Peter was of a family driven from Antwerp on account of their religion — of the name of *Dykewoode*. Thomas Dykewoode assumed the name of Peter, and his son Thomas Dykewoode Peter was a merchant at Fowey in Cornwall, and married Martha daughter of ‘John Treffry Esq. of Place,’ and their son was the celebrated ‘Hugh Peter.’ Deborah Treffry, sister of Martha, married Henry Peter, Esq., M. P. for Fowey, in the first Parliament of James I., who was imprisoned by Cromwell for his loyalty, and obtained his release through the influence of the celebrated Hugh, (his cousin in reality, although Hugh had no blood of Peter). The affinity to this ancient family appears to be the only reason for assuming the name. They have a common ancestor with Lord *Petre*, and Hugh seals with the same arms. See pedigree of Peter of Harlyn and Chiverton, Cornwall, in Burke’s Commoners.”

The President read the following letter from Colonel James W. Sever, Secretary of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, presenting to the Society original letters from Josiah Quincy, Esq., Professor John Winthrop, Rev. Dr. Samuel Cooper, and General Joseph Warren, addressed to Dr. Franklin: —

BOSTON, June 7, 1863.

THE SECRETARY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SIR, — I have the honor herewith to enclose to you a copy of a vote of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, passed at their

last annual meeting, together with the several letters therein referred to.

In what way these letters came into possession of the donors in England, I am not officially advised; but from a conversation with Mr. Edmund T. Hastings, late of Medford, through whom they were presented to our society, I learned they were found in the secret drawer of a bureau said to have been used by Dr. Franklin when in London.

Steps have been taken to trace their history; and the result, if successful, will be communicated to you.

With high respect, I am your obedient servant,

JAMES W. SEVER,
Sec. Mass. Soc. of the Cincinnati.

Extract from the Records of the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, July 4, 1862.

“On motion of James W. Sever, the following preamble and vote were unanimously adopted:—

“*Whereas* William H. Oatley of Wroxeter, and William H. Wood of Shrewsbury, Eng., presented through our late member, Edmund Trowbridge Hastings, to this society, several letters from Josiah Quincy, John Winthrop, Samuel Cooper, and Joseph Warren, dated in March and April, 1775, addressed to Dr. Franklin in London, of much historical interest, but not at all connected with the Society of the Cincinnati; therefore—

“*Voted*, That the Secretary be authorized and directed to present them to the Massachusetts Historical Society, as a more appropriate place of deposit.”

A true copy from the record. JAMES W. SEVER, *Secretary.*

Voted, That the thanks of this Society be presented to the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, for their very valuable and acceptable contribution to our archives, this day received through the courteous instrumentality of Colonel James W. Sever.

The following are the letters referred to in the communication of Colonel Sever:—

BRAINTREE, March 25th, 1775.

HONOURED SIR, — My dear Son has repeatedly acknowledged your friendly Reception and Patronage of him, since his Arrival in London. Be pleased, therefore, to accept of my gratefull Sense of your Goodness to him; with my ardent Wishes, that your united Endeavors to preserve your Native Country from impending Ruin may be attended with Success.

You would hardly be persuaded to believe, did not melancholy Experience evince the Truth of it, that such a number of infamous WRETCHES could be found upon the Continent, as are now group'd together in Boston, under Pretence of flying thither from the Rage of popular Fury; when every Body knows, and their own Consciences cannot but dictate to them, that all they aim at, is, to recommend themselves to the first Offices of Trust and Power, in Case the Plan of subverting the present Constitution, and establishing a despotic Government in it's Stead, can be successfully carried into Execution: — Some of them are already gratified, with lucrative Posts and Pensions, as a Reward for prostituting their venal Pens, in Defence of the arbitrary and violent Measures of an abandoned A——; which, doubtless, stimulates the rest to exert their little Abilities to effect the Ruin of their Country; in Hopes, they also, may have an opportunity to riot in the Spoils of it: — May that all perfect *Being*, who governs the Universe, turn their councils into *Foolishness*; and cause them to repent of their complicated Crimes, or to experience the fatal Consequences of their wicked Apostacy!

The News Papers will discover to you, the shamefull Artifices they have been practicing, to flatter the Hopes, and alarm the Fears of their fellow Citizens; and thereby not only to disunite and divide, but discourage them from pursuing those Measures which the Wisdom of the Continent has devised and recommended, as most salutary and effectual for our Preservation and Security: — But, happily for our dear native Country, Providence has been graciously pleased to raise up such powerfull Advocates, in Defence of our Claim to be exempted from parliamentary Legislation, by Arguments drawn from those fundamental Principles of natural and civil Law, which form the *Basis* of the English Constitution, as must be sufficient to inform the most ignorant, and convince the most obstinate, of the justness of our Claim, and therefore cannot be invalidated, by the futile Productions of those mercenary Scribblers, that have appeared in Opposition to it.

May I be permitted, upon this Occasion, without Offence, to present to your View the following Queries; as containing my Sentiments upon the present gloomy Aspect of our publick Affairs:— What gave Rise to them was, a number of Queries which were published in Drapers Paper of the 14th of last November; but, my Diffidence prevented mine from being published.

Is not human Happiness the End of every good Government?

Can the Happiness of a People be secure and permanent, where the Government is despotic?

Is it not, therefore, absolutely necessary, that, the supreme Magistrate should be restrained by Law from doing evil or becoming despotic; whilst his Power to Good should be as extensive as his Capacity?

Is not the British Constitution guarded against Despotism, by making the Minister answerable for his Sovereign's mal-Administration?

If an abandoned Ministry, by Bribery and Corruption, had procured a Law to be made, whereby the Constitution was subverted, and the Sovereigns Power rendered absolute, would the People be obliged to submit to it?

Suppose a Law enacted, to render the Kings Power absolute in Part of his Dominions; would it not be repugnant to the fundamental Principles of the Constitution and therefore void?

Would not every Member of Parliament who voted for such a Law, incur the Guilt of high Treason against the State?

Would not the Minister, who advised his Sovereign to give his Consent to it, be equally guilty?

Would not the People throughout his Dominions be justified, were they to rise up, as one Man, and oppose the Execution of such a Law?

Is not the Kings Power in Canada, by a late Law of the British Parliament, rendered as absolute, as that of an Asiatic Despot?

Are not ALL concerned in Government there, whether in the legislative or executive Departments, appointed by the Crown, paid by the Crown, and removeable at Pleasure?

If Despotism is established in Canada, why may it not, by another Law be established in all the Colonies upon this Continent?

The Idea is horrible! and it is with inexpressible Anguish I proceed to ask:

If the Acts of Parliament relative to these Colonies, especially

for these ten Years past, are not, almost all of them, calculated to subjugate the Inhabitants, to a legislative Power in which they have no share ?

Can Property be secure, or the People free, who are subjected to a legislative Power in which they have no Share, and over which they have no Controul? Is not, this, a compleat Definition of a despotic Government ?

Are not *Americans* equally intitled with *Britons*, to be governed by those Laws only, to which they have given their Consent, either personally, or by Representation ?

Is it not a *natural Right*, given by God to Man with Life, & therefore as unalienable as Life it Self ?

Is it not a *civil Right*, stipulated and secured to the Subject, not only by Magna Charta, but by all those Statutes, Compacts, Covenants & Agreements, by and between the Sovereign and Subject, upon which the Constitution is founded ; and therefore as indefeazable as the Rights of the Crown ?

Does it not, therefore, necessarily follow, that as Allegiance and Protection are reciprocal, so Legislation and Representation are inseparable ?

Has not the rapid increase of the Colonies in Numbers and Property been owing as much, at least to the Peoples equal Share in their respective Legislatures, as to the natural Advantages of their Soil and Climate ?

Had they not from the beginning enjoyed this inestimable Privilege, would not this extensive Continent have remained a Desart still or been possessed by the Subjects of some other European Power ?

Were they by Force or Fraud to be deprived of it, would not the Country soon become again a howling Wilderness ?

Has not the Increase and Prosperity of the Colonies greatly contributed, to the Wealth and Grandeur of the Nation, and the distinguished Rank she sustains among the Powers of the World ?

Have the Colonies, either unitedly or seperately, renounced their Allegiance to their Sovereign ; or by any Misconduct forfeited their Claim to his Protection, and lost those Rights and Privileges, which were granted and secured to them by their respective Charters ?

If they have not, why are their repeated humble Petitions to the Throne disregarded, and the Prayer of them ungranted ?

Before their Patience was worn out, by repeated Provocations, and unparalleled Injuries :— Did the Colonies ever discover any want of Attachment to the Parent State ?

As a dutifull Son, settled at a Distance from his Fathers House considers it as his *Home* :— Have not the Colonies, in like manner considered England as their *Home* ; and behaved towards the Parent State, with most cordial and filial Affection ?

Have they not even rejoiced in her Prosperity, sympathized with her in Adversity, and occasionally afforded her Aid, even beyond their Abilities ?— And, has she not been so sensible of this, as more than once, to remunerate them for their extraordinary Services ?

Has not the Protection of the Colonies, *exaggerated as it is*, been more than compensated, by the Profits of an exclusive Commerce ?

Is not the Claim, therefore, of the British House of Commons to *give and grant* the Property of their American fellow Subjects, *without their Consent*, repugnant to every Idea of natural Equity and Justice ?

Are we Bastards, and not Children, that a Prince, who is celebrated as the best of Kings, has given his Consent to so many and such unprecedented & oppressive Acts of Parliament, as, if carried into Execution, must eventually render the Condition of his *American Subjects* no better than that of *Slaves* to his *British Subjects* ?

Are they not so disgracefully humiliating, as no Society of Men would submit to, who had any sense of Freedom, — the least Spark of Virtue, or any Power of Resistance ?

Is not the enforcing the Execution of them, with Fleets and Armies, as inhumane as it is unjust ?

Who are answerable for all the horrid Consequences of a long and bloody civil War ?— They who from Motives of Avarice and Ambition, attack ; or They who from a Principle of Selfpreservation defend ?

If the seat of Government was transferred from Britain to America ; and an American House of Commons were to give and grant the Property of their British fellow Subjects, without their Consent, would they not loudly, as well as justly, Complain of such Treatment as arbitrary & oppressive ?

Can They do that, justly, which upon a supposed Change of Situation and Circumstances, they would with reason complain of, as in the highest Degree unjust ?

Will not the Subversion of the American Constitutions of Government, and subjugating the People to an arbitrary Jurisdiction, produce, sooner or later, the same Effects in every other Part of the King's Dominions ?

When the Sovereign's Power over his American Dominions becomes absolute, will not Americans, from a spirit of just Resentment, endeavor to extend it over the whole Empire ?

Will not an immense American Revenue, at the disposal of a corrupt and corrupting Administration, easily effect such a Plan of universal Despotism ?

Can Britons, therefore, who have for Ages been the successful Defenders of civil and religious Liberty, remain any longer silent Spectators, of the hostile Measures that are pursuing in America ; or unconcerned about the Event of them ?

If they are, may we not venture to foretel, without the spirit of Prophecy, that it will not be much longer they will remain a FREE PEOPLE ?

If you should find it as difficult to excuse me, as I find it to apologize for the Errors & Imperfections of so long a Letter, I shall be heartily sorry I have wrote it : But, if it meets with so favorable a Reception, as in Return you will please to gratify me with your own Sentiments respecting the present Controversy, between the Parent State and these Colonies, I shall not only be greatly obliged, but promise you, that no Extracts from them shall be communicated to the Publick ; nor to any, but such of your Friends as you shall be pleased to point out : — Indeed, there is no Injunction you can lay upon me, that I would not cheerfully comply with, rather than be deprived of an entertaining and instructive Epistle from you, as often as you can spare Time to bestow such an inestimable Favor upon,

Your most obliged and obedient Servant

Jos^t QUINCY.

Doctor FRANKLIN.

P: S: I have desired my son communicate to you any Part of my L^r to him which he thinks worthy your Notice.

(Superscription.)

To Doctor FRANKLIN in Craven Street London.

pr Fav^r: of Fran: } Q.D.C.
Dana Esqr: }

CAMBRIDGE, NEW ENGLAND, 28 March 1775.

DEAR SIR, — I did my self the honor to write you, 13 Septr last, by Mr Quincy, acknowledging the receipt of several curious Pamphlets, for which am much obliged to you, and beg the favor of you to present my respectful Compliments to Sir John Pringle, and Mr Henley, for the particular honor they have done me, in sending me their curious Productions. Since that, I have received the last Vol. of the Philosophical Transactions, for which I return you my thanks. — I must confess, I was not a little mortified, when I opened the package, in not finding a line from my ever honored Friend, whose correspondence always gives me the greatest pleasure. Whether it were occasioned by the multiplicity of most important affairs, in which I know you are involved; or, whether any Letter of yours has been intercepted, I am not able to say. My suspicion of the last has been strengthened by the circumstances, in which the last Vol. of Transactions came to my hand. It was only tied up loosely in a brown paper cover, without any seal.

However the case may be, I cannot neglect so good an opportunity as now offers, of paying my respects to you. My neighbour, Francis Dana, Esq, is embarking for London. He was a Gentleman of the Law in this town, while there was any Law; — a modest, sensible, intelligent person, and a true Friend to Liberty. He had the firmness to oppose the address to Mr. H. when it was in agitation among the Lawyers. I need say nothing of the situation of our public affairs, as Mr. Dana will be able to give you full information. I cannot, however, forbear observing, to the honor of the people of this Province, that ever since the resignation of the Mandamus Councilors, they have been as quiet and peaceable as any Colony on the Continent, tho' under a total suspension of government, and an accumulation of grievances. We are now in a state of the most anxious suspense, but preparing for the worst, — God send better times!

I have desired Mr Dana to deliver you 52s sterl. for another annual payment to the Royal Society.

With sentiments of the highest respect and esteem

I am, Sir, Your most obliged humble Servt.

JOHN WINTHROP.

(Superscribed)

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Esq., London.

Favored by FRA: DANA, Esq.

BOSTON, N. E. 1 Apr. 1775.

DEAR SIR, — I wrote you in Sepr & Aug : last, and it is a great while indeed since I have had the Pleasure of a Line from you. The Anxiety and Distress bro't upon us by the Port Bill and other Acts, and the Troops and Ships of War station'd here have been great ; and much Art & Pains have been employ'd to dismay us, or provoke us to some rash Action, but hitherto the People have behav'd with an astonishing Calmness and Resolution. The Union and Firmness of this and the other Colonies have rather grown than diminished ; and they seem prepar'd for all Events. Had I not learn'd in these Days to wonder at nothing, I should have been surpriz'd at the Inconsistency of the Manner in which the Petition from the Congress was receiv'd, & Lord Dartmouth's Circular Letter to the Governors on that Subject. It will howeuer have no Effect, as one directly contrary to the Views of Administration. The Colonies highly approve the Proceedings of the Congress, and haue voted Delegates for the new one in May. The Assembly at N. York forbore an express Approbation ; but haue resolv'd almost all the Acts complain'd of by the Congress to be Grievances, and County Assemblies in that Province will probably by a large Majority appoint Delegates for the approaching Congress. One would haue imagin'd that Ministerial Influence and Bribes would have had a much greater Effect upon that Province than has hitherto appear'd.

We have heard that the merchants & manufacturers of Britain are petitioning on our, or rather their own Behalf — that no more Troops are to be sent ; and the Acts likely to be repeal'd : Other Accounts from your Side the Water say, that the same or similar Measures will still be pursued — The Determination here seems to be, not to abate our Vigilance, and to act as tho' we expected no Favor till adequate Relief is granted. — I send this by a safe hand, Mr Dana, a Gentleman of the Law, much esteem'd here, and tho' a nephew of Judge Trowbridge, a firm Friend to the Liberties of his Country. He carries with him Papers containing particular Accounts of our Affairs, and I think you may rely on his Representations. He can inform you minutely of Things that have taken place since Mr Quincy left us, & of our present State.

I hope it will not be long before my Country will find itself in a Situation to give some Testimony of it's Sense of your great Services to it, & Sufferings in it's cause.

With the most respectful & warm Attachment, I am Sir,

Your obedt humb. Servant

SAML COOPER.

Dr. FRANKLIN.

(Superscribed)

To BENJN. FRANKLIN Esqr. LL.D. F.R.S. London.

BOSTON, April 3rd, 1775.

SIR, — Altho' I have not the pleasure either of a personal or epistolary acquaintance with you, I have taken the liberty of sending you by Mr Dana a pamphlet which I wish was more deserving of your notice. The ability and firmness with which you have defended the Rights of Mankind and the Liberties of this Country in particular have rendered you dear to all America. May you soon see your enemies deprived of the power of injuring you, and your friends in a situation to discover the grateful sense they have of your exertions in the cause of freedom.

I am, Sir, with the greatest esteem and respect,

Your most obedient humble servant

JOSEPH WARREN.

Doctor FRANKLIN.

(Superscribed)

Doctor BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, London.

Pr favr. Mr DANA.

The President exhibited an ancient Bible from the old mansion of the Winthrop Family in New London, Conn., richly bound in massive silver, elaborately wrought and engraved.

Mr. ROBBINS (C.) read a communication from Dr. John Appleton, relating to a volume of ancient almanacs in the library of the Society.

Almanacs in the Reign of Queen Anne.

There is, in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, a volume containing fourteen different almanacs for the year 1707; commencing with the "Ladies' Diary or the Women's Almanack," being the fourth number issued of that annual.

The volume is in binding of the early part of the last century, with gilt edges, and ornamented on the back and at the corners with the royal cipher, surmounted by the crown; and

may possibly have been a presentation-copy to Queen Anne from the Company of Stationers.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the sole right of printing almanacs was possessed by James Roberts and Richard Watkins: but the Stationers' Company obtained (Oct. 29, 1603) the royal letters-patent for the sole printing of Primers, Psalms, Almanacs, &c., in English; and a renewal of their charter, securing to them the same privilege, was granted March 8, 1615-16 (Nicholson, iii. 570, 573, 574). This right was held by the company for many years; and all the almanacs in this volume bear the imprint of different publishers as printers "for the Company of Stationers."

The "Ladies' Diary" was, as far as we know, the first work of the kind ever published; and was established by Mr. John Tipper of Coventry in the year 1704, and conducted by him until 1713. He was succeeded as editor in 1714 by Henry Beighton, under whose charge it remained until his death in 1743 or '44. Robert Heath assumed the care of the work after the death of Beighton, and was followed by Thomas Simpson in 1754, by Edward Rollinson in 1761, and by Dr. Hutton from 1773 to 1818. Dr. Olinthus Gregory conducted the almanac from the last-mentioned year until his death in 1840; and, in the succeeding year, "the Ladies' Diary" was united with "the Gentleman's Diary;" and the almanacs are still published, as one work, under the title of "the Lady's and Gentleman's Diary."

In the "Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men," published by the Camden Society, are several letters from Mr. Tipper, the projector and first editor of the "Ladies' Diary," to Humphrey Wanley, giving an account of his plan, and relating many curious facts connected with the establishment of the work. He says in the first of these letters, "I come now to tell you an affair of my own; viz., that this year will be published of mine (on Tuesday come sevensnight) an Almanack, called the Ladies Diary or the Woman's Almanack,

designed for the sole use of the Female Sex. . . . This being the first Almanack printed peculiar for the Fair Sex, and under the Reign of a Glorious Queen, some would advise me to dedicate it to the Queen." In conclusion, he asks the advice of Wanley as to the form of dedication.

In his next letter, he enters more fully into the details of his plan, and gives the contents of the proposed work, with the title, which follows: "The Lady's Diary or Women's Almanack, containing Directions of Love and Marriage, of Cookery, Preserving, Perfumery, Bills of Fare for every month, and many other things peculiar to the Fair Sex." He announces that the title-page is to be ornamented with "the portrait of the Queen in copper," "which," he says, "I am promised shall be (and I hope now is) very well performed." The portrait, which appears on the title-page of the almanac for 1707, would hardly seem to realize the expectations of the writer.

The title of the almanac in this volume is, "The Ladies' Diary, or the Women's Almanack, for the Year of our Lord 1707. Being the Third Year after the Leap Year. Containing many Delightful and Entertaining Particulars, peculiarly adapted for the Use and Diversion of The FAIR-SEX. Being the Fourth Almanack ever Publish'd of that kind." The remainder of the page is occupied by the portrait of Queen Anne, "in copper," around which are the following adulatory lines:—

- “1. Thy Sacred Head encircling Glories bind,
Thou loveli'st Pattern of the Charming kind.
2. Fate has already writ thy Wond'rous Name
The foremost *Heroin* in the Rolls of Fame.
3. And of thy Praise all Europe loudly Rings,
Greatest of WOMEN, and the best of QUEENS.
4. Oh, mighty ANNE! so Great is grown thy NAME
It doth so *cram* and *stretch* the Mouth of *Fame*,
'That when around th' Impetuous Blast is hurl'd,
It stuns BELIEF, and doth *Amaze* the WORLD!"

Immediately following the title-page is an address "to the Charming Fair," and on the opposite page a brief chronology of famous women, exhibiting a curious selection of names from sacred and profane history, as the list includes Eve, Semiramis, Deborah, Helena, Penelope, Jephthah's daughter, Delilah, the Queen of Sheba, Susannah, Judith, Esther, Lucretia, Sappho, Cleopatra, Roxana, Boadicea, the Lady Godiva, Queen Elizabeth, and Queen Anne.

This table would appear to have been inserted at the instance of Mr. Wanley; as Tipper, in a letter written in July, 1704, in reference to the preparation of the second number of the diary, says, "I shall fill one page with a Chronology of famous women, according to your directions last year." He goes on to give the names which he proposed to mention, and adds to the above list Jael, the Virgin Mary, and Lot's wife, from Scripture history. He says, however, "The ages of Susannah and Judith, and of the rest that follow (except the two last Queens), I cannot yet find out."

The Chronological Table is followed by an explanation of the nature of an eclipse of the moon; the calendar-pages; receipts for preserving, candying, and conserving, and, in the words of the author, "to keep things good a long time."

The second part contains a continuation of the History of Famous Women; the lives of Boadicea, Queen Elizabeth, and Queen Anne being given in this number. Of the last sovereign it is said, that "Her Reign has been little else than a continual series of the successes of her Fleets and Armies, or else perpetual Instances of her amazing Goodness." . . . The writer asks, "When shall our wonder cease? when will this inimitable Pattern of more than humane Goodness give us a Moment's Respite from our Admiration?"

Then follows an account of a "Short Entertainment performed by the *Blew-Coat Boys* of Babbelake Hospital in Coventry," under the author's charge, on the day of thanksgiving for victories in Flanders and Spain, which is in the

same strain of panegyric as the preceding eulogium. In the course of the performance, one of the boys apostrophizes the queen thus:—

“To speak thy Worth, to celebrate thy Praise,
Is Work for Laureats, not for Blew-Coat Boys.”

The almanac concludes with several enigmas, and an account of the ages, &c., of the crowned heads of Europe.

The titles of the other almanacs in this volume are as follows:—

2. 1707. *Apollo Anglicanus: The English Apollo.* . . With . . a Twofold Kalendar, viz. Julian or English, and Gregorian or Foreign Computations . . . By Richard Saunder, Student in the Physical and Mathematical Sciences. London, printed by J. Wilde for the Company of Stationers, 1707.

3. *Remarkable News from the Stars: or, an Ephemeris for the Year 1707* . . . By William Andrews, Student in Astrology . . . London, printed by J. Wilde for the Company of Stationers, 1707.

4. ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΣ: or, a Diary (Astronomical, Astrological, Meteorological) for the Year of our Lord, 1707 . . . By Job Gadbvry, Student in Physick and Astrologie . . . London, printed by T. W. for the Company of Stationers, 1707.

5. *Angelus Britannicus.* An Ephemeris for the Year of our Redemption 1707. . . . By John Tanner, Student in Physic and Astrology. The One and Fiftieth Impression. . . . London, printed by R. Janeway for the Company of Stationers.

6. *Vox Stellarum.* Being an Almanack for the Year of Human Redemption 1707. . . . By Francis Moore, Licens'd Physician, and Student in Astrology. . . . London, printed by T. Hodgkin for the Company of Stationers, 1707.

7. *Merlinus Anglicus Junior: or, the Starry Messenger for the Year of our Redemption 1707.* . . . By Henry Coley, Student in the Mathematicks and the Cœlestial Science. London, printed by Eleanor Everingham for the Company of Stationers, 1707.

8. *Astrologus Britannicus: or, an Almanack for the Year of our Redemption, 1707.* . . . By Richard Gibson, Student in Astrology. . . . London, printed by Thomas Wilmer for the Company of Stationers, 1707.

9. *Merlinus Liberatus*: Being an Almanack for the Year of our Blessed Saviour's Incarnation, 1707. . . . By John Partridge, Student in Physick and Astrology at the *Blue Ball* in *Salisbury Street* in the *Strand*, London. . . . London, printed by Mary Roberts for the Company of Stationers.

10. *Poor Robin*, 1707. An Almanack of the Old and New Fashion. . . . Containing a Two-Fold Calendar. *Viz.*: The Old, Honest, Julian, or English Account, and the Round-heads, Whimzèy-heads, Maggot-heads, Paper-scul'd, Slender-witted, Shallow-brain'd, Muggletonian, or Fanatick Account, with their several Saints Days, &c. . . . Written by Poor Robin, Knight of the Burnt Island, a Well-willer to the Mathematicks. The Five and Fortieth Impression. . . . London: printed by W. Bowyer for the Company of Stationers, 1707.

11. *The English Chapman's and Traveller's Almanack* for the Year of Christ, 1707. London, printed by Tho. James for the Company of Stationers, 1707.

12. *Pond*.* An Almanack for the Year of our Lord God 1707. . . . Cambridge. Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1707.

13. ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ ΔΕΪΜΑΤΑ, or, an Almanack for the Year of our Lord God 1707. . . . By John Wing, Mathemat. Cambridge, Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1707.

14. *Dove. Speculum Anni*, or, an Almanack for the Year of our Lord God 1707. . . . Cambridge, printed for the Company of Stationers, 1707.

Of these almanacs, the "Apollo Anglicanus" alone has a double calendar, giving the day of the month in accordance with both the Julian and Gregorian styles. "Poor Robin" directs the shafts of his ridicule against the "Roundheads," and places opposite to the "red-letter days" of the Gregorian Calendar, near the date of their death, the names of prominent members of the Parliamentary party during the civil war, as the "saints" of this party. Among these we find "Leveling Ludlow," Miles Corbet, "Mewson the Cobler," Muggleton, "Nose Oliver," Bradshaw, Harrison, Cook, Adrian Scroop, Rainsborough, and Ireton.

* Pond's Almanac was published as early as 1610.

Partridge's Almanac, "Merlinus Liberatus," on the other hand, distinguishes the year as "the Eighteenth of our Deliverance by K. William from Popery and Arbitrary Government: but the Eleventh from the Horrid Popish Jacobite Plot. In which is contained things fitting for such a Work." . . . "With some Advice to the *Jacobite* Conjuror, that put *Perkin* in among the Royal Family, and called him P. of Wales."

The astrological predictions, which occupy a considerable space in most of the almanacs of this year, show the great influence which the occult science still retained in the popular mind; and the following extracts would almost seem to have reference to our own times.

Gibson, in his "Astrologus Britannicus," says, "The three Superior Planets are in friendly Aspect to each other, and there is a great *Concilium* in the Eleventh House, the House of Hope and Friendship; this will (no doubt) make a noise of Trucing and Treating for Peace and Pacification, but with what Sincerity and Success, we can't well Divine; we wish it may be such as our Enemies get no advantage by, for the Eclipse is in Conjunction with old *Chronus*, Lord of the Seventh House, and therefore Significatour of our publick Enemies, who are here represented implacable and mischievous, tho' now (being necessitated) they put on the Mask of Friendship. Let care be taken that we suffer no surprize of Ships in a Road or Harbour; but rather let us endeavour that Disgrace to our Enemies."

Tanner's "Angelus Britannicus" contains the following: "It is to be observed that these Configurations are celebrated in the Houses of Mercury, and he newly direct, as fitted for Action, which probably may stir up a busy sort of Men, in contriving Plots, false and scandalous Libels to disturb the State, corrupting the minds of the unwary, and, as much as in them lies, to distract the well-meaning; all carried on by Projects of Peace and fair Pretences, to cover dangerous and pernicious Designs. And probably we may hear of some

Overtures from foreign Parts, and all good Men would gladly hear and accept of a Peace, in a ripe and due Season, firm and well grounded; but not precipitately, till Matters are so well concerted and firmly grounded, that the grand Disturber of Europe have no more power left him to disturb his peaceable Neighbours."

Mr. NORTON, in communicating extracts from an Orderly Book of the Revolutionary Army, remarked as follows: —

In February last, a large collection of books, and a few manuscripts, autographs, pictures, engravings, and coins, were advertised for sale by auction in Washington. It was announced, that a considerable number of the books had belonged to Washington, and contained his book-plate. This announcement excited both interest and suspicion: for it was well known that the larger part of Washington's library was in possession of the Boston Athenæum; while the larger part of the remainder of it, probably, still belonged to his collateral descendants. The books advertised, moreover, did not correspond with what was known of the books that had formed part of his library. It was thought advisable, however, by the Trustees of the Athenæum, that the Librarian of that institution should attend the sale, and should secure whatever genuine memorials of Washington, if any, might be obtained at it.

On an examination of the books, Mr. Poole, the Librarian, discovered that the claim made for the books, of having once belonged to Washington, was wholly unsupported by evidence; that the book-plate in many of the volumes, bearing the name George Washington, and the well-known motto, *Exitus acta probat*, was a poor and fraudulent copy of the genuine book-plate; and that the attempt to pass these books off as having formed part of Washington's library was apparently a deliberate and elaborate attempt to cheat the purchasers and the public. Mr. Poole and other experts

exposed the fraud at the sale, and the books sold at low prices, — for about what they were intrinsically worth.

But there were on the catalogue some articles of real interest and of genuine character. One of them was an Orderly Book of the Revolutionary Army, embracing the period from 18th May to June 11, inclusive, 1778. This was purchased by Mr. Poole for the Athenæum. It contains nothing of great historic importance; but it affords some interesting illustrations of the nature of the Revolutionary Army, and the character of its commanding general. The first order in the book is the publication to the army of the resolutions that had been adopted in Congress on the 15th of May; * according to which, officers were to receive half-pay for seven years after the war, and non-commissioned officers and privates eighty dollars each. It is well known that Congress had looked with jealousy on the establishment of a half-pay system; and that these resolutions, the result of a sort of compromise, had been passed only after long debates. On the same day on which these resolutions were published to the army, Washington, who had had the matter very much at heart, wrote to Gouverneur Morris concerning them, dating from Valley Forge: "Your favor of the 15th instant gave me singular pleasure. I thank you for the agreeable intelligence it contains, which, though not equal to my wishes, exceeded my expectations." † And to the President of Congress he wrote on the same day: —

"SIR, — I shall announce the resolution of the 15th to the army; and would flatter myself it will quiet, in a great measure, the uneasinesses which have been so extremely distressing, and prevent resignations which had proceeded, and were likely to be at such a height as to destroy our whole military system. It has experienced no inconsiderable shock, particularly in the line of some States, from the loss of several very valuable officers." ‡

* The date in the Orderly Book is, by mistake, May 1.

† Sparks's Writings of Washington, v. 370. — See also p. 384. ‡ Ibid., v. 373.

Washington published the resolutions to the army in the following words: "The Commander-in-chief has the pleasure to inform the army, that the Honorable Congress have been pleased to come to the following resolutions."

The Orderly Book contains the records of many court-martials. The following report is interesting, from the vigor of Washington's remarks on the vice of gaming, and on the sentence of the court: —

"At a brigade court-martial, whereof Lieutenant-Colonel Crapper was President, Captain Edward Hull of the Fifteenth Virginia Regiment, tried for gaming when he ought to have been on the parade, the 12th instant, unanimously found guilty of that part of the charge exhibited against him relating to gaming, but acquitted of non-attendance on the parade, and sentenced to be reprimanded by the commanding officer of the brigade in the presence of all the officers thereof.

"At the same court, Lieutenant Thomas Lewis of the same regiment, tried upon a similar charge, found guilty, and sentenced the same as Captain Hull.

"The Commander-in-chief, however unwilling to dissent from the judgment of a court-martial, is obliged utterly to disapprove these sentences; the punishment being, in his opinion, entirely inadequate to the offence. A practice so pernicious in itself as that of gaming, so prejudicial to good order and military discipline, so contrary to positive and repeated general orders, carried to so enormous a height as it appears, and aggravated — certainly in the case of Lieutenant Lewis — by an additional offence of no trifling military consequence, — absence from parade, — demanded a much severer penalty than simply a reprimand.

"Captain Hull and Lieutenant Lewis are to be released from arrest."

Under date of 26th May occurs the following order: —

"A sub-sergeant, corporal, and eight men, with the commissary from each brigade, are to be sent immediately into the vicinity of their respective brigades to seize the liquors they may find in the unlicensed tippling-houses. The commissaries will give receipts for the liquors they shall seize, and notify the inhabitants, or persons living in the vicinity of camp, that an unconditional seizure will be made of all liquors they shall presume to sell in future."

Here is another order, relating to the sanitary condition of the camp : —

“ Officers are to see that the mud-plastering around the huts be removed, and every other method taken to render them as airy as possible : they will also have the powder of a musket cartridge burnt in each hut daily, to purify the air ; or a little tar, if it can be procured.” *

Flogging was a punishment frequently inflicted upon soldiers convicted before a court-martial. On 29th May, for example, William Whiteman, wagoner, was convicted of desertion, and sentenced to receive sixty lashes ; and John Clime was sentenced to receive two hundred lashes for desertion, attempting to escape to the enemy, and for stealing a horse.

Toward the end of May, and at the beginning of June, numerous orders appear, directed to getting the army into condition for a rapid march, and change of camp, — orders relating to the sick ; to the supplies of stores, equipage, and transportation ; to the order of march, of which the “ standing model ” is given at great length.

On the 3d June, “ Thomas Shanks, on full conviction of his being a spy in the service of the enemy, before a board of general officers, held yesterday, by order of the Commander-in-chief, is adjudged worthy of death : he is therefore to be hanged to-morrow morning at guard-mounting, at some convenient place near the grand parade.”

On the 7th June, the resolves of Congress respecting the establishment of the American Army, passed on the 27th and 29th May and 2d June, were published to the army, and all officers directed “ to be careful to make themselves well acquainted with the establishment, and govern themselves accordingly.”

* In Sparks's Writings of Washington, v. 524, is an extract from the Orderly Book, of Dec. 18, 1777, concerning the construction of the huts at Valley Forge. The sides were to be “ made tight with clay.”

On the 29th May, Washington had written to President Laurens: —

“I sincerely wish the military arrangement to be completed. The delay is attended with great inconvenience and injury. While it remains open, our whole system cannot but be imperfect. I know that Congress have a variety of important matters to call their attention; but, I assure you, there are few, if any, more interesting than this.” — *Sparks's Writings of Washington*, v. 384.

On the 11th June, the following order was published: —

“Some misunderstanding, and mistakes in consequence, having arisen with respect to the major-generals' commands, the Commander-in-chief directs, that till a more perfect arrangement can be made under the new establishment, or till further orders on this head, each major-general is to command the division heretofore assigned him previous to the late disposition for a march; but in case of an alarm, or any other general movement of the army, the three oldest major-generals present, and fit for duty, are, during the occasion, to command the right and left wings and second line of the army, agreeable to the general order of the 23d of May last.”

This order seems to have occasioned some dissatisfaction; and General Charles Lee addressed a remonstrance against it to Washington. Washington's reply to Lee, and defence of the order as “the best that circumstances will admit of,” is to be found in *Sparks's Writings of Washington*, v. 404.

The Orderly Book from which the foregoing extracts have been taken contains seventy-nine pages, and its contents are in various handwritings.

It is desirable that a list of the existing Orderly Books of the Revolution should be made; and that their present owners' names should be recorded, as an assistance to students of the military system, discipline, and movements of that period.

Mr. Norton also read, and offered for the use of the Society, an original letter of General Washington: —

MIDDLE BROOK June 23^d: 1777.

DEAR SIR, Your favors of the 12th and 18th Inst. are both before me; and, on two accounts have given me concern, first, because I much wish'd to see you at the head of the Cavalry, and secondly by refusing of it, my arrangements have been a good deal disconcerted. As your motives for refusing the appointment are, no doubt, satisfactory to yourself, and your determination fixed, it is unnecessary to enter upon a discussion of the point — I can only add, I wish it had been otherwise, especially as I flatter myself that my last would convince you, that you still held the same place in my affection that you ever did. If Inclination, or a desire of rendering those aids to the Service which your abilities enable you to do, sh^d lead you to the Camp, it is unnecessary for me, I hope, to add, that I should be extremely happy in seeing you one of my Family whilst you remain in it.

The late Coalition of Parties in Pennsylvania is a most fortunate Circumstance; that, and the spirited manner in which the Militia of this State turned out upon the late Manceuvre of the Enemy, has, in my opinion, given a greater shock to the Enemy than any Event which has happend in the course of this dispute, because it was altogether unexpected, and gave the decisive stroke to their enterprize on Philadelphia.

The hint you have given respecting the Compliment due to the Executive powers of Pennsylvania I thank you for, but can assure you I gave General Mifflin no direction respecting the Militia that I did not conceive, nay that I had not been told, by Congress, he was vested with before; for you must know that Genl. Mifflin at the particular Instance, and by a resolve of Congress, had been detained from his duty in this Camp near a month to be in readiness to draw out the Militia if occasion should require it, & only got here the day before I received such Intelligence as convinced me that the Enemy were upon the point of moving; in consequence of which I requested him to return, and without defining his duty, desired he would use his utmost endeavours to carry the design'd opposition into effect; conceiving that a previous plan had been laid by Congress, or the State of Pens^a, so far as respected the mode of drawing the Militia out. The action of them afterward, circumstances alone could direct, I did not pretend to give any order about it.

It gives me pleasure to learn from your Letter that the reasons assigned by me to Genl. Arnold for not attacking the Enemy in their

situation between the Raritan & Milestone met with the approbation of those who were acquainted with them. We have some among us, — & I dare say Generals, — who wish to make themselves popular at the expence of others; or, who think the cause is not to be advanc'd otherwise than by fighting — the peculiar circumstances under which it is to be done, and the consequences which may follow, are objects too trivial for their attention, — but as I have one great end in view, I shall, maugre all the strokes of this kind, steadily pursue the means which, in my judgment, leads to the accomplishment of it, not doubting but that the candid part of mankind, if they are convinc'd of my integrity, will make proper allowances for my inexperience, and frailties. I will agree to be loaded with all the obloquy they can bestow, if I commit a wilful error.

If General Howe has not manœuvred much deeper than most people seem disposed to think him capable of, his army is absolutely gone off panic struck; but as I cannot persuade myself into a belief of the latter, notwithstanding it is the prevailing opinion of my officers, I cannot say that the move I am about to make towards Amboy accords altogether with my opinion, not that I am under any other apprehension than that of being obliged to lose ground again, which would indeed be no small misfortune, as the spirits of our Troops, & the Country, is greatly reviv'd, and (I presume) the Enemy's not a little depress'd, by their late retrograde motions.

By some late accounts, I fancy the British Grenadiers got a pretty severe peppering yesterday by Morgan's Rifle Corps — they fought, it seems, a considerable time within the distance of from twenty, to forty yards; and from the concurring accounts of several of the officers, more than an hundred of them must have fallen.

Had not there been some mistake in point of time for marching the several Brigades that were ordered upon that Service, & particularly in delivering an Order to Genl. Varnum, I believe the Rear of Genl. Howe's Troops might have been a little rougher handled than they were, or if an Express who was sent to Genl. Maxwell the Evening before had reached him in time, to co-operate upon the Enemy's flank, for which purpose he was sent down the day before with a respectable force, very good consequences might have resulted from it; however it is too late to remedy these mistakes now, & my paper tells me I can add no more than to assure you that I am

Dr Sir, Yr. affect.

. G°: WASHINGTON.

JULY MEETING.

The chair was taken at eleven o'clock, A.M., this day, Thursday, July 9, by the President; but, no quorum being present, the meeting was adjourned.

Donations were recorded for the last month from the American Antiquarian Society; the American Philological Society; the Chicago Historical Society; the Essex Institute; the Library of Congress; the Mercantile-Library Association of New York; the New-England Loyal Publication Society; the publisher of the "Farmer and Gardener;" the State Library of Vermont; Mr. George Arnold; George P. Bradford, Esq.; Mr. Deloraine P. Corey; John F. Eliot, Esq.; Clement H. Hill, Esq.; Major L. A. H. Latour; Rev. William S. Perry; Hon. Henry Wilson; Mr. John Wilson, jun.; and from Messrs. Amory, Deane, Livermore, Robbins (C.), and Webb, of the Society.

AUGUST MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Aug. 13, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the Chicago Historical Society; the Emancipation League; the Es-

sex Institute; the Indiana Asbury University; the New-England Loyal Publication Society; the City of Roxbury; Mr. George Arnold; Mr. John Harvard Ellis; Clement H. Hill, Esq.; Mr. Hamilton Hill; Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq.; Mr. Arthur Lincoln; Rev. Edwin M. Stone; J. W. Thornton, Esq.; Mr. William P. Upham; Nathaniel Willis, Esq.; Hon. Henry Wilson; and from Messrs. Deane, Holmes, Robbins (C.), Saltonstall, Thomas, Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society..

A letter of acceptance was read from George Grote, Esq., of England, recently elected an Honorary Member.

The President announced the death of the Hon. John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky; remarking as follows:—

It may not have been forgotten, that, at our February meeting in 1859, the Hon. John J. Crittenden was unanimously chosen an Honorary Member of this Society. He was not elected, I need hardly say, on account of any peculiar claims which he was supposed to possess, either as a writer or as a student of history. He was known to some of us, indeed, who had been associated with him elsewhere, as being more than commonly familiar with the early as well as with the later history of our own land; and as having a strong taste, and even an eager relish, for the peculiarities and quaintnesses of the early history of New England in particular. But his name was selected for a place on our Honorary Roll on far different grounds. He was recognized as one of the few veteran statesmen, then left in our national councils, whose name had become identified with the honor and welfare of the American Union, and whose character and fame were destined to be among the treasures of our national history; and now that we are called to part with that name,

not only from our own roll, but from all its associations with earthly dignities and duties, we feel that we were not mistaken in our estimate of its historical significance.

Mr. Crittenden died at his residence in Frankfort, Ky., on the 25th of July last, at the advanced age of seventy-seven years. Entering into the service of his country as a volunteer soldier in the war of 1812, his life, for more than half a century past, has been a continued record of public employment and patriotic effort. In the Legislature of his native State, and more recently as its governor; as a member of the Senate of the United States, in which he first took his seat forty-six years ago; as a member of the cabinet of more than one president; and, finally, as a representative in Congress,—an office which, like our own Adams, he felt it no compromise of his dignity to accept and hold as the closing honor of his life,—he was everywhere distinguished, admired, respected, and beloved. Whatever differences of opinion may from time to time have been entertained as to any particular measures which he proposed, or advocated, his patriotism was never doubted, nor his devoted and disinterested fidelity to his conscience and his country ever impeached.

In the sad struggles which have grown out of the present unholy Rebellion, he was called on to play a part of no doubtful or secondary importance. Whether the precise measure of adjustment which he proposed, in order to arrest the unnatural blow which was aimed at the American Union, ought to have been or could have been adopted, and how far it would have been successful in accomplishing its object if it had been adopted, are questions on which there will never, probably, be a perfect unanimity of opinion. But the name of Mr. Crittenden will not the less proudly be associated, in all time to come, with an honest, earnest, and strenuous effort to avert the dread calamities of civil war, and to preserve unbroken the union and domestic peace of his beloved country.

As the leading statesman of the Border States, his course was full of delicacy and difficulty. It is hardly too much to say, that had he failed or faltered in sustaining the cause of the Government and of the Union, or had he sustained it on any other grounds or in any other way than he did, the State of Kentucky might have been lost to that cause. Nor can any one doubt that the loyal and noble attitude of that honored commonwealth at the present hour, on which the best hopes of the Union may even now hang, is, in a large degree, owing to his powerful influence, his inspiring appeals, and his unwavering patriotism.

This is not the occasion for speaking of the personal qualities which so endeared Mr. Crittenden to his friends, and which made friends for him of all who knew him. Others have possessed faculties more adapted for commanding and enforcing a compliance with their wishes, their ambition, or their will; but no one of our day or generation, certainly, had more of that magnetic attraction which secured the willing sympathy, confidence, and co-operation of all within its reach. The charm of his manner, the cordiality and generosity of his whole nature, the music of his voice, and the magic power of his eloquence, as well in conversation as in formal discourse, will be among the lasting traditions of the circles in which he moved; and his death will be long felt, not only as a great public loss at such a period of his country's need, but as a personal sorrow to all who have enjoyed the privilege of his friendship.

SEPTEMBER MEETING.

The Society held a stated monthly meeting, this day, Thursday, Sept. 10, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

Donations were announced from the New-England Loyal Publication Society; the New-Hampshire Historical Society; the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History; W. T. Coggeshall, Esq.; Hon. Henry W. Cushman; Rev. S. Hopkins Emery; Clement H. Hill, Esq.; James Lenox, Esq.; Allen Tenny, Esq.; Hon. Henry Wilson; and from Messrs. Bartlet, Metcalf, Norton, Robbins (C.), Saltonstall, Webb, Whitney, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President announced the death of Hon. Luther Bradish, President of the New-York Historical Society, in the following terms:—

During the last week, gentlemen, on a visit to Newport, I had the melancholy satisfaction of representing this Society at the funeral of the late Luther Bradish, of New York.

Mr. Bradish was chosen one of our Honorary Members in March last. He was a native of Massachusetts; having been born at Cummington, in the county of Hampshire, on the 15th of September, 1783. Had he lived a fortnight longer, he would thus have completed his eightieth year. He had rendered valuable services to his adopted State of New York as Representative in her Legislature, and as the President of her Senate while holding the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the State. He had rendered important service to the whole country also by a semi-official tour in the East, during

the administration of Mr. John Quincy Adams, for the purpose of collecting information as to the trade of the Mediterranean, and of facilitating the establishment of commercial regulations with the Sublime Porte.

He was more recently known to us, however, by his multiplied relations to some of the most interesting and important associations of New York and of the Union. He was, for many years, among the most active officers of the American Bible Society; and, having succeeded the late excellent Theodore Frelinghuysen, was its president at the time of his death. He succeeded the late Hon. Albert Gallatin also as President of the Historical Society of New York. I was more than once a gratified witness of his felicity in presiding at the public meetings and festivals of this latter society; and can easily understand the feelings unanimously entertained by its members, that his place can hardly be supplied. He was a gentleman of the old school; somewhat precise and formal in his manners, yet of a blended courtesy and dignity which won the regard and respect of all around him. I am sure we shall all desire to express our sympathy with our sister society in their loss; and, with the leave of our Standing Committee, I venture to submit the following resolution:—

Resolved by the Massachusetts Historical Society, That we respectfully tender our sincere sympathy to the officers and members of the Historical Society of New York in the loss they have sustained by the death of their venerable President, the Hon. Luther Bradish, LL.D., a Christian gentleman of large and varied accomplishments and usefulness; whose courtesy and dignity had won for him the esteem and respect of all who knew him, and whose name we had been proud to inscribe on our Honorary Roll.

Mr. FOLSOM gave some interesting reminiscences of his acquaintance with Mr. Bradish in the earlier part of his public career.

The President presented, on behalf of William Appleton, Esq., a volume, chiefly in manuscript, entitled "Journal de Castorland, — Relation du Voyage et des Etablissements des Emigrés Français dans l'Amérique Septentrionale," &c., 1793-1796. .

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Appleton for this acceptable donation.

Dr. WEBB, having referred to a paper read to the Society at a former meeting, on the question, "Whether Washington was a Marshal of France," made the following communication : —

Mr. PRESIDENT, — It will be recollected, that, some time since,* a very interesting paper was read before this Society by our associate, Judge Warren, among other matters, on the question, "Whether Washington was a Marshal of France."

The careful investigation instituted led him to a negative decision of the inquiry. Most of those who had the privilege of hearing the paper read, or who subsequently perused it, assented to the justness of the conclusion arrived at. Yet, in the minds of some, a lingering doubt still remains, whether Washington was not virtually, if not actually, a marshal; and this, too, notwithstanding the statement of the great man himself, in a letter from which an extract is given by Mr. Sparks,† and to which reference is made by Judge Warren.

About the time alluded to, I was in correspondence with a gentleman resident in the interior of the State of New York, who takes a lively interest in every thing which pertains to our Revolutionary history, and who has enjoyed peculiar advantages for gratifying his taste. In one of his letters, he

* At a special meeting held Jan. 20, 1859. — See "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society," 1858-1860, pp. 153, 154.

† Sparks's "Writings of Washington," vol. ix. p. 89, note : "I am not a Marshal of France;" Jan. 31, 1785.

related a reminiscence respecting the marshalship referred to. My absence soon after prevented my presenting, and the subsequent long absence of Judge Warren induced me to withhold offering, the letter here. It has since, for various reasons, remained on my file, unused. Whether intrinsically of much value or not, it seems to me sufficiently curious to be worthy of a passing notice; and I therefore propose now to submit it for consideration. It is the recital of part of a colloquy that occurred between my informant and an intimate friend. It is headed, "Recollections of George Washington Fleming." The portion to which I wish to call attention is as follows:—

"Benjamin Franklin was a great man," said Fleming, one evening, when we had been conversing upon the respective abilities of the diplomatic agents of the Revolution. "Was you aware that he was the greatest man this country ever produced? His forethought was absolutely astonishing: it was his great talent. If you read his letters to Congress, or to the Governments, and the ministers he had to deal with, you will be surprised at the readiness and ease with which he touches every possible event or contingency which could arise from the matter under discussion. It was this power of his which commanded the highest respect, as his plainness and sincerity won the good feelings, of all classes of men, and of women too. Read that Letter to Rosencrone, the Danish prime-minister, in the 'Diplomatic Correspondence.'* But among its most signal exhibitions was one not

* See "The Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution," edited by Jared Sparks, vol. iv. pp. 97 and 98. This letter is in acknowledgment of one from M. Rosencrone, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Denmark, to M. de Walterstorff, recommending him, during his stay at Paris, to gain as much as possible the confidence and esteem of Mr. Franklin; and advising, that it will be for the general interest of the two States (Denmark and the United States) to form, as soon as possible, reciprocal connections of friendship and commerce.

Franklin expresses a hope, that a long and happy friendship may be secured; and observes, —

"To smooth the way for obtaining this desirable end, as well as to comply with

told in any history or biography that I have ever seen. It is, nevertheless, true; for I have it direct from one who knew the facts.

“When the French Army, under Count Rochambeau, was encamped near Newport, R.I., they extended frequent courtesies to the officers of the American forces encamped near them, which were returned as well as circumstances would admit. They were proud, showy, brilliant in their gaudy uniforms and burnished arms; while the poor, half-paid, badly fed, and worse clothed patriots made a sorry contrast by their side. Still there was much good feeling; and the French endeavored to bring themselves down to the level of their allies in all social matters. But they could not, at times, repress the sentiments which they really entertained; and, while they always expressed the most cordial good-will, they at no time hesitated to declare, that they never could serve under an American general. The allies would have to act together, but under the command of French generals.

“‘What!’ they would exclaim, ‘a marshal of France subaltern to an American buck-tail general!’ *They* would not suffer it, even if their commandant would do so. Rochambeau alone must command them, or they could not fight. Washington must assist the marshal.

“The feelings of the patriots were stung at this expression of untimely vanity; but they suppressed them for the good of the cause they were engaged in, and trusted to the tried

my duty, it becomes necessary for me, on this occasion, to mention to your excellency the affair of our three prizes, which having, during the war, entered Bergen as a neutral and friendly port, where they might repair the damages they had suffered, and procure provisions, were, by an order of your predecessor, in the office you so honorably fill, violently seized, and delivered to our enemies. I am inclined to think it was a hasty act, procured by the importunities and misrepresentations of the British minister; and that your Government could not, on reflection, approve of it. But the injury was done; and I flatter myself your excellency will think, with me, that it ought to be repaired. The means and manner I beg leave to recommend to your consideration.”

judgment of their great and good commander to solve the dilemma. Washington, at his headquarters on the Hudson, had heard of these things; and they cast a shadow over his spirits. He revolved in his mind a thousand plans to avoid a fatal difficulty which he saw so surely approaching. He conferred with his confidential advisers; but no way could be devised to prevent the disgust and dissatisfaction, if not the entire demoralization, of one or both of the allied forces, whenever a junction of the two should be effected.

“At length, both armies were brought together on the Hudson, near King’s Bridge. The moment had arrived for the catastrophe. Both bodies were encamped in the romantic and beautiful Valley of the Neperan,—the French on the eastern, and the American on the western bank. On the second or third day after their junction, the French commander requested Washington to parade his troops, while he did the same by his own; and the two armies stood in the presence of each other, awaiting some announcement from Count Rochambeau. Washington was sitting on his horse, in front of his troops, surrounded by his staff; when, with much flourish and formality, the Count, with his magnificent suite, took a position opposite to him, in front of the French lines. The Count then announced that he was the bearer of a sealed packet, delivered to him by his king, which he was instructed to open and read in the presence of both armies on the first occasion in which the allies should be brought together. He then directed his aid to break the seal, and read the contents. It was a commission from the French king, appointing George Washington a Marshal of France. At this announcement, a loud congratulation burst from the French lines, which was repeated again and again from the American. The aid proceeded with the reading, and announced the date, which was *one year senior* to the date of Count Rochambeau’s commission. The French were silent: a momentary chagrin or disappointment flitted over their national

vanity. The Count was surprised; but in an instant, spurring forward his horse, he drew his sword, and gave Washington the salute due to his superior rank; while the French army, without command, presented arms, and sent forth such a shout as was worthy of the Commander-in-chief of the armies of France and America.

"It was the forethought of Franklin which had provided for this emergency. He had seen it, and prepared for it. No one but Franklin could have seen it. And this was the manner in which he shaped and controlled events, — without effort, and without special notoriety, which he always shunned."

The person who, Fleming states, was present, and cognizant of the facts by him set forth, and communicated them to him, was his own father. Of these two individuals, my correspondent furnishes the following brief, off-hand, but significant sketch, *multum in parvo*: —

"George Fleming came a lad to New York; was clerk to a French grocery-man, by which means he learned the language. He was gentlemanly and agreeable, as well as popular. He raised a company in 1775; was commissioned captain, and attached to Colonel Lamb's celebrated regiment of artillery, called 'Washington's Own.' He was chosen by the general as his military secretary; and afterwards transferred to Lafayette, because he understood French. He was first commandant at West Point; married an orphan, like himself, without a relative; became surveyor of military lands in Cayuga County; lived at Auburn; had two children, — Henry and George Washington.

"The latter, in whom alone we are now particularly interested, graduated in Gerrit Smith's class, at Hamilton College. He was district attorney at the age of twenty-three, and tried the alleged murderers of Morgan, the Mason; was a senator at twenty-four; a confirmed drunkard at twenty-six; and died in a fit of intoxication, ten years ago (about

1850), the last of his race. He was a brilliant and able lawyer, a profound scholar, a deep and subtle thinker, and is said to have been gifted with the most extraordinary intellect possessed by any one in his section of the Empire State."

My informant concludes: "He was my intimate friend; and has poured his rich conversation into my ear, full many a time, till the morning dawned."

Mr. TORREY* remarked that Mr. Fleming's account of the scene at King's Bridge implies — (1) That, on that occasion, the supposed superiority of Washington to Rochambeau, in military rank, was first made public; (2) That the date of Washington's commission, as Marshal of France, gave him rank above Rochambeau, who is apparently assumed to have been, at that time, himself a Marshal; (3) That serious misunderstandings and disagreements had arisen between the French and Americans. He proceeded: —

Contemporary documents† prove that it was already believed at Newport (in March, 1781) that Washington had either received a commission from the King of France, or that orders had been given to render him such honors as Rochambeau had no title to. The junction of the two armies at King's Bridge was of later date than this.

It was not necessary that Washington's commission as Marshal should be dated so early, that he might outrank Rochambeau. Rochambeau, in his Memoirs, calls himself Count or General, but never Marshal, till December, 1791, when he received the *bâton* of Marshal of France (*Mémoires*, i. 391). He had, after his return from America, *previously* exchanged

* These remarks of Prof. Torrey embrace what was said by him at this meeting, with additional references bearing on the question under discussion.

† See remarks of Dr. Webb at the December meeting of this year.

the red ribbon (of the Order of St. Louis) for the blue ribbon (of the Order of St. Esprit), (Mem. i. 320). A list of the Marshals of France may be found in Barthélemy, "La Noblesse en France," pp. 243-262. From this it would appear, that foreigners, not resident in France and not serving in the French armies, were not admitted to that rank. The author expressly affirms, that his list is a complete one. Washington's name is not in it. The badge of a marshal was the *bâton*. Has Washington's *bâton* ever been heard of?

Rochambeau (Mémoires, i. 314) says, that, "in the course of three campaigns, there had been no instance of a sword-stroke or of a brawl between a soldier of the French army and a soldier of the American army." Elsewhere he dwells with justifiable satisfaction on the excellent discipline of his countrymen, but (it is believed) nowhere intimates the existence of grave jealousies and discontents. That, now and then, the usual inactivity and *ennui* of large intervals of a soldier's life, and the radical difference in the nationality, education, and speech of the allies, might have caused a little heart-burning, or even given birth to a petulant taunt, would surprise no one. But Rochambeau's testimony to the general good-will is conclusive, unless we suppose that the pageant at King's Bridge was the cause of it all. If so, it is strange that the Count does not deem so important a ceremony to be worthy of so much as an allusion.

The question would be of no great moment, were it not always wise to check the growth of a myth, even in insignificant matters. But a myth generally presupposes a substratum of fact, of which it is itself the embellishment or perversion. Are we to suppose that the narrative under consideration is made out of the whole cloth? Presumably not, though the second relator was brilliant and bibulous. Yet it would seem to be too late now to ascertain the *quantum* of truth at the core of this tradition. Is it possible that a flower

or two may have been borrowed from what occurred at King's *Ferry*, after the surrender of Yorktown? Rochambeau (i. 309) describes, in the following manner, the junction which then and there took place between the French and Americans: "The general [Washington], wishing to give us a proof of his respect for France, and of his gratitude for her services, made us pass between two lines (*haies*) of his troops, who were clothed, equipped, and armed, for the first time since the Revolution began, partly with stuffs and arms from France, and partly from the spoil of the army of Cornwallis, which the French had generously abandoned to the Americans. While this review continued, the American drums beat the French march, and the re-union of the two armies took place under the most evident signs of mutual satisfaction."

The resemblance is certainly not minute; but the elder Fleming may have innocently transferred some circumstances of the second junction to the first.

OCTOBER MEETING.

The Society held its stated meeting this day, Thursday, Oct. 8, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

Donations were announced from the Connecticut Historical Society; the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York; the Essex Institute; the Mercantile-Library Association of Brooklyn, N.Y.; the New-England Loyal Publication Society; the Redwood Library, Newport, R.I.; William Appleton, Esq.; Mr. George Arnold; Hon. Stephen Fairbanks; Clement H. Hill, Esq.; Melvin Lord, Esq.; Rufus K. Sewall, Esq.; William Winthrop, Esq.; the publishers of the "Farmer

and Gardener;" the publishers of the "Journal of Education," Canada; and from Messrs. Amory, Robbins (C.), Ticknor, and Webb, of the Society.

The President read a letter from William Winthrop, Esq., United-States consul at Malta, presenting to the Society a large number of valuable books: whereupon it was —

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Winthrop for this renewed evidence of his interest in the Society, and the objects to which it is devoted.

The President presented, on behalf of William Appleton, Esq., an instrument executed by Louis, Duke of Orleans, dated July 2, 1405. The following is a description of the instrument, drawn up by Dr. Appleton, the Assistant Librarian of the Society: —

This instrument appears to be an *amortissement*, executed by Louis, Duke of Orleans, in favor of the community of Celestines, at Sens; and is dated July 2, 1405.

Louis was the youngest son of Charles V., King of France; and was born March 13, 1371. His brother (Charles VI.) created him Duke of Touraine, and Count of Angoulême, Perigord, and Dreux; and he acquired, by purchase, the counties of Blois, Perche, &c. He was barbarously assassinated in the streets of Paris, Nov. 23, 1407, at the instigation of the Duke of Burgundy; and was interred, with great solemnity, in a chapel which he had erected in the Church of the Celestines, in that city. Various and contradictory accounts of the character of this nobleman are given by contemporary and more recent writers; but in a eulogy delivered after his death, which is given at length in Monstrelet's "Chronicles," he is said to have "founded many

masses and private chapels, doing much service to the church." His portrait, taken from the *effigies* upon his tomb, is given in Johnes's translation of Monstrelet.

His son and successor (Charles, Duke of Orleans, born May 26, 1391) was taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt; and was detained in England for twenty-five years, where he married the widow of King Richard II. Horace Walpole assigns him a place in his "Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors."

The curious seal appended to the document is four inches in diameter. The obverse presents a spirited figure of the duke on horseback, clad in complete armor, with the helmet closed, a drawn sword in his right hand, and a shield upon his left arm, bearing the *fleurs-de-lis*, and the heraldic mark of difference, the label; the surcoat worn over his armor and the caparisons of the horse being *semée* also with *fleurs-de-lis*. A small portion being broken from the edge of the seal, the legend around the circumference is imperfect. In its present condition, it is as follows: S : ludonici regis fran cis aurelian : comitis valesie et bellimōtis super isaram.* The legend, as restored, will probably read: "S[igillum] Ludovici Regis Fran[corum filii Du]cis Aurelian[ensis] Comitis Valesiæ et Bellimontis super Isaram." The background of the seal is divided into lozenge-shaped compartments, containing, alternately, the figure of an eagle displayed, and of a lion's head.

On the reverse of the seal, in a circle one inch and a half in diameter, is an escutcheon bearing the arms and mark of difference, as in the principal figure; the helmet, with the crest and plume; and two eagles as supporters.

The instrument is engrossed on parchment, in a plain court-hand; and, with the exception of the injury to the seal, is in excellent preservation.

The following correspondence relating to the transmission to the Society of the trunk of a white-oak tree, riddled with bullets, from the forest on Wolf Hill, as a memorial of the battle of Gettysburg, was read by the President: —

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, BOSTON, Aug. 22, 1863.

HON. EMORY WASHBURN.

DEAR SIR, — I beg to enclose to you a letter which I have received from Gettysburg, Penn., the writer of which proposes to send to the Historical Society a memorial of the recent battle. I am informed that you are Chairman of the Committee of the Society, which has charge of such matters: and therefore I take the liberty to request that you will cause the within to be answered.

I am very truly and obediently yours,

JOHN A. ANDREW.

GETTYSBURG, PENN., Aug. 7, 1863.

HON. JOHN A. ANDREW, Governor of Massachusetts.

GOVERNOR, — I have selected from the forest upon Wolf Hill, at our breastworks, a trunk of a white-oak tree, fearfully riddled with balls, so as to exhibit the effects of the withering musketry fire in the action of the 2d and 3d of July ult., when the enemy were so terribly repulsed on our right. In that wonderful strife, the Second Massachusetts Regiment bore a conspicuous and honorable part, as the thick graves of its noble dead eloquently attest. This scarred memento I desire to present to the Massachusetts Historical Society; and have it now at the depot of our railroad, ready for shipment. Will you make the necessary arrangements for its transportation to Boston, and advise me of your readiness to receive it? For the life of your brave sons, poured out freely upon our soil, Pennsylvania sends this outgrowth of the life of her soil, eloquent of the dauntless strife and the glorious triumph here achieved.

With sentiments of high regard and esteem, yours truly,

D. M'CONAUGHY.

HISTORICAL ROOMS, BOSTON, Aug. 27, 1863.

DEAR SIR, — Your eloquent and acceptable letter addressed to Governor Andrew has by him been forwarded to the Massachusetts

Historical Society ; in whose behalf I have the honor to communicate the wish, that you would add to the sense of obligation already conferred upon them, by transmitting by express, if no other means offers, the memorial of Gettysburg and its historic days which you have been kind enough to offer for their acceptance.

If directed to the Massachusetts Historical Society, Tremont Street, Boston, I have no doubt it will duly reach its destination.

As I cannot speak authoritatively in the name of the Society, there having been no opportunity for them to act upon the matter, I shall not attempt to express, in such terms as I know they would desire, the grateful acknowledgment that is due for your kindness, and the cordial response with which they would reciprocate the generous and patriotic sentiments with which you proffer this memorial of the great battle in this new war of independence. I hope a more formal recognition of these will be forthcoming when this shall have been added to the valued historic memorials which it is the purpose of this Society to collect and preserve.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

EMORY WASHBURN,
Chairman of Committee, &c.

D. M'CONAUGHY, Esq.

GETTYSBURG, PENN., Sept. 3, 1863.

HON. EMORY WASHBURN,
Chairman Committee Mass. Hist. Society.

DEAR SIR, — Your very kind and gratifying reply of the 27th ult., in reference to the tree from the Gettysburg battle-ground which I desire to present to the Massachusetts Historical Society, has been received.

Through the kindness of the Pennsylvania Railroad and Northern Central Railroad Companies, I am enabled to transport this tree, together with one for the Pennsylvania Historical Society, over these roads in a gondola car, specially appropriated, so as to avoid injury from transshipment. I have the tree now upon the car, and wrapped with tent-cloth ; and will have it manifested, and sent forward to-morrow to Philadelphia, to the care of John A. M'Allister, and John Jordan, jun., Esqs., Committee of the Library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, to whom I send the other tree. I have determined on this course, knowing that, when the tree is delivered at Philadelphia, you can quite conveniently arrange with railroad companies to transport it without change of cars. Will you kindly

communicate with Messrs. M'Allister and Jordan and myself in reference to the mode and time of its transportation? I shall feel a lively interest in being informed of its safe arrival. I shall advise you, should I learn further particulars, as to the participation of your Second Massachusetts Regiment in the fearful struggle which raged about this tree, when the enemy, flushed with success, was driven with great slaughter over and from our breastworks, and completely routed and overwhelmed by the heroic valor of our men of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, and the victory was ours.

Hoping soon to learn of the safe arrival of this historic trunk, one of the dead of our battle, which you are pleased to honorably mention as *the* great battle of this new war of independence, and that it may be the turning struggle from which shall date the downfall of this great Rebellion, I remain

Very truly yours,

D. M'CONAUGHY.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 9, 1863.

SIR, — The trunk of a shell-bark hickory-tree has been sent to my care, for the Massachusetts Historical Society, by D. M'Conaughy, Esq., of Gettysburg; of which I presume he has informed you.

It is in charge of one of our members, who has it under cover until forwarded.

There is a line of steamers plying between our cities, and I would suggest its transport in that way. It may be well to make the arrangement at the office of the steamers in Boston. Whenever directed, I will attend to the delivery of the interesting memorial of *the* great battle of this civil war, on board of the steamer that may then be in port.

The trunk has the scars of upwards of one hundred minie-balls.

I am very respectfully your obedient servant,

JOHN JORDAN, Jun.,
of Committee of Hist. Society of Penn.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 11, 1863.

EMORY WASHBURN, Esq., for Mass. Hist. Society.

DEAR SIR, — Since I wrote to you in relation to the Gettysburg memorial-tree, which is, I find, an *oak* instead of a "shell-bark hickory," as its appearance indicated, it has occurred to me that a casing should be provided, if possible, for its protection against depre-
dations

of curiosity-hunters, whose name is "legion," whilst being transported.

The agent of our Pennsylvania Railroad was obliged to employ a police-officer at the station to prevent the spoliation of the trunk. It has, I believe, a hundred and ten minie-balls in it. I will be glad to have your instructions. The cost would scarcely exceed five dollars, as I am informed.

Very truly,

JOHN JORDAN, Jun.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 19, 1863.

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 12th came duly to hand.

The steamer which sets out for Boston to-day conveys the "tree," properly cased, as I suggested, by one of our associates, who made it a "labor of love," with his own hands.

The Northern Central Railway and the Pennsylvania Railway have made no charges for conveyance from Gettysburg; and Mr. Nicholson, on sending the memorial to the steamer, suggested, that, in view of its unselfish object, none should be made by the agent of this line.

As no bill of lading has been sent to me, I have no doubt the suggestion has been followed.

Both Mr. Nicholson and myself are happy in rendering services of this kind to our sister societies.

I trust you may receive the tree (which is oak, instead of hickory, as I wrote) in the same good order as shipped.

I am very respectfully your obedient servant,

JOHN JORDAN, Jun.,

Chairman Library Committee Hist. Society of Penn.

EMORY WASHBURN, Esq.

BOSTON, Sept. 26, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am happy to inform you that the valued memento of the field of Gettysburg reached its destination in good condition. We owe much to the courtesy of the railroad companies who gratuitously gave it a transit over their roads, to Mr. Jordan and his associates in Philadelphia for their care and trouble in forwarding it, and to the Steamboat Company for a like gratuitous transportation to Boston.

With renewed expressions of obligation to yourself personally on my own part, I have no doubt the Historical Society will, at their

next meeting, add their recognition of the favor you have conferred upon them by your considerate act of kindness.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

EMORY WASHBURN.

D. M'CONAUGHY, Esq., Gettysburg.

BOSTON, Sept. 26, 1863.

DEAR SIR,— I am happy to inform you that the memorial from Gettysburg has safely reached its destination. The agents of the steamer, with the same generosity which characterized the railroad companies in Pennsylvania, made no charge for the transportation. For their courtesies, as well as for your and your associate's kindness and unrequited services in transmitting this interesting token, I feel personally greatly obliged; and have no doubt the Historical Society here, at their next meeting, will adopt some proper expression of a like feeling on their part.

With much respect, I am your obliged and obedient servant,

EMORY WASHBURN,
of the Committee.

P. S.— Are we not indebted to Mr. Nicholson or yourself for moneys expended in forwarding the articles transmitted to us? If we are, I beg of you to let us remit the amount. We shall in any event be greatly his and your debtors.

Truly, &c.,

E. W.

JOHN JORDAN, Jun., Esq.

The following resolutions were then unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Historical Society appreciate the considerate kindness of D. M'Conaughy, Esq., of Gettysburg, in transmitting to them a memorial of one of the fiercest and most eventful battles of the present civil war. It will remind the visitors to the Society's hall of the part which the sons of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, united with the forces of other loyal States, took in that struggle, in which the honor of our country was so nobly vindicated, and its integrity preserved.

Resolved, That this Society recognize the courtesy of those gentlemen of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

who gratuitously forwarded this valuable memorial, availing themselves of the liberality of the managers of the Northern Central Railway and the Pennsylvania Railway, and of the steamship the "Saxon," who generously transported this large and heavy timber, free of charge, from Gettysburg to Boston.

Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to transmit copies of these resolutions to Mr. M'Conaughy and to Mr. Jordan, respectively.

The President noticed, in the following terms, the death of George Sumner, Esq., a Resident Member:—

The death of Mr. George Sumner was announced in the papers of last evening. He was elected a Resident Member of this Society in November, 1859. He had previously made a very interesting and valuable contribution to our Collections, on the subject of the Pilgrims at Leyden, which will be found in the ninth volume of our third series. He was a gentleman of large attainments and varied accomplishments, who had seen much of other countries, and who took a deep interest in every thing relating to his own country. I remember meeting him in Paris sixteen or seventeen years ago, and being deeply impressed by the relations he had already formed with not a few of the distinguished men of France. My personal associations with him, however, have been too casual and too infrequent to allow of my doing justice to his life and character; and I desire only to open the way for others who knew him better, by submitting, with the sanction of the Standing Committee, the customary resolution:—

Resolved, That in the lamented death of George Sumner, Esq., after a brief connection with this Society, we recognize the loss of a Resident Member whose historical and general information authorized the expectation of valuable services to the Society.

Mr. WATERSTON, in seconding the resolution, paid a feeling and eloquent tribute to the memory of Mr. Sumner. He spoke of the services he had rendered to his country while abroad; of his large stores of information; and dwelt particularly upon the patience and fortitude exhibited by him in his last painful and lingering illness, which he bore without a murmur.

The resolution was adopted; and Mr. Waterston was appointed to prepare a Memoir of Mr. Sumner for the Proceedings.

The President presented an early antislavery tract of three pages, folio, printed in Boston, June 12, 1700, entitled "The Selling of Joseph," written by Chief-Justice Samuel Sewall. The tract, of which the following is a copy, is believed to be very rare:—

The Selling of Joseph

A MEMORIAL

Forasmuch as Liberty is in real value next unto Life: None ought to part with it themselves, or deprive others of it, but upon most mature Consideration.

The Numerousness of Slaves at this day in the Province, and the Uneasiness of them under their Slavery, hath put many upon thinking whether the Foundation of it be firmly and well laid; so as to sustain the Vast Weight that is built upon it. It is most certain that all Men, as they are the Sons of *Adam*, are Coheirs; and have equal Right unto Liberty, and all other outward Comforts of Life. *GOD hath given the Earth* [with all its Commodities] *unto the Sons of Adam, Psal 115. 16. And hath made of One Blood, all Nations of Men, for to dwell on all the face of the Earth, and hath determined the Times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation: That they should seek the Lord. Forasmuch then as we are the Offspring of GOD &c. Act 17. 26, 27, 29.* Now although the Title given by the last *ADAM*, doth infinitely better Mens Estates, respecting *GOD* and themselves; and grants them a most beneficial and inviolable Lease

under the Broad Seal of Heaven, who were before only Tenants at Will: Yet through the Indulgence of GOD to our First Parents after the Fall, the outward Estate of all and every of their Children, remains the same, as to one another. So that Originally, and Naturally, there is no such thing as Slavery. *Joseph* was rightfully no more a Slave to his Brethren, than they were to him: and they had no more Authority to *Sell* him, than they had to *Slay* him. And if *they* had nothing to do to Sell him; the *Ishmaelites* bargaining with them, and paying down Twenty pieces of Silver, could not make a Title. Neither could *Potiphar* have any better Interest in him than the *Ishmaelites* had. *Gen.* 37. 20, 27, 28. For he that shall in this case plead *Alteration of Property*, seems to have forfeited a great part of his own claim to Humanity. There is no proportion between Twenty Pieces of Silver, and LIBERTY. The Commodity it self is the Claimer. If *Arabian Gold* be imported in any quantities, most are afraid to meddle with it, though they might have it at easy rates; lest if it should have been wrongfully taken from the Owners, it should kindle a fire to the Consumption of their whole Estate. 'Tis pity there should be more Caution used in buying a Horse, or a little lifeless dust; than there is in purchasing Men and Women: Whenas they are the Offspring of GOD, and their Liberty is,

..... *Auro pretiosior Omni.*

And seeing GOD hath said, *He that Stealeth a Man and Selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to Death.* *Exod.* 21. 16. This Law being of Everlasting Equity, wherein Man Stealing is ranked amongst the most atrocious of Capital Crimes: What louder Cry can there be made of that Celebrated Warning,

Caveat Emptor!

And all things considered, it would conduce more to the Welfare of the Province, to have White Servants for a Term of Years, than to have Slaves for Life. Few can endure to hear of a Negro's being made free; and indeed they can seldom use their freedom well; yet their continual aspiring after their forbidden Liberty, renders them Unwilling Servants. And there is such a disparity in their Conditions, Colour & Hair, that they can never embody with us, and grow up into orderly Families, to the Peopling of the Land: but still remain in our Body Politick as a kind of extravasat Blood. As many Negro men as there are among us, so many empty places there

*Account of
Caveat
Emptor
page*

are in our Train Bands, and the places taken up of Men that might make Husbands for our Daughters. And the Sons and Daughters of *New England* would become more like *Jacob*, and *Rachel*, if this Slavery were thrust quite out of doors. Moreover it is too well known what Temptations Masters are under, to connive at the Fornication of their Slaves; lest they should be obliged to find them Wives, or pay their Fines. It seems to be practically pleaded that they might be Lawless; 'tis thought much of, that the Law should have Satisfaction for their Thefts, and other Immoralities; by which means, *Holiness to the Lord*, is more rarely engraven upon this sort of Servitude. It is likewise most lamentable to think, how in taking Negroes out of *Africa*, and Selling of them here, That which GOD ha's joyned together men do boldly rend asunder; Men from their Country, Husbands from their Wives, Parents from their Children. How horrible is the Uncleaness, Mortality, if not Murder, that the Ships are guilty of that bring great Crouds of these miserable Men, and Women. Methinks, when we are bemoaning the barbarous Usage of our Friends and Kinsfolk in *Africa*: it might not be unseasonable to enquire, whether we are not culpable in forcing the *Africans* to become Slaves amongst our selves. And it may be a question whether all the Benefit received by *Negro* Slaves, will balance the Accompt of Cash laid out upon them; and for the Redemption of our own enslaved Friends out of *Africa*. Besides all the Persons and Estates that have perished there.

Obj. 1. *These Blackmores are of the Posterity of Cham, and therefore are under the Curse of Slavery.* Gen. 9. 25, 26, 27.

Answ. Of all Offices, one would not begg this; *viz.* Uncall'd for, to be an Executioner of the Vindictive Wrath of God; the extent and duration of which is to us uncertain. If this ever was a Commission; How do we know but that it is long since out of Date? Many have found it to their Cost, that a Prophetical Denunciation of Judgment against a Person or People, would not warrant them to inflict that evil. If it would, *Hazael* might justify himself in all he did against his Master, and the *Israellites*, from 2 *Kings* 8. 10, 12.

But it is possible that by cursory reading, this Text may have been mistaken. For *Canaan* is the Person Cursed three times over, without the mentioning of *Cham*. Good Expositors suppose the Curse entaild on him, and that this Propheisie was accomplished in the Extirpation of the *Canaanites*, and in the Servitude of the *Gibeonites*. *Vide Pareum*. Whereas the Blackmores are not de-

scended of *Canaan*, but of *Cush*. Psal. 68. 31. *Princes shall come out of Egypt [Mizraim] Ethiopia [Cush] shall soon stretch out her hands unto God.* Under which Names, all *Africa* may be comprehended; and their Promised Conversion ought to be prayed for. Jer. 13. 23. *Can the Ethiopian change his skin?* This shows that Black Men are the Posterity of *Cush*: Who time out of mind have been distinguished by their Colour. And for want of the true, *Ovid* assigns a fabulous cause of it.

*Sanguine tum credunt in corpora summa vocato
Æthiopum populos nigrum traxisse colorem.*

Metamorph. lib. 2.

Obj. 2. *The Nigers are brought out of a Pagan Country, into places where the Gospel is Preached.*

Answ. Evil must not be done, that good may come of it. The extraordinary and comprehensive Benefit accruing to the Church of God, and to *Joseph* personally, did not rectify his brethrens Sale of him.

Obj. 3. *The Africans have Wars one with another: Our Ships bring lawful Captives taken in those Wars.*

Answ. For ought is known, their Wars are much such as were between *Jacob's* Sons and their Brother *Joseph*. If they be between Town and Town; Provincial, or National: Every War is upon one side Unjust. An Unlawful War can't make lawful Captives. And by Receiving, we are in danger to promote, and partake in their Barbarous Cruelties. I am sure, if some Gentlemen should go down to the *Brewsters* to take the Air, and Fish: And a stronger party from *Hull* should Surprise them, and Sell them for Slaves to a Ship outward bound: they would think themselves unjustly dealt with; both by Sellers and Buyers. And yet 'tis to be feared, we have no other kind of Title to our *Nigers*. *Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the Law and the Prophets.* Matt. 7. 12.

Obj. 4. *Abraham had Servants bought with his Money, and born in his House.*

Answ. Until the Circumstances of *Abraham's* purchase be recorded, no Argument can be drawn from it. In the mean time, Charity obliges us to conclude, that He knew it was lawful and good.

It is Observable that the *Israelites* were strictly forbidden the buy-

ing, or selling one another for Slaves. *Levit.* 25. 39. 46. *Jer.* 34 8. 22. And GOD gaged His Blessing in lieu of any loss they might conceit they suffered thereby. *Deut.* 15. 18. And since the partition Wall is broken down, inordinate Self love should likewise be demolished. GOD expects that Christians should be of a more Ingenuous and benign frame of spirit. Christians should carry it to all the World, as the *Israelites* were to carry it one towards another. And for men obstinately to persist in holding their Neighbours and Brethren under the Rigor of perpetual Bondage, seems to be no proper way of gaining Assurance that God ha's given them Spiritual Freedom. Our Blessed Saviour ha's altered the Measures of the ancient Love-Song, and set it to a most Excellent New Tune, which all ought to be ambitious of Learning. *Matt.* 5. 43, 44. *John* 13. 34. These *Ethiopians*, as black as they are; seeing they are the Sons and Daughters of the First *Adam*, the Brethren and Sisters of the Last *ADAM*, and the Offspring of GOD; They ought to be treated with a Respect agreeable.

Servitus perfecta voluntaria, inter Christianum & Christianum, ex parte servi patientis sæpe est licita, quia est necessaria: sed ex parte domini agentis, & procurando & exercendo, vix potest esse licita: quia non convenit regulæ illi generali: Quæcunque volueritis ut faciant vobis homines, ita & vos facite eis. Matt. 7. 12.

Perfecta servitus pœnæ, non potest jure locum habere, nisi ex delicto gravi quod ultimum supplicium aliquo modo meretur: quia Libertas ex naturali æstimatione proxime accedit ad vitam ipsam, & eidem a multis præferri solet.

Ames. Cas. Consc. Lib. 5. Cap. 23. Thes. 2, 3.

BOSTON of the *Massachusetts*;

Printed by *Bartholomew Green*, and *John Allen*, June, 24th. 1700.

The President said that he had found among the Bowdoin Papers the original manuscript of a poem by the celebrated negro slave, Phillis Wheatley, on the capture of General Charles Lee by the British. It had never been printed, so far as he could ascertain. It was certainly not in either of the editions of the printed volumes of her poems. He then read it as follows:—

The following thoughts on his Excellency Major General Lee being betray'd into the hands of the Enemy by the treachery of a pretended Friend; To the Honourable James Bowdoin Esqr. are most respectfully Inscrib'd, By his most obedient and devoted humble servant,

PHILLIS WHEATLEY.

The deed perfidious, and the Hero's fate,
 In tender strains, celestial Muse! relate.
 The latent foe to friendship makes pretence,
 The name assumes without the sacred sense!
 He, with a rapture well dissembl'd, press'd
 The hero's hand, and, fraudulent, thus address'd,
 "O friend belov'd! may heaven its aid afford,
 And spread yon troops beneath thy conquering sword!
 Grant to America's united prayer
 A glorious conquest on the field of war!
 But thou indulgent to my warm request,
 Vouchsafe thy presence as my honour'd guest:
 From martial cares a space unbend thy soul
 In social banquet, and the sprightly bowl."
 Thus spoke the foe; and warlike LEE reply'd,
 "Ill fits it me, who such an army guide,
 To whom his conduct each brave soldier owes,
 To waste an hour in banquets or repose:
 This day important, with loud voice demands
 Our wisest Counsels, and our bravest hands."
 Thus having said, he heav'd a boding sigh;
 The hour approach'd that damps Columbia's Joy.
 Inform'd, conducted by the treach'rous friend,
 With winged speed the adverse train attend,
 Ascend the Dome, and seize with frantic air
 The self surrender'd glorious prize of war!
 On sixty coursers, swifter than the wind,
 They fly, and reach the British camp assign'd.
 Arriv'd, what transport touch'd their leader's breast!
 Who thus deriding, the brave Chief address'd.
 "Say, art thou he, beneath whose vengeful hands
 Our best of heroes grasp'd in death the sands?
 One fierce regard of thine indignant eye
 Turn'd Britain pale, and made her armies fly:

But Oh! how chang'd! a prisoner in our arms
Till martial honour, dreadful in her charms,
Shall grace Britannia at her sons' return,
And widow'd thousands in our triumphs mourn."
While thus he spoke, the hero of renown
Survey'd the boaster with a gloomy frown,
And stern reply'd: "O arrogance of tongue!
And wild ambition, ever prone to wrong!
Believ'st thou chief, that armies such as thine
Can stretch in dust that heaven-defended line?
In vain allies may swarm from distant lands,
And demons aid in formidable bands.
Great as thou art, thou shun'st the field of fame,
Disgrace to Britain, and the British name!
When offer'd combat by the noble foe,
(Foe to mis-rule,) why did thy sword forego
The easy conquest of the rebel-land?
Perhaps *too* easy for thy martial hand.
What various causes to the field invite!
For plunder *you*, and we for freedom fight.
Her cause divine with generous ardor fires,
And every bosom glows as she inspires!
Already, thousands of your troops are fled
To the drear mansions of the silent dead:
Columbia too, beholds with streaming eyes
Her heroes fall — 'tis freedom's sacrifice!
So wills the Power who with convulsive storms
Shakes impious realms, and nature's face deforms;
Yet those brave troops innum'rous as the sands
One soul inspires, one General Chief commands.
Find in your train of boasted heroes, one
To match the praise of Godlike Washington.
Thrice happy Chief! in whom the virtues join,
And heaven-taught prudence speaks the man divine!"
He ceas'd. Amazement struck the warrior-train,
And doubt of conquest, on the hostile plain.

BOSTON, Decr. 30, 1776.

Mr. FOLSOM read a letter from Mrs. Walsh, widow of the late Robert Walsh, consul at Paris, presenting a photograph of M. Jomard.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting was held this day, Thursday, Nov. 12, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

Donations were announced to the library from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; the President and Trustees of Bowdoin College; the New-England Loyal Publication Society; die Oberlausitzischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Görlitz; the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon; the publishers of the "Farmer's Almanac;" the publishers of the Canada "Journal de l'Instruction Publique;" John Appleton, M.D.; William Durrant Cooper, Esq.; D. P. Corey, Esq.; Valentine M. Francis, M.D.; Clement H. Hill, Esq.; Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq.; E. B. O'Callaghan, M.D.; Augustus T. Perkins, Esq.; Benjamin S. Shaw, M.D.; Mr. S. H. Smothers; Mr. S. Urbino; and from Messrs. Bartlet, Brooks (W. G.), Deane, Green, Livermore, Loring, Metcalf, Robbins (C.), Walker, Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President announced the death of Lord Lyndhurst, an Honorary Member of this Society, and the death of Hon. William Sturgis, a Resident Member, in the following terms:—

We may not forget, gentlemen, that, since our last monthly meeting, two names of more than common significance have been stricken from our rolls,—one of them the name of an Honorary, and the other of a Resident Member. You would hardly pardon me for omitting some brief notice of them before passing to the regular business of the day.

The Right Hon. Sir John Singleton Copley, Lord Lyndhurst, died in London on the 12th of October last. He was elected an Honorary Member of this Society in February, 1858; and his letter of acceptance was reported by our Corresponding Secretary at the ensuing May meeting. He was a native of this city; having been born in Boston on the twenty-first day of May, 1772. His father, who was also a native Bostonian, left America in 1774, with a primary view to the more favorable pursuit of that career as an artist in which he afterwards acquired such eminent distinction. For this purpose, he went first to Italy; but in the following year he sent for his family, who had remained in Boston, to join him in London. The young Copley was thus taken, at only three years of age, to the land which was chosen for him by his parents, and which was destined to be the scene of his long and brilliant life. He is said to have been a passenger, with his mother and sisters, in the very last ship which left our shores under British colors before the battle of Bunker Hill; sailing on the 27th of May, 1775.

Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, he was called to the bar in 1804, and continued for twelve or thirteen years in the assiduous and almost uninterrupted practice of the law. The care which he bestowed on his cases at this period is well illustrated by the fact (for which I have the authority of one of his American relatives), that, in order to do better justice to the defence of the patent of an English lacemaker, he not only passed a week at the factory studying the loom and its processes, but actually tried his own hand at the manufacture of the article. The familiarity with the machine

which he displayed in the course of his argument having led to the remark from the judge who presided at the trial, "I should think, Serjeant Copley, you were a lacemaker yourself," he instantly acknowledged that the piece which had been brought into court to illustrate the case was his own handiwork. I need hardly add, that he won the case, and secured the fortune of his client. An earlier illustration of the same eager and persevering spirit of inquiry and investigation is found in the story which has often been told of him in his family, — that, when a mere boy, he got up one morning before anybody else in the house was stirring, and took the kitchen clock to pieces, in order to find out exactly how it was made; and then, having satisfied his curiosity, put it safely together again.

In the year 1817, or, as some accounts have it, in 1818, he entered the House of Commons; and, from that time, became conspicuous in public life. His energy and self-reliance, his industry, ability, and eloquence, soon secured for him the highest legal and political honors of the British Empire. The details of his public career belong to more extended notices and to other occasions. It is enough to say here, that he became successively Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, Master of the Rolls, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and three times Lord Chancellor.

Since his retirement from all official duties except those which devolved on him as a member of the House of Lords, by virtue of the peerage conferred on him in 1827, he has been hardly less prominent in the public eye than when he held the great seal. He was one of the few parliamentary orators, of late years, who commanded attention beyond the limits of his own land, and whose speeches, on foreign and domestic questions alike, were read with interest and eagerness in all parts of the world. There are those who remember well how emphatically Mr. Webster spoke, on his return from England many years ago, of the clearness, cogency, and

true eloquence which characterized a speech of Lord Lyndhurst's which he had himself been fortunate enough to hear. Like Mr. Webster, he was especially remarkable for the power and precision with which he stated his case, and for the lucid order in which he arranged and argued it. His advancing age seemed only to add mellowness and richness to his eloquence, while it greatly enhanced the interest with which he was listened to. As late as 1860, when he was on the verge of his eighty-ninth year, he made a speech on the respective rights of the two houses of Parliament, which was regarded as a model of argument and oratory, and which made London ring anew with admiration of "the old man eloquent."

Lord Lyndhurst revisited his native land in 1796, when he was only twenty-four years of age, and while he was still connected with the University at Cambridge as a travelling Fellow. Two letters written by him in Latin, agreeably to the requisitions of his fellowship, during this visit, are still extant; and our honored associate, Mr. Everett, promises to send us copies of them at some future day. I know not whether his presentation to Washington is mentioned in either of them; but he seemed always proud of recalling that fact. He ever evinced a deep interest in the condition and welfare of our country; keeping up a constant correspondence with relatives and friends in Boston, and always giving a cordial welcome to such Americans as were commended to his acquaintance. No one who has enjoyed his hospitality will soon forget his genial and charming manners, and the almost boyish gayety and glee with which he entered into the amusements of the hour. The last time I saw him, — less than four years ago, — he rose from his own dinner-table, and placing one arm on the shoulder of our accomplished associate, Mr. Motley, and the other on my own, he proceeded towards the drawing-room, — remarking playfully, as he went, that he believed he could always rely safely on the support of his fellow-Bostonians.

Living to the great age of nearly ninety-two years, with almost unimpaired faculties, taking a lively and personal interest to the end both in public affairs and in social enjoyments, and dying at last the senior peer of England, his name and fame will not soon be forgotten. It may safely be said, that Boston has given birth to but few men — perhaps only to one other, Franklin — who will have secured a more permanent or prominent place in the world's history. A portrait of him might well be included, at some future day, in the Historical Gallery of illustrious Americans which we are gradually accumulating, and would form an appropriate companion-piece to that of our venerable senior member (Mr. Quincy), of whom he was a contemporary, correspondent, and friend. Meantime, the Society may not think it unfit to place upon their records the following resolution: —

Resolved, That in the death of our late distinguished Honorary Member, Lord Lyndhurst, — a native Bostonian, and whose life covers the whole period of our existence as a nation, — this Society cannot fail to recognize the close of a great historical career, which has reflected honor at once on the land of his birth and the land of his adoption.

This resolution, after remarks by Messrs. Sparks, Savage, and Quincy, was unanimously adopted.

The President then proceeded as follows: —

The Hon. William Sturgis died in this city on the evening of the 21st of October, at the age of eighty-one years. Born on Cape Cod, and taking naturally to the sea as the field of his early enterprise, he soon rose to the highest rank as a navigator. His voyages to the North-west Coast, and to China and the East Indies, at a time when our commerce with those regions was in its infancy, were frequently attended with adventures and perils of an almost romantic character. They served at once to display and to develop the extraordinary energy and bravery of his nature. Quitting the sea

with a large fund of commercial experience, and establishing himself in a mercantile house in Boston, he became one of our most successful, enterprising, and eminent merchants, as well as one of our most esteemed and valuable citizens. Wherever he was, on sea or on shore, he exhibited a sagacity and an intellectual vigor of the highest order. Few men of any profession have surpassed him in clearness of comprehension, in quickness of perception, or in practical common sense. And no man surpassed him in the courage to declare and defend his own opinions, whatever they were. Frequently a member of both branches of our State Legislature, he was distinguished for his readiness and ability as a debater. It was a rare thing for any one to get the advantage of him in offhand, or even in more deliberate, discussion. Nor was his pen less ready than his tongue. His frequent contributions to the public journals in former years, and his written reports in the Legislature and elsewhere, would compare well with those of most of our trained scholars.

During the controversy between Great Britain and the United States on the subject of the Oregon boundary, his personal acquaintance with that territory, and his familiarity with the whole history of its discovery, were of the highest importance to our Government. The lecture which he delivered on this subject before the Mercantile-Library Association of our city, and which was printed at the time, was one of the most interesting and valuable public discussions of the question; while his private correspondence with distinguished statesmen, both at home and abroad, was well understood to have had no small influence in bringing the controversy to an amicable and satisfactory issue.

It was only a few months since that our departed associate and friend promised me that he would put this correspondence into a shape to be preserved in the archives of our Society; and I trust that it may still find its appropriate place here. I need not say that he had given other evidences of his inter-



est in our welfare. You have not forgotten the announcement at our last annual meeting, that he had made a donation to our treasury of the whole amount needed to complete the discharge of the mortgage on this building. Finding, as one of the Committee to examine our accounts, that about twelve hundred dollars would accomplish that result, he volunteered to send me his check for the sum, on the simple condition that his name should not be published in the newspapers. Mr. Sturgis has thus entitled himself to be gratefully remembered among our benefactors, as well as among our most respected and distinguished associates; and I am sure you will all concur in the adoption of the customary resolution, which I am instructed by the Standing Committee to report as follows:—

Resolved, That this Society has heard with deep regret of the death of their valued associate, the Hon. William Sturgis; and that the President be directed to name one of our number to prepare a Memoir of him for our Transactions.

This resolution was seconded by the Hon. CHARLES G. LORING, who spoke as follows:—

Mr. PRESIDENT,—I ask indulgence for a few minutes to express my concurrence in the proposed resolution.

My acquaintance with Mr. Sturgis, although of long-distant date as a general one, had ripened in the course of the past six or seven years into a very cordial, and, I think I may say, somewhat intimate friendship. Our intercourse, though at the first chiefly official, soon became frequent, and far exceeding the necessities or ordinary routine of business. I can therefore, I think, speak with somewhat of authority concerning his claims upon our remembrance, and bear testimony to the fitness of the record of it which it is now proposed to make.

In the course of a long and busy life, presenting many



opportunities for observation and study of the characters of prominent men in our community, I remember no one of more striking peculiarities and harmonized strength than that of our deceased friend in his later, and, as I am disposed to believe, his best days. For surely we may reasonably account those the best, when effort and aspiration have terminated in possession of the prizes of life, and opportunity and disposition are given for the right enjoyment and use of them;— when the vigorous faculties exerted in their attainment still find “ample room and verge enough” for gently exciting play in the duties and incidents of family relationship and social life, in the guardianship of the interests of others, and the needed authority of ripened judgment in the general affairs of men;— when the mellowing influence of a long experience in self-examination, and in varied observation of the mingled and often undistinguishable strength and weakness, virtue and frailty, truth and error, which compose so much of the motley web of human life, have begotten that spirit of liberal interpretation of motive and conduct which such experience alone seems able to beget;— when the standard of truthfulness, honor, and fidelity to duty, has become the ever-ready and controlling test of worth, and of claims for consideration and respect;— and when a subdued consciousness of the affection and respect of descendants, relatives, associates, and friends, throws its mellow sunshine upon the descending path of earthly life. And such were the peculiar blessings of old age, in the midst of which our friend has left us.

The prominent elements of the character of Mr. Sturgis are too generally and too well known to require minute description and analysis on this occasion; and the history of its formation would demand more time and space than the occasion permits. They may well become the subject of a *Memoir* for the archives of this Society, of which he was a liberal benefactor and an honored member; one who has made material contributions

to the history of a portion of the country. It is enough for the present purpose, and in view of a more enlarged memorial, that we now recognize the marvellous strength of that character, in the vigor of his intellect, his almost unequalled quickness and accuracy of perception, his far-reaching sagacity, his profound and comprehensive judgment, his keen insight into human nature, his untiring energy, indomitable resolution, and unflinching courage;—that we recall to mind his varied and accurate knowledge, extending far beyond the confines of his especial pursuits and occupation; his cultivated literary taste, his brilliant conversational powers, his genial disposition and inspiring vivacity, his aptness in lively repartee, and happy social influences upon all around him;—and that to these we can add the remembrance of his high sense of honor, his unswerving loyalty to truth, and fidelity to every trust.

These were traits of character obvious to all who came within the circle of his acquaintance. But to these elements of strength and power were united others, which, though less conspicuous, are yet not less worthy of recorded remembrance. To them he added a tender love and generous devotion to his children and relatives; the most considerate and enduring affection for his friends, extending after their death to those dear to them, in continued deeds of substantial kindness; and an enlightened and extensive liberality, founded on a mingled sense of duty and generous feeling, of which many institutions and individuals have been the recipients, but which, during his life, remained mostly unknown, because of the uniform injunction of secrecy, upon the pledge of which the gifts were made; it being his constant effort in these ministrations that his left hand should not know what his right hand was doing.

With this hasty and very imperfect tribute to the memory of our friend, I beg leave to second the adoption of the resolution.

The resolution, after a few remarks by Mr. QUINCY, was unanimously adopted.

The President nominated Mr. Loring to prepare the customary Memoir of Mr. Sturgis.

Mr. QUINCY presented several valuable manuscripts, accompanying them with interesting reminiscences.

Among the papers presented by Mr. Quincy was an account of the physicians of Boston during and after the Revolutionary War, embracing a notice of the formation of the Massachusetts Medical Society, by Dr. Ephraim Eliot; also a diary kept during the siege of Boston, by Ezekiel Price; also a copy of the celebrated intercepted letter of Monsieur Barbé de Marbois to the French minister, Vergennes; also a receipt given by Eleazer Richard to Isaac Lothrop for eight dollars, in payment of the large wooden bowl which once belonged to the Indian King Philip, and which has been for many years in the cabinet of this Society, it having been deposited there by Mr. Lothrop in 1807.

These papers were referred to the Committee on the publication of the Proceedings, and are here printed.

*Dr. Ephraim Eliot's Account of the Physicians of Boston.**

In August, 1780, I commenced the study of physic under Dr. Isaac Rand's direction. The physicians of Boston had diminished in their number in consequence of hostilities between Great Britain and the

* Dr. Ephraim Eliot was the son of the Rev. Andrew Eliot, D.D., pastor of the New North Church in Boston; and brother of the Rev. John Eliot, D.D., the author of the "Biographical Dictionary" and other historical writings. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1780, and studied medicine with Dr. Isaac Rand, a distinguished physician of Boston, who died 11th September, 1822, in the eightieth year of his age. Dr. Eliot was for many years a well-known druggist in Boston. Like his brother, Dr. John Eliot, who was one of the founders and principal supporters of the Massachusetts Historical Society, he had a love for historical and antiquarian studies, and was also a useful member of this Society. This sketch of the Physicians of Boston, which we believe has never been published, is now printed from his manuscript, on

colonies in 1776. Many of those who then did the business of the town, being royalists, had left it, and had joined with others who went to Nova Scotia or Great Britain under British protection. Their places were not filled; the inhabitants of the town being reduced to about fourteen or fifteen thousand, in consequence of the war. The medical gentlemen were of very eminent character,—for instance, Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, whose reputation was high as an operator in surgery also, and he did the largest business as a druggist of any person in Boston; Dr. Nathaniel Perkins, who was supposed to attend a greater number of patients, as a physician, than any other practitioner in the town; William Lee Perkins, who was respectable as to business and reputation. Dr. John Jeffries was gaining in the esteem of the public, and valued as a man of promise in the profession. These are all who are now recollected by me, being then a schoolboy only. Their characters I have since learned from those who knew them. Add to these Dr. John Sprague, who had retired on an ample fortune, whose practice had been large, and who had a confidence placed in him which followed him in his retreat; and he was sent for, and consulted by the physicians here for very many years. Dr. Philip Godfrey Kast and Dr. John Perkins were very old men, and had retreated from practice on that account. Dr. Miles Whitmarsh had once a respectable share of practice. He was unfortunately the attending physician at the jail in 1775. The wounded prisoners from Bunker Hill were thrown into the common prison, and provided with little better than jail provisions. They suffered, and some died; in particular, Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner, or Parker,* a very respectable man. Much was the blame laid on the doctor; whether justly or not, is dubious. He remained in Boston, was neglected, and died in 1778. Dr. Joseph Warren's practice was large and increasing when he lost his life and immortalized his name. Dr. Benjamin Church was gaining practice among the Whig interest; but, for reasons that are sufficiently known, was banished from the country. Many other and perhaps eminent characters may have flourished; but, from my age and juvenile avocations, I dare not attempt to enumerate them.

When I commenced my professional studies, I found the following

which his name is written, with the date "1823." Some copies were circulated in manuscript among the medical friends of the writer. Dr. Thacher evidently made use of this sketch in writing his "American Medical Biography." Dr. Elliot died in September, 1827, aged sixty-five.—Eds.

* "Parker," interlined in the manuscript, is the right name.—Eds.

gentlemen doing the business of the town: viz., beginning at the south, Dr. Benjamin Curtis, who was employed there considerably; Dr. John Warren, whose character and qualifications have been sufficiently known till a few years since, when he died; * Dr. Charles Jarvis, who stood high in rank, and deservedly: his practice would doubtless have been large if he had not chosen to devote himself to political life, which prevented him from attending to his profession as was desired. The style of a gentleman which marked his conduct in the chamber of the sick, and the tender sympathy which he evinced when attending to his surgical practice, endeared him in a peculiar manner to his employers. Dr. Joseph Gardiner was employed, both as a physician and surgeon, probably more than any other gentleman in the profession. He pretended that he looked upon learning as superfluous; that the bedside was the only school for a physician: but he *did* study, and was a more learned man than he chose to appear. He was witty and satirical, and very greatly esteemed. Dr. Joseph Whipple was taken under the protection of Dr. Gardiner, and was rising into notice. Dr. Nathaniel [W.] Appleton was a most amiable man, but was too diffident to show his real worth and abilities, which were very far above mediocrity. Dr. Thomas Welsh ought to take rank as an older physician than the two last gentlemen: he was then in the incipient state of his business, having been engaged in the American Army for some years. Dr. James Lloyd was ranked high in the profession. He took the lead in regard to the practice of surgery; was the first who introduced the male practice of the obstetric art as a general appendage to the office of a physician: was very successful in it, and consequently greatly esteemed among the ladies. He entertained a great deal of company, kept a genteel equipage, and a suite of servants: his horses were esteemed equal to any in the town. He was a gentleman of the old stamp, and deservedly respected and valued. He observed to a near and valued friend of mine, in regard to his practice in a lying-in chamber: "I never in my life refused to attend a call, even to the poorest class of society, in those cases which often require immediate assistance. If there was only a bed of straw, I saw that it was beaten up, and rendered as easy and comfortable as it was possible, and with my own arms invariably laid the delivered woman upon it; and I assure you, sir, I have been amply paid by the esteem and affection of my patients." Dr. Thomas Bul-

* Dr. Warren died 4th April, 1816, aged sixty-two. — *Thacher's Medical Biography*.—Eds.

finch had a good share of very genteel practice, and lived in good style. He kept a chariot, was very tender and affectionate, and greatly valued by those who employed him. Dr. Bulfinch declined joining the Medical Society. Dr. Samuel Danforth was then rising to an eminence in the profession which has not been exceeded in Boston. Setting theories aside, he formed one of his own: he endeavored to enlist no man, but he persevered in it himself till he acquired a very great confidence in his judgment, and was probably consulted in more cases than any other physician of his day. He is now living,* and people hold on to his judgment, though his abilities are obscured by age and infirmities, and he is but a shadow of what he was. Dr. Isaac Rand was one of the most learned men of his day. Being much of a mathematician, he was seeking for something like demonstration on which to lean in his profession. For want of it, he was always dissatisfied, and probably read more books than any physician among us. He was apt to pin his faith on *the last book*. He was, however, a successful practitioner, had a discriminating judgment, was a good surgeon, and remarkably neat in his operations. Dr. Thomas Kast had a large practice among the lower and middling class of people, with whom he was a great favorite. He accumulated much property, making every one pay him something; and, being an economist, he turned it to much advantage. I do not recollect any other regular stated physicians: being war-time, many were coming and going, who were attached to the army and navy, and to numerous privateers; but they were birds of passage, and, though here to-day, were gone to-morrow. The gentlemen I have noted were all respectable men in society, and had the best advantages the country could afford. Many of them had spent a part of their time in Europe, and attended practice in the hospitals in London, Edinburgh, &c. To the credit of the country, *there was not a quack or empirical physician in this place*. Such persons were always frowned upon by the people, and soon hid themselves. The only one I recollect who had got a footing here was a German, named Jeorku [?]. It was said he had been a dresser in the British military hospital in Quebec. He removed into Boston, and got some business among the Dutch inhabitants and their posterity. He was never acknowledged by the physicians as a brother; but he dressed a wound and applied a bandage with great despatch and neatness. I never knew him to perform an operation, and [he] was thought to be a very ignorant man. These,

* Dr. Danforth died 16th November, 1827, aged eighty-eight. — *Thacher's Medical Biography*. — Eds.

excepting the last, were the persons who petitioned for the incorporation of the Massachusetts Medical Society. The plan was enlarged, and many eminent men in different parts of the Commonwealth were added. They first met in 1781 or 1782, and chose their officers; and have regularly done so at stated times to this day.

At this time, great difficulties were experienced by professional men in consequence of the fluctuating situation of the old Continental money. It was constantly depreciating; and, although handsome charges were made, the amount realized on collections scarce afforded a living. In consequence of this, the physicians instituted a club, which met at the Green-Dragon Tavern. The immediate object was to obviate the difficulties consequent on the fluctuation of the paper-money. Physicians' fees had been very small: by recurring to Dr. Rand's books, I found the fee for a visit at his first commencing business was one shilling and sixpence. It was afterwards increased to two shillings. Dr. Lloyd, and perhaps some others, demanded half a dollar; but their practice was among such as were in high life. Midwifery was at a guinea; capital operations about the same; and the patients were charged with after-dressings as visits. The first fees established by this medical club were half a dollar for a visit; if in consultation, a dollar; rising and visiting after eleven o'clock, and previous to sun-rising, a double fee; cases in midwifery, eight dollars; capital operations in surgery, five pounds lawful money; reducing a dislocation, or setting a fractured bone, one guinea; small operations in surgery, according to circumstances; bleeding, and opening abscesses, half a dollar; extracting a tooth, the same, if the person called on the doctor; if not, a fee for a visit was added. The advance on medicines found for patients, though bought of an apothecary, was enormous; often amounting to three or four hundred per cent. All accounts were to be calculated and kept in hard money; and the exchange, if payment was made in paper-money, according to such agreement as could be made between the parties. The profession was much benefited by these regulations. The physicians became acquainted with each other; party politics were dropped at the meetings: but oil and vinegar will not unite. *They did not love each other*, and all were determined to put down Warren; but they could not: he rose triumphant over them all.

One night, Dr. Rand returned home from one of these professional meetings; and, addressing himself to me, he said, "Eliot, that Warren is an artful man, and will get to windward of us all. He has made a proposition to the club, that, as there are nearly a dozen pupils

studying in town, there should be an incipient medical school instituted here for their benefit; and has nominated Danforth to read on *materia medica* and chemistry, proposed that I should read on the theory and practice of physic, and some suitable person on anatomy and surgery. *He* was immediately put up for the latter branches; and, after a little maiden coyness, agreed to commence a course, as he has many operations and surgical cases in the Continental Hospital, of which he is sole director in every respect; and he can always have command of subjects for dissection, without exciting alarm, or being reduced to the necessity of taking bodies from the burying-ground, as most of the inmates of the hospital were foreigners, and no one would scrutinize into the matter. I would have you attend the lectures, which will also save me the trouble of dissecting with you in order to qualify you for a surgeon. Danforth declined, as it was not possible to command a chemical apparatus; and as to myself, who would want to hear an uninteresting course of lectures on fevers and consumptions? so I followed his steps. Now, Warren will be able to obtain fees from the pupils who will attend his lectures on anatomy and surgery, and turn it to pecuniary advantage. But he will not stop there: he well knows that moneys have been left to the college for such an establishment as he is appointed to, and he is looking at the professorship. *Mark what I say, Eliot: you will probably live to see it verified.*" Thus Rand, evidently chagrined. At the proper season, Dr. Warren read a very excellent course of anatomical lectures with demonstrations, and exhibited the various operations of surgery. It was renewed the next year. The fulness of time having come, the corporation [of] Harvard University began seriously to think of setting up a medical institution. At first, the improvements of Dr. Hersey's legacy was deemed a sufficient foundation; but, on the suggestion of the friends to that seminary, a more enlarged plan was determined to be adopted: a professor of chemistry and *materia medica*, a professor of anatomy* and surgery, and one of the theory and practice of physic, were to be established. But professors were to be sought: a professor of anatomy and surgery, eminently qualified, could be obtained at once. For the other branches it required reflection. It was suggested that Dr. Aaron Dexter, who had attended the practice with Dr. Danforth, the most scientific chemist then on the stage, could easily qualify himself for a chemical professor. Dr. Waterhouse had recently arrived in Boston, or was expected in a short time.

* In the manuscript, a pen has been drawn through the word "anatomy," and what appears like "physic" written over it.

He had spent some years in London, and had completed his education in Leyden; was a relation and pupil of the excellent Dr. Fothergill of London, who, it was said, had contemplated such an establishment at this university; and, although he had died, it was also reported that Dr. Lettsom had succeeded to much of his business, and meant to fulfil his benevolent intentions. This was only a gossiping story, but was believed, or rather hoped for, by many persons. Dr. Waterhouse was therefore determined upon for the other professorship. According to the bequest of Dr. Hersey, his professor was to be resident in Cambridge; and there was no provision for a division of the legacy. It was to be for the benefit of a professor of physic and surgery; but, by an arrangement with the heirs of Dr. Hersey, it was consented to that Waterhouse should reside in Cambridge, the income to be divided in proportions to be determined upon between Warren and Waterhouse. Major William Erving, a Bostonian, and relation of Governor Bowdoin, who had been in the British service from his youth, but had retired therefrom, and having been much acquainted with Dr. Dexter, died in good time, and left an income to the chemical professorship. It was presumed that the attending students on the medical establishment would make up a sufficient gratuity to render it an object to the several gentlemen who had the appointments.

The Massachusetts Medical Society had authority to *examine* such candidates for the practice of physic as should offer themselves for the purpose, and grant diplomas signifying such persons as they found to be qualified for the profession; but they had no power to give degrees. The medical professors had similar powers, and were quite independent of the Medical Society. The university could give degrees and confer titles upon such as passed examination before their professors. Here, it was supposed, there would be some clashing of interests. The number who had been examined by the censor[s] of the society was not great. It was not long before the two institutions were at issue. None had been examined by the university; and no degrees, but such as were honorary, had been granted. About the year 1788, George Holmes Hall and John Fleet offered themselves for examination to the censors. Dr. Oliver Prescott of Groton, Drs. Lloyd, Gardner, Danforth, and Rand, were then in the office, — a formidable host. The candidates were students in Dr. Warren's surgery, had dissected much, and were probably far better qualified than any who had presented themselves: in fact, the doctor had bestowed great pains in regard to their qualifications. Dr. Prescott, being hard of

hearing, said nothing; and I think Danforth's business prevented his attendance, but he heartily joined in putting them down. It was judged that now was the time to mortify their instructor. Various times were appointed for attending to the business, and it was as often postponed; till the young gentlemen actually became confident that the censors, sensible of their own deficiencies, were afraid to encounter them. At length, the time came; and they found it a fiery trial. They then became convinced that all knowledge was not shut up in the brains of the professors: they were set aside, and could not obtain certificates. Here the censors thought the matter would drop; but they were mistaken. Dr. Warren was neither mortified nor foiled. He had wished for an opportunity of commencing the examinations at Cambridge: this was a *good* opportunity. Lectures were immediately commenced, and got through before commencement. This was an unexpected matter, and measures were taken to prevent its having effect. President Willard was applied to, to put a stop to the progress of the professors, lest it should generate serious misunderstandings between the two societies. Dr. Rand called upon me, and desired me to prevail upon Dr. Fleet to suspend the matter; assuring me that the censors would make such representations as would effectually prevent him from getting into business, and that both he and Hall would be ruined. I was applied to, as I was like to, and did, become his brother-in-law; but I had no influence over him, and declined any interferences. A public examination was held in the philosophy chamber of the university, at which many persons not of the profession attended. They were thoroughly sifted; and they afforded much gratification to all who were present. On the Saturday previous to commencement, notice was sent that the censors would meet for their re-examination. They attended; when a few questions were asked, and they were passed. On commencement-day, not having been informed of this matter, a feeble attempt was made by some of the overseers, that the degree of Doctor of Physic should be withheld. Having been informed of the re-examination, opposition was withdrawn; and George Holmes Hall, who received the degree of Master of Arts in 1781, and John Fleet *ad eundem* in 1788, were admitted the first in course to the degree of Doctor in Physic.

This, it is believed, has been the only interruption that has taken place between the societies; and they have mutually contributed to the reputation of each other, and have each done their part to raise the respect of both to their present high standing among the literary institutions of the country.

DIARY OF EZEKIEL PRICE,* 1775-6.†

Tuesday, May 23 [1775].—Passed by Mr. Rea and a sister of Colonel Marshall's, who came from Boston about ten days ago. They are looking out for a house above. Mr. Baker came from Taunton, in his way to Roxbury, in order to get out his furniture. Son Zek visited us.

Wednesday, May 24.—Went down to Roxbury in expectation that some of my effects had been got out from Boston; but was disappointed. Applied to Mr. Fritz, who engaged to bring a load, or part of one, to Roxbury. Left a letter, to be delivered to Mr. Timmins, relating [to] my insurance business. Saw Mr. George Trot, who had just come out of Boston with his family. He informs of the great distress of the inhabitants. Also Mr. Hudson and his family, besides several others, with their families, and a number of women and young children. The small-pox had broke out in Roxbury. One of the soldiers sick with it.

Thursday, May 25.—An exceeding pleasant morning. In the afternoon, went to town-meeting. Heard that a ship arrived at Boston with some of the Light Horse on board.

Friday, May 26.—About eight o'clock, heard the report of a great number of cannon. People's thoughts upon it were various. Soon after, went down to Roxbury; found the firing of the cannon to be on account of the three new generals arrived from England. No Light Horse were arrived. None of my goods yet got out.

Saturday, May 27.—Very warm. In the afternoon, heard the report of cannon. About sundown, the firing of cannon was very quick. Went down to St: Davenport's, but could hear nothing of the occasion of the firing. About eleven o'clock, went down again,

* A brief notice of Ezekiel Price may be found in vol. viii., page 85, of this Society's Collections. It appears that he was Clerk of the Courts of Common Pleas and Sessions for the County of Suffolk; and, for a long time, Chairman of the Board of Selectmen for the Town of Boston. He was elected a member of the Historical Society, April 30, 1798; and died 15th July, 1802, aged seventy-four years. "In private life he was amiable, and in public he was useful."

Mr. Price appears to have resided at Stoughton, in the family of Colonel Doty, at the time of writing this Diary. He probably left Boston at the commencement of the "siege."

† There may have been earlier leaves of this Diary, now wanting.

but could get no certain intelligence. A report that Colonel Putnam had gone with a party to Hog Island.

Sunday, May 28. — Early in the morning, report of cannon heard. At noon, received information that yesterday Colonel Putnam, with a party, went to Hog Island to bring from thence the stock of cattle and sheep and hay there. He was opposed by the navy and army, but came off victorious, and without loss of a man. He brought off a number of sheep and lambs; he also burnt a tender, after taking out her guns, stores, and ammunition; he also killed about twelve of the English horses, and brought away three alive, which had been put on the island to recruit of their fatigue on the passage. It is said this success has given the colonel and the country troops great spirits. In the afternoon, several persons, passing by, heard the report of cannon. It is supposed a new attack is made towards Chelsea.

Monday, May 29. — In the morning, went down to Roxbury, and had confirmation of the account of Colonel Putnam's engagement and success. He had five men wounded: one, it is said, died of the wounds. The Regulars had several killed and wounded,—the number uncertain. Received two trunks, with linen and clothes, and a feather-bed, which Mr. Fritz brought out of Boston for me; also a small trunk for Mrs. Harrison; all which I got safe to Colonel Doty's. A very warm day. Mr. Robert Temple was expected at Cambridge, from Plymouth, to answer concerning a number of Tory letters found with him, to be conveyed to England.

Tuesday, May 30. — The air cool. Appearances of rain. A house on Thompson's Island, and the house and some buildings on Noddle's Island, were burnt last night. Son Zek visited us.

Wednesday, May 31. — A company of soldiers from Little Compton stopped and dined here; then proceeded on their way to the camp at Roxbury. In the afternoon, a report that the country troops had got on Pettix Island, and took from thence a considerable quantity of live stock.

Thursday, June 1. — A shower of rain, which made the weather very pleasant. In the afternoon, Mrs. Jarvis (the colonel's widow) stopt here. Heard concerning several of our Boston friends. Son Zek visited us. Brother John Avery visited and lodged here with us.

Friday, June 2. — Brother Avery returned to Leominster. Mrs. Jarvis set out for Dartmouth. I went down to Roxbury. Could

get nothing more out of Boston. No person from Boston had passed the lines since yesterday morning. Report that the Regulars were cutting a ditch or trench across the Neck, in order to build a bridge there. Two or three ships going into Boston, but could not tell from whence they came. Returned to Stoughton in the afternoon. A company of soldiers from Freetown, on their way to Roxbury, stopt here all night.

Saturday, June 3. — Mrs. Downe (the late colonel's widow), with her daughter and family, stopt here on their way to Taunton. They got out of Boston yesterday, by the way of Charlestown. Report of the day, — that Colonel Putnam had marched from Cambridge with a party to Deer Island; also that one of the new generals was missing.

Sunday, June 4. — Mr. Bosson, from Roxbury, says he heard that a party of the country troops had been to Deer Island, and took from thence several hundred sheep and lambs, some cattle and horses; also that they had surprised and taken two small fishing-boats belonging to the navy, made prisoners of the crews, and dragged the boats over-land to Cambridge. A soldier from Squantum says all was quiet that way. Mrs. Price and Polly went to meeting both parts of the day. Further reports of the day, — that twenty-five tons of powder was arrived at New York, and that some Connecticut people were gone for part of it for the use of our camp.

Monday, June 5. — Passed by several soldiers from Squantum, but could hear nothing material this forenoon. At noon, Mrs. Jenkins (Robert's wife) called here in her way to visit at Colonel Gridley's. Also Colonel Gridley, from the army at Cambridge. He confirms, in part, the account relating the boats being taken, and the arrival of the powder. In the afternoon, Mr. Benjamin Andrews, from Boston: says he came out about three o'clock; that no person was permitted to come out with a horse, or bring any furniture, unless in hand; that some of the pavements on the Neck were taken up, but no trench dug; that a vessel from England had brought a large quantity of artillery and stores for the use of the Regular Army; that nothing had transpired of the intentions of the new generals; that there was no appearance of an accommodation; that, by late advices from England, they were determined to push matters to extremity; that certain advices had been received of the reinforcements, and expected every day; that it was talked among the officers, a sally out would be made when the reinforcements arrived. Heard that the boat which the

Continental Army took, near Deer Island, was put in a cart, and carried to Cambridge, and from thence to Roxbury: two sailors in it, with their oars out, rowing, made diversion for the country people.

Tuesday, June 6. — In the forenoon, nothing remarkable. In the afternoon, Mrs. Price and Polly visited at Colonel Gridley's. One Mr. Collins brought us two letters from Newport, — one from Captain Collins to me, the other from sister Collins to Mrs. Price.

Wednesday, June 7. — Went down to Roxbury; from thence viewed the encampment at Boston. The Regular Army have encamped on all the ground from Beacon Hill to the sea, on the west side of the Common, and in the pastures on the west side Pleasant Street, and fortified all the hills in the town; and there seemed to be as many tents as soldiers. The Continental Army, at Roxbury, appeared in high spirits and healthy; being mostly young men, and many of them persons of wealth, and reputable yeomen. Fritz, in custody of our main-guard, being detected yesterday attempting to carry in meat and a small box of watches to Boston.

Thursday, June 8. — A company of Provincial soldiers, from Tiverton in Rhode Island, passed this morning in their way to the Continental camp. They were a body of strong and healthy young men.

Friday, June 9. — An exceeding pleasant morning. The farmers complain for want of rain. Mrs. Hirst, who came out of Boston last Tuesday, passed by in her way to Colonel Gridley's. She says a considerable number of persons are daily applying for passes, but cannot obtain them; that the town is much distressed for want of fresh provisions; and that the inhabitants are in a melancholy situation.

Saturday, June 10. — This forenoon, nothing remarkable. The afternoon, some soldiers passing to the camp, others going home on furlow. A report that a party of the Continental Army had gone to Noddle's Island to destroy a barn and some out-houses remaining there, and bring off two colts. The ground this way very dry.

Sunday, June 11. — This morning fell a small shower of rain, which made the air very pleasant and agreeable. Report that no person was permitted to pass the lines yesterday, nor men for several days past. The Continental Army burnt a barn on Noddle's Island yesterday. The Continental Army stopt at Roxbury a yoke of cattle belonging to Bowen, which was carting some furniture

into Boston belonging to him. Fritz is released, and permitted to go to Boston, but ordered not to come out again into the Continental Army.

Monday, June 12. — It rained for about two hours this morning, which gave a fresh verdure to the earth. It is reported that the Continental Army had yesterday made an attack somewhere, supposed on one of the islands. Cannon were heard firing from Roxbury. This afternoon, Mrs. Price, Polly, and Mrs. Doty went a visiting at son Zek's, Mrs. Sprague's, and Mrs. Chace's. Sprained my knee in a bad manner, which occasioned much pain, and almost disabled me from walking. Heard that three transports arrived at Boston with troops.

Tuesday, June 13. — My knee so much swelled, and in such pain, that I could not walk without great difficulty. Passed by, in a team, a woman and three children, who left Boston last Friday. She says no men were permitted to go out. In the evening, reported that eight sail of ships had got into Boston, and that several others were seen off in the bay, and going into Boston: they were supposed to be the transports with troops, as a reinforcement to the Regular Army.

Wednesday, June 14. — The swelling in my knee continues so bad that I cannot yet walk without much pain, so that I am obliged to be confined within doors. Reported to-day that the reinforcements were arrived at Boston; also that General Gage had sent out to the Country Army, that if they would lay down their arms, and deliver up Mr. Hancock, Adams, and some others, he would forgive them. A soldier from the Continental Army says that they opened an intrenchment on Dorchester Neck last night, and were at work on it early this morning; that the cannon from the blockhouse at the Castle had killed three of the Continental Army; that the cannon and musquetry on both sides were now playing off. This morning, and at noon, considerable showers of rain. This afternoon, son Zek visited us. The report of the soldier contradicted. The Continental Army transporting great numbers of fascines in Roxbury.

Thursday, June 15. — The swelling in my knee continues, so as I cannot walk without limping: but it is much abated; and hope soon to have the free use of my leg. Quite a cool morning. Miss Becky and Miss Polly Gridley, with Mrs. S. Welles and Miss Colman, called here in their way to Dr. Sprague's, and went up with Mrs. Price and Mrs. Armstrong to the top of the Blue Hills.

Mrs. Becky, in her way down, killed two small snakes. Mrs. Sprague, Jr., with Miss Becky and Polly Gridley, spent the afternoon here.

Friday, June 16. — A very pleasant day. Went down to Milton; heard of a new choice of officers in the Continental Army. Colonel Richmond from the Congress says that Dr. Warren was chosen a major-general; that Heath was not chosen [to] any office, but it was supposed that no difficulty would arise from it. Report that an entrenchment would be opened at Dorchester Neck.

Saturday, June 17. — A pleasant morning. Report of the day, — that six hundred of the Continental Army last night opened an entrenchment on Dorchester Neck; that three thousand marched from Cambridge to Charlestown, and opened an entrenchment there; that no opposition was made to those at Dorchester, but that the Regular Army fired from their battery on Copp's Hill; the ships also fired towards Charlestown; that the king's cannon reached the Continental Army on the hill, and killed one man, and did considerable damage to the houses in Charlestown; that the Continental Army was still at work on both entrenchments. Further report, that, at Cambridge, an account was circulating, that, at Philadelphia, they had taken possession of seven thousand seven hundred stands of arms, and made prisoner an officer of rank. It was said that the arms were for the Canadians. In the forenoon, the report of cannon heard, but no account of any attack. In the afternoon, sundry messengers passed, sent to alarm the country to muster to arms at Roxbury. The firing of cannon continually heard, and very loud. We set out, towards sundown, with our baggage, and reached Randall's, at Stoughtonham, about nine miles. In the evening, saw a great light towards Boston, the country people marching down; the firing of cannon distinctly heard till after eleven o'clock.

Sunday, June 18. — At Randall's. The morning and forenoon, and towards sundown, heard the report of cannon. In the evening, some of the people who went down returned from Cambridge, &c. Reported that the town of Charlestown was burnt by the Regulars that had landed there, and forced the Continental Army out of their entrenchment on Bunker's Hill; that the engagement was hot and furious on both sides: but, the ammunition of the Continental Army being spent, they were unable to oppose any longer; and the Regular Army then jumped into the entrenchment, and made considerable slaughter among the Continental Army. The loss is uncertain

either side. It is supposed that great numbers are killed on both sides. Dr. Warren is said to be among the slain, Colonel Gridley wounded in the leg, Colonel Gardner wounded badly, and a great number of others.

Monday, June 19. — Set out from Randall's. Stopt at Colonel Gridley's: they had received no certain account of his wounds. Got to Colonel Doty's before dinner. Further reports relating to the unfortunate action at Charlestown, — that the Continental Army fought like lions, and mowed down the Regular Army as they approached the entrenchments, until their ammunition was expended, and until a fatal mistake (as I call it) was discovered, — that the cartridges and shot for the artillery proved wholly unfit for them, and could not be used; besides which, an opinion prevails among the Continental Army, that treachery was in some of the Continental officers. A suspicion also arises among them that sand was mixt with the powder, and that the cartridges and ball being thus sent was with design: all which creates great uneasiness in the camp. Colonel Putnam has entrenched on another advantageous ground but a small distance from the other entrenchment, upon which the Regular Army continue their cannonading.

Tuesday, June 20. — Took chaise, and went down to the mills at Milton. Reports there that the loss on the part of the Continental troops of the killed and missing did not exceed sixty or seventy, and that the Regular Army had a thousand killed and wounded. Among the Regular officers killed was Major Pitcairn. The cannonading on the part of the Regular Army ceased firing this forenoon. Heard that the Continental Army had received a fresh supply of powder, and that they were in high spirits; that Colonel Putnam held his entrenchment, and was determined to support it until he was cut off; that all the reports of treachery were entirely without foundation, and propagated by the enemies to the cause, and weak, discontented men, and by some cowards who fled from the engagement, and formed these lies to favor their escape from danger. Heard that old Elijah Collins died at Newport last Thursday. So cold, that we sat very comfortably by a fire this evening.

Wednesday, June 21. — It is said that a frost happened last night. Mrs. Price and Polly went to the top of the Blue Mountain. The sprain in my knee was not recovered sufficiently for me to go. Mr. Sol. Hewes and wife dined with us. He came out of Boston last Saturday morning after the engagement began between the Continental

Army and the Regular Army at Charlestown. Heard by him of several friends in Boston who could not get out.

Thursday, June 22. — The morning very pleasant. Went down to Milton, at the Mills: there saw Captain Waterman, who told me that he had just come from Cambridge, where he saw Captain Cochran, who came out of Boston in a fishing-boat yesterday morning, by whom he was informed that the Regulars had killed and wounded, in the last engagement, fourteen hundred men. Among the former were Major Pitcairn and Major Williams, and a great number of other officers.

Friday, June 23. — A report this morning that three Indians had killed three of the Regular Centinels at Charlestown, brought off their regimentals and a watch; that two transports sailed yesterday from Boston with five hundred of the wounded Regulars, — to what place, uncertain.

Saturday, June 24. — Went down to Milton Mills. Report that Judge Elm. Hutchinson died at Boston of the small-pox; a confirmation of the account of fourteen hundred being killed and wounded of the Regular Army in the last engagement. In the afternoon, heard that two of the Continental Army were shot on the marsh, near Brown's house in Roxbury, by the Regular Centry; misty and rain. The two men killed, it is supposed, were drunk, as they went without orders to burn Mr. Brown's house on the Neck, within gunshot of the Regular entrenchment: they were fired upon by a party of about thirty. The Continental Army carried two field-pieces to the George Tavern on the Neck, fired them at a party of seven of the Regulars near their entrenchment: they all fell, and three or four could not be seen to rise again; well satisfied they were killed. The Regulars fired their cannon greatest part of the afternoon into Roxbury: did no other damage, excepting a few shot struck some of the houses.

Sunday, June 25. — Mr. Bosson says that the cannon which were fired were carried from Roxbury Hill by the Rhode-Island artillerymen towards Lamb's Dam, and fired from thence at Brown's house, where was a number of the Regulars, and they saw them run out; but cannot be certain if any were killed, although it was probable they did kill some, as the shot hit the house several times. No firing of cannon this forenoon; all still and quiet in both armies. A considerable number of carts loaded with timber and plank passed by, going to Roxbury, for the use of the Continental Army, in order

to make platforms for the carriages of the cannon in Colonel Putnam's entrenchments. All remained quiet this afternoon and even.

Monday, June 26. — In the morning, passed several people from Roxbury, Cambridge, &c., who inform that the several Continental entrenchments at Roxbury, Cambridge, and near Charlestown, were going on apace, and looked very able for protection and defence; that some of the heavy cannon were mounted, and that a recruit of powder had been received at the camp; that the troops were in high spirits.

Tuesday, June 27. — I went down to Milton, at the Mills: there heard that Mr. Palfrey passed that way to the Congress. He came from London to Nantucket, and had in company with him an officer of one of the Regular regiments, who was going to submit himself prisoner to the Continental Army; that the packets which came for General Gage in that vessel were taken possession of, to be delivered to headquarters or the Congress; that the people in England were quiet, and seem determined still to push matters against us; and that more troops were coming out. In the afternoon, our worthy brother, Captain Collins, from Newport, visited us. By him we heard that our Newport friends were well. Mrs. Gridley and Miss Becky called upon us in their way home from Colonel Gridley. They say that the colonel's wound keeps him confined, so that he cannot move out of his bed, but that he is in a good way to be cured of it. Captain Collins left us to go to Mrs. Chase's. Heard of the appointment of Generals Washington, Lee, and Schuyler.

Wednesday, June 28. — Nothing remarkable this forenoon. In the afternoon, Captain Collins spent the latter part of the afternoon, evening, and night with us. It began to rain about six o'clock.

Thursday, June 29. — It rained all last evening and the whole night, and continued to rain very moderately all this forenoon. A soldier passed says he heard a number of cannon fired this afternoon since he left Roxbury.

Friday, June 30. — Took a ride to Milton Bridge. Reports of the day, — that fifteen hundred barrels of gunpowder had arrived at New York; that General Washington, &c., was expected at the Continental camp to-morrow; that the Continental centinels at Roxbury had killed three of the Regulars at the Neck. Captain Collins set off from hence about five, P.M., homewards. The fore part of the afternoon, some showers of rain; afterwards cleared away, and exceeding pleasant.

Saturday, July 1. — A pleasant morning; assisted in cocking the hay. In the afternoon, assisted in getting the hay into the barn. No news from the camps, that could be depended upon.

Sunday, July 2. — Mr. E. Quincy reports that eighteen hundred barrels of powder is arrived at Philadelphia or New York, and that General Washington is to be at the camps Tuesday next. Mr. Bosson says six hundred-weight of powder came yesterday from Connecticut; that, last evening, the Continental Army fired several shot from a twenty-four pounder from Roxbury Hills, and hit the barracks of the Regular Army; that, this morning, the Regular Army fired great numbers of cannon into Roxbury Street, which did damage to many houses there, besides setting fire to several houses, which the Continental Army extinguished. One house near Roxbury burying-place was burnt down. They ceased firing about nine o'clock. Mrs. Price and Polly went to meeting this forenoon. It rained plentiful showers from eleven o'clock till sundown.

Monday, July 3. — The plentiful rains that fell yesterday made it exceeding pleasant this morning. Towards noon, very warm. In the afternoon, assisted in raking hay. Son Zek visited us. Reports of the day, — that General Washington had got to Cambridge with General Lee and others; that some Regulars in a boat near Cambridge River were killed by the Continental soldiers.

Tuesday, July 4. — Went down to Milton; saw several of my Boston acquaintance; heard of the exact number of the Regulars killed in the Charlestown battle, — making, in the whole, ten hundred and forty-seven.

Wednesday, July 5. — Assisted in raking hay. Dr. Stedman called upon us, in his way from Greenwich to Cambridge. Heard of the Continental Army taking four horses who had run from the Regulars' entrenchment at Charlestown; that General Washington had visited the camps, and the soldiers were much pleased with him; and, by the motions of the Continental Army, it is expected that something of importance will soon happen. In the evening, heard that a Regular (said to be a trumpeter in the Light Horse) came from the entrenchments on Boston Neck, blowing his trumpet till he came to the centinels of the Continental Army, which he passed, and got through Roxbury Street as far as the foot of Roxbury Hill, where he was stopt, then blindfolded, and carried to headquarters at Roxbury; from thence, blinded, to Cambridge, &c. Heard that Master James Lovel, Master Leach, and Mr. Tilestone,

were taken up and put under guard by the Regulars for some pretended offence.

Thursday, July 6. — Mrs. Price, with Mrs. Armstrong and Polly, visited Colonel Gridley's family. The great expectations on account of the flag of truce which came out yesterday have dwindled to nothing more than a young trumpeter coming out under pretence of General Burgoyne's hearing that General Lee had a letter for him. The trumpeter went back again directly.

Friday, July 7. — Had the pleasure of seeing Dr. Joseph Gardner at Milton. He confirmed the account of Mr. James Lovel and Mr. Leach being prisoners in town, also Captain Fortesque Vernon. Very warm day. Heard that Colonel Gardner died of his wounds.

Saturday, July 8. — In the morning, quite warm. Heard that yesterday morning, at day-break, a party of the Continental Army went, and set fire to the houses and barn that Mr. Brown improved on Boston Neck: by the accounts, it was a very courageous attempt, it being executed within musquet-shot of the entrenchment of the Regular Army; and it is supposed that several of the Regulars were killed or wounded, as several of them were seen to be dragged into the Regular entrenchments on the Neck. Also heard that a private came out of the Regular entrenchments on the Neck, with letters to the Continental Army. Heard that Colonel Hatch's lady and Thomas Hutchinson died in Boston lately; also that Dr. Eliot was taken up for some pretended offence.

Sunday, July 9. — Had a confirmation of the account of the Continental Army burning Brown's house; also a more particular account of the message sent out Friday afternoon by General Gage; viz., to know if the Continental Army would send into Boston provisions for the poor there; to desire that they would not entrench farther on Dorchester Neck, and that the centries of the Regulars may not be fired upon.

Monday, July 10. — An exceeding warm day, and very dry. It is said that two men out of each company at Roxbury were drafted out, and gone to Weymouth, in order to carry a large number of whale-boats from thence to the Continental Army. No cannonading from the Regular Army since Saturday morning.

Tuesday, July 11. — Being at Milton this forenoon, read the newspaper, wherein was an account of the news of the battle at Concord, &c., arriving in England; and that the king had called the parliament together upon the occasion; that Governor Hutchinson had

desired leave to return to New England in private life; that the Cayrawaga Indians had taken up the hatchet, supposed against the New-England Colonies; that Governor Tryon was arrived at New York; and that the account received in England relating the Concord, &c., battle, was that sent by the Provincial Congress. The whale-boats which were expected from Weymouth last night to Squantum were prevented going by reason of some necessary repairs wanting in them: but they were expected to be at Squantum this evening; and it is said that they are to be employed in going on Long Island, in order to take the stock from thence. The last evening, a party of the Continental Army (or, as some say, two Indians and a Provincial soldier) went, and set fire to the shop or store of Mr. Brown on Boston Neck (his other buildings being before burnt by the Continental Army), without the least molestation from the Regular Army, although within pistol-shot of the Regular Army. In the afternoon, a shower of rain.

Wednesday, July 12. — Informed that last night a party of the Continental Army, with a number of whale-boats, went from Squantum to Long Island; took from thence the sheep, cattle, and horses on the Island; also made prisoners thirteen sailors which were on the Island. The sailors belonged to the king's ships. Not a gun fired against the Continental troops, nor any kind of molestation whatsoever. A messenger sent out of town with letters from the Boston selectmen, &c., relating the distresses of the poor. A number of whale-boats transporting by land from Dorchester to Cambridge. One Cobb, a gunsmith, killed by lightning yesterday afternoon at Taunton. It rained about an hour; very heavy showers, attended with thunder and several severe flashes of lightning. It is said General Washington has requested an augmentation of the Continental Army; and it is proposed that an addition of twelve men be made to each of the companies employed in the country's service. Towards evening, received an account that a number of whale-boats, manned with Continental soldiers, went to Long Island this afternoon, in order to burn the barns and destroy the hay therein, which they effected, and returned to Squantum, from whence they set off: but, by reason of the carelessness of some of the soldiers remaining too long on the island, the armed schooner and barges sent to attack them had near taken them; but the great activity of the commanding officer prevented their falling into the enemy's hands. A soldier posted at Squantum, who was firing to cover the retreat, was shot dead by the enemy.

Thursday, July 13. — The firing of cannon heard for several hours this morning. Went to Milton, and there heard that the Continental Army were opening an entrenchment near the George Tavern; and that the Regulars were firing at them from their lines, but did not hear of any being killed or wounded. In the evening, the Regulars kept firing with cannon, which killed one man at work in the entrenchments on Boston Neck. One of the Regulars' Centry, being got beyond his post near Boston Neck, was killed by a centry of the Continental Army. Saw a list of the names of the officers of the Regular Army killed and wounded at the battle in Charlestown, — twenty-four killed, and sixty-eight wounded. Several officers afterwards died of their wounds.

Friday, July 14. — Warm in the sun; but a fresh breeze made it agreeable. Some firing this forenoon, from the cannon of the Regulars' entrenchment on Boston Neck, on the Continental Army entrenching near the George Tavern; but hear of no person killed or wounded. It is generally thought that the Continental Army intend soon to strike a blow on some part or other of the Regular Army's forts or entrenchments. Son Zek spent the day with us.

Saturday, July 15. — Nothing remarkable that we have heard of has happened this day, either as to the Continental Army or the Regular Army; no cannonading on either side, or firing of musquetry. In the evening, Mr. Bosson, from Roxbury, tells us, that by the movements among the Continental Army in getting their whale-boats together, and other preparations making at Roxbury and elsewhere, it is apprehended that an attack is meditating. He says some think nothing will be done till advice is received from England how the late battles are relished there. Advice that Colonel Hatch's lady died at Boston.

Sunday, July 16. — A very pleasant and agreeable day; the weather warm; a fine growing season. The Regulars in Boston omit not this day in exercising and disciplining: they were firing platoons in the Common in the forenoon; also exercising their artillery.

Monday, July 17. — Took a ride to Milton. Informed that the Regular Army were entrenching themselves at the bottom of the Common in Boston; that Thomas Hutchinson, jun., was dead, and that it was very sickly in Boston; that Samuel Sewall died at Boston. A fine shower of rain for an hour and an half, which refreshed the earth very much, and made it extremely pleasant.

Messrs. William Baker, Joseph Greenleaf, and H. Perkins, dined with us to-day.

Tuesday, July 18. — An exceeding pleasant morning. It is said that a party of the Continental Army intend to get on Spectacle Island this night. The inhabitants of Boston are to meet this day, at Concord, to choose representatives to meet in General Court to-morrow at Watertown.

Wednesday, July 19. — Early this morning, set out for Watertown: got there about eight o'clock. It was really very agreeable to see such a large number of my late fellow-townsmen, as were there met together, congratulating each other in getting out of the devoted and distressed town of Boston. In the forenoon, divine service was performed by the Rev. Mr. Gordon, of Roxbury, who preached a sermon suitable to the occasion and the times. In the afternoon, it was proposed to elect councillors, and so form a general court or assembly for the making of suitable laws and regulations for this government of the Province in its present disordered state. The packet-boat, which went express from the Provincial Congress to England with an account of the battle of Lexington and Concord in April last, was returned. The express sent by General Gage with his account of the same affair was not arrived when the other express left England. The news of that battle caused the publick stocks to fall, and threw the people into great consternation. One Carpenter, who last evening swam from Boston to Dorchester, says that it was very sickly in Boston; and that provisions were very scarce in Boston, and the people in great distress. Lost the blue paper bundle. Returned to Stoughton in the afternoon.

Thursday, July 20. — This day solemnized as a public Fast throughout the Colonies, agreeable to a resolve of the Continental Congress. The lighthouse at the entrance of the harbour of Boston burnt by a party of the Continental Army, who went out in whale-boats for that purpose. They were fired at by some of the men-of-war; but do not hear of any being hurt. Heard that the choice of councillors, which was to have been yesterday, is put off till to-morrow.

Friday, July 21. — A pleasant morning. Further accounts relating burning the lighthouse, — that the party, after burning the lighthouse, brought off four barrels of oil, some cordage, and about a hundred-weight of powder; also took seven prisoners: they also fired the barn, with the hay in it, on the Brewsters; brought away several

thousand bushels of grain from Nantasket; two boats, and burnt another; had two men wounded, and suppose they killed above twenty, as their oars dropped out of the boats. It is said a drummer came out of the Regular Camp on Boston Neck, and delivered a packet of letters to the country guards near the George Tavern, and went back immediately: the contents of the letters not yet known. Dined here Deacon Church, and his grandson, Mr. Sol. Hewes and wife.

Saturday, July 22. — Took a ride to Watertown. There had the pleasure of seeing several of my Boston friends. Returned to Stoughton. The reports of the day, — that, by the appearance of the Regulars on Boston Neck, it was supposed they were going to hang some person, — the conjectures were various on the occasion; that a considerable number of the Regulars were transported from Boston to Charlestown, — it was apprehended by some that they intended an attack somewhere; that a supply of gunpowder had arrived at several places; that the riflemen from Philadelphia, &c., were expected in to the camp by to-morrow; that some attack on the part of the Continental Army was soon expected; and, in the evening, a rumor that Montreal was delivered up to the Continental Army.

Sunday, July 23. — No firing on the part of the Regular Army; but all remained quiet among them, as it has done for several days past.

Monday, July 24. — This day very warm. In the afternoon, walked through the woods with Mrs. Price and some others, gathering huckleberries.

Tuesday, July 25. — Took a ride to Milton with Polly. Heard that eleven ships sailed out of Boston Harbour yesterday afternoon; it is not known what they are, or where bound. A very warm day. It is said nine ships sailed the day before yesterday.

Wednesday, July 26. — Mrs. Price and Mrs. Armstrong visited Colonel Gridley's family. A very warm day. A report that last night a grenadier deserted from the Regulars' encampment at Bunker's Hill in Charlestown, and went to Colonel Putnam's encampment: he had with him his regimentals, arms, ammunition, and accoutrements.

Thursday, July 27. — Several showers of rain this forenoon. Report that a deserter from the Regulars' camp in Boston got to Dorchester Neck, from whence he was carried to headquarters at Cambridge. In the afternoon, it rained several heavy and plentiful

showers : so much rain fell this afternoon, that the water ran in large streams in the road.

Friday, July 28. — Went down to Milton ; heard that three deserters had run from the Regulars' encampment in Charlestown to Colonel Putnam's encampment ; also that an officer of the Regulars, by some means, had been taken at the same encampment. Mr. Kent dined and spent the day with us. It is very warm, though a considerable of a breeze of wind. It is said that the deserters report that General Gage has several times attempted to get the Regulars to go out of Boston, and give battle to the Continental Army, but they have refused to go ; that the Regular Army consists of about six thousand men, and that great numbers are sick. Hear that Carpenter, the barber who swam from Boston to Dorchester about ten days ago, returned again into Boston, was taken up by General Gage, and hanged on Copps Hill last Saturday. That a party of the Regulars had gone to the Eastern country to get provisions and firewood ; and that the people at the eastward were determined to fight them, and had sent to headquarters for ammunition. General Washington resides at Cambridge, General Ward at Roxbury, and Generals Lee and Putnam at Medford and Prospect Hill.

Saturday, July 29. — Fresh breezes of wind, a warm sun, and very growing season. Nothing remarkable this forenoon. In the afternoon, Mr. Bosson, from Roxbury, tells us that advice had been received at headquarters that General Gage had caused notifications to be posted up at Boston for all persons, who inclined to go out, to leave their names at a place appointed ; that the castle was to be dismantled by the Regulars ; that a hundred and six riflemen had joined the Continental Army.

Sunday, July 30. — An exceeding pleasant morning. Reports of the day, — that a party of the riflemen had advanced so near the Regulars at Charlestown as to engage with a party of them, — killed three, and took two prisoners ; that three men out of each company at Roxbury were drafted out, in order to make another attack on the Lighthouse Island ; that several Boston inhabitants were yesterday let go out by water ; that the Continental Army had been in alarm on the appearance of the Regular Army, as if preparing to come out of Boston. I was at public worship both parts of the day.

Monday, July 31. — Yesterday, a skirmish between the Continental Army and the Regular Army near Charlestown : it is said we lost one man, and killed three or more of the Regulars, and

made one or two prisoners. Last night, a brisk firing of cannon and musquetry was heard for several hours. In the forenoon, we received accounts that about sixty of the Regulars came out from the entrenchment on Boston Neck, and by means of the carelessness, indolence, or something worse, of the country guards placed thereabouts, the Regulars advanced with two field-pieces as far as the George Tavern, which they burnt, and then turned back; that a party of the Continental Army was gone upon an attack of the Lighthouse Island; that a brisk firing still continues over Charlestown side. In the afternoon, further advices,—that the party of the Continental troops who went to the Lighthouse Island had returned back to Squantum with the loss of one man killed, and two or three slightly wounded; that the party brought with them upwards twenty marines and two or three carpenters prisoners; also two field-pieces: they were chased and attacked by boats from the men-of-war. News that the people of Georgia had taken possession of a ship, from London, laden with powder, arms, and cash, said to be for the use of Indians and negroes against the Americans.

Tuesday, Aug. 1. — A pleasant morning. Took a ride to Milton; saw a person who was of the party that went to the lighthouse; heard him give a particular account of that affair; and, from the whole account of the matter, it appears to be a bold, hazardous, and well-conducted expedition. The officers and soldiers employed in it behaved with extraordinary resolution and courage. They were first hailed when within about gun-shot of the island; made no answer, but pushed forward, and landed all around. The Regulars fired twice at them; but they soon obliged the Regulars to submit. They then set fire to the dwelling-house, and carried on board their boats what plunder they could collect; and, after putting the prisoners on board the boats, returned back, and, being closely pursued by the men-of-war's boats, got to Nantasket, and there landed. The Regulars suffered in their pursuit, having one barge stove to pieces by the grape-shot from our field-piece, which was mounted on Nantasket Hill: several of them are supposed to be killed by the constant fire of our people upon them. The Continental troops brought with them twenty-eight marines, two corporals, and two sergeants; they killed a lieutenant and several others; they also brought away one Paul White, a Marshfield Tory, and several New-York carpenters. We lost two men and a boat; two schooners and a boat or two were burnt by our people. It is said that a flag of truce came out of Boston yesterday.

Wednesday, Aug. 2. — Nothing remarkable this forenoon. At noon, Dr. Jarvis and Mr. Edward Carnes came here, and dined: by them, had accounts of their seeing Colonels Leverett, Herman, Brimmer, and others who lately came out of Boston, who report that the inhabitants, as well as Regulars, die in considerable numbers with the flux; that the number of Regulars do not exceed six thousand, fifteen hundred of whom are unfit for duty; that the American troops were to begin an entrenchment this night near Lamb's Dam, and it was expected that the Regulars would oppose them; that the American Army was continually picking off the Regular Army's centrys; that the officers and soldiers in Boston were much dispirited.

Thursday, Aug. 3. — In the forenoon, went into the meadows in order to see the mowers at work, which was agreeable. In the afternoon, again went into the meadows, and diverted myself in fishing, and had considerable sport: the fish in the brooks were cozen, trout, and shiners, which afforded a good supper. Mr. B. Andrews and lady, from Taunton, lodged here.

Friday, Aug. 4. — Spent the forenoon in riding to Milton and back. No remarkable intelligence: the two armies have been tolerable quiet for several days past. It is said powder has been received by the American Army from several places.

Saturday, Aug. 5. — The weather extremely pleasant, and nothing remarkable from below this forenoon. In the afternoon, heard that five transport sloops, that were sent to the eastward for wood, &c., had been taken possession of by the people there, and carried into Broad Bay. Wrote a letter to brother Collins, acquainting him that we intend setting out Monday next for Providence and Rehoboth, &c.; which I sent by one Mr. Vose, of and for Newport. A considerable number of whale-boats went this morning towards Nantucket for flour for the use of the army.

Sunday, Aug. 6. — The appearance of a storm. About eleven o'clock, heard several cannon fired. Heard that Major Tupper had leave to go out of the American lines, in order to converse with Mr. Thomas Boyleston, in Boston, upon private mercantile business. In the afternoon, heard that the firing in the morning was from some ships that arrived in Boston Harbour. Two ships arrived at Boston this morning.

Monday, Aug. 7. — Set out this morning with Mrs. Price in the chaise, expecting to meet Captain Collins and sister Collins at Reho-

both or Providence. Dined at Randall's in Stoughtonham; baited at Mans in Wrentham, afterwards at Stearns's in Attleborough, where was Mrs. Cushing and a part of her family, also Mr. Sam Whitwell's wife, Mrs. Winslow, and Miss Polly Vans. Lodged there.

Tuesday, Aug. 8.—At Attleborough. Proceeded from Stearns's; got to Daggett's at Rehoboth about eleven o'clock, forenoon; there dined. In the afternoon, Captain Collins came from Newport: sister Collins could not leave home. We all visited Mr. Bant and lady, Mrs. Gray and Mr. Ez. Lewis; there found Mr. Boz Foster and wife, all from Boston. Drank coffee, and returned to Daggett's, where we lodged.

Wednesday, Aug. 9.—At Rehoboth. From Rehoboth we went this morning to Providence in company with Captain Collins; put up at Sabin's: about eleven o'clock, took a walk abroad, and had the great pleasure of seeing a considerable number of my Boston friends and acquaintance. Mrs. Price dined at Mr. H. Quincy's, and spent the afternoon there. The evening we spent at Mr. Nightingall's. It rained most part of the afternoon and evening. Lodged at Sabin's.

Thursday, Aug. 10.—At Providence. As we could not expect to see sister Collins, about nine o'clock, set out from Providence in company with Captain Collins. Stopt at Stearns's, at Attleborough, and there dined: it rained such plentiful showers, that we could not set out from thence until about five o'clock, afternoon. Reached Mans, at Wrentham; heard of some men-of-war and transports going to Fisher's Island, and taking from thence eleven hundred sheep, thirty-six head of cattle, and a great quantity of cheese. Lodged at Mans. This morning, saw Mr. Cushing and Mr. Paine, two of our delegates to the Continental Congress.

Friday, Aug. 11.—At Wrentham. Last night it rained excessive hard, with sharp lightning and thunder. Mr. Collins sat out about eight o'clock this morning, and took the post road towards Dedham and the several camps. We afterwards set out, and dined at Randall's in Stoughtonham. The roads much wet by reason of the heavy rains yesterday and last night. Drank coffee at Colonel Gridley's, and got to our home at Colonel Doty's towards evening, having had a very agreeable journey.

Saturday, Aug. 12.—Very fine growing season; the earth greatly refreshed by the late rains. In the afternoon, Mr. Sutton and wife stopt here in their way to the upper part of Stoughton. Mr. Sutton

left Boston last Wednesday: by him had considerable intelligence from Boston.

Sunday, Aug. 13. — A very pleasant day. In the afternoon, I attended public worship at Mr. Dunbar's meeting-house. Mr. Swan and Mrs. Lowell dined here.

Monday, Aug. 14. — The report of cannon fired heard this forenoon. Went to Milton. Son Zek visited us.

Tuesday, Aug. 15. — Warm, yet pleasant, as there is a considerable breeze of wind. In the afternoon, heard that the Regulars fired upon the centinels at Roxbury. The field-pieces of the American Army, placed near Lamb's Dam, fired upon the entrenchment of the Regulars on Boston Neck: they returned the fire, and wounded one man in the head slightly by a cannon-ball.

Wednesday, Aug. 16. — Captain Collins called upon us in his way home to Newport: he had been to visit the several American encampments. Went down to Milton Mills: could not hear any material intelligence either from Boston or the several American encampments. In the evening, a repetition of the accounts of the Parliament House in London being pulled down, and of Lord North and Governor Hutchinson flying to France; that the Regulars fired cannon and shells into Roxbury; but hear of no damage, save that a cannon-ball grazed the head of an artillery-man.

Thursday, Aug. 17. — The report relating the Parliament House, &c., discredited. Heard that four hundred riflemen and some Provincials were gone to Cape Ann; the inhabitants there being alarmed, expecting some Regulars to land, and attack them.

Friday, Aug. 18. — The soldiers who passed this way on their way to their several families upwards report the frequent firing of cannon from the several batteries of the Regulars, but hear of no material mischief being done.

Saturday, Aug. 19. — Went to Milton, but could hear of no intelligence of any great consequence. In the afternoon, heard that Ziphion Thayer and Nicholas Bowes getting out of Boston. Mr. Lowell and wife stopped here in their way to Easton. This afternoon, the Regulars on Boston Neck drove into their entrenchment nine cows which were feeding on the marshes.

Sunday, Aug. 20. — In the forenoon, nothing remarkable; in the afternoon, Mr. Hill, of Providence, was here, who left Cambridge this forenoon, and says, that this morning a woman got out of Boston, who brought a letter from Parson Carnes, which mentioned that

the Regulars in Boston intended to come out this night or to-morrow night, — in consequence of which, preparations were making in the several American encampments to receive them; that a deserter came out of Boston last night, and told of an account received at Boston from England, — that the people in England were in great tumult, and that Lord North had been wounded.

Monday, Aug. 21. — The accounts from the American camps are, that all was peaceable last night; but, as they expected a visit from the Regulars, they lay upon their arms, and were prepared to receive them.

Tuesday, Aug. 22. — Early in the morning, set out for Watertown: got there before nine o'clock, A.M., where I met and had conversations with several members of the Council, and House of Representatives; also had the pleasure of seeing several of my Boston friends and others. Dined at Cambridge; and, in the afternoon, returned to Stoughton. In my return home, met Mr. Joseph Otis, jun., on the road, who informed me that Benjamin Gridley was appointed one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, and that Mr. Goldthwait, as clerk of that court, officiated, and did business in court; that several actions were defaulted, two against Mr. Hancock; also that Gridley moved in the sessions that my office be broke open to get the Session's Book, &c., out of it; but some of the other members of the court opposed it, so that it could not be carried; but that Mr. Goldthwait was very angry at my leaving the town, and not delivering the Court Book.

Wednesday, Aug. 23. — Brother John Avery visited us. After dinner, he wrote a letter to General Jones, and another to Mr. Haskins in answer to one of the 12th or 14th August, inst., from him, relating General Jones continuing in father Avery's house; which he set out with in the afternoon, in order to forward to Boston. The American Army lay on their arms all night, expecting to be alarmed.

Thursday, Aug. 24. — Went to Milton. From a hill, saw a large number of ships near the Lighthouse; their destination uncertain. A report that the Spaniards were gone to attack Gibraltar; also that four thousand of our troops were to possess Dorchester Neck soon, and from thence proceed uncertain. Within this week, three deserters from the Regulars have come out of Boston, and delivered themselves to the American generals. One of the riflemen deserted, and went into Boston: 'tis said he was an Irishman, and had a brother among

the Regulars. The Admiral and Hallowell, it is said, have had a battle in Boston.

Friday, Aug. 25. — Heard that four thousand of the American Army were going this evening to take possession of Dorchester Neck. One Mr. Dean, of Taunton, informs that Murray, late preacher in Crosswell's meeting-house in Boston, and chaplain* to one of the American regiments, had deserted, and gone into Boston. Three more deserters from Boston got into the American camp.

Saturday, Aug. 26. — Being at Milton, saw, from a hill near the mills, nineteen sail of vessels* near the Lighthouse: some of them were large ships: all came under sail, and were bound out. I much fear they are bound upon some evil design. Mrs. Doty's brother and sisters visited her. Informed that General Greene's brigade, this night, was to open an entrenchment on Plough Hill, and that opposition was expected from the Regulars at Bunker's Hill.

Saturday, Aug. 27. — Exceeding warm. A person this morning from the American encampments says that all is quiet there: no firing on either side, except the exchange of a few bullets between the opposite centres. In the afternoon, thunder and lightning, with several showers of rain, which refreshes the earth exceedingly. Yesterday the Widow Parrot, of Boston, passed by: she got out the day before. Mr. Thomas Parker got out the same day with some others. All agree as to the great distress of the inhabitants of Boston for want of provisions and other necessaries. Fresh meat at one shilling a pound, and s[tring] beans two shillings and eight pence half peck; milk, four coppers a gill; and other things in proportion.

Monday, Aug. 28. — Last night it rained hard, with severe gusts of wind, attended with very sharp lightning and heavy thunder. A person passing this road from the several American encampments informs that our forces, last Saturday night, opened an entrenchment on Plough Hill; and yesterday morning the Regulars from Bunker's Hill began firing their cannon and musquetry from their advanced entrenchment, and continued firing all day. Two of the Rhode-Island regiments were killed by the cannon; several others were wounded; also an Indian killed, and two riflemen wounded. This person says he saw five of the Regulars carried off in blankets, and supposes at least twenty of them were killed and wounded. He also informs that he was at Roxbury, and our troops were opening an entrenchment

* "Chaplain" erased by a pen in the manuscript. — Eds.

near the George Tavern, and across the street. He also was at Dorchester, and saw the Regulars on Boston Neck in great motion, bringing cannon and artillery-stores out of Boston; and it was expected there would be considerable firing and cannonading from the Regulars into Roxbury this afternoon or evening.

Tuesday, Aug. 29. — A young man who lodged here last night says he left Cambridge about noon yesterday, and that ammunition-carts were sent from thence to Watertown for powder; that the American camp were in alarm, and expected an attack from the Regulars. Heard that there was firing of cannon and musquetry most part of yesterday afternoon; but as yet no account of any particulars, as no person from the camps has yet passed to give an account. It has been rainy and stormy from daylight the whole forenoon. In the afternoon, several soldiers from Roxbury have passed; but do not learn that there has been any engagement between the two armies. In the evening, Mr. Harris came in from Roxbury. He says that the Regulars from Bunker's Hill were cannonading and bombarding the American entrenchments on Prospect Hill, &c. He could see the shells in the air very plain from Roxbury Hill. It continues raining.

Wednesday, Aug. 30. — It continues to rain plentifully, and for the whole day. It is said that two of the American soldiers were killed yesterday afternoon by the Regulars firing their shells into Prospect Hill. In the evening, the rain ceased; but not clear weather.

Thursday, Aug. 31. — The weather cold, with rain; could hear nothing material from the encampments this forenoon. In the afternoon, very unpleasant weather; in the evening, firing of cannon.

Friday, Sept. 1. — In the forenoon, went to Milton; heard that several ships were seen going into Boston. Two men were killed last night at Roxbury by the firing of cannon from the Regulars' entrenchment on Boston Neck. On my return from Milton, heard the report of cannon, which continued in the evening.

[*Thursday, Sept. 21.*] — . . . and got to Major Whiting's at Roxbury, the upper end of it, and there lodged. At Watertown, heard that St. John's was not taken; but the latest advices from thence was, that the American troops had possession of the ground on each side of it, and intended soon to push into that fort; four and a half tons of powder had arrived from Philadelphia to our army; that deserters from the Regulars were coming out every night.

* Four pages of the Diary, which is in small 16mo, are wanting. — Eds.

Friday, Sept. 22. — At Roxbury; came the road to Dedham; passed Dr. Sprague's house, and got home about ten o'clock; rained all the afternoon. Dr. Jarvis and lady dined here, and were prevented proceeding on their journey to Dartmouth by the rain.

Saturday, Sept. 23. — A very pleasant morning; something cool. Between eight and nine o'clock, heard the report of the firing of heavy cannon in considerable numbers. In the evening, Mr. Bosson came here from Roxbury, who told us that the Regulars fired a hundred and eight cannon, from their lines on Boston Neck and from their floating batteries, at the American Army in Roxbury; and though their shot were well pointed by hitting the breastworks and entering some of the houses, and going through several tents, and falling on the parade of one of the forts, yet no person received a wound. The American Army fired eight shot at the enemy; all of which were seen to strike, and do damage.

Sunday, Sept. 24. — All quiet between the two armies. In the afternoon, some rain.

Monday, Sept. 25. — This morning, set out on a journey with Mrs. Price and Polly to visit father Avery at Leominster; lodged at Waltham.

Tuesday, Sept. 26. — At Waltham; proceeded on our journey, and lodged at Lancaster.

Wednesday, Sept. 27. — Proceeded on our journey, and dined at Leominster with father Avery and family.

Thursday, Sept. 28. — At Leominster; remained at father Avery's.

Friday, Sept. 29. — Remained at father Avery's.

Saturday, Sept. 30. — Remained at father Avery's. By a person from the Continental Army, heard that our people had taken two vessels from the enemy, with provisions.

Sunday, Oct. 1 — At Leominster. In the forenoon, went to public worship at the Rev. Mr. Gardner's new meeting-house, which was the first time of assembling in that house. In the afternoon, went to hear Mr. Rogers, who is attended by a few families in the town at the schoolhouse.

Monday, Oct. 2. — At Leominster; went to Fitchburg, four miles from Leominster; heard that Dr. Church was under guard for corresponding with General Gage: one Mr. Taylor brought this news from Cambridge.

Tuesday, Oct. 3. — At Leominster; spent the day at Colonel Laggatt's: there saw old Mr. Crafts; also William and Thomas Crafts of Boston.

Wednesday, Oct. 4. — At Leominster. Mr. Thomas Crafts and wife dined with us. Mr. Crafts says he had seen two persons from the army below, who confirm the account of Dr. Church's being in custody. One of the persons was Robert Laggatt, who says that a letter (No. 17 of Dr. Church's to General Gage or some person in Boston) was found on a woman, mentioning that some time in December next would be the best time for the Regular Army to come out; that the doctor was guarded by forty soldiers, and that he was to be tried in a few days. If this treachery is proved on Church, may he suffer the full vengeance of the people!

Thursday, Oct. 5. — At Leominster; rain all day, and disappointed in setting out.

Friday, Oct. 6. — At Leominster; remained at father Avery's; took a walk with brother Avery as far as the new meeting-house.

Saturday, Oct. 7. — At Leominster. Mr. John Smith, his wife and son, dined at father Avery's. The principal conversation was relating the treachery of Dr. Church.

Sunday, Oct. 8. — At Leominster; rained most part of the day, which prevented going to public worship.

Monday, Oct. 9. — At Leominster. In the morning, sat out on our journey towards our Stoughton home. Brother and sister Avery accompanied us as far as Mr. James Richardson, at Bolton, where we all dined. After dinner, took leave of brother and sister Avery, and proceeded on our journey; saw old Mr. E. Quincy at Lancaster; lodged at Johnson's, at Sudbury.

Tuesday, Oct. 10. — At Sudbury; proceeded on our journey; dined at brother Jackson's in Brookline. After dinner, sat out, and reached Stoughton about dark of the evening, after a very pleasant and agreeable journey, in which we had the opportunity of visiting a considerable number of our Boston friends and relations, besides many others, and of enjoying perfect health; for all which we bless God.

Wednesday, Oct. 11. — An agreeable day; all quiet below. In the evening, rain.

Thursday, Oct. 12. — Saw a soldier from Roxbury, who says that nothing remarkable has happened in the camp for several days past. In the afternoon, heard that an account had been received at headquarters that Montreal was taken by the American Army.

Friday, Oct. 13. — Went to Milton. Mr. Ben Andrews came from Cambridge this morning. He says that General Washington

had received, by the way of Hartford, an account that Montreal was in possession of the American Army; that they had got possession without firing a gun; that St. John's was surrounded by our army; had sent out terms of capitulation, but Colonel Montgomery had refused to receive them; that twenty or more waggon-loads of provision, going to St. John's, had fallen into the hands of the American Army; and that it was thought St. John's could not hold out a fortnight longer. The Canadians, instead of fighting against us, appear on our side, and against the Regulars. There is also a report, that the Lively, man-of-war, is taken by our people at the eastward.

Saturday, Oct. 14. — A considerable heavy frost last night. This morning, quite cold. Deacon Phillips's wife and daughter, Mr. Jonathan Mason, son, and daughter, stopt here: they came from Norwich. Heard by them that sister Collins had been at Providence, and was going to Rehoboth; and that Nabby Collins was at Cambridge with Mrs. Miflin.

Sunday, Oct. 15. — In the forenoon, I went to public worship at Mr. Dunbar's meeting-house. At noon, Dr. Jarvis and lady, and his brother Leonard, stopt here, and dined, in their way to Kittery. In the afternoon, I went again to public worship. Nothing remarkable from the camps this day. Mr. Chace and Mr. Robert Bagnall were here while we were at public worship.

Monday, Oct. 16. — A cold morning. Can hear nothing from the camps below. In the afternoon, Mrs. Price and Polly visited Mrs. Chace. By the newspaper of this day, it appears that Great Britain is determined to push matters against the Colonies to the utmost extremity. Five regiments of British troops, with detachments of the artillery, matresses, a large number of transports, laden with all kind of warlike stores and provisions, together with ten thousand Hanoverians, were to be sent to America. It is said that a number of the transports were already sailed from England to Emden for the Hanoverian troops; also that several men-of-war were soon to sail from Great Britain for America.

Tuesday, Oct. 17. — In the forenoon, went to Milton. There saw Dr. Belly [?] Jones, who came from Boston about three weeks ago. He was returning from Pembroke to Grafton. Heard by him concerning several of our Boston friends, whom he left in Boston. Mr. Leonard Jarvis stopt, and lodged here.

Wednesday, Oct. 18. — By some soldiers from the American Army,

hear that one of our floating batteries was last evening cannonading the enemy; that, after firing a few times, the cannon split, wounded several men, and the boat sunk, and it was thought several others were drowned when the boat sunk.

Thursday, Oct. 19.—Two persons who were wounded in the floating battery, it is said, are since dead of their wounds. Sister Collins, with her daughter Polly, from Rehoboth, got to aunt Gridley's last night. We went there in the afternoon to visit her.

Friday, Oct. 20.—Sister Collins came to our house. She, with Mrs. Thompson and Mrs. Price, visited at Mr. Chace's: she lodged with us.

Saturday, Oct. 21.—Last night it rained exceeding hard, with a violent gale of wind. Sister Collins remained with us.

Sunday, Oct. 22.—Sister Collins remained with us this day. Miss Polly Collins dined with us. In the afternoon, Mr. and Mrs. Chace and Robert Bagnol visited us.

Monday, Oct. 23.—Sister Collins and her daughter Polly set out towards Cambridge. I went to Milton. Report of the day,—that some men-of-war had cannonaded Falmouth, in Casco Bay, and had burnt down a considerable part of the town.

Tuesday, Oct. 24.—Rain a considerable part of the day. A confirmation of the account of Falmouth being burnt by the king's troops, or men-of-war.

Wednesday, Oct. 25.—The weather cold. At noon, heard the report of cannon which were fired in Boston on occasion of the king's accession. In the evening, sister Collins and her daughter Polly returned from Cambridge, and lodged here.

Thursday, Oct. 26.—After breakfast, sister Collins and her daughter Polly set out homewards. I went down to Milton. Reports of the day,—that an account was received, by way of Hartford, that St. John's had surrendered to our troops; that Major Tupper had been sent with a party of men to the Vineyard, and had there taken possession of two vessels and cargoes; that some advices had been received from France relating to their offers of protection; that General Lee was gone to Newport on public business. Captain Joseph Deane dined here, who says he left Newport Sunday last: there saw Captain Collins; and he was preparing to quit the island.

Friday, Oct. 27.—Mr. Breck, of Boston, and lady, breakfasted here: they are bound eastward. Heard that Sir William Pepperell's lady lately died in Boston.

Saturday, Oct. 28. — Cold and disagreeable weather. Rain most part of the day. Nothing remarkable from the armies below.

Sunday, Oct. 29. — The weather cold and disagreeable. In the forenoon, Mrs. Price went to public worship. Saw a soldier from the American Army, who says all was quiet there. In the afternoon, I was with Mrs. Price to public worship.

Monday, Oct. 30. — Dr. Jarvis and lady stopt here, in their way to Dartmouth from Kittery. The weather cold and disagreeable. The news of Montreal being taken appears without foundation.

Tuesday, Oct. 31. — Went to Milton. Heard that a sergeant of the Thirty-eighth Regiment deserted from Bunker's Hill to Prospect Hill. The news of St. John's surrendering to our troops is premature.

Wednesday, Nov. 1. — Went to Watertown. There saw several of my Boston friends. Heard that Mrs. Hooper had got out of Boston, with a few others, who report that the inhabitants of Boston were in a very distressed situation, as well by reason of sickness as on account of the scarcity of provisions. Hear that a mob had a skirmish with the Guards in London.

Thursday, Nov. 2. — At Newton. Lodged last night at Captain Fadres, at Newton. About noon, set out for Cambridge. After staying there about an hour, set out for Stoughton. Dined at Brookline, and reached home before dark. Forwarded a letter from Watertown by Deacon Nicolls to father Avery, at Leominster. In the evening, Mr. Nat Greene put up at Colonel Doty's, in his way to Taunton.

Friday, Nov. 3. — Rain and stormy all day. Mr. Greene remained with us the whole day. No news from the camp.

Saturday, Nov. 4. — Cold, yet not unpleasant. All quiet in the several encampments.

Sunday, Nov. 5. — The cold, disagreeable weather prevented our going to public worship. Several persons from the encampments called here; say nothing remarkable there. Mr. Ray and his mother stopped here, and propose to lodge.

Monday, Nov. 6. — A teamster from Roxbury says he heard there that our army in Canada had got possession of some important place there, in which was a considerable quantity of beef and other provisions, also a large quantity of powder, also upwards of fifty soldiers of the Regulars taken prisoners; but I fear this account wants confirmation.

Tuesday, Nov. 7. — Rain all the morning. The weather cold,

wet, and very uncomfortable. In the afternoon, continued raining. No news from the army.

Wednesday, Nov. 8. — Mrs. Price and Polly went to Stoughtonham. Something of a pleasant day. In the evening, some travellers who stopt here reported that several ships had lately arrived at Boston; also that two privateers out of Plymouth had taken two vessels, and carried in there, — one from the eastward, with wood; and the other from Nova Scotia, with provisions; both bound into Boston.

Thursday, Nov. 9. — Wet, disagreeable day. At noon, heard the firing of a considerable number of cannon.

Friday, Nov. 10. — The weather still continues disagreeable. Reports of the day, — that a number of persons, within a few days, had been permitted to come out of Boston, and that public notice had been given in Boston that all those who inclined might have liberty to depart the town; that the firing yesterday was in consequence of an attempt to take off some cattle from Lechmere's Point, in Cambridge, — an opposition being made by our army, caused considerable firing on both sides, — the accounts concerning the matter are very uncertain; that great numbers of cannon were heard yesterday, towards Rhode Island; that our army had got possession of Chamblee, with a considerable quantity of stores, powder, and ammunition, and it is expected every moment to hear of the surrender of St. Johns; that the latest advices from England mention that no more troops were coming to America at present, and that an accommodation was much talked of in England, and that the king had graciously received the petition of the Continental Congress.

Saturday, Nov. 11. — Went to Milton. Heard that one of the vessels, which a few days ago was carried into Plymouth by one of our armed vessels, belonged to Captain Jabez Hatch. He was on board, and had a cargo of wood, with cattle, live stock, hay, &c., for the winter's store of himself and friends in Boston. She came from the eastward. Hatch and the vessel's crew were carried to Cambridge.

Sunday, Nov. 12. — Clear and cold, with much wind. Last evening, a soldier from the American Army stopt here: he said that advice had been received at headquarters, that twenty-five thousand troops were embarked and embarking for America; that part of them were already arrived at Boston; that a number of our generals were up all the night before at General Lee's, on consultation. By another soldier, belonging to Freetown, and going to the army, hear that the houses in Bristol were last Thursday burnt and destroyed by the men-of-war. Mr.

William Sherburne visited us: he says that General Washington had received advice, by express, that St. Johns had surrendered to our troops: about four hundred troops, seven hundred barrels of powder, &c., were in the garrison.

Monday, Nov. 13. — Something cold, yet clear and pleasant. The report of the soldier, relating the burning of Bristol, appears without foundation. The report of St. Johns being surrendered to our troops seems confirmed, with very extraordinary additions (which, by the way, I do not believe), by a soldier from the camp, — that seventeen hundred barrels of powder and five thousand troops were in that garrison. It has been repeatedly mentioned by persons from below, that part of the reinforcements threatened to be sent from England are actually arrived in Boston. Mr. Carnes (a son of the parson's) was here this afternoon: he says that it is reported at Cambridge, &c., and believed, that twenty-five hundred Regulars have lately arrived at Boston; he also says that the Regulars, last Saturday, intended to land a number of them at Chelsea, — having their boats, &c., ready, — but the wind blowing fresh against them prevented their setting off.

Tuesday, Nov. 14. — A very pleasant morning. I set out about seven o'clock for Watertown: there heard that Captain Hatch was before the Council, on his examination, relating his attempting to carry provisions to Boston; afterwards heard that they had permitted him to be at large on his giving bond, with sureties, not to go into Boston, or send any letters or other intelligence there. Advice was then received at Watertown of the surrender of St. Johns, and the account of the arrival of reinforcements at Boston believed. Dined with Mr. Morton, Mr. Hitchborn, and Mr. Molineux, at their lodgings. Got home by dusk.

Wednesday, Nov. 15. — It rained hard most part of last night: the storm continued very violent all the forenoon, also all the afternoon. No news from the army, as no person from thence has called here to-day. Last night, received a letter from sister Collins. Captain Scot (Mr. Dennie's captain) put up here last night, and has been detained all day by reason of the rain and stormy weather.

Thursday, Nov. 16. — Last evening it snowed: this morning it was clear and cold. Mr. Benjamin Kent visited and dined with us.

Friday, Nov. 17. — Went to Dedham. Dr. Church was carried through Dedham by an escort of soldiers, on his way to Connecticut. Returned home in the afternoon.

Saturday, Nov. 18. — Nothing remarkable from the army below.

Sunday, Nov. 19. — In the afternoon, went to public worship; the weather cold.

Monday, Nov. 20. — Saw a handbill which gave the account of the surrender of the garrison of St. Johns. Visited Colonel Gridley's family.

Tuesday, Nov. 21. — Went to Milton. Heard nothing remarkable from either army. Mr. Joshua Blanchard and wife, who lodged here last night, set out for Taunton. Son Zek spent the day with us. Captain Wormall, wife, and sister stopt here.

Wednesday, Nov. 22. — Last evening it snowed. Cold, yet pleasant. Young Jarvis stopt here in his way from Bedford to Watertown. This forenoon, Mr. William Davis, of Dartmouth, applied to me for a protest, &c., relating his vessel being taken by the enemy, and carried into Boston. Mr. Scot of Newport, with Miss Crocker and Miss Church, lodged here.

Thursday, Nov. 23. — This day is appointed by the General Court to be observed throughout this Province as a day for a public and general Thanksgiving: a very pleasant day. Last evening, brother John Avery, with Mr. John Smith, came here, and lodged last night: they had been to Newport, &c. After breakfast, they set out homewards. They say that it was reported at Newport, and believed, that a number of armed vessels were upon sailing from Philadelphia, to meet some others from Providence; their design, when met, to attack the men-of-war at Newport. It having snowed yesterday morning, and there being ice in the road, and our horse not caulked, we did not go to public worship.

Friday, Nov. 24. — A very pleasant day for the season. Walked to the brook; afterward up part of the Blue Hill, to see cutting of wood there. In the afternoon, uncle John Deming called here, in his way to Colonel Gridley's. Nothing from either army remarkable. In the evening, Mr. Baylies stopt here: he brought yesterday's paper from Cambridge. Upon reading, it appears by the last advices from England that they are determined to carry their operations in America on with vigor; the Empress of Russia offering her assistance; several young noblemen coming out as volunteers. I do not like advices of this nature.

Saturday, Nov. 25. — It being a pleasant morning, I went down to Milton: there saw one Mr. Pearson, who got out of Boston by water last Tuesday. He says that every thing appears very melancholy there; the poor especially being in great distress for want of fuel and

fresh provisions: he confirms the account of Dr. Sewall's meeting-house being improved as a riding-school. Mr. Bosson says that many of the soldiers seem very uneasy at the new regulations of the army, and are determined not to enter again in the service. I hope matters will be accommodated so as to prevent uneasiness.

Sunday, Nov. 26. — Last night it hailed, rained, and snowed. In the morning, thick weather, stormy, with snow, which continued all the forenoon. At noon, saw Mr. Royal returning from the meeting-house: he says, that, last Friday, one of our privateers went out of Plymouth into Nantasket; there cut out a brig, loaded with provisions and stores belonging to the king; brought her out, and sent her to the northward. The privateer stood to the southward: she was chased by a man-of-war, but got clear. Mr. Scot, of Newport, called here: he promised to see Captain Collins, with our regards, and bring a letter from them on his return from Newport. In the afternoon, the snow-storm continues.

Monday, Nov. 27. — Cloudy, disagreeable weather. Could hear nothing remarkable from either army. Uncle John Deming stopt here in his return from Colonel Gridleys, homewards: reported the privateers out of Plymouth had set a ship on fire at sea, belonging to the king.

Tuesday, Nov. 28. — Cold and disagreeable. Went up about two-thirds of the way to the top of the Blue Hill, in a hollow, where Colonel Doty's people cut their wood. In the afternoon, went again up the Hill to the wood place. Heard that a rifleman had deserted from our camp into Boston. Am sorry to hear the enlistments go on very slow in our army.

Wednesday, Nov. 29. — It rained considerable last night. Mr. Royal informs that General Hopkins is gone with a party, in order to bring vessels of force from Philadelphia to join the armed vessels of Providence in taking the king's vessels at Newport. A traveller informs that he heard, from a colonel at Cambridge, that General Washington had received advice of Montreal surrendering to our army; and that Governor Carlton had fled to Quebec, having first destroyed all the stores, &c., that he could not carry with him. Yesterday, heard that a number—two or three hundred old men, women, and children,—were sent out of Boston, and landed at Point Shirley. I went upon the Hill to see the wood-cutters. Went twice to-day up the Hill to the place where they were cutting wood. It has been a very pleasant day, for the season.

Thursday, Nov. 30. — It being an agreeable morning, I set out for

Watertown. Stopt at General Thomas's, at Roxbury: there saw Colonel Taylor, who was going to the lines, expecting to see Mr. Jonathan Amory. Mr. Payne and a number of others had been gone a little time before, with a flag, for the same purpose. Dined at Brookline; and, in the afternoon, got to Watertown. There saw a number of Boston friends; also had opportunity of seeing young Coolidge, who came out of Boston last Friday in the transport-ship, which landed him and about three hundred others—aged, infirm men, with women and children—at Point Shirley. I enquired much after Mrs. Harrison, but could not learn any about her. Mr. Eveleth came out in the same vessel, but could not find out which way he went. Spent this evening at Mrs. Coolidge's, in company with Mr. Read and Mr. Henderson: we all lodged in the same house. Heard that one of our privateers had taken and brought in a brigantine from England, laden with every kind of material necessary for the use of the train of artillery; and that a ship was burnt at sea, belonging to the enemy; also heard a confirmation of the account of the taking of Montreal.

Friday, Dec. 1.—From Watertown I went to Cambridge. Rode down the Charlestown Road, where I could see Prospect Hill, Winter Hill, and Bunker Hill, very fully. Visited Colonel Gridley; afterwards walked about Cambridge, and was very uneasy at hearing that the Connecticut regiments insist upon leaving the army, their time being expired. A number of them put under guard, and a greater number were murmuring at being prevented going home; but afterwards heard that General Washington had been talking with them, and it was said that the soldiers had consented to tarry ten days longer. In the evening, I returned home, and found Captain Collins from Newport, who stopt to visit us, and lodged here in his way to Cambridge.

Saturday, Dec. 2.—Captain Collins set out for Cambridge. Daughter Polly went with me up the Hill, as far as where they cut the wood.

Sunday, Dec. 3.—The weather was so disagreeable, that none of us could go to public worship. Nothing very remarkable from the armies.

Monday, Dec. 4.—Cold, yet very pleasant. Mr. William Allen dined here. He came through Cambridge. Informs that the brig taken last week, loaded with warlike stores, exceeds what we before heard; having on board, besides the thirteen-inch and other brass mortars, brass cannon, two thousand and seventy stand of arms, two thousand broadswords, five hundred carbines, five hundred pistols. All the shells and

cartridges are loaded with powder; suppose near thirty tons of powder, in cartridges, &c. Also taken another ship, loaded with sea-coal, and English goods. That the soldiers were much more spirited to enter the service again.

Tuesday, Dec. 5.— Walked to the brook. In the afternoon, raw cold. Nothing remarkable from the armies. Hear that Mr. Bowdoin's son is lately arrived from England, who says that matters have taken a turn there considerably in our favor, but have not yet got any of the particulars.

Wednesday, Dec. 6.— Went to Dedham. Heard nothing remarkable that way. Captain Collins from Cambridge stopt here, in his way home. Mrs. Price, having been confined several days with a cold, took a ride out this afternoon.

Thursday, Dec. 7.— Had the opportunity of seeing Mr. Simpson, who came out of Boston last Saturday in a transport-ship, with about two hundred others of the inhabitants of Boston. He says that inhabitants and soldiers there were in want of great many of the necessaries of life; that they are about seven thousand troops there; that they were very much concerned about the ordnance brig, fearing she had fallen into our hands (which, thank God, is the case, to our great joy), which they well knew would add greatly to our strength. I inquired after Mrs. Harrison; but he could give me no account of her. He says that the "Boyne," man-of-war, had sailed for England with a number of officers, passengers on board.

Friday, Dec. 8.— Several soldiers passed from the American camp. Their reports are, that about five thousand are enlisted anew; that it is talked of sending some shells out of the new mortar into Boston tomorrow; that a vessel with powder, fifty tons, is taken by one of our privateers, and carried into the eastward; that a vessel from France, with powder, is arrived at some of our ports; that a vessel is also taken with lemons, oranges, &c.; that a vessel, bound to Halifax with plate and other valuable effects belonging to the Tories in Boston, the crew took possession of, carried into one of our ports, shared the cargo, which amounted to seven hundred pounds sterling a man.

Saturday, Dec. 9.— It being a pleasant day for the season, I went down to Milton, and there read the newspapers, in which was the list or schedule of the ordnance-stores, &c., on board the brig lately taken by one of our privateers, and accounts of a number of other valuable vessels taken by the same privateers; the confirmation of the account of the surrender of Montreal, and the probability of Quebec,

with Governor Carlton, soon falling into our hands. It is also reported that gunpowder, fifty tons of it, is got into some of our ports. Several of the inhabitants of Boston have lately got out by leave from General Howe, who sends them, and lands them at Point Shirley.

Sunday, Dec. 10.—The most part of this forenoon, soldiers or minute-men from Taunton and several other towns above have been passing to our army, in order to support the lines and forts there, in case those soldiers whose terms of enlistment are expired should leave the army, and by that means expose the works there to an attack from the enemy in Boston and Charlestown. Do not hear any thing remarkable from either of the armies below. Mrs. Price and Polly went to public worship this afternoon. I, having a bad cold, was prevented going. The weather is considerable moderate: an appearance of rain or snow. Young Jarvis stopt here at noon: he says our privateers took two vessels yesterday.

Monday, Dec. 11.—Last night it rained. In the morning it continued raining, and quite warm, though very windy. A company of men passed by, going to the army to supply the places of those whose terms of enlistments are expired, and persist in going home. At noon, another company of men, about fifty, passed to the camp for the above purpose: they came from Rehoboth. In the evening, some persons from Cambridge say that one of our privateers, on Saturday last, took two vessels,—one a ship of three hundred tons from England, with a valuable cargo; the other a brig from the West Indies, laden with rum, sugar, &c. They also say that it was reported at Roxbury, and believed to be true, that one of our privateers was taken by the enemy,—a most unhappy matter, if true.

Tuesday, Dec. 12.—The wind at north-west, blew very hard in the night. In the morning, exceeding cold,—much colder than any day we have had this season. Two soldiers from below passed, who say that the report of one of our privateers being taken, and carried into Boston, was believed in Roxbury. About noon, I saw two other soldiers who came from Roxbury. They had heard the above report, but say that the truth of it was doubted by great numbers. Three other persons from Cambridge say they heard the above report; but it was doubted there: so that I am not without hopes the accounts of taking the privateer may not be true. No remarkable intelligence from the army this day. It has been a clear and very cold day.

Wednesday, Dec. 13.—Last evening, several persons from Tiverton, Freetown, &c., inform, that, last Sunday, Captain Wallace's crew burnt

and destroyed, having first plundered, all the houses from ferry to ferry on Connanicut Island; also that they had plundered and burnt brother Collins's house on Brenton's Neck; that they had erected a battery on the Neck, and a number of marines were posted there; that a large number of the Colony men were gone upon the island to drive Wallace and his crew from thence; that our people had taken a lieutenant and some sailors belonging to Wallace. Captain Scot stopt here, in his way to Dighton. Says his wife and family are got out; that Mrs. Scot told him our house was occupied by soldiers: so that I now suppose all left by us there is plundered and destroyed. The Rev. Mr. Lothrop visited us in his way to Roxbury.

Thursday, Dec. 14. — Mr. Lothrop told us that he heard of the burning of brother Collins's house by Wallace and his crew, and believes it to be true. One Mr. Kelton, from Dorchester, says, that, by the flags of truce which have lately come out at the lines, the account of the enemy's taking one of our privateers is true. It was a brig fitted out at Plymouth, commanded by one Captain Mansfield, who, being attacked by a twenty-gun ship, which boarded them several times, and was beat off: at last the privateer was overpowered by their great force, but not before they had every officer on board killed, and all the men to eighteen out of seventy-five; and the brig was afterwards carried into Boston. What a pity it is so many brave men should be slain by those rascals! Mrs. Price and Mrs. Armstrong went to Milton.

Friday, Dec. 15. — Mrs. Sutton passed along about dusk from Cambridge homewards. She says that the people who came out last from Boston, and landed at Point Shirley, have the small-pox among them there; that a person at Brookline was taken with it, but removed. She says it was reported that Dr. Rand of Boston had said that he had effectually given that distemper among those people. The accounts concerning the enemy taking one of our privateers seem to be confirmed. It is pretty certain that a quantity of gunpowder is arrived at some of our ports.

Saturday, Dec. 16. — Two persons stopt here who came from Newport yesterday. They confirm the account of Wallace and his crew burning a number of houses on Connanicut; but they say that they heard nothing of the burning of Captain Collins's house, or any other house on that island: so that we have hopes the account we received of the burning of Captain Collins's house is not true. Mr. Lothrop called to see us on his return homewards at Providence. In the after-

noon, went to Milton. There saw some persons who came out of Boston last night. They say, in general, that matters and things have a gloomy aspect there; that the small-pox was prevailing. The privateer taken and carried into Boston was a brig from Plymouth, — seventy-five men: they were all put on board a man-of-war in irons.

Sunday, Dec. 17. — A wet, foggy, and very disagreeable day. We were all prevented going to public worship. A gentleman from Newport says that not a house has yet been set on fire on the Island of Newport; but that the behavior of Wallace and his crew on the Conanicut Island was the most brutal cruelty, that would disgrace the most savage barbarity. Old men, women, and children were drove out of their houses in the night, being obliged to leave their dwelling-houses on fire. Wallace himself shot old Martin while talking to him.

Monday, Dec. 18. — Yesterday was heard a number of cannon fired. This morning, several persons from Roxbury say, that yesterday at noon, and in the afternoon, the American Army advanced an intrenchment on Lechmere's Point, which caused the enemy to fire at them from Bunker Hill, and the man-of-war lying opposite. From Cobble Hill, our people fired cannon at the man-of-war. They obliged her to remove; and, it is said, they have killed one of our men. Wrote a letter to Captain Collins. Hear that several of our shot hit the man-of-war, and, it is supposed, did her damage.

Tuesday, Dec. 19. — In the morning, pleasant. After dinner, went to Milton. Reports of the day, — that, on Sunday, our army fired from Cobble Hill several eighteen-pounders into Boston; that the Regulars fired a few shot from their battery on Beacon Hill towards Lechmere's Point; that only three men on our side were slightly wounded, although they fired on our people greatest part of the day and night; that Captain Manley had taken another prize, laden with provisions, &c., from Virginia, bound to Boston; that the cannon still continued firing at times, and, now and then, a mortar fired, — the shells being seen, several of them, to break in the air; that Quebec had surrendered, and that General Carlton and his garrison were taken prisoners by Colonel Arnold.

Wednesday, Dec. 20. — A very cold morning. Mr. Royal tells me that he heard that General Washington had sent in to General Howe, that unless he quitted Boston, with all his troops, in fourteen days, he would set fire to the town; that a number of waggons were sent from Cambridge to some place for powder. Leo: and Cha: Jarvis stopt

here at noon. Mr. Bailies, from Taunton, says that Mr. Nathaniel Balch was there last night. He is lately from London, and reports that the great men in England are against us, but that the common people are in our favor. The enemy continue their bombardment on Cobble Hill from Bunker Hill.

Thursday, Dec. 21. — Last night was exceeding cold; and this morning is thought to be the coldest we have yet had. Colonel Ephraim Leonard stopt here, and lodged last night. The old gentleman had been below, intending to procure a pass to the lines, in order to see and converse with his son Daniel, now in Boston; but could not obtain the pass, by reason of the small-pox being in Boston. Hear that the ship-of-war, which was drove from her berth near Lechmere's Point, yesterday attempted to remove there again, but was drove back by our batteries; that our people fired two sixteen-pounders yesterday into Boston, which silenced the enemy of their firing.

Friday, Dec. 22. — Exceeding cold. It is said the enemy has ceased firing since our army sent a few shot into Boston, which was seen to throw the town into great confusion. Mrs. Blanchard, from Cambridge, stopt here, in her way to Taunton. She says that the talk at Cambridge among the knowing ones is, that some attack will be soon on the enemy, but when and where is yet a secret; that General Lee, with a detachment, set off yesterday for Rhode Island. It is also reported that Governor Martin is taken prisoner; also rumored that General Carlton is now a prisoner. Very cold the whole day.

Saturday, Dec. 23. — Last evening, Dr. Winship stopt here. He is from Newport. Says that the inhabitants there had agreed with Wallace, in case he would do no further mischief on the island, to supply him with provisions for himself and crews; that the inhabitants there were removing themselves and effects off the island; and that they were in expectation the Regulars would attempt to land, and take possession of that island. Walked to the wood-lot upon the Blue Hill. Could hear nothing remarkable from our army below. Most of the day, appearance of snow. In the evening, Mr. Benjamin Hitchborn stopt here.

Sunday, Dec. 24. — A considerable quantity of snow fell this morning. Mr. Hitchborn was detained with us. The stormy weather prevented his proceeding to Cambridge; so that I had the pleasure of his company the whole day. He tells me that Mr. Balch says our Boston gentry that lately went to England, were, most of them, very desirous of getting back; that the people there in general were against

us, and continually threatening to scourge us till they had obliged us to submit. The snow-storm prevented the passing of soldiers this way, so that I could hear nothing from the army to-day; the snow falling in such a plentiful manner the whole day, that the roads are filled and the ground covered, so as to render passing very difficult, and prevent my going abroad, or even to set foot out of the house this day; which gave me opportunity to reflect upon the times, and in particular the unfortunate situation of my fellow-citizens, as well those who were obliged to desert their comfortable livings in the town, and leave behind them, some the whole, and others the greatest part, of their substance in it, as those of them who are forcibly detained in it, and obliged to submit, not only to the insults and intolerable abuse of the soldiery; but to the distress that the want, not only of the conveniences, but, in a great measure, the necessaries, of life, must occasion them to feel in a most sensible manner at this inclement season of the year, especially when they have this most melancholy consideration,—that they have a long and tedious season to wade in these distressing difficulties, and no appearance of relief from any, except the immediate interposition of Providence. My own case is hard, and I suffer cruelly by having no source for a future maintenance; but I feel sensibly for the distress of my poor fellow-citizens.

Monday, Dec. 25. — Christmas Day; the weather clear and moderate, and as pleasant as I ever remember at this time of the year. With what mirth and festivity was this day celebrated in Boston from its first settlement until this day! How many of the poor and necessitous of that town received the charity, and were filled with the bounty, of their fellow-citizens on this day! But the inhabitants of that once-happy town are now oppressed, distressed, robbed, plundered, and drove out of it by the iron hand of cruel and arbitrary power. May Heaven interpose on our behalf, and drive these locusts from our good land!

Tuesday, Dec. 26. — A cold, yet clear and very pleasant morning. Mr. Bailies, of Taunton, lodged here last night. He brought from Watertown the Monday's paper, which mentions that it was reported that the Light Horse was gone from Boston to Halifax; that General Howe had given orders for pulling down the Old North Meeting-house, and a hundred other houses; that the soldiery were reduced to half allowance; that they had but six weeks' provisions; and that all kind of necessaries were very dear. The papers also contain accounts of Governor Dunmore and other ministerial agents doing great mischief, and causing much distress among the people in the Southern Colonies.

Wednesday, Dec. 27. — An exceeding cold night last night as well as this morning. Young Jos Sherburne and Nat Jarvis stopt here yesterday afternoon, and lodged, and tarried till eleven o'clock this forenoon. By Mr. Sherburne and several soldiers from the army, hear that preparations seem to be making, and great talk in the army, as if the American Army would soon make a push upon the enemy. The bay is frozen; which, it is said, puts our army in good spirits, as they show a great inclination to be in action. Can hear nothing with certainty from Canada. There are several favorable reports, which want a confirmation.

Thursday, Dec. 28. — Three old Quakers lodged here last night; one of them an aged man, who says he came from Northumberland County, in England, about two months ago. He is on a visit to the Friends in America, and, as he says, to persuade them to fear God, and honor the king. Am something jealous he was sent to promote the interest of the ministry, at least among the Friends. Could hear nothing of any consequence from the armies below. Had a visit from aunt Gridley and Mrs. Jenkins: both of them dined with us. The weather had moderated considerably since yesterday. It is said that General Lee has taken up at Newport Colonel Wanton and a number of others, Tories, and sent them to headquarters.

Friday, Dec. 29. — A very pleasant day. Went to Milton. Heard that one of our privateers out of Plymouth had taken two vessels bound from New York to Boston, loaded with all kinds of fresh provisions, among which were several hundred quarters of beef, and a great number of turkeys, geese, fowls, &c., for the use of our enemies in Boston. Two persons came in to lodge: one appears to be a West Indian. He came from the Mole, and arrived about a fortnight ago. He says the French in the islands are much in our favor. The other is a Scotch or Irishman; and, from some speeches I heard he made, suspect he is upon no good errand. If he is a spy, hope they will discover him below. Dr. Sprague, Jr., and lady, and Mrs. Davenport, spent the evening with us.

Saturday, Dec. 30. — Mrs. Price, Polly, and Mrs. Armstrong, set out this morning for Colonel Gridley's. The weather looks something hazy, and as if we should soon have more snow, or some falling weather. Two persons from Providence confirm the account received of taking up some Tories at Newport. They say that five persons of the principal Tories at Newport were on their way from Providence to headquarters; and that Wallace and his crew, and whole fleet, had left

the harbour of Newport. They also say that a person yesterday from Bristol told them [he] heard the firing of guns towards Newport. It is much expected that there will be some discharge of cannon or mortars by our army into Boston on Monday next.

Sunday, Dec. 31. — It rained in the night and all this morning; so that we all were prevented going to public worship. This is the last day of the year, — a year that will be remembered by Americans so long as an American is permitted to have existence on this earth; a year that will be remembered to the eternal disgrace of the present venal, corrupt, and infamous British administration; a year in which many of the sons of America have bravely fought and bled in defence of the liberties and properties of themselves and their countrymen. May the cruelty, desolations, robberies, and murders we have suffered the year past, by orders from the British ministry, be returned on their own heads! But our thanks are due to Heaven for its kind protection of the American Army the year past in a remarkable manner.

Monday, Jan. 1, 1776. — This day begins a new year, which there is the greatest reason to suppose will be by far the most important year that ever happened in America. It is probable that in this year it will be determined whether America will be tributary to a venal and arbitrary administration, or that her sons be freemen. May Almighty God grant the latter, and, for that purpose, continue to smile on the counsels and arms of America. The weather clear and moderate. Great numbers of soldiers returning home, whose term of enlistment expired yesterday. Miss Nabby Collins, with Mrs. Chase and Major Parks, visited us.

Tuesday, Jan. 2. — A pleasant morning. Went with my daughter down to Milton: there heard that a new admiral had arrived at Boston; also another general, with seven hundred soldiers. Mr. Richardson (brother to Captain Scot's wife, who came out of Boston a short time since) says that his sister informed him she saw a cart-load of goods go from my house, and believes the whole were removed before the soldiers took possession of it. His sister Soren also acquainted him that our family now live at the North End. I believe they are at the house uncle Goldthwait formerly lived in.

Wednesday, Jan. 3. — Quite warm in the sun, and the weather exceeding moderate. Great part of the snow which fell a few days ago melted away. The intimation we had last week, that the "Congress" was to send some shells into Boston on New-Year's Day, was without foundation; none having yet been fired from her. I am

much pleased to hear that the several forts and lines are well garrisoned by our American Army, notwithstanding such great numbers have left the army. A number of cannon was fired yesterday from the ships in Boston Harbour; supposed to be in consequence of the arrival of a new admiral. It is said General Burgoyne sailed for England the 16th last month; suppose to come out again early in the spring, with a huge body of Regular troops.

Thursday, Jan. 4. — It rained in the night and this morning, which melted the snow very fast, and spoiled the sledding; but carts pass with wood, coals, and provisions for the men of our army. A traveller passing says, that Tuesday last, a party of seven marines, going to the lighthouse, were taken by a party of our soldiers; also another small party of the Regulars, going to plunder at Nantasket, were made prisoners by our people. Mrs. Jenkins and Miss Becky Gridley, from a visit at Milton, say they heard Mr. Jonathan Amory and lady have got out of Boston. The weather is remarkably moderate for the season, which must make our distressed poor in Boston more comfortable than if pinched by the severe cold usual at this season.

Friday, Jan. 5. — The weather being moderate, I went this morning to Milton: there had the pleasure of seeing my friend Captain Jabez Hatch. We conversed together a considerable time on the times, and the very distressed situation of the inhabitants of Boston. I really pitied his particular case, he having a wife and a number of small children in town, besides an aged mother; as he cannot go in, having given bond that he will not. He has wrote for his family to come out. The account of Mr. Amory's getting out is not true. Not having seen any person from our army, can get no intelligence from thence this day.

Saturday, Jan. 6. — In the morning, clear and cold, with high winds from the westward. It continues cold and freezing; so that it is probable our army may have an opportunity of passing towards Boston soon on an icy bridge. A traveller from Cambridge: says nothing material from the American Army passed that way. The king's speech is in last Thursday's paper. I have not read it; but hear that it is full of his determinations to push all his force to distress the Americans, in order to bring them to submit to the tyrannical yoke his ministers have framed for them.

Sunday, Jan. 7. — A very pleasant and agreeable morning for the season. I walked to public worship, two and a half miles, and re-

turned home at noon. Going to meeting, heard the report either of a large cannon or mortar; suppose, by the sound, it was the latter. Several other reports of cannon were heard by numbers early in the morning. Spake with several persons from the army, who say all was quiet there when they came away this morning. Mrs. Price went in the chaise with Mrs. Doty to public worship this afternoon. The whole day quite moderate.

Monday, Jan. 8. — Thick, foggy, and disagreeable weather: an appearance of snow or rain. Several persons passed from Roxbury and Cambridge this way upwards, of whom I enquired as to the firing yesterday; but none of them had heard any firing of guns. Mr. Royal tells me he heard in the forenoon, that, on Friday last, great firing of cannon was heard towards Newport; and it is supposed, by persons who have travelled from that way, that there has been an engagement on that island; also that our troops had broke ground on Dorchester Neck, or were preparing to do it.

Tuesday, Jan. 9. — Early in the morning, the wind at north-west: a very heavy gale for several hours, with rain. A traveller from Easton says, that, last evening and night, the reports of a great number of cannon were heard there. We heard nothing of it here. A soldier from the camp at Roxbury says, that, last evening, a party of our army went, burnt, and destroyed between twenty and thirty houses lying near Bunker Hill, and within reach of the enemy's guns, and improved by them as barracks, &c.; brot off nine men prisoners; others say but five, with one woman. As there was a considerable firing on both sides, it is supposed we killed a number of the enemy; but not one of our army was either killed or wounded, as we can learn. In the afternoon, the wind at about west: an exceeding heavy gale.

Wednesday, Jan. 10. — The north-west wind blew in such violent gusts last night, that made the house and bed shake. The wind continues very high, and it is severe cold; which has made the fireside much more comfortable the whole day than to be abroad in the blustering wind and nipping cold, especially as I have no employ to call me out of the house. Several soldiers from the army below confirm the account received yesterday of our troops burning the buildings at Charlestown; which I find is the mill-house there, and the buildings near to it. It gave me much pleasure to see several small parties of the new recruits going down to join our army.

Thursday, Jan. 11. — Went down to Milton. Could hear nothing

remarkable from the American Army. It is reported that Colonel Henry Knox is on his return from Crown Point; got back as far as Worcester, and has with him a number of brass cannon and other ordnance-stores, and was expected at Cambridge last night with his artillery. Mr. William Bant called here on his way to the army, &c. Son Zek spent the day with us. Mrs. Price, Polly, &c., went home with Zek in the chaise. The weather threatens snow or rain soon.

Friday, Jan. 12. — A light snow fell in the night. The weather is moderate, and the morning agreeable for the season. Towards noon, it began to grow cold. Mrs. Gridley and daughter Beckey stopt here, in their way to Cambridge to visit Scar Gridley, who, they hear, is dangerously ill. A soldier from the army below says that nothing material has happened there within a day or two past, except that he heard Colonel Knox was on his return to Cambridge, and that a number of cannon had reached there, which Colonel Knox sent before him. It is cloudy, and has the appearance of more foul weather soon.

Saturday, Jan. 13. — Last night was quite cold; this morning, clear and cold. At noon, and in the afternoon, clear and moderate. Several soldiers from below say that all has been quiet in the army since the burning of the houses at Charlestown. It seems we killed one soldier on the spot, and took prisoners five others, with a woman; and it is supposed seventeen other soldiers or carpenters were burnt in one of the houses. Mr. Royal tells me that one of the sergeants sent on the above expedition ran back, and has since been tried, and ordered to be shot for cowardice. By advices from Canada, I think Governor Carlton's head is pretty near the noose: so that we may hope to see him soon at headquarters.

Sunday, Jan. 14. — Last evening, Mr. Crane, the representative, informed me he was just from Watertown; that advice was received there of the arrival of a vessel from England, which brought intelligence that some of the great men who had been against us were turned in our favor; that Hutchinson was hissed in the public streets; and that it was thought conciliatory measures would yet take place. He also said a vessel from the West Indies, with fifty tons of powder, was expected every day by the committee who sent her; that Knox, with the cannon, was at Springfield. Dr. Jarvis stopt, and dined here. In the afternoon, Mrs. Price and Polly went to meeting. An appearance of a snow-storm.

Monday, Jan. 15. — The militia-men, who inlisted to supply the places of those soldiers whose inlistments had expired, are now returning home, except those of them who inlisted anew for the year; but, it is said, the lines are well supported by those of the new establishment. Two travellers from Rehoboth say, that, last Friday, Wallace and his crew landed on Prudence Island, and, besides burning eight or nine houses, killed several of the inhabitants; that, on Saturday and yesterday, they heard a number of cannon fired; and last night they saw a great light towards Rhode Island, but heard nothing of the occasion of it. Disagreeable weather all the forenoon. In the afternoon, a light snow, and stormy.

Tuesday, Jan. 16. — Went down to Milton. Met several parties of soldiers, — some going from, others returning to, the army. Colonel Ephraim Leonard, of Norton, stopt here, in his way from Roxbury home. He had been down expecting to see his son Daniel at the lines; but was advised not to go, as he never had the small-pox: but his son-in-law, who was with him, went to the lines, and saw Daniel, from whom he heard of Daniel and George Leonard's families getting well through with the small-pox in Boston. I hear, that, every Tuesday, a flag of truce goes from Roxbury to the lines, in order to carry in letters and meet persons there. Captain Jabez Hatch, in his way from Taunton home, stopt, and lodged here.

Wednesday, Jan. 17. — Captain Hatch informs me that he heard at Taunton, the Continental Navy at Philadelphia, consisting of a ship of thirty-six guns, and two others, had sailed from thence; but where bound, uncertain. A soldier from Dorchester says the army was alarmed last night, apprehending the Regulars were coming out. Another soldier from Roxbury confirms the same account. At noon it hailed; afterward it snowed. In the afternoon, friend Hacker stopt here, in his way home. He says that only one man killed, and one wounded, at Providence; that all was quiet at Newport on Sunday last.

Thursday, Jan. 18. — The morning clear and cold. Having nothing to call me abroad, I employed my time this forenoon in preparing letters to send into Boston to Mr. Caleb Blanchard, and some others, relating my affairs there. In the afternoon, Mr. Royal called upon us, and informed that he had just been told, that, at Roxbury, advice had been received that General Montgomery had attempted to take Quebec by storm, but was defeated, with the loss of two hundred men killed. Should this news be confirmed, it will be a

melancholy and unfortunate event, and, I am fearful, will be attended with fatal consequences.

Friday, Jan. 19. — About half an hour before daylight, I awaked, and heard the noise of the shaking of the brass drops on an old chest of drawers in the bed-chamber, and also felt the shaking of the bed. The noise ceased a second or two, and was then repeated. As I could not hear the noise of any person up, nor the least wind abroad, I concluded it to be an earthquake, and waked Mrs. Price, who also heard the same noise, and was of the same opinion. The noise lasted about one minute from the time I awaked. As I have not heard any person say any thing of the above occurrence, perhaps the noise and shaking may be imputed to another cause. Every person I have conversed with from the army tells of having heard the sad report of yesterday; so that I fear it is true. Quite a cold day.

Saturday, Jan. 20. — The weather clear and cold; but exceeding good travelling. I went to Milton, and there met young Captain Job Prince. He came from Norwich. Tells me that Mr. Benjamin Clark, and his brother Christopher and wife, and Mrs. Cutler and some of her family, are there. He is down with intention to see or hear of his father at the lines. Upon enquiry into the late intelligence from Canada, cannot get any certain intelligence of the particulars of that very unfortunate affair. So far is certain, — that General Montgomery is killed, and Colonel Arnold wounded. Many others are killed and wounded in their attempt to storm Quebec. It is said that a re-inforcement is gone from the southward to their relief.

Sunday, Jan. 21. — In the morning, the weather clear and cold. At noon, looked cloudy, and appearance of snow, so that none of us went to public worship. Not a single traveller has stopped here this day, neither have I had opportunity to speak to any in the road: so that I could not obtain any intelligence from either of the armies below, or from any other quarter. In the evening, a traveller from the westward; says that troops are raising that way, to re-enforce our army in Canada.

Monday, Jan. 22. — Went down to Roxbury; waited on General Ward, and gave to him, for perusal, several letters, which I had prepared to send into Boston, — two to Caleb Blanchard, one to Colonel Goldthwait, and one to Mr. Timmins. The general promised me they should go in by the flag to-morrow. The general acquainted me that he understood a considerable number of soldiers were set off from the

southward and westward, to re-enforce our army in Canada. Returned home in the afternoon. The weather moderate, and excellent travelling.

Tuesday, Jan. 23. — Walked abroad this morning, about two miles: it was very moderate and pleasant. At noon, Miss Nabby Collins and Miss Peggy Cushing, attended by Major Parks, stopped and dined with us. Mr. Parks went to the top of the Hill. After dinner, they set out for Colonel Gridley's. Miss Cushing tells me that her father is returned from the Continental Congress, and resides with his family at Dedham. I hear that orders are going out for further re-enforcements to recruit our army. A mill is about erecting in this town, for the manufacturing of powder.

Wednesday, Jan. 24. — Exceeding pleasant for the season. Captain John Dean called here in his way to Swansea. He says that he came out of Boston last Saturday; that the small-pox had almost got through the town, and had been very favorable; that about fifty persons came out with him in a transport, and landed at Point Shirley; that several persons were ordered out of town as disaffected, among whom were Mr. Samuel Jarvis, Captain Andrew Symmes, Captain Joseph Hood, &c.; that Mr. Jonathan Amory did not intend to come out, as they would not let him bring out his effects; that Mr. C. Blanchard was well; that two regiments, with General Clinton, were going to Virginia; that the old North Meeting-house and a number of other houses were pulled down for fuel; that Dr. Cooper's meeting-house had soldiers in it. Miss Collins, Miss Cushing, and Major Parks, on their return from Colonel Gridley's, stopped and dined here.

Thursday, Jan. 25. — Last evening, Captain Crocker stopt here in his way to Taunton. He came out of Boston the 2d December last: informs that Nathaniel Hatch, Esq., is D. Judge, and young Skinner D. Registrar, of the Admiralty; that Skinner is in my office. It is said Captain Manley has taken a large ship bound from England to Boston, with a considerable sum in cash on board; also blankets and soldiers' clothes in abundance. I hear the Rev. Mr. Hunt, late minister at Dr. Sewall's meeting-house in Boston, died last month at Northampton. Major Deshon and Elias Parkman came out in the vessel with Captain Dean from Boston. In the afternoon, walked up the Hill to wood-lot. It has been quite a moderate day. Son Zek spent the day with us.

Friday, Jan. 26. — By yesterday's newspaper, it appears that the Duke of Grafton, with some other noble lords, appeared as advocates

for America in the present session of Parliament. In the paper was the speech of Mr. Wilkes in Parliament: it was sensible and spirited, and touched upon American affairs with a firmness becoming a warm advocate, and friend to America. A brig belonging to Lewis Gray, from Ireland to Boston, laden with butter, beef-tongues, tripe, vinegar, cheese, potatoes, and a number other necessary and comfortable articles for the Tories in Boston, is taken and brought in by one of our privateers. It has snowed most part of the day, so that we have no intelligence from the armies below: however, are well satisfied they are very quiet. Son Zek remained with us all day.

Saturday, Jan. 27. — A clear and cold day. Went down to Milton. Heard that brother John Avery was at Watertown; also that one of our privateers at Plymouth had taken and carried in there two vessels laden with provisions for the army at Boston; also that the privateer had an engagement with one of the tenders, and fought a considerable time; that General Lee was gone to New York, and that forces were raising in Connecticut to go to New York. It is supposed they intend to attack the king's ships at New York.

Sunday, Jan. 28. — Cold and clear. None of us went to meeting this morning, it being uncomfortable by reason of the cold. In the afternoon, Mrs. Price went to public worship. Yesterday afternoon, Madam Belcher's house in Milton was destroyed by fire: I hear she saved her furniture and effects. I have not seen any person from the army below; so that we can learn no intelligence from thence: believe all to be pretty quiet there. It continues cold, and suppose it will be a cold night.

Monday, Jan. 29. — It was extreme cold last night. The cold continued severe the whole day. The carting being extraordinary good, great number loads of wood, coal, and other necessary articles, passed to our army. Not having seen any person from below, could get no intelligence from thence this day. In the afternoon, wrote letters, — one to Colonel Hatch, another to Caleb Blanchard, — in order to send into Boston to-morrow.

Tuesday, Jan. 30. — Went down to Roxbury; delivered my letters to Mr. Ward, aide-de-camp, who was just going to despatch the flag to the lines. Miss Patty Goldthwait, Mrs. Forbes, and two other ladies, besides a number of gentlemen, went with the flag. At the lines were Captain Job Prince, Mr. Laughton, Mr. Timmins, Lewis Gray, and a number of others. When the flag returned, I received two letters from Boston, — one from Mr. Caleb Blanchard, the other from sister.

Goldthwait nor Timmins sent any answers. In the afternoon, I returned home: it snowed great part of the way home. Waited on General Thomas: could learn nothing new. A regiment or two from Cambridge was about marching to Dorchester. There seemed to be no appearance of a sudden attack from any quarter.

Wednesday, Jan. 31. — It rained great part of the night, which carried off most of the snow and ice. The weather very moderate. By the newspapers, it appears that the Address of the Commons to the king approves of all his measures against America, and promises to aid and support him in his further intentions to murder, oppress, and distress the Americans: it also appears that forty ships of war are ordered to be got ready to send to America, to distress our trade, and assist the Regular Army in their butchery and desolation of our people and towns. The firing of guns was heard for several hours to-day.

Thursday, Feb. 1. — The weather very moderate. A thaw, which has melted the ice and snow, so as fills the roads with water, and makes them miry. In the morning, the firing of cannon was heard for a considerable time. My curiosity led me to Milton, to know the cause: there found it to be a large ship going out, — supposed for England, — with some officers of rank on board. Met great numbers of the militia returning home; others going down to join the army. Mr. Robert Pierpoint was at Milton: he tells me that it was reported at Roxbury, one of the king's fourteen-gun men-of-war was taken at the southward; also that a store-ship from England, with forty tons of gunpowder on board, with a variety of other stores, was taken, and carried into some of our ports at the southward. Pray these reports may be true.

Friday, Feb. 2. — In the morning, a light snow; afterwards cleared away, and became quite cold. No travellers this forenoon that could inform of any news from any quarter. One Mr. Tyler lodged here last night. He says that it was reported and believed at Taunton, the account of the forty tons of gunpowder fallen into our hands. But Mr. Royal says that one Captain Curtis, just from New York, tells that he never heard any thing about the man-of-war or the powder being taken: however, I will yet hope these reports are true. Although great numbers of the militia, who a month ago went down to re-enforce the lines, [have gone home?] it is said that a sufficient number of soldiers yet remain there, and that others are daily coming in. I hear Admiral Graves is gone to England; sailed yesterday.

Saturday, Feb. 3. — It is more moderate weather to-day than yester-

day. Mr. Royal gives the report of the morning, — that Colonel Arnold still holds the lower town at Quebec; that he had received some re-enforcements; that the garrison at Quebec had but one month's provisions; that Guy Johnson, with one thousand men, was gone with intention to fall on the back of Colonel Arnold, but that General Schuyler had followed Johnson with three thousand troops, came up with, killed, and took him and all his men; also that one of the king's ships had drove Captain Manley's privateer on shore, but he, his crew, and stores were saved. Mr. Enoch Brown, from Cambridge, confirms the account of taking the fourteen-gun man-of-war.

Sunday, Feb. 4. — Clear and cold. A light snow fell in the night. No travellers have stopped, or even passed, this morning, that I have seen; so that we have no intelligence from any quarter. None of us went to meeting in the morning, by reason of the cold. In the afternoon, Mrs. Price went to public worship. Passed by some soldiers, who came from Connecticut, on their way to the army. They say that a detachment of soldiers, some time ago, marched from Connecticut to strengthen the American Army with Colonel Arnold; another detachment was gone with General Lee to New York; and they are very hearty in that Government in enlisting for the American Army at Cambridge.

Monday, Feb. 5. — Remains clear and cold. Dr. Roberts tells me that John Gray informs him he dined, in company with forty other New-England men, at Governor Hutchinson's, in England; that Hutchinson said orders were sent to Boston to let all the inhabitants who desired it come out, except only a very few; that it was believed the troops at Boston would quit the town, but not before they had burnt all the houses in it, and go from thence to some other place; that the Tories at New York had spiked up the cannon there; that Governor Tryon had retreated on board of an armed ship in New-York Harbor. At noon, Mr. Royal came in, and says that there is now, and for two hours has been, a smart cannonading somewhere or other. Young Bartlet, from Cambridge, says he has heard no guns fired this morning, or since he came away. Another person from below says that he did not hear any guns fired; so that the noise in Mr. Royal's ears probably proceeded from some other cause. It has been a very cold day.

Tuesday, Feb. 6. — Exceeding cold; but, as I expected letters out of Boston by the flag which now goes to the lines, went to Roxbury, and sent in a letter to Mr. Blanchard by the flag, and received one

from him on its return, which gave me much satisfaction, as by it I heard that my books and papers in the office were safe, and to be delivered that day to my friend Blanchard. Mr. S. A. Otis, William Davis and son, and a number others of my Boston friends, were at Roxbury. Returned home before sunset. A soldier at Roxbury broke out with the small-pox.

Wednesday, Feb. 7. — Cold and uncomfortable. Great quantities of wood and charcoal and hay going to Roxbury for the use of our army. It is said that the army is now well supplied with those articles, they having a considerable quantity of each of those articles lodged together at Roxbury. A report that two more transport-ships from England, laden with all kinds of provisions for the use of the army at Boston, are taken at the southward. A number of recruits for the new army passed to Roxbury. Honorable James Pitts, Esq., died at Dunstable.

Thursday, Feb. 8. — The weather considerably moderated. Colonel Doty and Mrs. Doty went in my chaise to Easton to attend the funeral of her brother, Captain Williams, who was taken sick on his way home a few days ago, and died. At noon it snowed, and continued till about three o'clock. In the afternoon, quite moderate. Nothing remarkable from the army below. Several persons heard cannon fired last evening, but cannot learn from what quarter they were fired. Soldiers continue passing for the re-enforcement of our army. Wrote a letter to Mr. Nat Greene, desiring him to send me a part of the moneys due on his note to me.

Friday, Feb. 9. — It rained this morning, which caused a considerable thaw, and makes the weather very moderate for the season. Sent Mr. Blanchard's letters to Taunton by Mr. Crocker. Young Jarvis, from Cambridge, says that he heard nothing remarkable there; so that all at present is quiet between the two armies. Hear that advice is received at Cambridge that re-enforcements are on their march for the relief of our forces in Canada.

Saturday, Feb. 10. — It rained exceeding hard great part of last night. In the morning, continued raining, which makes the roads very miry and the travelling uncomfortable. Mr. Jos Russel and Mr. Nat Greene stopped here in their way to Taunton. Report that a gentleman from Canada, in about ten days, says that our army there was much dispirited before the arrival of the re-enforcements, but, after that, they were in good spirits; that the walls of Quebec were so high and well fortified, that our army did not expect before April to be able to batter them so as to enter; that the garrison at Quebec would soon be

in want of bread; that some person out of Boston said the motions of the Regular Army appeared as if they would quit town.

Sunday, Feb. 11. — A cold, blustering day. Mrs. Price went to meeting in the afternoon. Not a single traveller has stopt here, neither have I seen one, to inquire this day of any intelligence from any quarter, nor have I heard of any guns being fired; so that I suppose all is quiet between the armies below. It continued cold the whole day. Mr. Royal visited me in the afternoon. Mr. Sutton, who married Mr. Winter's (the blacksmith) daughter, is dead at Dedham.

Monday, Feb. 12. — Clear and very cold. Walked abroad, and met several small companies of the militia who are enlisted for two months, and going to re-enforce our armies below. Find, by the last papers, the account of our American friend, Mr. Sayer, being committed to the Tower on pretence of high treason, but he was afterwards admitted to bail; that the Duke of Grafton had joined the minority; that the minority in both houses of Parliament increases very fast; that Captain Manley's vessel was refitting, and near ready for another cruise; that eight or ten of the provision-ships from London, bound to Boston, were blown off the coast, and got to Antigua; that it was on the attack of the lower town at Quebec that our brave troops had the unfortunate repulse.

Tuesday, Feb. 13. — Went to Roxbury: there saw Mr. Payne, Deacon Storer, Mr. Samuel Jarvis, and a number of other Boston inhabitants, who were just setting off with the flag to the lines. Waited their return, but received no letters from Boston. Dined in company with the above gentlemen and a number of others. By the flag, heard of the death of Colonel Jones of Weston, and Mrs. Hugh Tarbut. Returned home in the evening. A pleasant day, and had a very agreeable time.

Wednesday, Feb. 14. — It snowed all the morning. Mr. Benjamin Andrews stopped here in his way to Taunton: he says that the Regulars from the Castle landed at Dorchester Point, and set fire to the houses there this morning, just before daylight. A soldier from Roxbury says that the Regulars, when they landed at Dorchester Point, besides burning the houses there, took seven of our soldiers prisoners, who were placed as centries there. The day before yesterday, a soldier deserted from Dorchester to the Regulars. Several of the general officers were on Dorchester Neck, and saw the deserter go off.

Thursday, Feb. 15. — In the morning, set out for Watertown: dined there, and spent the day in company with a number of my Boston

friends. The affair at Dorchester Point was this: A party of the Regulars from Boston, and another party from the Castle, set off at the same time on the ice, and landed on Dorchester Neck, with an intention to encircle and take a party of our army posted there; but our party discovered them, and retreated, and got from them: however, they took a serjeant and four or five men, who were a picket-guard on the Point, then set fire to the houses,—two or three of them,—and retreated immediately, and got off before any of our army could reach them. Lodged at Watertown.

Friday, Feb. 16, at Watertown. — Being at Watertown, heard several reports,—that General Carlton, being in want of wood for his garrison at Quebec, issued out a large detachment of his troops to obtain it; Colonel Arnold, with his small army in the lower town, attacked them, drove them into the garrison, killed twelve, and took prisoners fifteen of the Regulars; that nine hundred American soldiers were met, just upon joining Colonel Arnold's army; that a vessel was arrived at the southward, from France, with sixty tons of saltpetre, fifteen tons of gunpowder, and thirteen hundred firearms; that three hundred tons of shells were purchased at New York, and soon expected at our camps. It seems to be the prevailing opinion among the officers, that our army will soon attack Boston.

Saturday, Feb. 17. — Last evening, returned home from Watertown. Captain Collins was here yesterday, in his way home. Brother John Avery set out from Cambridge last Thursday morning, in company with Mr. Jos. Henderson, for Philadelphia. I hear he is gone for cash, to carry on the building of the ships-of-war at Newbury, &c. Heard at Watertown of the death of Mr. Andrew Oliver, jeweller; also of one of the Halls, printer, at Cambridge,—the other lies dangerously ill. Mr. Chase and Dr. Sprague, Jr., visited me this afternoon. Mr. Chase tells me they have not four tons of powder in all the magazines at Roxbury; but they soon expect a supply, and then something will be done.

Sunday, Feb. 18. — A very cold day. None of the family went to public worship this morning. In the afternoon, I went to meeting. No intelligence of any thing material from either army this day.

Monday, Feb. 19. — Clear and cold. Foster and Houghton came in the evening, and reported that a person of rank, a foreigner, stopped yesterday at Bracket's, in Braintree, going to headquarters. A soldier came in afterwards, and told about the same person being at Roxbury. Conjectures about him are various at present.

Tuesday, Feb. 20. — The weather continues cold and clear. All seems very quiet in the armies below: no remarkable intelligence from thence this day.

Wednesday, Feb. 21. — The weather considerably moderated. Went down to Milton: saw Mr. W. Spooner, Mr. Hitchborn, and some other friends. Heard that there was some accounts received of a proposed accommodation between Great Britain and the Colonies. Also heard that a gentleman from Germany, Prussia, or some other foreign place, was at headquarters: he is said to be adjutant-general to the King of Prussia, and visiting by way of speculation.

Thursday, Feb. 22. — The weather very disagreeable. It rained most part of the day. Employed myself the whole day in writing.

Friday, Feb. 23. — Went to Milton, and from thence to Braintree: there saw Mr. Cleverly, Mr. Church, Mr. Trot, and others, Bostonians. Visited Mr. Norton, Quincy. In the afternoon, returned home to Stoughton. Heard that a party of our soldiers took some of the centries that were placed by the Regulars near Brown's chimneys.

Saturday, Feb. 24. — It being wet and very muddy, kept house the whole day, and employed myself in writing. Nothing remarkable from the armies this day.

Sunday, Feb. 25. — It continues wet and muddy. A soldier from below says that the Regulars have landed at the Castle two or three vessel-loads of fascines, and it is imagined they intend to take possession of Dorchester Hill. In the afternoon, went to public worship.

Monday, Feb. 26. — The weather quite moderate, the roads wet and very muddy: but few travellers passing and repassing. It is said that the heavy cannon which were left at Framingham are brought down to Cambridge; the mortars are fixed in their new beds; the fort at Lechmere's Point nearly finished; fascines going constantly to Dorchester; and every thing getting in readiness to make a push by our army.

Tuesday, Feb. 27. — In the morning, went down to Roxbury; from thence, went to Brookline. About twelve o'clock (at noon), a person came from Dorchester to Roxbury; reported that five hundred of the Regulars were landed on Dorchester Point; upon which an alarm was beat, expresses galloping to Cambridge, the whole army in Roxbury in arms, and the soldiers quartered in the neighborhood all marching to join the main body, and every thing had the appearance of a sudden battle; but it proved a false alarm. Exceeding muddy, and bad travelling.

Wednesday, Feb. 28. — Quite an uncomfortable day, being wet, muddy, and sometimes snow, mixed with rain and hail. Employed myself at writing most part of the day. No intelligence from below.

Thursday, Feb. 29. — Went to Roxbury and Brookline. Dined at Parson Jackson's. From his farm, could see Boston, and that the steeple of Mr. Howard's meeting-house was taken down: it was standing last Tuesday. I then saw it from Roxbury. Great talk of our army taking possession of Dorchester Hill in a few days. Bad travelling.

Friday, March 1. — A very cold day; the weather clear. Hear that orders are sent for seven regiments of the militia this way, to be ready to march upon the signal for an alarm; each man to be well provided with arms, and to carry three days' provisions, dressed: the militia the other way to be in like readiness. On one side, the militia are to man the lines while our army takes possession of Dorchester Hill: on the other side, they propose to go to Noddle's Island. Mr. Lyon says that Colonel Palmer told Colonel Gill we had eighty tons of powder in store. I wish it may be true.

Saturday, March 2. — In the morning, took a ride, and visited Mr. Joseph Billings and several other of our Stoughton neighbors. In the afternoon, went down to Milton: there saw Mr. Welles and several other Bostonians. Heard that several mortars, with a large number of shells, were brought from Cambridge to Roxbury, and that they were proving the shells, in order to see they were tight, and fit to be fired; also that the cannon were drawn out, and the shot placed for them, and every appearance of a speedy firing from Roxbury into Boston.

Sunday, March 3. — A continual firing was heard the whole of last night. A traveller from Roxbury says that a number of shells were thrown from Roxbury last night into Boston, also a number of cannon fired from thence into town, and that the shot were heard striking the houses. In the afternoon, another traveller from Cambridge says that several shells and a number of shot were fired from Lechmere's Point into Boston; also that one cannon was fired from Prospect Hill to Bunker's Hill; and they returned a shell which blew up the platform in Prospect Hill, but hurt no person. Also hear that two mortars in Roxbury, and two on Lechmere's Point, burst last night, but did no damage. An express passed by, with a letter to Colonel Gill; supposed for the militia to go down.

Monday, March 4. — It is said that a mortar, fired yesterday noon

by the Regulars from Beacon Hill, split. Yesterday afternoon, Colonel Gill received orders to be with his regiment at Roxbury by this day, twelve o'clock, at noon. This forenoon, the soldiers of Colonel Gill's regiment passed to join the American Army at Roxbury. In the afternoon, went to Milton: there found great numbers of the militia passing to Roxbury. The two armies below were firing shot and shells at each other all last night; but hear of no person on our side killed or wounded. The "Congress" mortar was disabled upon firing the third shell from Lechmere's Point. Every preparation is making, and all things necessary near ready, at Roxbury, to take possession of Dorchester Hills this night. May we succeed!

Tuesday, March 5. — Last evening, the brave, resolute, and determined American soldiers took possession of the Heights at Dorchester; the particulars of which, as I hear, are briefly these: At nine o'clock in the evening, twenty-five hundred men marched from Roxbury to Dorchester. About four hundred teams attended them, carrying fascines, intrenching tools, and every article necessary to secure the troops and for breaking the ground. Our troops took possession of the ground without opposition. At about four o'clock this morning, a relief of thirty-five hundred men went on the Hills, and kept possession of them. At several times, there seemed appearances of the enemy coming out; but they did not, and only fired a few shot on the hill: but no person has received even a wound at Dorchester. At Roxbury, it is said, one Mr. Mayo died of a wound he received by a cannon-ball last evening from Boston Neck. One man killed at Lechmere Point. A brisk firing from all quarters most part of the night.

Wednesday, March 6. — Yesterday, went to Watertown, and attended the delivery of the annual oration of the 5th of March on the horrid massacre in Boston in 1770. The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Cooper, and the oration delivered by the Rev. Mr. Peter Thacher. A considerable number of Bostonians were assembled on the occasion; which was a most agreeable sight, especially as there appeared an affectionate regard for each other. Mr. Bass tells me he was at Dorchester, and visited the works on the Hills. They are very strong, and well secured against an attack from the enemy. Last night and this morning, it blew excessive hard from the southward, with heavy showers of rain. It has, most part of the day, been blowing hard gales of wind.

Thursday, March 7. — This day is observed as a day of public fast-

ing and prayer throughout this Province, on account of the public and general calamities the Colony now labors under, agreeable to the appointment of the present governors thereof. I went to public worship this morning. By a traveller from below, hear that there are two forts already erected on the Heights of Dorchester, mounted with cannon; that one of our large mortars is fixed in its bed on one of the heights; and that our army have done incredible work there. The militia who went down on Monday are returning home. The weather clear and moderate. I hear this afternoon that our troops on Dorchester Heights have three mortars fixed in their beds there; also that they are, this night, to go upon a point of land opposite the old windmill on Boston Neck.

Friday, March 8. — Our troops did not go last night to the point of land, as was reported; but they intend it in a few days. Pero was at Roxbury yesterday. He says he heard that a flag of truce came out of Boston yesterday; also that Burbee was in jail. It is also said that a Regular who had some concern in our artillery is also under guard. A Norton man had his arm blown off, and one of his eyes out, by means of a cartridge taking fire as he was loading a cannon on Dorchester Neck. Mrs. Price and Mrs. A. went down to the Mills. In the afternoon, several soldiers from below passed, who say that our army on Dorchester Hills have got their barracks up so as to shelter them from the weather, and that the Regulars have not fired either yesterday or to-day upon any part of our army.

Saturday, March 9. — The reports of this day are so very interesting to us, the distressed inhabitants of Boston, and, at the same time, so comforting, that I shall here mention them with great pleasure. Travellers from Cambridge and Roxbury report, — that yesterday a flag of truce came out of Boston, with a letter from General Howe, or a letter from the selectmen of Boston, or from both of them, which mentioned, that, in case our army would cease firing till the 1st of April next (some say only for three days), the general would leave Boston, with all his troops, and do no damage to the town, or private property; that General Washington was to send an answer this day; that a person came out of Boston the night before last, who says, that, the three nights our army bombarded and cannonaded the town, the inhabitants there were in the utmost distress and confusion; that the Regular Army were removing their artillery and stores on board the ships; that part of the works on Bunker's Hill were already destroyed; that a gondola from Charlestown, loaded with cannon and stores from Bunk-

er's Hill, last Tuesday night sunk in the river. It is also said that carts and wagons have been seen continually passing from the several parts of the town, supposed to be loaded with stores going to be put on board the transports, and a general appearance of leaving the town. It is further said, that the admiral, when he found that our troops had taken possession of the Heights at Dorchester, sent to General Howe to inform him of it; at the same time acquainted him, that, unless he would send his troops to dislodge our army from thence, that he (the admiral) would bring his vessels to sail, and leave the harbor: upon which the general ordered out three thousand men for that purpose, and had them on Hancock's Wharf, where the boats were ready to transport them to Dorchester; but one-half of the men refused going; whereupon other troops were ordered for the purpose; but, upon going to embark on the boats, the greater part refused going, saying, if they must be sacrificed, they had rather die in the town; upon which the matter was laid aside. It is also reported that the Tories applied to the admiral for protection on board the king's ships, who told them that they might look out for themselves: he should receive none of them. May these reports prove true, and a kind Providence return us again to our beloved city in peace, and the full enjoyment of our liberty!

Sunday, March 10. — Yesterday afternoon, we had a report from several travellers from below, that Bunker's Hill was dismantled and deserted by the Regulars, and that they were removing out of Boston; but last evening they began, about nine o'clock, a brisk and heavy cannonade. I went on the hill near Stephen Davenport's, and could there see the flashes of their guns, which seemed incessant. The reports of the cannon were loud, and continued the whole night and until after daybreak. I went to public worship in the morning. At noon, some travellers from below informed me, that our army, yesterday afternoon, in full sight of the enemy, transported fascines and other materials to Nook Hill, on Dorchester Neck, in order to intrench there; but, about nine o'clock, the enemy cannonaded so briskly from the town and the shipping, that they were prevented. Four men, some say five, were killed by the enemy's cannon, and by one ball: they were sitting round a fire on the hill. Our cannon, from Lechmere's Point and Cobble Hill, fired all night, — eighteen from Roxbury, and three from Dorchester Hill; all into Boston.

Monday, March 11. — All was very peaceable between the two armies last night; no cannon being fired on either side. In the forenoon, went down to Milton. The accounts there, relating the cannonade

on Saturday night, are, — that the shipping did not fire; but that the whole fire on the part of the enemy was from the blockhouse on the point of land near the windmill on Boston Neck, and the several wharves at the south part of Boston, to the Long Wharf; that a party of our men who were on Nook Hill, and prevented getting off by the continual fire of the enemy's cannon, lay on their bellies there the whole night, under a ridge, and were preserved from hurt, although the cannon-balls fell all around them. It is said that our people have taken up upwards nine hundred cannon-ball of the enemy's. Reported that women and children, with great quantities of baggage, are seen going on board the ships.

Tuesday, March 12. — The weather quite moderate. Hear that there was considerable firing of cannon last night, but do not learn from whence it issued. No remarkable news from either of the armies below.

Wednesday, March 13. — Went to Dedham. Reports of the day, — that, last night, the Regulars fired, most part of the night, on Nook Hill, in Dorchester. Our troops did not return the fire, agreeable to orders; which, I believe, were from prudent reasons. A soldier says that it was reported in camp that five thousand Regulars were landed at New York, and had drove the inhabitants back. Further reports, — that near fifty sail of men-of-war and transports were fallen down to King Road; that more appearances of the Regulars' intention of leaving Boston; that there is an alarm for the militia to come out.

Thursday, March 14. — The wind easterly, with rain and snow, which makes it very uncomfortable without doors. A soldier from our camps says that the people at Milton and Braintree were alarmed last night, apprehending the Regulars intended landing on some part of the sea-coast that way; the transports having drawn near Squantum. He also said that the rifle-men were to set out this day for New York, as it was reported in camp that five thousand Regulars had landed at New York, and drove our men as far back as King's Bridge. Hear that one or more of our brigades are under orders to march to New York.

Friday, March 15. — A pleasant morning. No firing from the enemy last night. At noon, went down to Milton. There it was reported that five regiments were this afternoon to march from our army to New York; that several articles of household furniture were found drove on the shores, by which it is conjectured that the Regulars are plundering the town, and carrying off the goods in it. It does not yet appear that the Regulars have deserted any of their forts or lines; but,

by their movements, it is thought they will soon quit Boston. I hear that a deserter, who came out two nights ago, says the Regulars are to go from Boston to Halifax. The travelling continues exceeding bad.

Saturday, March 16. — It rained most part of the night, and continues raining this forenoon. No travellers from below to give any intelligence. In the afternoon, a traveller reports that two regiments marched yesterday for New York: some other regiments are to march to-morrow. He also says that one of our barracks on Prospect Hill took fire last night, and burnt down. Another traveller says he heard that it was a barrack on Bunker's Hill that was burnt last night, and that the Regulars had thrown up an intrenchment near Brown's Chimneys. A third traveller says it was a barrack on Prospect Hill that was burnt by carelessness; which unlucky accident I am very sorry to hear.

Sunday, March 17. — Last night and this morning, the reports of a continual cannonade were heard. As no traveller from below has passed, cannot hear the occasion of it; but suppose it to be occasioned by our army intrenching on Nook Hill, as I hear they intended going on that hill after dark last evening. In the forenoon, went to public worship. At noon, Mr. Edmund Quincy brought us the most interesting, most important, and most comforting news we have heard since I left Boston; which was no less than that the Regulars (British) and the mercenary troops, employed by the wicked, diabolical, British ministry, had been obliged to fly out of Boston this day, but not before they had plundered the town, and committed thefts and depredations in every part of it, and conveyed their stolen goods on board the ships, and then departed out of the harbor. Thus the Royal British Army is now become Royal Thieves.

Monday, March 18. — Early in the morning, I set out from our Stoughton home, and, after obtaining a pass from General Ward, went through Roxbury over Boston Neck; passed the enemy's lines there and at Boston Fortification, and rode through the main streets of my dear native town of Boston. There visited my sister, who had been forced from my house; and saw a number of my Boston friends, and the friends of our country, who had been shut up near eleven months past in that town by the cruel hand of arbitrary power, and who, by means of the hard and savage treatment of the British soldiery, and the want, not only of the comforts, but many of the necessaries, of life, were become thin, and their flesh wasted, but yet in good spirits, and rejoicing at meeting their fellow-townsmen; while the Tories about the town,

to their thin visages added looks of guilt, and a conviction of their base ingratitude to their country and fellow-townsmen. As I passed through the town, it gave me much pain of mind to see the havoc, waste, and destruction of the houses, fences, and trees in the town, occasioned by those sons of Belial, who have, near a year past, had the possession of it. But, save a few wretches who tarried behind to take the punishment due to their wicked deeds, the inhabitants who are now taking their residence in the town seemed all of one heart and one mind, zealous in the support of our rights and liberties, and, if possible, more determined than ever to resist the force and power of all those who dare attempt to invade them. Accordingly, every method is taking in the town to fortify and strengthen it against our enemies, and prevent their ever being able to land again in that town. The thefts and robberies of the royal thieves are very great, and many worthy inhabitants will be ruined by it. I returned home in the evening.

Tuesday, March 19.—A pleasant morning. Son Zck came to visit and spend the day with us. Dr. Jarvis and Mr. Breck called here, in their way to go into Boston. Heard the report of cannon, which, it is said, is from the Castle or a battery of ours on Dorchester Point. No person has received any hurt by the cannonade, as our army are well covered there. In the evening, Mr. Hammett, with Mrs. Breck, stopped and lodged here, in their way to Boston. Reported that the Regulars are blowing up the works at Castle William.

Wednesday, March 20.—This forenoon, went to Dorchester. There had a full view of the ministerial navy and transports, with the army on board them. It is supposed there was about eighty sail of vessels lying between the castle and the lighthouse. The enemy continued their fire on our battery on Dorchester Point, but did no damage: they were employing themselves in destroying the works at the Castle, and carrying off the stores. In the evening, a very great light appeared over the top of the Blue Hill, supposed to be the enemy's burning the buildings on Castle Island.

Thursday, March 21.—Last evening, the enemy burnt all the buildings on Castle Island. A considerable of a snow-storm last night and this morning: it afterwards cleared away pleasant. Mr. Andrews, from Boston, says that we have found cannon and stores there to a very large amount, also thirty thousand bushels of wheat; and that our army are strengthening the town in every part, to prevent an attack from the enemy; that vast devastation of property has been made by the enemy.

Friday, March 22. — Went to Boston. Visited my sister. Found that a considerable part of my furniture was broke, and some of it lost: however, am thankful so much of it still remains. The fleet continue in Nantasket Road: cannot learn their destination. Some suppose they are going to the southward; others, to Halifax, and there wait till the river is open, and then proceed to Quebec. Some apprehend they will not go to sea till their provision-vessels arrive, as it is said they have but two weeks' provisions on board. Saw Captain Collins in Boston. The town appears in many places but little better than a heap of ruins. Great number of the houses are wholly down; a great number of others are almost destroyed, the insides of them being cut and broke in pieces, and many of them nothing more left than the outside shell. Returned home in the evening.

Saturday, March 23. — This morning, a considerable snow; it afterwards cleared away, and was very moderate. At noon, Captain Collins called here, in his way home. Several persons from Boston; but have not heard of any thing material. The American Army continue fortifying the town, and some of them have been on Castle Island. The enemy have left a number of cannon there; but they first broke off the arms of most of them. The fleet still continues in Nantasket Road. Mrs. Blanchard (Joshua's wife) stopped and lodged here, on her way to Boston.

Sunday, March 24. — The wind about north-west, and blows a very fresh gale. No person from below this forenoon, so that could not hear any news from thence. I went to public worship this forenoon. Some travellers from below, this afternoon, say that the fleet still remain in Nantasket Road, although the wind has blown a fair and fresh gale for their departure all this day. Also hear that a number of our army are on Castle Island, drilling the cannon which the enemy spiked up there. Read last Thursday's paper, which contained some very agreeable news; in particular, that the minority there gained ground.

Monday, March 25. — Went to Newton, and visited Mr. Justice Pemberton there. From thence went to Watertown, in expectation of seeing Mr. Cushing; but, hearing there that he was at Cambridge, went down, and, after waiting there about two hours, saw him. From thence, returned to Stoughton in the evening. A report that Quebec was in the possession of our army; also that a number of the enemy's vessels had sailed from Nantasket. At Watertown and Cambridge, saw a number of my Boston friends.

Tuesday, March 26. — Went to the upper parish in Braintree.

Visited Esquire Niles. Returned to Stoughton about dark. At Braintree, could plainly see the enemy's ships, which lay in Nantasket Road: they appeared very near that shore, and the inhabitants thereabouts much exposed to the enemy's landing. At Milton, a young Continental officer, being there, said that the regiment he belonged to were to march in the morning. He was not certain which way, but believed to Quebec. The travelling with a carriage exceeding bad.

Wednesday, March 27.— A cold yet pleasant morning. Heard that the enemy's fleet still remained in Nantasket Road. Captain Wormal, who came out of Boston this afternoon, says he heard a report that our army at the southward had an engagement with the Regulars there, and we had killed fourteen hundred of them, and made prisoners of all the rest; that another parcel of the fleet had sailed from Nantasket Road; that the captain of the "Niger," frigate-of-war, had sent into Plymouth, that he would surrender the ship if they would send out a vessel of force.

Thursday, March 28.— It continues cold and clear. Several persons from below. Some of them heard nothing of the report by Captain Wormal relating the engagement at the southward. Mr. Joshua Blanchard says he heard of the engagement; but it was said eleven hundred were killed and wounded. He says all the fleet are sailed, except a few ships-of-war. Mr. Royal says he heard that our army at Quebec has had an engagement, and that we lost seven hundred men. Hope it is not true.

Friday, March 29.— Set out early in the morning, and went to Boston, where a town-meeting was held for the choice of town-officers. The scattered inhabitants collected together, met at the Old Brick Meeting-house, and proceeded in the choice of the officers of the town, usually chosen at their annual March meeting: and it was really a very pleasant sight, after near eleven months' absence, to see so many of my worthy fellow-citizens meet together in that now ravaged, plundered town; but the spot even yet agreeable. Some person had broke into Mrs. Draper's house, and robbed me of great part of my china. Returned to my Stoughton home in the evening.

Saturday, March 30.— The wind easterly, and appearance of a storm. Mrs. Gridley and Scar stopped here, in their way from Boston. Scar says a large quantity of shot and shells were thrown by the enemy off Rowe's Wharf into the dock there; that we are fortifying Fort Hill, and demolishing all the enemy's works which point against the country, and that other fortifications are to be erected to

secure Boston Harbor ; that General Ward is to command the garrison at Boston, &c. ; how that six regiments marched yesterday from Cambridge, either to New York or Canada.

Sunday, March 31. — Last evening and night, it blowed a considerable gale at east and north-east, attended with snow. In the morning it rained, and continued raining most part of the day ; which made the travelling exceeding wet and sloppy, so that we were all prevented going to public worship. Several travellers from below stopped here ; but they bring nothing material from thence. One Wall, who assisted the Regulars, and was engaged with them in the battle at Bunker's Hill, is taken up in Boston, and committed to jail there. A list of the Tories remaining in Boston, with their several characters and behavior during their residence with the Regulars in Boston, is sent to the General Court ; and a committee is appointed thereon.

Monday, April 1. — In the evening past, it rained considerably. Yesterday and this morning, the militia, who, two months ago, inlisted to re-enforce the lines for that term, are returning home. In the forenoon, heard some guns fired, which sounded like cannon. In the afternoon, walked to the Brook ; heard very distinctly the report of a number of cannon. Mr. Royal called on us last evening, and said he had heard that Plymouth was near one-half burnt by the Regulars landing there on Friday last ; but since hear the report is not true.

Tuesday, April 2. — Last evening it was reported that a number of the transports which sailed out of Boston were gone to Newport, and landed a number of troops on that island. This morning, several travellers reported the same ; but, from the whole, do not find any thing in the matter, more than that about thirty sail of the fleet had got to Newport, and no certain account of any troops being landed. Several persons from Boston, this way, say that nothing material has happened there for several days past. It has been a pleasant day ; the travelling bad.

Wednesday, April 3. — It rained in the morning, which prevented my going to Boston as intended. Mr. Andrews and wife, from Boston, in their way to Taunton, stopped here. He says that the fortifications on Fort Hill are very strong there, and some of the islands in the harbor are fortifying ; that several vessels from the eastward are arriving in Boston, with lumber, &c. A person from Dartmouth says that the enemy's fleet did not go into Newport Harbor, but, after

hovering about there some time, pushed out to sea. It has rained most part of the day.

Thursday, April 4. — Went to Boston. A town-meeting was held there, in order to apply to the General Court for fortifying the town and securing the harbor. General Washington dined in Boston; and I heard he intended going to the southward, and was to set out this afternoon. Several regiments marched from Roxbury to the southward. Hear that only five regiments are to be left this way; three of them in Boston, and two at Dorchester Neck. There yet remains in King Road ten ships of the enemy's. Returned home in the evening. It has been excessive windy all day.

Friday, April 5. — It continues very windy, but yet clear, moderate, and pleasant. Walked to the Brook. Saw a person from Newport, who says that there have been several alarms about the Regulars being seen near the island, and supposed intended to land there; but the reports were all groundless. It is said that a transport is ashore on Cape Cod, laden with Tory effects and a number of Tory passengers, among whom is Jolley Allen, and a parcel of Scotchmen. Mr. Holmes, from Boston, says that General Washington set out yesterday afternoon for the southward. Hear that there is now but one ship in Nantasket.

Saturday, April 6. — A warm, clear, and spring-like day. Mr. Joseph Russell from Boston to Taunton, and Dr. Jarvis from Dartmouth to Boston, called here. In the afternoon, Ed. Quincy stopped here. He came from Boston, and says that Captain Manley was in Boston, and told there that he had taken out of the fleet a brig laden with Tories and Tory goods, and other effects, which they plundered in Boston. Among the Tories is Bill Jackson. It is said this was their richest vessel in [the] fleet: had eighteen thousand pounds sterling in cash on board, besides an exceeding valuable cargo of European merchandize.

Sunday, April 7. — Rain most part of the day, which prevented going to public worship. Not a single traveller have I seen; neither has any person stopt here this day: so that we have heard nothing remarkable. In the afternoon, two soldiers passed, who said they came from Bunker's Hill; and, on their way, heard that the Tories who were taken in the transport brig were brought to Cambridge, in order to be committed to close custody.

Monday, April 8. — An uncomfortable day; the weather drizzling, the wind at east, and chilly cold. Mr. Royal informs that he heard,

from good authority, the American fleet, under command of Admiral Hopkins, had been to New Providence, taken possession of that place, and brought off the governor, the secretary, and a number of other persons of distinction, besides a large quantity of warlike stores, &c. ; and that the fleet intended to attack Wallace and his fleet ; also that war was declared by France against England.

Tuesday, April 9. — It rained all the forenoon, and was very uncomfortable. At noon, a traveller from below says that he heard Captain Paddock and Captain Gore were among the Tories taken in the transport brig by Captain Manley. Afterwards several other travellers from below passed ; but they did not hear of Paddock or Gore being in that vessel, and no other of note but Bill Jackson and Crane Brush. Yesterday the remains of Dr. Warren were re-interred in Boston with every mark of honor and respect that was possible to be exhibited.

Wednesday, April 10. — Went to Dedham. Dined with Mrs. Cushing: there saw sister Avery, who came from Leominster the week before. Brother Johnny was in Boston. A member of the General Court informed me that it was agreed in court to fortify Noddle's Island, and raise a regiment to garrison it. The news of Admiral Hopkins's success at New Providence confirmed ; also that a part of his fleet had taken a brig, a sloop, and schooner belonging to Wallace's fleet at Rhode Island, and had obliged Wallace to quit that harbor, and had drove another man-of-war from her moorings. I returned home in the evening.

Thursday, April 11. — It rained this morning, and blew very violent. In the forenoon, cleared away, but continued very windy. In the afternoon, Mr. Jenkins, also Miss Becky Gridley and Mrs. Hirst, stopped here, in their way from Boston. Hear that Bill Jackson and the others taken by Captain Manley were brought to Boston yesterday, and kept together under a guard last night ; and this morning he was carried to Watertown, in order to be examined. The coasters, with wood from the eastward, begin to get into Boston: three of them arrived there yesterday.

Friday, April 12. — Last night and this morning, rain, with very high winds. It continued blowing violently almost the whole day. A report that cannon were heard firing from eleven o'clock until daybreak ; supposed to be somewhere at the southward. It is said that upwards three hundred cannon were fired ; others say twice that number of guns were heard, and that it seemed that the firing of

whole broadsides from ships. [*sic*] These firings were heard distinctly not much more than a quarter of a mile from us.

Saturday, April 13. — In the morning, went to Boston. The news there was, — that Admiral Hopkins, with the American fleet under his command, had an engagement with the Ministerial fleet; that one of their ships had shot away the admiral's tiller rope; which so disabled his ship, that she for some time lay exposed to the enemy's fire, which much disabled her, killed him eleven men, wounded the admiral in two places; also wounded the admiral's son, who was captain of a vessel in the fleet; but they got off clear, and carried away with them a brig, a sloop, and a schooner, all armed vessels belonging to the enemy; and it is supposed killed great numbers of the enemy.

Sunday, April 14. — A pleasant day. Mrs. Price and Polly went to public worship. Dr. Jarvis stopped and dined with us. A person stopt here, in his way from Boston to Providence. This person says that he was employed to carry the account of the engagement that happened in Newport Harbor on last Thursday evening; and that he was in the engagement, on board one of the row-galleys. As he informs, the matter was in brief this, — that the "Scarborough," man-of-war, came into the harbor with two prizes; that, in the evening, a battery of four eighteen-pounders erected on Brenton's Point played upon her, also two row-galleys from Providence. The firing lasted till towards morning; about a thousand cannon being fired on both sides. The "Scarborough" cut her cables, and went out, supposed much disabled, and the loss of many men, leaving her two prizes, behind which were carried up to Providence. The steersman of one of the galleys was wounded, and it is thought will die soon; also that one of the ferry-boats took a provision-vessel coming into the harbor. He says fifteen hundred American soldiers are on the island.

Monday, April 15. — Went with Mrs. Price to Dorchester to view the house I engaged for the summer season. Returned home at noon. Last evening, the report of cannon was heard towards the bay: could not learn with any certainty the occasion of it. In the afternoon, Deacon Church, with his wife and daughter, stopped here, in their way from Taunton to Boston: he went from hence. Mrs. Church and daughter tarried, in order to lodge here. The weather moderate; but an appearance of foul weather.

Tuesday, April 16. — The weather very disagreeable; rain and

windy: but, as I was obliged to attend the Courts of Common Pleas and Sessions at their meeting in Braintree, set out in the morning. Those two courts were opened, and acted upon some little business in the forenoon; also sat in the afternoon, and then adjourned. Heard that two vessels (one a French vessel) arrived a short time ago at the southward with powder. Heard read a very sensible and polite letter from the Continental Congress to General Washington on the success of his army near Boston.

Wednesday, April 17. — Clear and pleasant. In the morning, it was reported that Colonel Greaton's regiment had taken passage by water from New York for the northward, and were made prisoners by the enemy's fleet. The report circulated very fast: but none could tell how it came, or by what authority; so that little or no credit is given to it. Mr. Leonard Jarvis from Boston: he says there is no remarkable news there from any quarter. Mrs. Price and Polly, and Mrs. A., visited at Stephen Davenport's.

Thursday, April 18. — Intended to set out early this morning for Boston; but it rained last night and this morning, which wet the roads, and made the travelling so bad, that prevented my going. The weather, most part of the day, windy, and appearance of rain. Mr. Joseph Russell and Nat Greene passed, on their way to Boston. Hear that the Continental Congress have resolved upon a free trade with all nations, the British only excepted. Hear that four ships are arrived lately in Nantasket. Afterwards heard that ten ships were arrived.

Friday, April 19. — Early this morning, set out for Boston. Was employed almost the whole day in removing my house-furniture from my sister's to father Avery's house, and sending part of it to Dorchester. Remained in Boston all day, and lodged there with Captain Jonathan Davis. The evening I spent in company with five or six of my old friends and acquaintance. The town yet looks melancholy; but few of the inhabitants being removed back into it, occasioned by its not being sufficiently fortified and garrisoned against any further attempt of the enemy, to which it now lies much exposed. The shops in general remain shut up. This day is the anniversary of the famous battle of Lexington.

Saturday, April 20. — Remained in Boston. Several of the active Tories have been examined by the Court of Inquiry, and committed to jail for trial. Dr. Whitworth and son were yesterday on their examination, and afterwards ordered to give bail. It is said the

justices have evidence of the doctor's not having acted the part of an honest surgeon in his practice on the late unfortunate Colonel Parker; and that his limb was unnecessarily taken off, and a cruel neglect of attendance on him, by which means he lost his life. Heard at Milton that the Marshfield Tories had come from Halifax there to throw themselves on the mercy of the people, but were not suffered to land; also heard that the enemy's ships-of-war had blocked up Admiral Hopkins in the harbor of New London. Returned to Stoughton.

Sunday, April 21. — A very pleasant morning. Mrs. Price and Polly went to public worship: Polly tarried at noon. No traveller has stopped here this forenoon; so that I have not learned any news from any quarter.

Monday, April 22. — It rained this morning. In the forenoon, visited Mr. Royal, and took leave of him as going from Stoughton. After dinner, having sent down to Dorchester what effects we had at Stoughton, took chaise, and went to Dorchester; first taking an affectionate leave of Colonel Doty's family, where we have resided near twelve months; that place being the first we took rest in after leaving our habitation in Boston, and flying from the oppressive hand of arbitrary power, which governed then our native town. We lodged at Mr. Withington's, a part of whose house we have hired, in order to be accommodated while we can reside in Boston with safety and convenience.

Tuesday, April 23. — We are now situated about five and a half miles from Boston. I went into Boston, and entered upon business; examining the papers in the store of George Erving. Returned to Dorchester.

Wednesday, April 24. — Went to Boston. Examined the papers in Major Paddock's house. Returned home.

Thursday, April 25. — Went to Boston. Entered upon examination of the papers in the custom-house.

Friday, April 26. — Went to Boston. Continued the examination of the papers in the custom-house. Brought Mrs. Harrison from Boston.

Saturday, April 27. — Went to Boston. Continued the examination of the papers in the custom-house.

Sunday, April 28. — Mrs. Price, self, and Polly went to public worship both parts of the day.

Monday, April 29. — Went to Boston. Continued on the examina-

tion of the custom-house papers ; also went to Treasurer Gray's office, and examined the papers there.

Tuesday, April 30. — Attended the pleas and sessions at Braintree. It rained the whole day.

Wednesday, May 1. — Went to Boston in order to examine the treasurer's papers ; but Mrs. Greenleaf could not attend with the key.

Thursday, May 2. — Went to Boston in order to examine the treasurer's papers, and examined those in the Province House.

Friday, May 3. — Went to Boston. A number of the inhabitants of Boston went on Noddle's Island to work on the forts there. Heard that about seventeen thousand troops, mostly foreign, were coming out on the American station ; and that General Burgoyne, with four thousand English troops, had sailed from England for Quebec.

Saturday, May 4. — Remained at Dorchester the whole day. In the afternoon, walked as far as Dorchester Point. Viewed the fort there erecting, also those on the two hills and at Nook Hill, and returned home towards evening.

Sunday, May 5. — In the forenoon, went to public worship. Mrs. Price, Mrs. H., and Polly went in the afternoon.

Monday, May 6. — Went to Boston. Examined papers at the custom-house. Reports of the day, — that a deserter came from the man-of-war below, who says that it was the talk among the officers of the ship, that the troops and navy which fled from Boston were ordered back to Boston. A young man drowned in going on board a privateer in the harbor. The works on Noddle's Island and Fort Hill go on briskly.

Tuesday, May 7. — It rained all the forenoon. In the afternoon, went to Boston.

Wednesday, May 8. — Went to Boston. Heard of one of our privateers taking two brigs belonging to and from Europe. It rained most part of the day.

Thursday, May 9. — Remained at Dorchester the whole day. Parson Everett and lady dined with us.

Friday, May 10. — Went to Boston. The Boston people, and many others from the country towns near, attend working on Noddle's Island. In the afternoon, rain.

Saturday, May 11. — Went to Boston. By accounts from Halifax, the Tories are in great distress there.

Sunday, May 12. — It rained in the forenoon ; which prevented going to meeting. At noon, some cannon were fired ; which was on

account of the arrival of a ship-of-war, supposed to be from England. In the afternoon, I went to public worship with Mrs. H. The late rain has caused the earth to be covered with an agreeable green verdure; and the blossoms of the peach-trees appear beautiful, and give a sweet smell.

Monday, May 13. — Went to Boston. Several vessels-of-war, great and small, in Nantasket Road. Advice from England by a rifleman who was taken at Quebec last year, and sent there.

Tuesday, May 14. — Went to Braintree, and attended court there.

Wednesday, May 15. — Went to Boston. A number of Tories were examined before the Court of Inquiry.

Thursday, May 16. — Went to Boston. The fortifications go on briskly.

Friday, May 17. — A general fast throughout the continent, appointed by the Continental Congress. We all went to public worship at Mr. Everett's. This day, one of our small [vessels?] took, near the light-house, a store-ship belonging to the enemy, of two hundred and eighty tons, laden with fifteen hundred barrels of gunpowder, a thousand firearms, and other articles. This is not only a very valuable, but important prize, as the articles on board were wanted by us.

Saturday, May 18. — Went to Boston. It rained the whole day.

Sunday, May 19. — A pleasant day. Went to public worship: nothing remarkable.

Monday, May 20. — Went to Boston. The Committee of War, at Boston, received letters from the Committee of Correspondence in Berkshire, with an account that the Continental troops before Quebec had raised the siege, leaving behind them their artillery, provisions, and two hundred sick, occasioned by a re-enforcement of Regular troops and some men-of-war arriving about the 4th of May in the River St. Lawrence, and landing at Quebec.

Tuesday, May 21. — Went to Boston: nothing remarkable.

Wednesday, May 22. — Went to Boston.

Thursday, May 23. — Went to Boston. Yesterday, an engagement between two of our small privateers and upwards thirteen boats belonging to the men-of-war. Captain Mugford killed on our side. It is supposed great numbers were killed of the enemy. Several of the enemy's boats were sunk, and drove on shore.

Friday, May 24. — Went to Boston. The enemy took a small schooner laden with sea-coal from Salem.

Saturday, May 25. — Went to Boston: nothing remarkable.

Heard General Gates and Colonel Mifflin were coming to Boston to take command ; also that eight battalions of soldiers were to be stationed at Boston.

Sunday, May 26. — Appearance of rain. I went to public worship both parts of the day. Colonel Gridley passed to Boston.

Monday, May 27. — Went to Boston.

Tuesday, May 28. — Went to Boston.

Wednesday, May 29. — Went to Watertown. Election of councillors.

Thursday, May 30. — Went to Boston.

Friday, May 31. — Went to Watertown. Returned home by way of Cambridge.

Saturday, June 1. — Went to Boston. A report that a deserter from the admiral's ship at Halifax says a talk there was, that they intended coming to Boston or Cape Ann.

Sunday, June 2. — I went to public worship both parts of the day. Some rain.

Monday, June 3. — Went to Stoughton with Mrs. Price.

Tuesday, June 4. — Went to Needham. Returned home by the way of Cambridge, Charlestown, and over the ferry.

Wednesday, June 5. — In the forenoon, went to Boston. In the afternoon, at Dorchester town-meeting.

Thursday, June 6. — I went with the Dorchester people to work on Castle Island.

Friday, June 7. — Went to Dedham to attend opening the votes for the choice of a county register ; but they were not opened.

Saturday, June 8. — Went to Boston. A privateer commanded by Captain Tracey, named the "Yankee Hero," was taken by the enemy's ships-of-war. In the afternoon, heard of our privateers taking a ship with ninety-five Highlanders, soldiers, and thirty-five seamen on board, and carrying them into Marblehead.

Sunday, June 9. — Went to public worship both parts of the day. Saw several vessels coming into Boston Harbor, supposed to be wood vessels from the eastward.

Monday, June 10. — Went to Boston. Had the pleasure of seeing the Highlanders, soldiers, that were taken by our privateers : they were within the confines of our prison in Boston. Six or seven transports arrived in K. Road.

Tuesday, June 11. — Remained at Dorchester the whole day. E. W. Calef, from Boston, informs that a flag of truce went from Boston

this morning on board the Commodore below, to negotiate an exchange of prisoners ; in particular, Captain Tracey and his crew. He says they were received civilly ; but an exchange could not be effected. He says further, that Captain Tracey and his crew were used in as humane a manner as could be expected ; none of them in irons.

Wednesday, June 12. — Went to Boston. Report of an engagement between the Continental Army and the Regulars in Canada, but not much credited.

Thursday, June 13. — Went to Boston. The whole day, preparations making for driving the man-of-war and transports from out of this harbor. In the afternoon, the Continental troops embarked in boats, in order to take possession of the islands in the harbor and the hills at Nantasket ; and a number of battering cannon, with a large mortar, were also in boats, ready to go.

Friday, June 14. — About six o'clock (by some accident or mistake, the cannon could not be fired before), the cannon began from Long Island to play upon the shipping, which obliged them to weigh their anchors, and make the best of their way out of the harbor. As they passed between Nantasket and the lighthouse, our artillery gave them some shot from Nantasket Hill. The enemy sent their boats on shore at the Lighthouse Island, and brought from thence a party, there placed, of Regulars ; after which they destroyed the lighthouse ; and then the whole fleet made all the sail they could, and went to sea, steering their course eastward. I went to Squantum, and spent the day there, where I had the pleasure of the agreeable sight of the harbor of Boston being wholly cleared of those pirates and plunderers, which this day completed two years since they had shut up the port and harbor of Boston. The Continental troops were assisted by the Colony troops and the militia of the neighboring towns ; all of which behaved with their usual bravery, courage, and resolution.

Saturday, June 15. — Went to Boston. Accounts of an engagement in Canada between our troops and the enemy there ; but so various, that nothing certain can be obtained. The wind blowing fresh at the eastward. The enemy's ships, which were forced out of our harbor yesterday, must be much hindered in their escape to Halifax ; and it is hoped some of our privateers will fall in with them, and bring some of them back as prizes.

Sunday, June 16. — Went to public worship both parts of the day. Firing of cannon heard in the bay this afternoon.

Monday, June 17. — Last night, two transports, a ship and a brig, from Scotland, with about two hundred and twenty Highlanders on board, were chased by three or four of our privateers into Nantasket, where they were both obliged to strike to the American flag. The ship had about seventeen killed and wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and a number of other officers are among the prisoners. Major Menzies was killed in the engagement. Was at Boston, and saw the officers landed on the Long Wharf: they passed up King Street, in their way to General Ward's. Great numbers of spectators were in the streets at the same time.

Tuesday, June 18. — Went to Boston. A report prevailed the whole day, that a ship off in the bay appeared as if she was a prize, having a schooner alongside of her, which was supposed to be one of our armed vessels; but, towards evening, it was said that the ship was one of the Continental men-of-war.

Wednesday, June 19. — Went to Boston, and had the pleasure of hearing that the ship seen yesterday was a prize; being another Scotch transport, with a hundred and twelve Highlanders on board. She was taken last night, without resistance, a small distance from the lighthouse. Major Menzies was interred with the honors of war.

Thursday, June 20. — Went to Boston. The weather warm, and the ground exceeding dry. The accounts from Canada very disagreeable with respect to our army that way. The Congress have sent to several governments, requesting that the militia march to New York as soon as possible; they having intelligence that the enemy intend an attack upon that place in a few days.

Friday, June 21. — Remained at Dorchester all day.

Saturday, June 22. — Went to Boston: nothing very remarkable.

Sunday, June 23. — Went to public worship both parts of the day. In the afternoon, Mr. Bumstead informed me that he was sent out of Boston, express to Braintree, Hingham, and Weymouth, to acquaint them that eleven large ships, supposed to be transports, were seen in the bay: the wind being westerly, they could not get in.

Monday, June 24. — Went to Boston. Ships seen in the bay; but, as the wind continues about westerly, they could not get in.

Tuesday, June 25. — Went to Boston. The ships remain cruising in the bay, with the wind at the westward. Heard sister Collins was in Boston: she came to Brookline last night.

Wednesday, June 26. — Went to Boston. The wind continues at the westward, and the ships still cruising in the bay: they are discovered to be ten transports, with Highlanders on board, and a frigate, supposed to be thirty-two guns. Mrs. Price went with me to town, expecting to see sister Collins; but was disappointed.

Thursday, June 27. — Remained at Dorchester. The wind at the eastward. About noon, saw eight or nine sail of large ships in the bay.

Friday, June 28. — Went to Boston. Dined at father Avery's, in company with sister Collins: she came with me to Dorchester.

Saturday, June 29. — Went to Boston, and carried sister Collins. Saw a person who left New York last Monday afternoon. By him had several particulars relating the infernal plot contrived by a number of the principal Tories in New York to murder General Washington and a number of our other principal officers there; also to blow up the magazine, &c. Several of them are taken up, and put in irons. May all of them receive a reward due to so hellish a scheme! Sister Collins returned with me to Dorchester.

Sunday, June 30. — Brother and sister Avery spent the day with us; also sister Collins.

Monday, July 1. — Went to Boston, and carried sister Collins. Heard of a prize-brig carried into Salem; another carried into Providence. Heard further particulars concerning the horrid plot at New York.

Tuesday, July 2. — Remained at Dorchester all day. Father Avery visited us this forenoon. Several showers of rain fell, which revives the dry and thirsty ground, almost parched up for want of it.

Wednesday, July 3. — Went to Boston. Nothing remarkable, save probability of the small-pox spreading.

Thursday, July 4. — Went to Boston. Liberty given for to inoculate for the small-pox: many began upon it this afternoon.

Friday, July 5. — Went to Boston. Several hundreds inoculated with the small-pox this day.

Saturday, July 6. — Went to Boston. Inoculating continues.

Sunday, July 7. — Remained at Dorchester, and attended public worship this forenoon. In the afternoon, went with Mrs. Price to Boston. Brother Avery's children inoculated. Returned to Dorchester.

Monday, July 8. — Went to Boston, and carried daughter Polly, in order to be inoculated; which was done by Dr. Gardner this forenoon.

Tuesday, July 9. — Went to Dedham to attend the Court of Common Pleas and Court of Sessions. Expected the votes for register of deeds would be opened and sorted; but they were not.

Wednesday, July 10. — Went to Boston. Carried Mrs. Harrison, with son Zek, with me, who was inoculated by Dr. Gardner.

Thursday, July 11. — Went to Boston: Mrs. Price went with me. Visited our children, who are bravely.

Friday, July 12. — Went to Boston. Several thousands are supposed to be inoculated in town.

Saturday, July 13. — Went to Boston. Our children are very comfortable. The mail from New York brings the declaration of the Continental Congress for INDEPENDENCE.

Sunday, July 14. — A pleasant day. Nothing remarkable.

Monday, July 15. — Went to Boston with Mrs. Price, in order to remain there until the children had recovered of the small-pox.

Tuesday, July 16. — My family are with brother Avery, at father Avery's house, in Boston.

Wednesday, July 17. — Nothing remarkable. The weather very pleasant.

Thursday, July 18. — This day was proclaimed, from the balcony in the State House in this town, the Declaration of Independence.

Friday, July 19. — The weather exceeding favorable for the great numbers of persons under inoculation.

Saturday, July 20. — It is supposed that persons not belonging to Boston, and now under inoculation there, make more than one-half the whole number.

Sunday, July 21. — A schooner from Martinico, laden with molasses, arrived here. A ship of two hundred tons, laden with pork and butter, sent in as a prize.

Monday, July 22. — Nothing remarkable.

Tuesday, July 23. — Lem^l. [?] Scot came to town from Halifax. He was taken prisoner at the battle on Bunker's Hill.

Wednesday, July 24. —

Thursday, July 25. — It is said that the people of Virginia have agreed upon a new model of government, and chosen Patrick Henry, Esq., governor.

Friday, July 26. —

Saturday, July 27. — By the post, advice of the enemy's attacking a fort, and attempting to land on Sullivan's Island, near Charlestown, S.C., and of their repulse by our army there; also of the brave defence our army made there, and the destruction of some of the enemy's men-of-war.

Sunday, July 28. — In the Newport papers are Lord Howe's circular letter to the Colonies, and his declaration of pardon, &c.

Monday, July 29. — Brought to town Benjamin Davis and a number of other Tories, who were committed to jail. They were taken in a ship from Halifax to New York: she had a valuable cargo on board.

Tuesday, July 30. — Son Zek inoculated a second time, as the doctor was in doubt whether the pox had taken him by the former inoculation. Colonel Lemuel Robinson, who died of the small-pox, buried this evening.

Wednesday, July 31. — By the post, we hear that Lord Dunmore has been drove from his post on Gwin's Island in Virginia, with loss, and that two or three tenders had fallen into the hands of our army there; also a large transport-ship much damaged. A schooner, laden with salt and rum, taken, and brought in here.

Thursday, Aug. 1. — A general fast. Two gentlemen from New York say that our army there and in the neighborhood amount to about forty thousand; and that preparations are making there to destroy the enemy's ships, which got up the river.

Friday, Aug. 2. — Several persons inoculated for the small-pox are taken with it in the natural way, and very full: some have lately died with it.

Saturday, Aug. 3. — By the post, reported that eight row-galleys had sailed up North River in order to burn or destroy the men-of-war which had got up there.

Sunday, Aug. 4. — A very pleasant morning. The body of a man found drowned near New Boston.

Monday, Aug. 5. —

Tuesday, Aug. 6. —

Wednesday, Aug. 7. — Colonel Sergeant's and Whitcomb's regiments set off on their march for Crown Point. A large prize-ship, laden with sugars, &c., sent into Portsmouth.

Thursday, Aug. 8. — Colonel Phinney's regiment marched for Crown Point.

Friday, Aug. 9. —

Saturday, Aug. 10. — Sent in here a prize-ship, bound from Jamaica to London, laden with cotton, wool, sugar, &c.

Sunday, Aug. 11. — The Declaration of Independence was this day [read] in the several churches in this town.

Monday, Aug. 12. — A prize brig and schooner sent into Salem by Captain Fisk.

Tuesday, Aug. 13. — Went to Dedham to attend the court.

Wednesday, Aug. 14. — The day was celebrated as the first opposition to the Stamp Act.

Thursday, Aug. 15. — Heard great preparations were making by Lord Howe to attack the American Army at New York.

Friday, Aug. 16. — It is said that a considerable number of vessels were gone from Connecticut to New York to be employed as fire-ships.

Saturday, Aug. 17. — The post brings letters from New York, which mention that a part, if not all, the Hessians had joined Lord Howe, and an attack upon New York was expected every hour.

Sunday, Aug. 18. —

*Barbé de Marbois to Count de Vergennes.**

Translation, No. 225.

PHILADELPHIA, March 13, 1782.

SIR, — South Carolina again enjoys the benefit of a legislative body, after having been deprived of it for two years. It was summoned together toward the end of last year, and met in January at

* This letter of Marbois, though often referred to, is rarely found to have a place among the many printed collections of papers relating to the Revolution. It may be found in Pitkin's "Political and Civil History of the United States of America," ii. 528-531; and also in the "Life of John Jay, by his son, William Jay," i. 490-494. The manuscript copy from which we print must have been made soon after the date of the letter. A few verbal variations from the copy in Pitkin or Jay may be noticed. The letter was originally written in cipher, and was intercepted by the English.

This copy was put into the hands of our Corresponding Member, Prof. George Washington Greene (who is now engaged in writing the memoirs of his grandfather, General Greene of the Revolution), for examination; and he has returned it with the following note: —

"Barbé de Marbois, count and marquis, was for many years Consul-General of France in the United States; and, during occasional absences of the minister, *chargé d'affaires*. This letter was written to Count Vergennes; and, being intercepted by the English, was used by their commissioners during the negotiation of the treaty of 1783, in order to confirm in the minds of the American commissioners that distrust

Jacksonborough, only ten leagues distant from Charlestown, where deliberations are carried on with as much tranquillity as if the State were in profound peace. Mr. Rutledge, who was then governor, opened the meeting with a speech, greatly applauded, wherein he represents, in their full extent, the important services rendered by the king to the United States, expressing their just acknowledgments for the same. This sentiment prevails much, sir. The different States are eager to declare it in their public acts; and the principal members of government, and the writers employed by them, would forfeit their popularity, were they to admit any equivocal remarks respecting the alliance. General Greene affirms, that in no one State is attachment to independency carried to a higher pitch, but that this affection is exceeded by the hatred borne to England. The Assembly of Carolina is going to make levies of men, and has imposed pretty large sums. As there is but little money in the country, the taxes will be gathered in indigo; and what deficiency may then be found will be supplied by the sale of lands of such Carolinians as joined the enemy while they were in possession of the country. South Carolina was the only State that had not confiscated the property of the disaffected. The step just taken puts her upon a footing with the other States of the Union. The Assembly of this State has passed a resolution, in consequence of which a purchase of land is to be made, of the value of two hundred and forty thousand livres tournois, which Carolina makes a present of to General Greene, as the savior of that province. Mr. Mathews, a delegate lately arrived in Carolina from Congress, has, it is said, been chosen governor in the room of Mr. Rutledge. He has communicated to persons of the most influence in

towards their allies, the French, which it had been one of the constant endeavors of the English to excite.

"Marbois was a good diplomatist, a man of much learning and extensive observation; and, although this letter can hardly be taken as a proof of it, he was a true friend of the United States. His policy was that of a Frenchman, who preferred France to America; and who, interpreting the treaty of 1777 literally, thought, that, if France fulfilled her part of the contract, America had no right to ask for any thing more."

To this notice of Marbois it may be added, that his name has other interesting associations with our history. Mr. Jefferson tells us that it was "in answer to inquiries of M. de Marbois, as to the natural and political state of Virginia," which led him, in the year 1781, while confined to his room by a fall from his horse, to write his "Notes on Virginia." — *Writings of Jefferson, edited by H. A. Washington*, ii. 177, 178.

In 1803, Marbois was selected by Bonaparte to negotiate a treaty with the United States for the sale of Louisiana, of which country he subsequently wrote a history, embracing an account of that negotiation.

his State the *ultimatum* of the month of — last, who approved of the clauses in general, and particularly that one which leaves the king master of the terms of the treaty of peace or truce, excepting independence, and treaties of alliance. A delegate from South Carolina told me that this *ultimatum* was equally known by persons of note in this State, and that it had given entire satisfaction there. It is the same with regard to several other States; and I believe I may assure you, upon the testimony of several delegates, that this measure is approved by a great majority. But Mr. Samuel Adams is using all his endeavors to raise in the State of Massachusetts a strong opposition to peace, if the Eastern States are not thereby admitted to the fisheries, and in particular to that of Newfoundland. Mr. Adams delights in trouble and difficulty, and prides himself on forming an opposition against the Government whereof he himself is President. His aim and intention are to render the minority of consequence; and, at this very moment, he is attacking the Constitution of Massachusetts, although it be in a great measure his own work; but he has disliked it since the people have shown their uniform attachment to it. It may be expected, that, with this disposition, no measures can meet with the approbation of Mr. Samuel Adams; and if the United States should agree relative to the fisheries, and be certain of partaking therein, all his manœuvres and intrigues would be directed toward the conquest of Canada and Nova Scotia: but he could not have used a fitter engine than the fisheries for stirring up the passions of the Eastern people, by renewing this question which had lain dormant during his two years' absence from Boston. He has raised the expectations of the people of Massachusetts to an extraordinary pitch. The public prints held forth the importance of the fisheries: the reigning toast in the East is, "May the United States ever retain their right to the fisheries!" It has been repeated in the deliberations of the General Court, "No peace without the fisheries." However clear the principle may be in this matter, it would be useless, and even dangerous, to attempt informing the people through the public papers; but it appears to me possible to use means for preventing the consequences of success to Mr. Samuel Adams and his party, and I take the liberty of submitting them to your discernment and indulgence. One of those means would be for the king to cause it to be intimated to Congress or the ministers, "his surprise that the Newfoundland fisheries have been included in the additional instructions; that the United States set forth therein pretensions without paying a

regard to the king's rights, and without considering the impossibility they are under of making conquest of, and keeping, what belongs to Great Britain." His majesty might at the same time cause a promise to be given to Congress, "of his assistance for procuring admission to the other fisheries; declaring, however, that he would not be responsible for the success, and that he is bound to nothing, as the treaty makes no mention of that article." This declaration being made before the peace, the hopes of the people could not be supported, nor would it one day hereafter be said that we left them in the dark on this point: it were even to be wished that this declaration should be made while New York, Charlestown, and Penobscot are in the enemies' hands. Our allies will be less tractable than ever upon those points, whenever they recover these important posts. There are some judicious persons to whom one may speak of giving up the fisheries and the — of the West, for the sake of peace; but there are enthusiasts who fly out at this idea, and their numbers cannot fail of increasing, when, after the English are expelled this continent, the burdens of the war will scarce be felt. It is already observable, that the advocates for peace are of those who live in the country: the inhabitants of towns, whom commerce enriches; mechanics, who receive there a higher pay than before the war, and five or six times more than in Europe, — do not wish for it. But it is a happy circumstance, that this division be nearly equal in Congress and among the States; since our influence can incline the beam either for peace or war, whichever way we may choose. Another means of preserving to France so important a branch of the commerce and navigation is that proposed to you, sir, by Mr. —; viz., the conquest of Cape Breton. It seems to me, as it does to that minister, the only sure means of containing within bounds, when peace is made, those swarms of smugglers, who, without regard to treaties, will turn all their activity, daring spirit, and means toward the fisheries; whose undertakings Congress will not perhaps have the power or the will to repress. If it be apprehended that the peace which is to put an end to the present war will prove disagreeable to any of the United States, there appears to me a certain method of guarding against the effects of this discontent, of preventing the declarations of some States, and other resources which turbulent minds might employ for availing themselves of the present juncture. This would be for his majesty to cause a memorial to be delivered to Congress, wherein

should be stated the use made by his ministers of the powers intrusted to them by that assembly, and the impediments which may have stood in the way of a fuller satisfaction in every point. This step would certainly be pleasing to Congress; and, should it become necessary to inform the people of this memorial, it could easily be done. They would be flattered by it, and it might probably beget the voice and concurrence of the public. I submit these thoughts to you early. The peace appears yet to be distant, sir, by reason of the delays and difficulties attending the communications. That period will be a crisis, when the partisans of France and England will openly appear, and when that power will employ every means to diminish our influence, and re-establish her own. It is true, the independent party will always stand in great want of our support; that the fears and jealousies which a remembrance of the former government will always produce must operate as the safeguard to our alliance, and as a security for the attachment of the Americans to us: but it is best to be prepared for any discontent, although it should be but temporary. It is remarked by some, that, as England has other fisheries besides Newfoundland, she may perhaps endeavor that the Americans should partake in that of the Grand Bank, in order to conciliate their affection, or procure them some compensation, or create a subject of jealousy between them and us: but it does not seem likely that she will act so contrary to her true interest; and, were she to do so, it will be for the better to have declared, at an early period, to the Americans, that their pretension is not founded, and that his majesty does not mean to support it. I have enclosed, sir, translations of the speech made by the Governor of South Carolina to the Assembly, and their answer. These interesting productions convey in a forcible manner the sentiments of the inhabitants of that State, and appeared to me worth communicating to you.

I am, &c.,

BARBÉ DE MARBOIS.

Eleazer Richard's Receipt for King Philip's Bowl.

Plymouth Sep. 14.th 1803. — Rec^d of Isaac Lothrop Eight Dollars, in full for a wooden bowle, formerly belonging to that illustrious Soldier, known by the name of King Philip, son of the celebrated indian Sachem, Massasoiet, and was a portion of the trophy assigned to Eleazer Richard, Great Grandfather of the Subscriber, who made one of the party, that terminated the existence of the once princely proprietor.

ELEAZER ^{his} † RICHARD
mark.

Mr. Richard, above named, was taught to write; but is so crippled in his arm as to be scarcely able to make his mark.*

The President communicated a note received by him from Mr. Everett, expressing his regret that he will be unable to attend the meeting of the Society to join in the tribute of respect proposed to be paid to Lord Lyndhurst.

Mr. DEANE communicated several original letters of Phillis Wheatley, the negro-slave poet of Boston; and remarked as follows:—

At the last meeting of this Society, the President read from the original manuscript a poem of Phillis Wheatley, found among the papers of his ancestor, Governor Bowdoin. This recalled to my mind a letter of hers, placed in my hands some years ago, which seemed to me at the time to indicate much maturity of mind, and refinement and delicacy of feeling and character. Of this letter I kept a copy. Since the last meeting, six additional letters of Phillis's, in her own handwriting, have been placed at my disposal by the same person †

* All in the handwriting of Isaac Lothrop, Esq., of Plymouth, an early member of this Society, who died 25th July, 1808, and of whom a biographical notice will be found in 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., i. 258-260.

† The letters were put into my hands by the Rev. Edward E. Hale, one of our associates, who kindly procured them for my use from Mrs. William Beecher, of Brookfield,

who favored me with the former letter; and the Society has liberty to take copies of them all for its own use, if it shall see fit to do so. I have thought it desirable that they should somehow be preserved; for, so far as my observation extends, but few letters of this remarkable person are extant. Indeed, with the exception of the brief note to Washington which accompanied the poem she addressed to him while he was in Cambridge in 1775, and which was published in the "Pennsylvania Magazine, or American Monthly Museum," for April, 1776, I have never met with any of her letters in print. What judgment, therefore, has hitherto been formed of her literary attainments, and of the strength and general culture of her intellect, has probably been derived chiefly from her poems. At a moment, too, when so much attention is drawn to the colored race, I feel that I need not apologize for occupying so much of the time of members as to call their attention to the letters of one of this class (who, nearly a century ago, was the object of so much attraction both here and in England), and to read some portion of them to the meeting.

These letters, which are written in a beautiful hand, are addressed to a negro friend in Newport, R. I. (a young

to whom they belong. In a letter to Mr. Hale, dated October 28, 1863, enclosing the six letters from Phillis Wheatley to Obour Tanner, this lady writes:—

"They were given to me ages since by the person to whom they were addressed. She was then a very little, very old, very infirm, very, *very* black woman, with a great shock of the whitest of wool all over her head,—a picture well photographed on my mind's eye. She died in the odor of sanctity, sometime in 1833 or '4, an uncommonly pious, sensible, and intelligent woman, respected and visited by every person in Newport who could appreciate excellence.

"Obour gave me also one of Phillis Wheatley's books, which I read with pleasure, and almost wonder, quite through: but, to my lasting chagrin, it was soon lost,—either mislaid, or spirited away somehow; and it is long years since I have seen token of it. I have no doubt, however, that many copies of it are still extant among the old residents in Newport, as you will observe, from one of the letters, it was published by subscription.

"You will notice, also, that Phillis speaks of 'Mr. John Peters,' 'a complaisant and agreeable young man,' 'an acquaintance' of Obour's, &c. This was the man she married. . . . Obour informed me, pious soul as she was, with more than a gleam of that aristocracy of feeling, if not *hauteur*, which sits so curiously on those full-blooded creatures, that 'poor Phillis let herself down by marrying: yes, ma'am.' It

woman named Obour Tanner), probably serving in the same capacity as Phillis herself; and, from some expressions in the first letter, it may be inferred that they were both brought from Africa, and perhaps at the same time. This and the next following letter were written in 1772, when Phillis was about eighteen years of age. She was brought to this country in the year 1761, when she was, as is supposed, between seven and eight years old; and was purchased by Mr. John Wheatley, a respectable citizen of Boston, for his wife, who, it is said, was desirous of obtaining a young negress to bring up under her own eye, in order that she might "secure for herself a faithful domestic in her old age. She visited the slave-market [in Boston] to make a personal selection from the group of unfortunates offered for sale." Her choice fell upon Phillis, who appeared to be a delicate child, being influenced in her selection "by the humble and modest demeanor and interesting features of the little stranger." The child soon gave indications of unusual intelligence, and well repaid the attentions bestowed upon her.*

is just possible, however, that this opinion might have originated in her own condition of single blessedness, but not probably so, as I heard the same thing expressed frequently by old people in Newport who remembered the circumstances. Phillis lived some twelve or fifteen years after her marriage; and died in 1794 or 5, a little more than forty years of age.

"Perhaps more details, and letters and books as well, might be gleaned in Newport: but the old class who knew Phillis when I lived there a young woman must have greatly passed away; and I cannot, at this distance of time, designate any one who could assist such an investigation."

Mrs. Beecher, as will be seen, errs as to the time of Phillis's death.

* A Memoir of Phillis, without the name of the author, was published in Boston, in 1834, by George W. Light, prefixed to a new edition of the Poems. It was written by Miss Margaretta Matilda Odell, of Jamaica Plain, who says that the facts therein stated "were derived from grand-nieces of Phillis's benefactress, who are still living," and "corroborated by a grand-daughter of that lady, now residing in Boston." I long had had the impression, that this Memoir, or at least a memoir of Phillis, was written by the late B. B. Thatcher; and, in Duyckinck's "Encyclopædia" (i. 369), it is stated that a brief memoir by this gentleman was published by Light in 1834. It is also stated in the new "American Encyclopædia," in the notice of Thatcher, that he wrote such a memoir, published that year. Mr. Light, however, assures me that this is a mistake. He says that Mr. Thatcher interested himself in the publication of the work, and overlooked the manuscript (which he remembers as being in Miss Odell's handwriting);

The health of Phillis was always delicate; and, in the spring of 1773, it was decided to send her on a voyage to England,

giving it an editor's supervision, but nothing more. I subsequently called Mr. Light's attention to an advertisement (at the end of the second edition of the same Memoir, published by his house, "Light and Horton," in 1835) which gives a list of the works published by them. The first book on the list is, "Memoir of Phillis Wheatley, a Native African and a Slave. By B. B. Thatcher. Adapted to general Readers and Sabbath Schools. With a well-executed Portrait. 18mo, cloth." On the next page is advertised the "Memoir and Poems. . . . By a Relative of the Mistress of Phillis," &c. This would indicate two memoirs, — one by Thatcher, separate from the Poems; and one by a descendant of Mrs. Wheatley, with the Poems. But Mr. Light still assures me, that there was no memoir published separately from the Poems, and that Mr. Thatcher was not the author of any memoir of Phillis published by his house. He writes to me under the date of 23d March, 1864: "As to the Memoir, I am perfectly sure Mr. Thatcher never did more than *edit* the book. The blunder in advertising must have been made in my absence. I recollect making some alterations in punctuation; while Mr. T. made a few alterations in the *words* of the manuscript, written in Miss Odell's handwriting. So you may rest assured that what I have stated to you is correct." I would add, that the concluding paragraph of this Memoir reveals the sex of the writer: "The author of this memoir is a collateral descendant of Mrs. Wheatley, and has been familiar with the name and fame of Phillis from her childhood."

The following notice of Phillis, written by our associate, Dr. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, appeared in the "Boston Daily Advertiser" on the 21st of December, 1863. It contains some facts not related by her biographer. The occasion of its appearance was the issue at this time of some copies remaining on hand of what is called the "third edition" of the "Memoir and Poems of Phillis Wheatley," which had been published in 1838. Dr. Shurtleff was not present at the meeting of the Society at which the letters of Phillis were produced, and was ignorant of the existence of such memorials when he prepared his article.

"**PHILLIS WHEATLEY, THE NEGRO-SLAVE POET.**—The recent appearance in print of the poetical writings of Phillis, the negro servant of Mr. John Wheatley of Boston, leads me to present at this time a few facts relating to this remarkable woman, which are not generally known, and some of which have escaped the notice of her biographers.

"Phillis is supposed to have been about seven years of age when she was stolen from her parents in Africa, and brought to Boston, in the year 1761, to be sold as a slave. Fortunately, at that time, a benevolent woman, the wife of John Wheatley, a tailor, dwelling in Boston, was in need of a domestic possessing traits of disposition which would make her an agreeable companion, rather than a drudge and servant of all work. Phillis, being of feeble constitution, and very gentle in her demeanor, appeared to be just the person Mrs. Wheatley required; and was therefore purchased of the slave-dealer, and taken home; where, after decent clothing had superseded her miserable rags, she gave evidence of vivacity of genius, a superiority of intellect, good personal appearance, and affectionate disposition, which surprised and gratified not only the family in which she was domesticated, but also the principal personages of the town who were frequent visitors to Mr. Wheatley's hospitable mansion in King Street, then noted as much for its grand residences, as it now is, under the name of State Street, for its commercial and banking offices.

"The family consisted then of Mr. Wheatley, his wife Susannah, and their son Nathaniel, and daughter Mary, with a few slaves who had grown old in service, and

in company with a son of Mr. Wheatley, who, with his family, was about to take up his residence in London. The time

who could not be relied upon for the time when the old folks should come to their dotage, and the young folks should leave the mansion of their parents to become the heads of other families. Nathaniel and Mary were twins, and were born on the 4th of May, 1743: the other children of Mrs. Wheatley, born subsequently, — Sarah, John, and Susannah, — had died in youth.

“Miss Mary, then eighteen years old, took charge of the new inmate of the family: and so rapid was the young negress in the acquisition of learning, that, in less than a year and a half from the time of her importation, she could converse fluently in English (a language she had never heard spoken before she was kidnapped), and could read and correctly pronounce the most difficult passages of the sacred writings; and, before she had been under pupilage ten years, she wrote letters and poetry that astonished the literary men of New England, who were then numerous, and had acquired for the metropolis the name of the modern Athens.

“On the 31st of January, 1771, when about seventeen years of age, Phillis was called to suffer her first grief. Her young mistress was taken from the family to become the wife of Rev. John Lathrop, the pastor of the Second Church in Boston. This event may have led her to the step which she took on the 18th of the following August; for then, under the simple and unpretending name of ‘Phillis, the servant of Mr. Wheatley,’ with no surname whatever, she became a communicant of the Old South Church in Boston, then destitute of a settled minister, but which had lately experienced the excellent teachings of Rev. Dr. Joseph Sewall. About this time, Phillis began to fail in health; and in 1773 her decline became so apparent, that, by the advice of friends, she left Boston, to visit England, in company with Mr. Nathaniel Wheatley and his family; he going to London to open a branch of his mercantile business, which had already become large for a New-Englander. While in England, she received much attention from the patrons of literature; and there her poems, which were bringing her into considerable note, were published: but she was soon recalled to Boston to attend the sick-bed of her mistress.

“Some time after her return to Boston, her volume of poems was offered for sale; the following advertisement appearing in the ‘Boston Gazette’ of January 24, 1774, and in the other papers published about that time:—

THIS DAY PUBLISHED,
Adorn'd with an Elegant Engraving of the Author,
[Price 3s. 4d. L. M. Bound,]
P O E M S,
on various subjects, — Religious and Moral,
By PHILLIS WHEATLEY, a Negro Girl.
Sold by Mess'rs COX & BERRY,
at their Store, in King-street, Boston.

N. B. The Subscribers are requested to apply for their copies.

“Mrs. Wheatley, her kind friend as well as mistress, died, in the sixty-fifth year of her age, on the 8d of March, in the year 1774; and Mr. Wheatley, on the 12th of March, 1778, aged seventy-two. This left Phillis alone: the old folks were dead; Mary had become the wife of Rev. Mr. Lathrop; and Mr. Nathaniel was already married, and residing in London. At this sad hour of her existence, she became acquainted with a ‘colored gentleman,’ John Peters, whom she married in April, 1778, about a month after her kind master’s decease. He was indeed a colored gentleman; for report says of him that he kept a shop, wore a wig, carried a cane, and felt himself superior to all

of their embarkation may be inferred from her poem, "A Farewell to America," addressed to "S. W." (probably Susannah Wheatley, her mistress), and dated "Boston, May 7, 1773." We have no means of knowing how long she remained in London; but her stay must have been very brief. It is said she was suddenly called home by the alarming illness of her mistress; and from one of her letters written after her

kinds of labor. At the time of her marriage, she was styled 'a free negro;' and it is supposed that Mrs. Lathrop, who became her owner at the decease of her father, gave Phillis her freedom, perhaps in words similar to those of Rev. Increase Mather, who manumitted his slave with the following words in his will: 'It is my mind and will that my negro servant, called Spaniard, shall not be sold after my decease; but I do then give him his liberty; let him then be esteemed a "free negro."'

"Sadder times, however, came to Phillis. A few months later, she lost her kind young friend: for Mrs. Lathrop died at the age of thirty-five, on the 24th of September, 1778; and she was left entirely to her miserable husband, who proved to be improvident; falling in business, and becoming too lazy to do any thing that would conduce to her comfort in the days of her sickness and sorrow. In the summer of 1788, Mr. Nathaniel Wheatley also died, the last of her natural protectors; and about this time she lost two of the three children born to her and her husband in their days of extreme poverty and distress. Soon after, in 1784, her husband had become so shiftless and improvident, that he was forced to relieve himself of debt by an imprisonment in the county jail;* and she, poor Phillis! was obliged to earn her own subsistence in a common negro boarding-house, at the west part of the town. And now her disease rapidly increased; and on the 5th of December, 1784, at the early age of thirty-one years, poor Phillis Peters, *alias* Wheatley, drew her last breath, and soon, together with her last offspring, which seemed to have been left till then to make the occasion more mournful, was carried to her last earthly resting-place, without one of the friends of her prosperity to follow her, and without a stone to mark her grave.

"All that is known of the death and burial of this talented person may be summed up in the following notice published on the Thursday succeeding her decease, in the 'Independent Chronicle:' 'Last Lord's day, died Mrs. Phillis Peters (formerly Phillis Wheatley), aged thirty-one, known to the literary world by her celebrated miscellaneous poems. Her funeral is to be this afternoon, at four o'clock, from the house lately improved by Mr. Todd, nearly opposite Dr. Bulfinch's, at West Boston, where her friends and acquaintances are desired to attend.' The house thus referred to was situated on or near the present site of the Revere House, in Bowdoin Square, formerly known at times as a portion of Cambridge Street, and sometimes as the westerly end of Court Street.

"Could the spot of her burial be found, there could be no more befitting epitaph than the following expressive words from her own pen:—

'Remember, Christians, negroes black as Cain
May be refined, and join the angelic train.'

N. B. S.

* "Soon after his liberation from jail, Peters worked as a journeyman baker. Subsequently he attempted to practise law, and finally imposed upon the credulous by pretending to be a physician."

return to Boston, dated October 30, 1773, we should infer that she had then been at home some weeks. Mrs. Wheatley survived Phillis's return some months. She died in March of the next year. A few years afterward, on the death of Mr. Wheatley, Phillis married a person of her own race and color, whose name was John Peters. This was in 1778. The marriage was an unhappy one. Her husband is said to have been unworthy of her. She had children who probably did not survive her; and after living for some years, often in a state of destitution, she died in Boston on the 5th of December, 1784.

This brief account of Phillis is given as introducing her letters to the notice of the Society.

To Arbour Tanner, in Newport.

BOSTON May 19th 1772.

DEAR SISTER,— I rec'd your favour of February 6th for which I give you my sincere thanks. I greatly rejoice with you in that realizing view, and I hope experience, of the saving change which you so emphatically describe. Happy were it for us if we could arrive to that evangelical Repentance, and the true holiness of heart which you mention. Inexpressibly happy should we be could we have a due sense of the beauties and excellence of the crucified Saviour. In his Crucifixion may be seen marvellous displays of Grace and Love, sufficient to draw and invite us to the rich and endless treasures of his mercy; let us rejoice in and adore the wonders of God's infinite Love in bringing us from a land semblant of darkness itself, and where the divine light of revelation (being obscur'd) is as darkness. Here the knowledge of the true God and eternal life are made manifest; but there, profound ignorance overshadows the land. Your observation is true, namely, that there was nothing in us to recommend us to God. Many of our fellow creatures are pass'd by, when the bowels of divine love expanded towards us. May this goodness & long suffering of God lead us to unfeign'd repentance.

It gives me very great pleasure to hear of so many of my nation, seeking with eagerness the way to true felicity. O may we all meet at length in that happy mansion. I hope the correspondence between us will continue, (my being much indispos'd this winter past, was the

reason of my not answering yours before now) which correspondence I hope may have the happy effect of improving our mutual friendship. Till we meet in the regions of consummate blessedness, let us endeavor by the assistance of divine grace, to live the life, and we shall die the death of the Righteous. May this be our happy case, and of those who are travelling to the region of Felicity, is the earnest request of your affectionate

Friend & humble servant PHILLIS WHEATLEY.

*To Arbour Tanner, in Newport. To the care of Mr. Pease's Servant.
Rhode Island.*

BOSTON, July 19th, 1772.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — I rec'd your kind epistle a few days ago; much disappointed to hear that you had not rec'd my answer to your first letter. I have been in a very poor state of health all the past winter and spring, and now reside in the country for the benefit of its more wholesome air. I came to town this morning to spend the Sabbath with my master and mistress. Let me be interested in your prayers that God would please to bless to me the means us'd for my recovery, if agreeable to his holy will. While my outward man languishes under weakness and pa[in], may the inward be refresh'd and strengthen'd more abundantly by him who declar'd from heaven that his strength was made perfect in weakness! May he correct our vitiated taste, that the meditation of him may be delightful to us. No longer to be so excessively charm'd with fleeting vanities: but pressing forward to the fix'd mark for the prize. How happy that man who is prepar'd for that night wherein no man can work! Let us be mindful of our high calling, continually on our guard, lest our treacherous hearts should give the adversary an advantage over us. O! who can think without horror of the snares of the Devil. Let us, by frequent meditation on the eternal Judgment, prepare for it. May the Lord bless to us these thoughts, and teach us by his Spirit to live to him alone, and when we leave this world may we be his. That this may be our happy case, is the sincere desire

of, your affectionate friend, & humble serv't,

PHILLIS WHEATLEY.

I sent the letter to Mr. Whitwell's who said he wou'd forward it.

To Obour Tanner, in New Port.

BOSTON Oct. 30, 1773.

DEAR OBOUR, — I rec'd your most kind epistles of Aug^t 27th, & Oct. 13th, by a young man of your acquaintance, for which I am oblig'd to you. I hear of your welfare with pleasure; but this acquaints you that I am at present indispos'd by a cold, & since my arrival have been visited by the asthma.

Your observations on our dependence on the Deity, & your hopes that my wants will be supply'd from his fulness which is in Christ Jesus, is truly worthy of your self. I can't say but my voyage to England has conduced to the recovery (in a great measure) of my health. The friends I found there among the nobility and gentry, their benevolent conduct towards me, the unexpected and unmerited civility and complaisance with which I was treated by all, fills me with astonishment. I can scarcely realize it. This I humbly hope has the happy effect of lessening me in my own esteem. Your reflections on the sufferings of the Son of God, & the inestimable price of our immortal souls, plainly demonstrate the sensations of a soul united to Jesus. What you observe of Esau is true of all mankind, who, (left to themselves) would sell their heavenly birth rights for a few moments of sensual pleasure, whose wages at last (dreadful wages!) is eternal condemnation. Dear Obour, let us not sell our birthright for a thousand worlds, which indeed would be as dust upon the balance. The God of the seas and dry land, has graciously brought me home in safety. Join with me in thanks to him for so great a mercy, & that it may excite me to praise him with cheerfulness, to persevere in Grace & Faith, & in the knowledge of our Creator and Redeemer, — that my heart may be fill'd with gratitude. I should have been pleas'd greatly to see Miss West, as I imagine she knew you. I have been very busy ever since my arrival, or should have now wrote a more particular account of my voyage, but must submit that satisfaction to some other opportunity. I am Dear friend,

Most affectionately ever yours.

PHILLIS WHEATLEY.

My mistress has been very sick above 14 weeks, & confined to her bed the whole time, but is I hope somewhat better, now.

The young man by whom this is handed you seems to me to be a very clever man, knows you very well, & is very complaisant and agreeable.

P. W.

I enclose Proposals for my book,* and beg you'd use your interest to get subscriptions, as it is for my benefit.

* This refers to the first edition of Phillis's collected Poems, which was printed in London, in 1773. The title of the volume is as follows: "Poems || on || various subjects, || religious and moral. || By || Phillis Wheatley, || Negro Servant to Mr. John Wheatley, || of Boston, in New England. || London: || Printed for A. Bell, Bookseller, Aldgate; and sold by || Messrs Cox and Berry, King Street, Boston. || MDCCLXXIII." It contained an engraved portrait of the author, said to be a good likeness, beneath which is the following inscription: "Published according to Act of Parliament, Sept^r 1st, 1773 by Arch^d Bell. Bookseller N^o 8 near the Saracens Head Aldgate." Phillis's autograph was written on the back of the titlepage of many of the copies. The publication of her poems in London appears to have been contemplated the year before, and may have been in progress before her visit to England. The volume was probably in the course of publication or of printing while Phillis was there. The dedication to the Countess of Huntingdon, which bears date "Boston, June 12, 1773," may have been written while she was in London. She was probably there at this time. Copies of the work were received here in the early part of the next year. Messrs. Cox and Berry, of King Street, whose names were upon the titlepage, advertised the book, February 8, 1764, as published that day; and subscribers were requested to call for their copies.

The next edition of the Poems, of which I have seen notice, was published by Barber and Southwick, for Thomas Spencer, bookseller, Market Street, Albany, in 1793. See Duyckinck's Cyclopædia, i. 369.

An edition was printed in Philadelphia in 1801, "by and for William W. Woodward, No. 17, Chestnut Street." It was printed at the end of the second volume (and paged continuously) of a work entitled "The Negro equalled by few Europeans;" a Romance, translated from the French, and published in London, in three volumes, in 1790. The Philadelphia edition of this Romance was in two volumes.

An edition was printed at "Walpole, N.H. Printed for Thomas & Thomas. By David Newhall, 1802."

The two editions last named are in the possession of Dr. Shurtleff, of Boston.

The next edition of the Poems which I have met with is that published by George W. Light, in Boston, in 1834, to which was first prefixed the Memoir of Phillis, above referred to. This contained a lithographed copy of the portrait published in the first edition.

Another edition (a second) of the Memoir and Poems, united, was published by Light & Horton in 1835.

A third edition of the "Memoir and Poems" was published by Isaac Knapp, Boston, 1838. This edition contains, at the end of the Memoir, the letter of Washington to Phillis, taken from Mr. Sparks's edition of his writings, iii. 297, 298. It contains also a number of poems by a slave, George, the property of Mr. James Horton, of Chatham County, N.C. Some of the oversheets of this edition came into the possession of Mr. George W. Light, the publisher of the first edition of the Memoir; and, by reprinting a few pages that were wanting, he was able to make up some two hundred copies, which have been placed on sale within a few months past.

To Miss Obour Tanner. Newport.

BOSTON, March 21, 1774.

DEAR OBOUR, — I rec'd your obliging letter, enclos'd in your revd Pastor's & handed me by his son. I have lately met with a great trial in the death of my mistress; let us imagine the loss of a parent, sister, or brother, the tenderness of all these were united in her. I was a poor little outcast & a stranger when she took me in: not only into her house, but I presently became a sharer in her most tender affections. I was treated by her more like her child than her servant; no opportunity was left unimproved of giving me the best of advice; but in terms how tender! how engaging! This I hope ever to keep in remembrance. Her exemplary life was a greater monitor than all her precepts and instruction; thus we may observe of how much greater force example is than instruction. To alleviate our sorrows we had the satisfaction to see her depart in inexpressible raptures, earnest longings, & impatient thirstings for the *upper* courts of the Lord. Do, my dear friend, remember me & this family in your closet, that this afflicting dispensation may be sanctify'd to us. I am very sorry to hear that you are indispos'd, but hope this will find you in better health. I have been unwell the greater part of the winter, but am much better as the spring approaches. Pray excuse my not writing to you so long before, for I have been so busy lately that I could not find leisure. I shall send the 5 books you wrote for, the first convenient opportunity; if you want more, they shall be ready for you. I am very affectionately your friend,

PHILLIS WHEATLEY.

To Miss Obour Tanner, New Port, Rhode Island. fav'd by Mr. Pemberton.

DEAR OBOUR, — I rec'd last evening your kind & friendly letter and am not a little animated thereby. I hope ever to follow your good advices and be resigned to the afflicting hand of a seemingly frowning Providence. I have rec'd the money you sent for the 5 books & $\frac{3}{4}$ more for another, which I now send & wish safe to hand. Your tenderness for my welfare demands my gratitude Assist me, dear Obour! to praise our great benefactor, for the innumerable benefits continually pour'd upon me, that while he strikes one comfort *dead*

he raises up another. But O that I could dwell on & delight in him alone above every other object! While the world hangs loose about us we shall not be in painful *anxiety* in giving up to God that which he first gave to us. Your letter came by Mr. Pemberton who brings you the book you write for. I shall wait upon Mr. Whitwell with your letter and am

Dear sister, ever affectionately, your

PHILLIS WHEATLEY.

I have rec'd by some of the last ships 300 more of my Poems.
BOSTON May 6, 1774.

Miss Obour Tanner, Worcester.

BOSTON May 29th '78.

DEAR OBOUR, — I am exceedingly glad to hear from you by Mrs. Tanner, and wish you had timely notice of her departure, so as to have wrote me; next to that is the pleasure of hearing that you are well. The vast variety of scenes that have pass'd before us these 3 years past, will to a reasonable mind serve to convince us of the uncertain duration of all things temporal, and the proper result of such a consideration is an ardent desire of, & preparation for, a state and enjoyments which are more suitable to the immortal mind. You will do me a great favour if you'll write me by every opportunity. Direct your letters under cover to Mr. John Peters in Queen Street. I have but half an hour's notice; and must apologize for this hasty scrawl. I am most affectionately, My dear Obour, your sincere friend

PHILLIS WHEATLEY.

Miss Obour Tanner, Worcester. favd by Cumberland.

BOSTON May 10, 1779.

DR. OBOUR, — By this opportunity I have the pleasure to inform you that I am well and hope you are so; tho' I have been silent, I have not been unmindful of you, but a variety of hindrances was the cause of my not writing to you. But in time to come I hope our correspondence will revive — and revive in better times — pray write me soon, for I long to hear from you — you may depend on constant replies — I wish you much happiness, and am

Dr. Obour, your friend & sister

PHILLIS PETERS.

Mr. QUINCY expressed much interest in the letters of Phillis Wheatley which had been read ; and remarked, that he well remembered the man (Peters) whom she married ; that he, at one time, practised law, or professed to ; and Mr. Quincy had met him in the courtroom.

DECEMBER MEETING.

A stated meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, Dec. 10, at eleven o'clock, A.M. ; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

Donations were announced from the New-England Loyal Publication Society ; Oberlin College ; the Trustees of the Redwood Library ; the Society of Arts, Commerce, and Manufactures, London ; the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History ; the Trustees of the Vermont State Library ; the Corporation of Yale College ; the publishers of the " Journal de l'Instruction Publique ;" Mr. C. C. Coffin ; Mr. John H. Ellis ; Mr. James S. Loring ; B. S. Shaw, M.D. ; Mr. S. H. Smothers ; Rev. E. M. P. Wells ; Hon. Henry Wilson ; and from Messrs. Deane, Folsom, Robbins (C.), Sibley, Thomas, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President read a letter from George T. Curtis, Esq., presenting to the Society the records of the " Webster Memorial Committee," of which he was the Secretary.

The President presented as a gift from M. Mignet, the perpetual Secretary of the Academy of Moral and

Political Sciences in the Institute of France, an Honorary Member of this Society, a pamphlet copy of an historical notice of Lord Macaulay, read by M. Mignet at the public annual sitting of the Imperial Institute.

Voted, That the President be requested to communicate to M. Mignet the Society's grateful acknowledgment of this acceptable offering.

The President presented an early copy, just received from the publishers, of his new work, "The Life and Letters of John Winthrop," which he said he had ventured to dedicate to the Society.

The President communicated several extracts, in a contemporaneous manuscript, from the Journal of Colonel William Goffe, 1660, which he had found among the Winthrop Papers; remarking that Hutchinson, in his "History of Massachusetts," i. 213, 214, says, —

"In the ship which arrived from London the 27th of July, there came passengers Colonel Whalley and Colonel Goffe, two of the late king's judges. . . . Goffe kept a journal or diary from the day he left Westminster, May 4, until the year 1667, which, together with several other papers belonging to him, I have in my possession. Almost the whole is in characters or short-hand, not very difficult to decipher." The papers of Whalley and Goffe, "after their death, were collected, and have remained near an hundred years in a library in Boston."*

* Cotton Mather's. The journal is probably now in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester. — See Stiles's "History of the Judges," pp. 21-24.

Transcribed from ye papers of Coll. Goff: 1660.

12d 3m. — The King was proclaimed at Gravesend; there was much rejoycing among the people, but God's people lamented over ye grt profaneness wth wch yt Joy was expressd. It was observed yt many dogs did yt day run mad; & dyed suddenly in ye Town.

13d 3m. — Wee Kept Sabbath aboard. To a good Ministers Church in the Towne was stuck up near ye pulpit a Broom; in token as was by all conceived, yt ye minister should shortly be swept away from them.

27d 5m. — Wee came to Anchor between Boston, & Charlestown; between 8. & 9. in ye morning: All in good health thro: ye good hand of God! upon us: oh! yt men would praise the Lord for his goodness . . . as ps. 107. 21, &c.

29d 5m. — Lds day; wee had opportunity of waiting upon God in his publick ordinances, wch wer solemnly performed by mr. Mitchel. I handed mr. Mitchel a paper, — wch I here insert, to mind my-selfe hereafter of my present purposes to cleave t^b ye Lord, & to Love him, & serve him forever, wch ye Lord by his own grace & Spirit enable me to do, now & alwayes.

Having received much mercy from ye Lord, at his Leaving his Native country, & in his passage thro: ye great deeps; as also in this Land; wherein he is a Stranger: Now before ye Lord in ye congregation of his people, doth humbly desire that the praises due unto God, — may be rendred on his behalfe. And yt ye Lord may be Entreated yet to follow his poor Unworthy Servt wth goodness & mercy; that he may walk as becometh the Gospel, & forever cleave to ye Lord; & Love him, & Serve him, in all conditions.

9d 6m. — Went to Boston Lecture, heard mr. Norton on Hebr. 2. 16. went afterwards to his house, where wee wr Lovingly Entertained, wth many Ministers, and found great respects from them. But were thretnd by one that came in ye Scotch Vessel, — he sd, if it had not been for those that walked wth us, he would have had us by the hair of our heads: but when I heard of it, I sd all ye Haires of or Heads wr numbred by ye Ld. — Luc. 12. 6 : 7. — At Night, majr Gookins shewed us a printed paper yt was brought in ye Scotch Ship, wherein ye Lds do order 66 members of ye High court of Justice to be secured, wth yr Estates, — its dated 18d May 1660. but I will meditate on Hebr. 13. 5. 6.

10d 6m. — The Ld was graciously pleased to refresh my Soul wth his pressence, in reading ye word, & prayer, in my private morning Exercise ; and I felt some sensible affections moving towards Christ ; & resolutions to cleave to him more for the future.

13d 6m. — I was in some measure quickened in my approach to God in prayer, in ye morning.

15d 6m. — Sup't at mr. Chancey's ; the good old Servant of ye Lord, Still Expressing much affection, & telling us, he was perswaded ye Ld had brought us to this Country for good both to them and or Selves.

18d 6m. — The Lord was pleased to help in some Measure in my preparation for the Lds Supr, & to give me some Sence of ye greatness of his Love in giving Christ, & to shew me my great need of him ; both in reference to ye guilt of Sin, & power agst Sin ; & to work in me some Sensible affections towards himself, & earnest longings, & thirstings after comunion wth him in the ordinance unto wch I was approaching.

19d. — The Ld was pleased very graciously to appear in his ordinances.

Oh ! how graciouse is God to his poor Servants yt gives us in ye Land of or pilgrimage such blessed entertainment. I am banished from my own house ; but feasted in ye house of God ; oh, yt I might dwell yrin forever.

23d 6m. In ye Evening wee Vissited Elder Frost, who reed us wth great Kindness & Love Esteeming it a favour yt we would come into yr mean habitation ; assured us of his fervent prayers to ye Lord for us : — A glorious Saint makes a mean Cottage a Stately palace ; were I to make my choyce, I would rather abide wth ys Saint in his poor Cottage then wth any one of ye princes yt I know of at ys day in ye World.

24d 6m. — Wee Visited G. Beale sorely afflicted wth ye Stone. He complained yt he could not in ye extremity of ye pain submitt wth cheerfullness to ye will of God ; & told us yt God spake many things to him under this exercise. Among other things he sd he was now much convinced of Evill, yt he had not blessed God wn he could make water wth Ease — & so for other common mercies — an Usefull Lesson !

26d 6m. — Mr. Mitchel wth diverse came to vissit us ; or discourse tended to provoke to give up or selves wholly to Jesus Christ & make him ye whole delight of or Souls.

4d 7m. — My first Thoughts wn I awaked ys morning were on i. pet. 2. abstain from fleshly Lusts. My Last thoughts, on my bed, wr meditations on ps. 68. Hee yt is or God is ye God of Salvation. i. Such as have reed Xt may come to Know, & be able to Say yt God is yr God — 2. the beleivers God is a God of Salvation. 3. Its a consideration that yeelds much releef to ye Saints in time of Eminent danger, yt he yt is yr God is ye God of Salvation & that to him belong ye Issues from death.

5d 7m. — I awaked wth yt Scripture, Math. 5. Blessed are they yt hunger, &c., 1. ye Soul yt truly hungers and thirsts after righteousness shall be made righteous. 2. to be filled with righteousness & true holiness is true blessedness.

6d 7m. — I awaked wth some week thought of some Scripture but my heart being oppressed wth much deadness my Spirit was confused &c. — the Lord pardon my great deadness, & quicken mee for his names sake.

Mr. SPARKS referred to a discussion, at the September meeting, of the question, whether Washington ever received the appointment of Marshal of France; and stated it as his opinion, that though the French army was put under Washington's orders, though he received all the marks of honor which were usually paid to a marshal, and though the French officers may sometimes have applied to him that title, yet that he never received such a commission or appointment. He proceeded:—

The relations in which the French troops stood to the army of the United States are fully explained by the instructions of the French Government to Count Rochambeau, dated at Versailles, March 1, 1780. The following articles are contained in those instructions:—

“ In sending such considerable succors to co-operate with General Washington, Commander-in-chief of the troops of the Congress of the United States of North America, in the military operations which he may determine upon, the intentions of his majesty are:—

“ ARTICLE 1.— That the general to whom his majesty intrusts

the command of his troops should always and in all cases be under the command of General Washington.

“ARTICLE 2. — That all projects and plans for the campaign or for private expeditions should be decided upon by the American general; keeping in view that harmony which his majesty hopes to see between the two commanders-in-chief, and the generals and soldiers of the two nations.

“ARTICLE 3. — The French troops, being only auxiliaries, should on this account, as was done in Germany in the campaign of 1757, yield precedence and the right to the American troops; and this decision is to hold good in all general or particular cases which may occur. The French general who took part in the campaign mentioned as an example, and who, moreover, is perfectly well acquainted with military rules, will give the greatest attention to maintain this arrangement, and to have it observed in its full extent. He will take care to give previous information of it to the general officers and the troops under his command, in order to avoid any difficulty that might disturb the good understanding which his majesty hopes to see prevail between the two armies united under the command of General Washington.

“ARTICLE 4. — In consequence of the above article, the American officers with equal rank and the same date of commission shall have the command; and, in all cases, the American troops shall take the right. In all military acts and capitulations, the American general and troops shall be named first, and will sign first, as has always been the custom, and in accordance with the principles above laid down with regard to auxiliary troops.

“ARTICLE 5. — It is his majesty's expectation, and very positive order to Count de Rochambeau, that he will see to the exact and literal execution of the above four articles.” — See *Washington's Writings*, vol. vii. p. 493.

These instructions to Count Rochambeau were evidently intended to be made known by him to General Washington, not as holding any authority under the French Government, but as “Commander-in-chief of the troops of the Congress of the United States.” No evidence has been found among Washington's papers, or in any official document whatever, that he received a military commission from the French Gov-

ernment, or any direct communication on the subject of his command. By the above instructions, the French troops are to be regarded as auxiliaries, placed under the orders of Washington, not as holding the rank of a Marshal of France, but as commander of the army of the United States.

But there is other testimony more direct and conclusive. Washington himself says, in a letter to a French author (Mr. Æneas Lamont, who had dedicated to him a volume of poems), dated Jan. 31, 1785, "It behooves me to correct a mistake in your printed 'Address to the Patrons of the Fine Arts.' I am not a Marshal of France, nor do I hold any commission or fill any office under that government or any other whatever."* — *Ibid.*, vol. ix. p. 89.

Dr. WEBB read a paper containing citations from several contemporary authorities bearing upon the question at issue, and remarked as follows: —

He said he was familiar with the documents from which Dr. Sparks had read extracts, and that they contained other

* The impression that Washington was a Marshal of France would seem to have been a common one as early as 1788, if we may believe an anonymous "Esquisse d'un Poëme," entitled "L'Amérique délivrée," published in Amsterdam in that year, in two volumes, and dedicated to John Adams: —

"Washington qu'ombrageait une gloire éternelle,
Qui voyait sur son front la couronne immortelle,
Dont le Dieu des combats décore ses guerriers;
Plus grand par ses vertus que par tous ses lauriers,
De la main de Louis reçoit un nouveau lustre,
Qui venant l'élever au rang le plus illustre
Où les héros Français espèrent parvenir,
Augmentera sa gloire aux lieux de l'avenir."

In a note, the author adds: —

"Mr. Washington a été fait Maréchal de France par Louis XVI. et c'est en cette qualité qu'il commande les Lieutenans Généraux Français, qui, quoique à la solde de la France, servent et combattent pour la liberté des États-Unis et la gloire de leur patrie." — Vol. i. pp. 44, 45.

Unfortunately, the gross blunders which this writer makes in his notes deprive his statements of all weight as authority upon controverted questions.

These extracts from "L'Amérique délivrée" were brought to the notice of the Publishing Committee, by Prof. George W. Greene, while this volume was going through the press.

striking passages of the like import. The letter of Washington he had referred to at the September meeting. As regarded the other extracts, were the question at issue, whether or not Washington commanded the combined forces, they would satisfactorily settle it in the affirmative; but to his mind they had no direct bearing on the question of the marshalship.

He continued: Whatever may be thought of Fleming's statement,* so far as appears, or can be by me gathered after diligent inquiry, he had no selfish or interested motive to induce him to make false representations. Indeed, as to the actuality of the marshalship, he evidently entertained no doubt. His object was not to substantiate any declaration respecting it, nor to dispel any misgivings concerning it, but, with a full conviction of its truth, he desired and aimed to have bestowed, upon the one to whom he deemed it due, the credit of suggesting to, if not procuring from, the King of France, the military appointment alluded to. The design which he had in contemplation was not so much at least to show that Washington was made a marshal, as that Franklin was the prime, moving cause thereof.

Under the existing circumstances, it being quite doubtful whether the domestic and foreign troops would affiliate, such an appointment certainly might have been politic, and have proved the surest means of allaying the apprehensions of the citizens, and removing the prejudices of the troops. The people had unbounded confidence in Washington. What would be more likely to fraternize the troops than evidence that the French king reposed unlimited trust in the integrity and skill of the same great man, by conferring upon him the highest military honor at the disposal of royalty?

The quick perception of Franklin, ever vigilant, would

* See pp. 146-148 of this volume, where the material parts of his declaration, as reduced to writing by the friend to whom it was made, will be found.

have early led him to observe the existing unhappy and dangerous state of affairs; and his keen-sightedness would naturally have enabled him to anticipate the inevitable tendency of the same, and prompted him to avail of the wisest measures to avert the impending danger.*

Be this, however, as it may, whether credence be given to or withheld from the Flemings,† it does seem as if there must have been some foundation for the opinion quite extensively prevalent on this subject, both during and after the close of the Revolutionary War.

In the hope of throwing a little more light on the subject, I would call attention to the following extracts, from the tenor of which we shall see, that if Washington were not really a Marshal of France (although some of the writers cited dis-

* For whatever was done relative to or connected with furnishing foreign aid to this country, we are, without doubt, largely indebted to Franklin. In a long and interesting letter from Lafayette to Count de Vergennes, dated at Havre, 18th of July, 1799, he says, in reference to advising Congress, &c., that aid was about being sent, "We might write that the king, desiring to serve his allies, and agreeably to the requests of Dr. Franklin, intends sending some vessels to America," &c. Again: in the same letter, he observes, speaking of the importance of sending a body of troops to America, "If the United States should object to it, I think it is our duty to remove the objections, and even to suggest reasons for it; but on this head you will be anticipated, and Dr. Franklin is only waiting a favorable moment to make his propositions."

† The elder Fleming not only held the highly responsible and trustworthy positions of secretary to Washington and to Lafayette, and of commandant at West Point, succeeding General Knox in command, but was also a friend and associate of Clinton, Jay, and Livingston; from which his high respectability and great reliability may be fairly inferred. During the last war with Great Britain, he was, as colonel, stationed at Fort Erie, Oswego county, N.Y.; and, at the close of hostilities, held the rank of general.

"His high-toned and chivalrous character spurned any thing which derogated from the purest principles of honor and rectitude." He died about the year 1830.

The younger Fleming, who died in 1855, notwithstanding his infirmity (he was not a sot, but rather a periodical drinker), was polished and refined in his manners, and the strength of his masterly intellect remained unimpaired to the last. He delighted in cogent argumentation, and possessed an astonishing amount of acquired information. He was a living encyclopædia, and as ready and elaborate on almost every subject as the pages of the "Edinburgh" or "Britannica."

He was a college — not class — mate of Hon. Gerritt Smith, who says of him, "He was noble and generous, and would scorn falsehood and all meanness." He studied law at the same time and place with Messrs. Seward, Fillmore, Granger, and other celebrities. Every person who knew him had the highest respect for his word and his sincerity.

tinctly set forth that he was), he unquestionably occupied the position and exercised the authority of such an officer; indeed, received the honors due to none other than one of that exalted rank: in consequence of which, he may, in course of time, have been regarded as actually holding such an office.

So far as I have had an opportunity of examining any official communications or letters of Rochambeau, I have sought in vain for the information desired. In his reply to the Congratulatory Address of the General Assembly of Rhode Island, upon his safe arrival within the United States (the French fleet entered the harbor of Newport the 10th of July, 1780), speaking of the soldiery, he simply says,—

“The French troops are under the strictest discipline, and, acting under the orders of General Washington, will live with the Americans as their brethren; and nothing will afford me greater happiness than contributing to their success.”

I have been no more fortunate in the result of my examination of other military correspondence of the time. That Washington was to have, and did have, supreme command, whenever the Americans and French forces acted together, and that, in such cases, Washington, when present in person, and also the American officers, were to take precedence of the French officers, is sufficiently evident. If a doubt on that point existed in the mind of any one, it would be removed by an examination of the correspondence that transpired between Washington, Lafayette, Rochambeau, Vergennes, and others; as also, and more especially, of the open and secret instructions to the French general-in-chief: * but not a word therein contained bears directly on the marshalship.

Botta, in giving an account of the arrival of the French squadron, says, “It conveyed a great number of transports, which brought six thousand soldiers, at the orders of the Count de Rochambeau, lieutenant-general of the armies of the

* See Sparks's Writings of Washington, vol. vii. p. 498 *et seq.*

king. According to an agreement made between the court of Versailles and the Congress, Washington, as captain-general, was to command in chief all the troops, as well French as American. The King of France had created him, to this intent, lieutenant-general of his armies, and vice-admiral of his fleets."*

Stedman observes, the fleet was "commanded by the Chevalier de Ternay, and the troops by the Count de Rochambeau; and in order to prevent discussion, and obviate every difficulty that might arise upon the junction of the French troops with the American army, a commission was sent to General Washington, appointing him a Lieutenant-General of France, which, of course, put the Count de Rochambeau under his orders."†

The late Benjamin Cowell, of Providence, R.I., who was imbued with a spirit of historic research, and who, officially as Clerk of the Supreme Court, and professionally as a counsellor, was from an early period, for a long series of years, brought into intimate relations with the officers and soldiers of the Revolution, chronicles, on page 224 of his "Spirit of '76 in Rhode Island," that "in March, this year [1781], General Washington paid a visit to Count de Rochambeau at Newport, and from thence came to Providence. Louis XVI. had created him a lieutenant-general in the French army, and invested him with the command of the French troops in this country."

On the 6th of March, 1781, General Washington arrived at Newport; his purpose being to pay his respects to the eminent French general. He was received by Rochambeau and the citizens in the most distinguished manner.‡

* "History of the War of the Independence of the United States of America. Written by Charles Botta. Translated from the Italian, by George Alexander Otis." — Vol. iii. p. 199. Philadelphia, 1821.

† "The History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War. By C. Stedman, who served under Sir W. Howe, Sir H. Clinton, and the Marquis Cornwallis." — Vol. ii. p. 245. London, 1794.

‡ General Washington's uniform on this occasion, says an eye-witness, Mr. Thomas Hornsby, "was blue and buff, in the American style of the times."

This visit, it appears, was quite unexpected; for in an apologetic letter from Rochambeau to Governor Hancock, dated Newport, March 14, 1781,* the former takes occasion to say, —

“His Excellency, General Washington, has honored us with his presence during four or five days. It was impossible for me to send word of it to your Excellency, because he arrived unawares.”

However, the French officers on duty at Newport and in the vicinity had evidently received, in advance, instructions how to proceed in such a juncture, and in what rank to recognize him; for the Newport “Mercury” of March 10, 1781, in announcing the event, says that “General Washington was received at the ferry in Jamestown by the admiral’s [Le Chevalier de Ternay] barge, and conducted on board his ship, and was saluted by a discharge of cannon from the admiral’s ship.” It furthermore adds, “that, in consequence of orders from the court of France, he received all the honors that were paid to the Prince Royal or Marshal of France; greater than which could only be rendered to the king.”

To the same purport, and in much the same language, the Newport correspondent of the Providence “Gazette,” under date of March 10, 1781, writes: “On Tuesday, the 6th instant, an universal joy was diffused through this town upon the arrival of his Excellency, General Washington, our illustrious commander-in-chief.”

“The whole troops of the garrison were under arms, and formed two lines, through which his Excellency was escorted to the headquarters of General Rochambeau; and, in consequence of orders from the court of France, received all the honors ever paid to the Princes Royal or Marshal of France; greater than which can be rendered only to the king. In the evening, this town and the fleet in the harbor were

* Preserved among the Revolutionary Papers at the State House.

beautifully illuminated; and the highest pleasure and satisfaction appeared in every countenance." *

It is scarcely necessary for me, in conclusion, to remark that my main object in this communication has been, not to attempt to sustain Fleming's declaration, nor to controvert the adverse opinion entertained by others, but simply to set forth the results of my examinations, whether favorable or unfavorable to the marshalship: trusting, however, that the facts cited, and statements adduced, might, in some measure, account for the opinion, once so generally entertained, that Washington *was* a Marshal of France; and I am free to confess, that the weight of testimony is opposed thereto.

The President communicated three letters from Rev. William Gordon, D.D., the well-known author of the "History of the American Revolution," addressed to Governor Bowdoin, and found among the Bowdoin Papers:—

Rev. William Gordon to James Bowdoin.

MY DEAR SIR, — Allow me thus to address you (though almost an entire stranger) from the regard I have entertained for you, on account of your steady attachment to the cause of liberty. I shall be free in communicating my thoughts, as I have the opportunity of conveying this by the hands of a friend in whom I can confide.

When I reflect at times upon the disputes that subsist between America & Britain, I am ready to wish that the cause had never arose in the minds of our ministry; but further thought often causes me to pronounce it a kind overruling of providence. The Americans were falling off apace from their primitive manners, & debilitating themselves by luxurious habits; had these habits been thoroughly rooted by long continuance, & our managers been artful, they might have carried their point without difficulty; whereas by beginning too soon, they have revived your dying virtue & disconcerted their own projects. The divided state of our own nation has prevented things

* See Providence "Gazette," March 24, 1781, vol. xviii. No. 899; in which may also be found a description of the personal appearance of Washington.

being pushed to a fatal extremity, while the court-complexion has fully appeared & your attention been awakened to the utmost. You must fall into a lethargy, if you ever, after what has passed, suffer yourselves to be surprised in an unguarded moment. Had an uninterrupted affection between the Colonies & the mother country continued, you would readily have exerted your strength in any future war for the reduction of the French & Spaniards in the West Indies & on the Main; whereas you will now act sparingly, lest by reducing these too low, you open a door for dangerous designs against your own liberties.

You will rather wish, that their power may be circumscribed, than destroyed, that so yourselves may be secure, from a jealousy that should you become desperate, you might hazard joining yourselves with them. As the Indians were desirous that all North America might not be acquired by the English thro' the reduction of the Canadians, so the Colonists will hope that the new world may not become the property of the British Empire by the conquest of what remains in the hands of other powers. The late affair at Boston, though in itself melancholy, I apprehend has cooled the spirits of the ministry, & given them an opportunity of receiving full conviction, that your people are not to be bullied or frightened by soldiers, & that if they meant to have a recourse to force they must expect no small opposition. They are so strong in the house that they can carry every question. The session is just upon ending. The tea duty remains, & will not be repealed, unless by continuing firm & united the colonies oblige them to do it the next winter. Nothing but necessity will compel administration to give up taxing you. Indeed, if your united steadiness put them at last upon complying so as to relieve you for the present, [I] apprehend they will not abandon the scheme, & only lay it aside till they have a more favourable opportunity. The generality of the people for want of proper notions are for taxing you, in point of judgment, & it will be interest alone that will reconcile them to the contrary, an exemption; they are ready to plead, why should they be taxed and not you? The courtiers & others find the sweets of places & pensions, & would rejoice to have America another Ireland to them. Should the Capt. & Soldiers be reprieved or pardon'd, hope the towns people will not violate the laws by a forcible execution of them, as formerly was the case at Edinburgh in Capt. Porteus: this would give the ministry an handle that I would not wish them; whereas, if being found guilty the criminals are not executed

through the interposition of government, it will be an argument for strengthening your opposition to ministerial measures.

The ministry may now possibly give up all thought of forcing you into an acquiescence with their demand of taxing you ; & may try the arts of soothing & chicanery, of negotiation & corruption. Could they get the colonies to invest their agents with full powers to settle differences, or to fix upon a few arbitrators, they might then easily gain their point, for with the treasury at their command & honours to bestow, they would become tempters too powerful for frail mortals. The moment your representatives delegate a person or two to transact for them at the British court, so as to be bound by what these consent to, your danger is inexpressible, & there must be the special interposition of heaven to save you from ruin. Col. Barre is an excellent hand in behalf of your cause, & so is your late Gov. Thos. Pownall Esq : but in such cases I would remember, not to trust in man. The last I consider as acting more from principle than the former : tho' I would be sorry to injure either by comparing them.

I now come to an affair, in which I would desire you to use your influence, lest it should lead on to bad consequences. The baptists, I understand, look upon themselves as hardly used & in some measure persecuted in the Colony of Connecticut, & have had their thoughts of addressing his Majesty on this head. There are persons about the court who have heard of their being thus treated ; & the ministry together with the clergy would gladly hearken to complaints of this kind. A clamour would be raised against the four colonies ; for the people consider them all as one, & do not know how they are separated. The administration would be ready enough to make a handle of it, & I doubt not would give the baptists, (or rather I should say anabaptists or anti-pædobaptists) relief as to the matter complained of. I would wish that the colonies would allow full liberty of conscience, & that religious sentiment might be opposed by no other arguments than those drawn from scripture. If the Baptists have been opposed in any way that does not consist with the common rights of mankind, & have been punished or harassed for their peculiar notions, I would advise that it may not be so again. Such methods seldom answer, & in general serve to strengthen the cause they are meant to injure. Christ's kingdom is not of this world, & needs no such worldly supports. The supporters of his cause are to be truth & piety. I most heartily wish my dissenting brethren were more consistent with their own principles, & that we all acted more according to that golden

rule *As ye would that others should do unto you, &c.* Could you by your influence put a stop to any harsh proceedings, I am persuaded you will be doing much service to the interests of true religion & to the civil concern of the colonies.

I shall have tired you, I am afraid, by the length of my first epistle, so that you will not be fond of corresponding frequently, but as it is the first so it is likely to be the last letter I shall write you from England, & an answer to it is not expected: the reason follows, viz, I am coming over to America. Intend sailing with my wife & servant maid for Philadelphia or N. York, the latter end of July or beginning of August, but am not certain where I shall settle. Probably may one time or other have the happiness of a personal interview. In the resolution I have taken up, have followed I hope the leading of Providence, & proceed under a divine blessing. The Lord I trust will lead me by the right way thro' this wilderness to the heavenly Canaan; & if we meet not on earth, there may we meet to enjoy the most refined friendship. Wishing you & yours the best of blessings; with most cordial respects to your family tho' wholly unknown, I subscribe myself your very humble servant

WILLIAM GORDON.

LONDON May 18. 1770.

— Bowdoin Esq. Boston.

Rev. William Gordon to James Bowdoin.

In a letter to Sr F. B. 28th Sepr. 1770

“B—n & P—s still go all lengths which the pale lean Cassius would have them.”

In a letter, I apprehend to Sec'y Pownall of Apr. 1772.

“Mr. Hancock moved in the house to address the Governor to carry the Court to Boston, & to assign no reason except the convenience of sitting there, but this was opposed by his colleague Adams, & carried against the motion by three or four voices only. The same motion was made in Council, but opposed by Mr. Bowdoin, who is & has been for several years the principal supporter of the opposition to Government. It would be to no purpose to negative him, for he would be chose into the house & do more mischief there than at the board.”

In a letter to James Gambier, Esq. 7 May 1772.

“Of the two you mentioned, one in the Common & the other near it, I have found the first pliable, & haue made great use of him, & expect to make more; the other is envious & with dark secret plottings endeavors to distress government, & altho' I am upon terms of civility

with him, yet when the faction in the house have any point to carry, they are sure of his support in Council, & he is as obstinate as a mule. I do not find the advice, that his son in law is like to be provided for in England, has any effect upon him. — If I see any chance for bringing him over, & making him a friend to government I will try it: in the meantime I will bear with his opposition, as I have done for several years past. This *inter nos*.”

In a letter to Sr F. B. 25th Aug. 1772.

“Dear Sir, Before Commodore Gambier sailed, he hinted to me the same thing he did to you after his arrival in England. I thought it was suggested to him by I. E., & I took it to be only his opinion of the effect such an expectation might have, & I have no reason to think Mr. B—— was privy to the suggestion. His conduct in Council is very little different from what it was in your administration, & he runs into the foolish notions of Adams, &c, & when government is the subject, talks their jargon. On other occasions we are just within the bounds of decency. One would have thought the unexpected favors shown to his son in law would have softened him. I don't know but he may have been rather more cautious in his language, but he joins in the same measures.”

In a letter to Mr. Gambier, 19 Feb. 1773.

“I send you my Speech, their answers, & my reply, which may be some little amusement to you, tho' I have need to apologize for laboring to prove points so evident. The prejudices people were under made it necessary. Can you believe that all those cloudy inconclusive expressions in the Council's answer came from B——. They certainly did, & the contempt with which I have treated them enrages him, but he has compelled me to it.”

In a letter to Sr F. B. 23 Feb. 1773.

“You will think they have made miserable work of it, & yet you have the utmost effort of Bowdoin's genius in one House, & Hawley's & Adams's in the other.” — In a letter to Gen'l Gage, 7 Mar. 1773. “The Council would have acquiesced if Mr. Bowdoin had not persuaded them that he could defend Lord Chatham's doctrine, that parliament had no right of taxation, but by his repugnant arguments he has exposed himself to contempt.”

In a letter to Mr. Jackson, 12 August 1773.

“A gentleman of the C. & one or two of the H. were enraged to see their arguments treated with so much neglect & contempt by the sensible part of the province, & the total silence of all the other Cos.

convinced them they were not better rec'd there. They thereupon resolved to revenge themselves upon me, having obtained a number of original letters from me & from several other persons, to the late Mr. Whately."

SIR, — Agreeably to your request transmitted by Bro. Conant have gone over Mr. H's letterbooks, & copied out the above extracts; would have sent them by Mr. Conant, but had not time to finish the business during his stay. Should I not hear of your being at the Council, design committing this to the care of Col. Cotton, in order to its being forwarded. Pray our respects to your Lady. I hear your son is return'd safe from England, congratulate you upon it, & wish you all the best of blessings.

Your humble serv't & sincere friend

WILLIAM GORDON.

JAMAICA PLAIN, Decr. 6. '75.

The Honble JAMES BOWDOIN Esq. Middleburgh.

Rev. William Gordon to James Bowdoin.

JAMAICA PLAIN, Oct. 23. 1784.

SIR, — While I had in my hands yesterday morning one of your Bank Bills, it occurred to me, that within these two or three years, there was executed at London a young genius, for forging Bank notes, whose forgery was so exact that the Parties in the Bank could not tell the counterfeits from the genuine; he even imitated the watermark to the highest perfection; & was condemned upon his own confession when first apprehended, with a few circumstantial evidences corroborating his guilt. No persons in the Bank would venture to swear that this or that note was a counterfeit.

I thought with myself, what might be the fatal consequence to a young Bank should any similar genius equally vitiated appear in America, & how you might fix a private mark upon every note which could never be known in common by any other than yourselves. Genl. Washington informed me that he had corresponded with the friends of America in New York by the aid of a chymical preparation which was invisible, & could be discovered by *no other means* than a counter liquor which being rubbed on the paper made the writing visible. Your name written with such a liquor on the notes, besides the signature, would secure the means of knowing by the counter liquor the genuineness of every note offered after the practice of so

marking had been adopted. Should the Directors of the Bank chuse to adopt such a measure for the security of the Bank & the Public against accomplished villains, I will inform you from whom to procure the two liquors, the General having given me the name of the gentleman; but how they are made the General himself does not know.

Your humble Servant

WILLIAM GORDON.

I have written in great haste, that I might not miss of the opportunity of sending the above. The proposal must not be matter of notoriety, but to the Directors.

Honble JAMES BOWDOIN, Esq.

The President reported from the Standing Committee, that an application had been received from ladies connected with the approaching Fair for the Sanitary Commission, for the use of certain treasures belonging to the cabinet of this Society. It was unanimously ordered, that the Standing Committee be instructed to allow such articles as they may select, to be placed in the charge of the applicants for exhibition at the Fair.

JANUARY MEETING. — 1864.

A stated meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, Jan. 14, at eleven, A.M.; the President, the Hon. R. C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

Donations were announced from the American Antiquarian Society; the Boston Young Men's Christian Association; the Library of Congress; the New-England Historic-Genealogical Society; the New-England Loyal Publication Society; the Suffolk Institute of Archæology

and Natural History; the Waltham Union League; Mr. George Arnold; Samuel Batchelder, Esq.; Clement H. Hill, Esq.; John S. Holmes, Esq.; Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq.; James S. Loring, Esq.; Rev. William S. Perry; George B. Reed, Esq.; the publishers of the "Round Table;" and from Messrs. Amory, Barry, Bartlet, Dana, Davis, Deane, Holland, Livermore, Robbins (C.), Savage, Ticknor, Webb, Willard, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President called the attention of members to a volume then lying upon the table, remarking as follows:—

We have on our table this morning the noble volume which has recently been published in commemoration of the life and writings of the lamented Prescott. It is presented to us by its accomplished author, Mr. Ticknor; who remarks in his Prefatory Notice, alluding to the circumstances under which it was written, "That the Massachusetts Historical Society, who early did me the honor of directing me to prepare a notice of their lamented associate, such as it is customary to insert in their official Proceedings, have been content to accept the present Memoir as a substitute."

We shall all concur heartily in this statement, and shall have cause for a stronger emotion than contentment, if our designation of Mr. Ticknor for this service conduced in any degree to the production of so worthy and beautiful a memorial of one whom we all admired and loved.

It was then *voted*, That the Massachusetts Historical Society renewedly express their pleasure in accepting the "Life of William Hickling Prescott by George Ticknor," as this day laid on the table in a noble volume presented to their library by its accomplished author,

as a substitute for the Memoir which Mr. Ticknor had been requested to prepare for their official Proceedings.

The President also laid upon the table a Memoir of Rev. James Brodhead, D.D., presented by his son, John Romeyn Brodhead, LL.D., of New York, one of our Corresponding Members.

The President also presented a brief memoir of one "whose name," he said, "must not be lost to the annals of New England, — Major Sidney Coolidge, of the United-States Army, — whose brilliant career and melancholy fate are still fresh in all our minds."

The President remarked, that he took this opportunity of mentioning in a single word, that the name of the Rev. Benjamin Tappan, D.D., one of the oldest among our Honorary and Corresponding Members, henceforth disappears from our roll. Born in Massachusetts, and graduated at Harvard, he became a citizen of Maine on its separation from the parent State; and was for nearly fifty years a devoted minister of the gospel, at Augusta, where he died on the 22d of December last, at seventy-eight years of age. His praise is in all the churches of his own and of other denominations, and he has left an enviable and enduring memory in the hearts of all who knew him.

The thanks of the Society were voted to our associate, Dr. Holland, for a complete set of his works, in beautiful binding, recently presented by him to the library.

The President read a note from J. W. Paige, Esq., offering to the Society's acceptance the Records of the Assistant Fire Society of Boston, instituted Dec. 2,

1783. *Voted*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Paige for this interesting relic.

The President read a note from Mr. Everett, accompanying, and presenting to the Society, on behalf of J. Carson Brevoort, Esq., of Brooklyn, N.Y., a photograph from the original miniature likeness of General Washington, taken by Madame de Brienne, sister of Count de Moustier, minister from France to the United States in 1788. Washington sat to Madame de Brienne on the 3d October, 1789. She sent a copy of the likeness to General Washington, who gave it to the lady of General Stewart. It afterwards came into the possession of Dr. Hosack, of New York, by whose family the portrait is now preserved, with General Washington's presentation inscription on its back.

(See Diary of Washington from Oct. 1, 1789, to March 10, 1790, pages 12 and 18, as printed in New York, 1858.)

The following inscription, in the handwriting of Washington, is on the back of the original picture:—

“Not for the representation or the value, but because it is the production of a fair lady, the President takes the liberty of presenting the enclosed, with his best regards, to Mrs. Stewart, praying her acceptance of it.

“WEDNESDAY 16th Mar. 1795 ”

Rev. Nicholas Hoppin, D.D., of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member, and Major-General John A. Dix, of New York, an Honorary Member, of the Society.

The President nominated as a new Committee of Publication, agreeably to a vote of the Standing Committee, Messrs. Aspinwall, Ellis, Bartlet, and Sibley.

Mr. FOLSOM, from the Committee on purchasing Books

of Reference, reported that the Committee have leisurely expended in the most economical manner the amount placed at their disposal, and recommended the appropriation of an additional sum.

The report was accepted; and it was *Voted*, That the sum of fifty dollars be placed at the disposal of the same Committee for the same purpose.

Mr. LIVERMORE presented to the Society three copies of "The Book of Common Prayer," for "The Confederate States of America." These different editions vary only in size. All of them bear on the titlepage, as publisher, the name of J. W. Randolph, Richmond, Va., 1863. On the reverse of the title, it is found that they were printed in England, — "London: Printed by G. E. Eyre and W. Spottiswood." The text agrees generally with that of the Book of Common Prayer used in the United States, except in the prayers where Congress or the President is mentioned, when "the Confederate States" is substituted for "the United States."

In presenting these volumes, Mr. Livermore remarked, that, in the prayer to be used at sea, a singular error occurs, from the neglect of the editor to make the alteration necessary for the proposed use of the work. The prayer stands: "Be pleased to receive into Thy almighty and most gracious protection the persons of us thy servants, and the fleet [or ship] in which we serve. Preserve us from the dangers of the sea, and from the violence of the enemy; that we may be a safeguard unto the United States of America, and a security for such as pass on the seas upon their lawful occasions."

Mr. Livermore thought, that, when it is remembered

that the so-called Confederate States have no fleet or ships but those of pirates or privateers, the blunder of the editor is as amusing as it is striking.

Mr. HORACE GRAY, Jun., remarked, that the earliest statute of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, "against piracy and robbing upon the sea," included under the crime of piracy "all treasons, felonies, robberies, murders, and *confederacies* in or upon the seas," as enumerated in the Provincial Statute of 8 William III. (1696), which he quoted from, "Ancient Charters and Laws" (ed. 1814), 296; saying that he had had occasion to compare this with the earlier editions, knowing it to be unsafe to rely upon the text of this.

As an instance of the inaccuracy of the "Ancient Charters," he referred to the first act of the Colony for keeping records of judgments, which was passed in September, 1639, and printed on page 43 of that volume. That act, as appears by the original record in the State House (now accurately printed in 1 Mass. Col. Rec., 275), began thus: "Whereas many judgments have been given in our courts, whereof *no* records are kept of the evidence & reasons." But "no" in the manuscript was read, by the compilers of the edition of 1814, "110," and printed "one hundred and ten;" thus making the great number of those already accumulated, instead of the want of any past records whatever, the reason for ordering judicial proceedings to be recorded for the future.

Mr. LAWRENCE presented two cannon-balls and an iron scoop, found on Breed's Hill, which were dug up under his inspection at the time of the grading of the hill.

Mr. SIBLEY stated that there was in the library of Harvard College a copy of Milton's "Paradise Lost," in folio, printed at Glasgow in 1770, which was presented by "Mr. Brook Watson to Phillis Wheatley, London, July, 1773." At the bottom of the page on which the above is written is the following note, in the handwriting of Mr. Dudley L. Pickman: "This book was given by Brook Watson, formerly Lord Mayor of London, to Phillis Wheatley; and, after her death, was sold in payment of her husband's debts. It is now presented to the library of Harvard University at Cambridge, by Dudley L. Pickman of Salem, March, 1824."

REV. SAMUEL OSGOOD, D.D., a Corresponding Member from New York, being present, at the call of the President made some interesting remarks in relation to the New-York Historical Society.

FEBRUARY MEETING.

A stated monthly meeting was held this day, Thursday Feb. 11, at eleven, A.M.; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

Donations were announced from the New-England Loyal Publication Society; the Society of Antiquaries, London; the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History; the publishers of the "Round Table;" John Appleton, M.D.; William Appleton, Esq.; Rev. B. F. De Costa; Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq.; Hon. F. W. Lincoln; James S. Loring, Esq.; Mr. Frederick Müller;

James Redpath, Esq.; Prof. W. B. Rogers; and from Messrs. Brigham, Livermore, Robbins, (C.), Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

A letter was read from Major-General John A. Dix, accepting his election as an Honorary Member.

The President presented, on behalf of John C. Pratt, Esq., a manuscript volume, containing "Minutes of the Proceedings of the Washington Benevolent Society" from 1812 to 1824.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Pratt for this donation to their archives.

A valuable donation was presented from William Appleton, Esq., consisting of several printed books, and also fourteen specimens of ancient manuscripts, supposed to have been written at different times, from the twelfth to the fifteenth century.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Appleton for the repeated evidences of his liberality to the Society.

The President announced the death of Frederic Tudor, Esq., a Resident Member of the Society, in the following terms:—

The public journals have already informed you of the recent death of our esteemed associate, Frederic Tudor, Esq.; and not a few of us were present at his funeral obsequies on Tuesday last. I need hardly say that in him our Society has lost a warm and steadfast friend, and one who, during the few years of his membership, had evinced a deep interest in our prosperity. He did not forget—as none of us, certainly, can have forgotten—that his honored father was one of the eight, or at most ten, persons by whom our Society was originally instituted; that it was at his house that the first formal

meeting of our founders was held, on the 24th of January, 1791; and that he was the Treasurer of the Society for the first five or six years of its existence.

And so our departed friend seemed ever to cherish a sort of hereditary interest in our welfare; and, some years before he was admitted a member of it, he placed upon our files, through his friend Mr. Sears (then one of our Vice-Presidents), a most interesting memoir of the trade in which he had so long been engaged, and which was so intimately identified with his personal history and fortunes. This paper now forms a part of our earliest printed volume of Proceedings, and has much of the value of an autobiography of the writer, during the long period which it covers.

Mr. Tudor was chosen one of our Resident Members in January, 1858; and, on the 11th of August following, the Society held a memorable meeting at his hospitable mansion at Nahant. No one who was present will soon forget that meeting, — when, in addition to other most agreeable entertainment, our host conducted us through his grounds, and explained to us the simple but ingenious and marvellous processes by which he had succeeded in raising the most delicate fruits and flowers on a soil which seemed doomed to barrenness, and in the face of winds rough enough and sharp enough to blight every thing within reach of their blast.

A beautiful stereoscopic picture of the mansion and grounds, with the Society assembled on the lawn, was taken before we parted. That picture has a melancholy interest for us all at this moment, reminding us how many of those whom we loved and honored most have been stricken from the roll of our living members during the few years which have intervened. Prescott, Chief-Justice Shaw, Nathan Appleton, Dr. Luther V Bell, and Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch, were among those who were most prominently clustered around our departed friend on that occasion, and whom he has now followed to the grave. Their forms and features, with his

own, are already beginning to fade in the pictured group; but it will be long before the memories of any of them will be effaced from our hearts.

This is not the occasion for dwelling at any length on those peculiarities of temperament and character which gave Mr. Tudor so marked an individuality in our community. Born on the 4th of September, 1783, and having thus more than completed his eightieth year, his life, from his earliest manhood, had been one of great intellectual as well as commercial activity. As the founder of the ice-trade, he not only commenced an enterprise which added a new subject of export and a new source of wealth to our country, — imparting a value to that which had no value before, and affording lucrative employment to great numbers of laborers at home and abroad, — but he established a claim, which will not be forgotten in the history of commerce, to be regarded as a benefactor of mankind, by supplying an article not of luxury only for the wealthy and the well, but of such unspeakable comfort and refreshment for the sick and enfeebled in tropical climes, and which has already become one of the necessities of life for all who have enjoyed it in any clime.

As a cultivator of fruits and flowers, and trees too, at Nahant, he not only placed himself in the front rank of horticulturists, but he gave a signal instance of how much could be done, by ingenuity, perseverance, and skill, in overcoming the most formidable obstacles of soil and climate, and obtaining a victory over Nature herself.

It has been said that New England is a region of rocks and ice. Mr. Tudor seemed willing to accept it as such, and to be resolved that rocks and ice should be the main ministers to his own fortune, and, through him, to the health and happiness of others.

I may not omit to add, that, while New England was his chosen and constant home, he was a man of enlarged and earnest patriotism. Taking pride in his father's Revolution-

ary services, and inheriting his place in the Society of the Cincinnati, he stood fast to the stars and stripes, and to the Union cause, of which they are the honored emblem, in adversity as well as in prosperity; and nowhere has our national banner been more frequently or more eagerly displayed, on every fit occasion during the past three years, than from the windows of his beautiful residence in Beacon Street. He was of a spirit to have borne it bravely to the battle-field, had an occasion occurred before age had impaired the vigor of his arm.

Nor did he fail to observe and to honor true heroism in other parts of the world as well as in our own. It is an interesting fact, that, when the tidings came to us from the Far East of the noble endurance and brilliant achievements of the lamented Havelock, Mr. Tudor, without calling any one to his counsel, or allowing any one to share the cost, caused a magnificent sword to be made at Springfield, and prepared it with a suitable inscription to be presented to that great Christian hero. It was, unhappily, too late to reach him before his death.

It only remains for me to offer, in behalf of the Standing Committee, the customary resolution:—

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Historical Society have learned with deep regret the death of their valued associate, Frederic Tudor, Esq. ; and that the President be directed to name one of our members to prepare a Memoir of him for our Proceedings.

The resolution was unanimously adopted, and the Hon. William Minot was named accordingly.

John Foster Kirk was elected a Corresponding Member, and Nathaniel Thayer and John G. Whittier Resident Members, of the Society.

Mr. WASHBURN read a paper on the extinction of villenage in England; which, after a discussion, in

which Mr. H. Gray, jun., and Mr. Savage, participated, was referred to the Committee on publishing the Proceedings.

Somerset's Case, and the Extinction of Villenage and Slavery in England.

It seems but a fitting complement to the articles which have been read from time to time before the Historical Society, upon the condition of the slave, and the extinction of slavery in Massachusetts, to say something of the institution in England, and when and how it ceased to exist there. The subject in itself is interesting; and it borrows, moreover, considerable interest from the fact, that the courts of Massachusetts have fully kept pace with those of England in holding that the common law of both was and is hostile to the existence of slavery in any form.

What, at first sight, might seem to be a little remarkable, is, that while it is, at a certain time, assumed that slavery does not and cannot exist in England, the history of a thousand years shows that it was once an existing institution there; and no statute can be traced, abolishing or declaring it unlawful. It is, moreover, a singular fact, that historians do not agree when or how it took its rise, or when or how, in one form, it ceased to exist there; but that it did prevail, first in the form of *villenage*, and afterwards in that of modern negro slavery, is notorious as an historical fact.

Some have contended that villenage grew out of the introduction of the feudal system, after the Conquest in 1066, whereby the property in the lands became vested in a few hands, while the great body of the people were reduced to a condition of dependence, and even bondage (see Barrington on Stat. 277). Others insist that it existed under the Saxon government, and owed its origin to the German institutions which the Saxons or Jutes brought with them into England.

That something answering to villenage existed extensively among the Saxons, seems evident from the early writers upon law and history; though it is a singular fact, that writers of the highest authority are found to this day advocating each side the question, whether the feudal system ever prevailed in England before the time of William the Conqueror.

It is enough for our present purpose to state, what no one of these denies, that, from the earliest period of authentic history, there did exist all over England a large and numerous class of men, who were called "villeins," and were practically and essentially slaves. They were of two kinds, or classes; one, of farm-laborers, working upon the land upon which they lived, and to which they were attached as appendages, and were bought and sold with the land: these were known as villeins *regardant* or *appendant*. The other class were called villeins in *gross*; their relation to the lord being of a personal character, so far as their services were concerned, and the property in them not being connected with the ownership or occupancy of any land. But, in respect to both classes, there was a property in a villein recognized by law, and one which could be enforced by remedies at law.

Of the power of the owner over his villein, a writer of high authority, when speaking of the Saxons in England, says, "The next order of people were the slaves, or villains; a lower kind of *ceorls*, who, being part of the property of their lords, were incapable of any themselves;" "a sort of people who were in downright servitude, used and employed in the most servile works, and belonging, they, their children, and effects, to the lord of the soil, like the rest of the stock or cattle upon it. However, the power of the lords over their slaves was not absolute. If an owner beat out a slave's eye or a tooth, the slave recovered his liberty; if he killed him, he paid a fine to the king" (1 Reeve's Hist. of Eng. Law, 4to ed., 5).

It was a maxim of law in the time of Henry III., and as

long as pure villenage was recognized, that whatever the villein acquired belonged to his master (*ib.*, 102).*

When it is remembered that these villeins, or slaves, were by far the most numerous class of persons in England, and that they were originally often of the same blood with their owners, it is not surprising that we early find them creating disturbance by their restlessness under a state of bondage so base and degrading. There is a statute of Richard II. which recites that they had been accustomed to assemble in a riotous manner, endeavoring to withdraw their services from their lord; and it then goes on to authorize and require these rebellious villeins to be imprisoned, without bail, unless they obtain the consent of their lord.

This law and the manner in which it was enforced is said to have led to the famous insurrection of Wat Tyler; where more than sixty thousand villeins and men of low degree assembled on Blackheath, and took possession of London, demanding the abolition of bondage.

And, so far as legislation was concerned, it had uniformly either ignored the villeins altogether, or had been aimed only at restraining their outbreaks, and enforcing their obedience.

But, for reasons that are not difficult to understand, courts of justice have always, as organized under the common law, with a few exceptions as to particular judges, been found favorable to personal freedom; and, in administering the law in the matter of villenage, the English courts were early found ready to apply the most stringent rules of evidence in requiring proof of an individual being a villein, whether he was suing, as he might do, for his freedom, or his master was suing, as he might do, to regain possession of him, if he had

* It may be added, moreover, that, in some instances, the rights expressed and duties imposed between the master and his villein were too indecent to be transcribed, even in the Latin in which some of them were registered, to say nothing of such as were only puerile and ridiculous.

escaped. The courts required the master to show, affirmatively and beyond reasonable doubt, that the party held in bondage was in fact a villein; the legal presumptions being all in favor of his freedom.

Another circumstance which operated to do away villenage was the gradual recognition of a title to the land which the villein, or, it might be, his father, had cultivated. The lord himself began to perceive that a tenant, who feels that he has an interest in the soil he cultivates, will be far more faithful in bestowing the requisite labor upon it, and will produce a proportionably larger amount of crops for consumption, than one who works without compensation and without hope; and the consequence was, that, in numerous cases, villeins began to be recognized as having legal freeholds in the lands they occupied, till, in a considerable part of England, there grew up, from this origin, a system of estates called copyholds, which are familiar at this day to every English lawyer.

But probably the most effective instrument in changing the condition of the English villein — for, as I have already said, we look in vain for any statute as doing this — was the preaching and writings of Wickliffe, who was contemporary with Richard II. All writers agree in ascribing to his mission of reform a direct agency in breaking down the lines which had hedged in villenage as an institution of the common law. It was one of the doctrines which he and his followers taught, that “it was contrary to the principles of the Christian religion, that any one should be a slave:” and so readily did this chime in with the public sentiment of the day, that we find, in a little more than a hundred years after Wickliffe’s death, Henry VIII., a monarch by no means of a delicate or sensitive religious conscience, manumitting Henry Knight, a tailor, and John Herle, a husbandman, “our natives;” reciting as a reason, “Whereas God created all men free, but afterwards the laws and customs of nations subjected some

under the yoke of servitude, we think it *pious* and *meritorious* with God," &c., and declaring them free.

One thing, in considering this subject, is noticeable; and that is the rapidity with which, after Wickliffe's time, public sentiment advanced in England in the direction of emancipating the class of villeins, and how soon it got *ahead*, if I may use such a term, of the law itself upon the subject. Thus Coke, who did not publish his commentary upon Littleton, called his "First Institute," till 1628, — the third year of Charles I., — devotes the matter of some fifty octavo pages in that work to the subject of the law of villenage; when, in fact, the last case to be found in any book of English reports upon the subject was decided in the fifteenth year of James I.; and only four cases of the kind are reported for the space of fifty years before that.

As one reads these reports, meagre as they are, he is constantly struck with the struggle there is in the judicial mind in giving force and effect to the law, and, at the same time, favoring the claim of freedom; holding the adverse party to the strictest proof, and always construing a doubtful point, as they express it, *in favorem libertatis* (Noy's Reports, 27; Dyer's Reports, 283; 11 State Trials, Hargrave's argument, 342).

Villenage may therefore be assumed to have died out in England in the last years of Elizabeth, or the first of James I.; and neither the term nor the idea ever seems to have found its way into the Colonies of America. And yet, as already remarked, it was not accomplished by any act of legislation, or even judicial decision. The notion that one man might have a property in another, by the common law, was still retained, as will be seen, long after its practical abrogation by the omnipotence of public sentiment.

By a singular coincidence, negro slavery began to obtain a foothold in England about the time of the extinction of that of villenage. It is stated, that, "in the year 1553, four and

twenty negroes were brought into this island from the coast of Africa, and immediately to an English port, as at that time we had no American or sugar trade" (Barrington's Stat. 281, quoting Hakluyt). And Fuller, whose "History of the Worthies of England" was published in 1662, in his character of the "good sea-captain," says, "In taking of a prize, he most prizeth the men's lives whom he takes, though some of them may chance to be *negroes* or savages; and it is the custom of some to throw them overboard." "But our captain counts the image of God, nevertheless, his image, cut in ebony as if done in ivory" (Barrington, 281, *n.*).

Between that period and the time of Somerset's case, of which I am to speak more at length, questions occasionally arose in the English courts as to the right of property in negro slaves; in some of which the right was recognized, and in others denied.

The *slave-trade*, it should be remembered, was not only lawful during this time, but England, with her accustomed disposition to grasp whatever should give her commercial influence and advantage, was monopolizing a trade that was enriching Bristol and other of her cities; and all her colonies in which slave-labor could be employed, including those of New England, were made the marts of a commerce so base and abominable. While, therefore, there was in the English courts the same feeling of disfavor towards what was called the *new slavery* as had been manifested in respect to the ancient form of villenage, it is not singular, that, at times, the ancient notion of the common law, sustained as it was by the policy of the government and the trade and business of the nation, should be found to prevail in questions involving the rights of the master to the person and services of the slave.

It is stated in Rushworth's "Historical Collections," that, in the eleventh of Elizabeth (which would have been 1569), one Cartwright brought a slave from Russia into England, and

“ would scourge him : ” but of what color he was, it is not stated ; and it is said, when “ he was questioned for this, ” “ it was resolved that England was too pure an air for a slave to breathe in ” (11 State Trials, 344 ; Barrington, 282). Mr. Hargrave, in his argument for Somerset before Lord Mansfield, endeavored to apply this as a conceded dogma of the common law, although at that time, as stated in the course of that trial, there must have been fourteen or fifteen thousand slaves in England. The thought here expressed is among the highest and most glorious eulogies which could be uttered in praise of any state or government ; and it may be well to examine for a moment with what justice it was then claimed for the air of England, in the face of her history for centuries after the slave-trade obtained a footing in her commercial enterprise. The sentiment is said to have been authoritatively uttered in 1569. It is reported in 1772, without the citation of a single instance of its having been recognized during that long interval of time, during which the question of property in slaves had been repeatedly raised in the English courts ; and when repeating it, as he did, Mr. Hargrave was obliged to controvert the position taken by Mr. Barrington, whom he cites, who ascribes this statement to the famous John Lilburn, whose memorable imprisonments and whippings and fines, and sittings upon the pillory, and gaggings, by the order of the Star Chamber, in the time of Charles I., are among the disgraceful records of criminal justice in England. He was a radical of the severest stamp ; and his declarations, made in the course of his sharp and protracted controversy with the arbitrary power of Charles, through the press, may very probably require to have some little allowance made for their exactness, or the precision with which they were limited in their terms. Barrington adds to his notice of what Lilburn had advanced, “ But it does not from thence follow that all his doctrines were law. A slave may continue in a state of servitude, though he breathes the air of this land of

liberty, the law of which will protect him from too severe punishments of his master, though it may not entirely emancipate him" (Barrington, 282, *n.*).

And, in the famous system of laws proposed by the renowned John Locke for Carolina, one article was in these words: "Every freeman of Carolina shall have power and authority over his *negro slaves*, of what opinion or religion, for ever" (Barrington, 280). This had reference to the notion to which Blackstone refers, which prevailed with many, that, while a heathen might be held in slavery, a baptized Christian, though a negro, might not be. This constitution of Mr. Locke was established in 1669; but was repealed, at the instigation of the people of the Carolinas, in 1693. I have referred to this only as showing how far this pretended purity of English air as to slavery affected the moral health and tone of her great and good men, while Massachusetts and other of the English Colonies were struggling to rid themselves of an institution with which they did not sympathize.

I have said that the question of property in negro slaves arose from time to time in the English courts between their introduction in 1553, and the final settlement of the question in 1772, which were variously determined; the court, in each case, going back to the common law for principles to guide them, and in no case, I believe, referring to any English statute upon the subject.

In 1669, an action of *trover* was tried in the King's Bench for a hundred negroes, in which the jury found a special verdict, "that the negroes were infidels, and the subjects of an infidel prince, and are usually bought and sold in America as merchandise; and that the plaintiff bought these, and was in possession of them till the defendant took them." It was argued that there could be no property in the person of a man, sufficient to maintain *trover*; but the court held, "that negroes being usually bought and sold among merchants as merchandise, and *also being infidels*, there might be property

in them sufficient to maintain trover" (*Butts v. Penny*, 2 Levinz's Reports, 201). In another report of the case, it is said, "They are by usage *tanquam bona*, and go to administrator until they become Christians; and thereby they are enfranchised" (3 Keble's Reports, 785).

In a case in the English Common Pleas, in 1693, an action having been brought for so many *whelps*, without stating whether they were of dogs or of bears or other wild animals, a question arose whether property could be predicated of such things; and the court in giving judgment, while seeking for analogies to guide them, remark that "trover lies for musk-cats and of monkeys, because they are merchandise; and, for the same reason, it has been adjudged that trover lies of negroes" (*Chambers v. Wackhouse*, 3 Levinz, 336).

Lord Holt, who was Chief Justice under William III., was of the number who seems to have set his face against recognizing negro slavery in England; although he expressly recognizes villenage as a common-law right, as well as the legality of the traffic in slaves in Virginia. In a case that came up before him to recover the price of a negro alleged to have been sold in London, he held that the plaintiff could not recover, unless he alleged the sale to have been made in Virginia; and that, as soon as a negro comes into England, he is free. "One may be a villein in England, but not a slave." In the language of his associate, Judge Powel, "the law takes no notice of a negro" (*Smith v. Brown*, 2 Salkeld's Reports, 666; Holt's Rep., 495).

In another case, before the same chief justice, the action was trespass for taking *unum Æthiopem, Anglice vocatum* ("a negro"), of the plaintiff, of the value of a hundred pounds. Upon the trial, it appeared that the negro had been a slave in Barbadoes; had been assigned to the widow of his owner as dower out of her husband's real estate, according to the law of Barbadoes; that she had brought him to England, where she died, leaving the negro, who was now claimed by

the heir of his former owner. The jury found as a special verdict, "that the negro had been baptized after taking him" from Barbadoes; and the case was argued upon the point, whether, by such baptism, he had become free. The counsel for the defence said, that, "being baptized according to the rite of the church, he is thereby made a Christian; and Christianity is inconsistent with slavery." He refers, by way of analogy, to the case of the Turks: "They do not make slaves of their own religion, though taken in war; and if a Christian be so taken, yet if he renounce Christianity, and turn Mahometan, he doth thereby obtain his freedom." The case was decided in favor of the defendant, on the ground, as stated by our reporter, that "no action of trespass would lie for taking away a *man* generally, though there might be a special action of trespass for taking his servant" (Chamberlain *v.* Harvey, 5 Modern Reports, 182; Carthew's Reports, 396; Lord Raymond's Reports, 146).

And yet a case is reported immediately afterwards, by Lord Raymond, wherein it was adjudged that "trover would lie for a negro boy, for they are heathens, and therefore a man may have property in them; and that the court, without averment made, will take notice that they are heathens." Blackstone (1 Commentaries, 425) refers to this notion, that the baptism of a slave affected his *status* of slavery; at which one of his annotators expresses surprise that he should condescend to treat of this ridiculous notion (Christian's note): but it is certainly no less ridiculous than true, that courts gravely entertained the inquiry.

Another case came up before Lord Holt in 1707, in the time of Queen Anne, which was also an action of trover for *uno Æthiope vocato* ("a negro"). The counsel for the plaintiff relied partly upon the acknowledged law of the plantations, and partly upon the Levitical law, whereby the master had the power to kill his slave, as "he is but the master's money." The court, however, denied the doctrine, affirming

that an action does not lie for a negro any more than for any other man; "*for the common law takes no notice of negroes being different from other men.* By the common law, no man can have a property in another, but in special cases, as in a villein, but even in him not to kill him: so in captives took in war; but the taker cannot kill them, but may sell them to ransom them" (Smith *v.* Gould, 2 Lord Raymond, 1274; Salkeld, 666).

These opinions of Lord Holt, one of the strongest and wisest men that ever sat upon the King's Bench, must undoubtedly have had great effect in giving a proper direction to the public mind of England; but it is nevertheless true, that not only were there slaves in England at that time, and continued to be up to Lord Mansfield's memorable judgment, but more than one of the English judges of unquestioned eminence and ability insisted and affirmed, as late as the middle of the last century, that a slave was the subject of property in England, and might be sued for as such. Among these were Lords Talbot and Hardwicke; than one of whom, at least, no abler man has ever sat upon the woolsack. In 1749, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke reviews the cases I have cited above, and says, "I have no doubt but trover will lie for a negro slave. It is as much property as any other thing." He says that he and Lord Talbot, when they were Attorney and Solicitor General, gave an opinion that christening a slave did not alter his condition. He likens the condition of the negro slave to that of a villein at common law, and that there was no law abolishing villenage (Pearne *v.* Lisle, Ambler's Reports, 76, 77).

Without taking up any more time with particular cases, enough has been seen to give us some idea of the state of mind in the courts and among the people when the occasion came up for a final decision of the question. In speaking of this, Lord Campbell confirms what was intimated in an earlier stage of this examination, that "Lord Mansfield *first*

established the grand doctrine, that the air of England is too pure to be breathed by a slave;" though this, it will be remembered, was still thirty-four years before she abolished her slave-trade, and more than sixty years before she set her slaves free in her colonies.

The wretched sophistry of the civil rights of a man, in respect to his personal freedom, depending upon his being a heathen or otherwise, had long since been discarded; so that the issue was the naked one, Could a man be held a slave in England? It was a question of great interest in the abstract; but in its effect upon fourteen or fifteen thousand slaves then in England, estimated at more than seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, it became a matter of momentous pecuniary consideration to great numbers of her citizens. On the other hand, besides the prevailing sentiment in the minds of so many of the citizens, the circumstances of the particular case in which the question was to be presented were greatly in favor of the negative of the proposition.

The name of the slave was James Somerset, who had been brought by his master from Virginia, as stated in the report of the case, to London. In some of the accounts, it is stated that he there fell sick, and was turned out into the street to die, and was found in this condition by the celebrated Granville Sharp and others associated with him, and, under their care, was restored to health; when his master claimed him as his property, and carried him on board a vessel in the Thames, to transport him back to Virginia. Thereupon certain individuals, by the procurement, undoubtedly, of Sharp, sued out a *habeas corpus* from Lord Mansfield; and he, wishing to have the matter heard before the King's Bench, transferred the proceedings into that court. This was in December, 1771.

It was in the preparation and prosecution of the proceedings in this case, that Granville Sharp, whose name is now so honorably distinguished for its connection with the sup-

pression of the slave-trade, was first publicly known in England.

Mr. Hargrave, a name familiar to the profession, was one of the leading counsel in favor of Somerset; while Mr. Wallace, also an eminent barrister, and Mr. Dunning, one of the strong men of England, and the original founder of the noble house of Ashburton, conducted the defence. The case may be found in Lofft's "Reports," p. 1; and the able and learned argument of Mr. Hargrave is found in the 11th State Trials, 339. The whole history of English villenage and slavery is fully examined in the arguments of the counsel, and the point fully discussed how far negro slavery is a different institution from that of villenage; but the length to which this article has already grown forbids an analysis of the several points which were pressed upon the consideration of the court.

The hearing of the case seems to have come up on the 14th May, 1772; and the final opinion was given on the 22d June following. Although the magnitude of the questions involved would naturally lead the court gravely to deliberate and consider before deciding them, it is obvious, from the efforts of the distinguished counsel, and the time occupied by the court in hearing and deliberating upon the same, that the main question till that time was an open one, to be then settled for the first time, and upon principle rather than authority. Indeed Lord Mansfield says himself, that he advised the parties to settle the matter between them, as five or six other cases that had come before him had been, under his advice; nor did he give any opinion till pressed to do so by the pertinacity of the parties in insisting upon a decision.

The opinion of the Chief Justice as reported is quite brief, and, beyond a statement of what is decided, contains few general or important suggestions.

"If the parties will have judgment," says he, "*fat justitia ruat cælum*, let justice be done, whatever be the conse-

quences. Fifty pounds a head may not be a high price: then a loss follows to the proprietors of above seven hundred thousand pounds sterling." "An application to Parliament, if the merchants think the question of great commercial concern, is best, and perhaps the only method of settling the point for the future." Remarks like these, which fell from the Chief Justice, clearly indicate a hesitation and reluctance to meet the question with all its consequences; but, at a subsequent day, he remarked, "The state of slavery is of such a nature, that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons, moral or political, but only positive law, which preserves its force long after the reasons, occasion, and time itself, from whence it was created, is erased from memory. It is so odious, that nothing can be suffered to support it but positive law. Whatever inconveniences, therefore, may follow from a decision, I cannot say this case is allowed or approved by the law of England; and therefore the black must be discharged."

A step so important in the great scheme which had then begun to develop itself for putting an end to slavery and the slave-trade in England could not fail to be seized upon by the friends of the measure to a good purpose, and it told with great effect in the coming struggle which so long agitated England. And when it is remembered, as I have more than once said, that, up to this stage of the movement, no act of legislation had been invoked in its aid, I know not how better to do justice to the agency by which practical emancipation was wrought out in England than by borrowing the language of Judge Best in a case where the owner of slaves on the coast of Florida brought an action against the commander of an English squadron and man-of-war, who, while on our coast in the war of 1812, received and harbored certain slaves who had escaped from their master, an English subject, resident within the Spanish Territory of Florida. The claim was disallowed; and Mr. Justice Best, in giving his opinion, cites the

case of Somerset, and adds, "It is a matter of pride to me to recollect, that while economists and politicians were recommending to the Legislature the protection of this traffic, and senators were framing statutes for its promotion, and declaring it a benefit to the country, the judges of the land, above the age in which they lived, standing on the high ground of natural right, and disdaining to bend to the lower doctrine of expediency, declared that slavery was inconsistent with the genius of the English Constitution, and that human beings could not be the subject-matter of property. As a lawyer, I speak of that early determination, when a different doctrine was prevailing in the senate, with a considerable degree of professional pride." *Forbes v. Cochrane*, 2 *Barnewall and Cresswell's Reports*, 470.

In the light of our own history, I might add, if I were not transcending the limits of my subject, that, as citizens of Massachusetts, we might all indulge a pride equally just and generous, that here, in the courts of the Province, the ruling of Lord Mansfield was anticipated by two years, in favor of personal freedom and human rights.

But my purpose was only to speak of the extinction of slavery in the mother-country; and my chief regret is that I have felt obliged, in doing so, to tax so heavily the time and patience of those for whom, as well as for my own curiosity and satisfaction, this research has been made.

NOTE. — In all the published accounts of Somerset's case which had fallen under my notice, he is spoken of as having come from *Virginia* to London. In the *Journal* of Granville Sharp himself, preserved in the memoir of his life, he speaks of him as "James Somerset, a negro from Virginia." The memoir states that he had been brought to England in November, 1769, by his master, Mr. Charles Stewart; and, in process of time, left him. Stewart found an opportunity of seizing him unawares; and he was carried on board the "*Ann and Mary*," in order to be carried to Jamaica, and there sold as a slave. But there is no intimation that he had been treated in the manner mentioned by some of the writers from which the

statement as to his having been sick, and turned into the street, has been taken.

Since the above article was prepared, I have been kindly furnished, by my friend Hon. James M. Robbins (one of our associates, who was present when this paper was read), with original papers and letters, from which it appears that Somerset was taken from Boston to England, and was the servant of Mr. Charles Stewart, who was the cashier and paymaster of customs in North America in 1771 and for some years previous, and resided in Boston. Mr. Robbins has also given me this brief account of Mr. Stewart. He was a Scotch gentleman, and left home, with his servant Somerset, in 1769; still holding his office some years longer, through his deputy, Nathaniel Coffin, the father of Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin and Gen. John Coffin of the British Navy and Army. Mr. Stewart was an intimate friend and countryman of the maternal grandfather of Mr. Robbins, who also went to England in 1771-2, and was present in court with Mr. Stewart at the first hearing of Somerset's case; which caused Mr. Stewart to write him in reference to this matter. The mother of Mr. Robbins was a child of thirteen years of age when Mr. Stewart and his servant went from here to England in 1769; and informed Mr. Robbins, many years ago, that Stewart often visited her father, who was James Murray, Esq., of Boston, and brought Somerset with him to their house, then in Milton.

I am permitted to give the following extract from a letter written by Mr. Stewart to Mr. Murray from London, June 15, 1772: "I suppose you will be desirous to hear how the negro cause goes on. There have been two more hearings in it. I did not attend either; but am told that some young counsel flourished away on the side of liberty, and acquired great honor. Dunning was dull and languid, and would have made a much better figure on that side also. Lord Mansfield said it was a cause of the greatest importance; that great inconvenience and ill consequences must attend the decision of it either way; and therefore he would not give judgment in it, except insisted on by the parties. In that case, he would take the opinion of all the judges. If they agreed, judgment should be pronounced; if not, the cause must be argued again before them all. In the mean time, he strongly recommended to make it up, hinted at emancipating the slave, and advised the West-India merchants, &c., to apply to Parliament for an act for further securing their property. Upon the whole, everybody seems to think it will go in favor of the negro.

The West-India planters and merchants have taken it off my hands; and I shall be entirely directed by them in the further defence of it. It has brought my name forward — or rather that of Capt. Stewart, James Stewart, — Stewart, Esq. — much more than I would wish. The papers, however, have been tolerably decent with respect to me; but I am very sorry for the load of abuse thrown on Lord Mansfield for hesitating to pronounce judgment in favor of freedom. Dunning has come in also for a pretty good share for taking the wrong side. This general subject of conversation, of which I have been involuntarily the cause, is now suspended for a time."

• It is not without its significance, that the memory of a gentleman as highly connected in family, and as much honored in this community as he was by the offices of distinction and power which he filled, should at this day be recalled to the present generation chiefly by his association with the name and history of the slave whom he took with him as a body-servant in his visit to the mother-country.

In respect to the counsel concerned in this trial, we have a pretty full account from the "Life" of Sharp. The leading original counsel was Serjeant Davy. Mr. Hargrave was a young gentleman of Lincoln's Inn, then just rising into notice, who volunteered his services to Mr. Sharp. The case was opened by Serjeant Davy, Feb. 7, 1772, before Lord Mansfield, and Justices Aston, Willis, and Ashhurst. The opening proposition of Mr. Davy, and which he labored to maintain, was, "that no man at this day is or can be a slave in England." He was followed on the same side by Serjeant Glynn. After he had closed, the court ordered the case to stand over till the next term. On the 9th of May, the hearing was resumed by Mr. Mansfield in favor of Somerset; when it was again adjourned till the 14th, when Mr. Hargrave followed upon the same side; and the case upon that side was closed by Mr. Alleyne, who, like Mr. Hargrave, was a young man. Through all these arguments, Somerset is spoken of as from Virginia, and reference constantly is made to the laws of Virginia; Virginia and America probably being, in an Englishman's mind, synonymous terms. Nor is this surprising, when it is remembered that Lord North, when addressing the House of Lords in favor of taxing the Colonies, spoke of the "Island of Virginia," and no one of that body corrected him. It should be remembered, to the credit of the profession, that none of the counsel for the negro in this case would accept any compensation for their services. As given by the biographer of Mr. Sharp, it was in the close of Mr. Alleyne's address

that we find that so often-quoted expression, ascribed by Lord Campbell and others to Lord Mansfield, "The slave-holders will know, that, when they introduce a slave into this country *as a slave*, this air is too free for him to breathe in."

On the side of the master were, as above stated, Mr. Wallace and Mr. Dunning, who, in a former case, had taken the opposite side of the question. Mr. Davy closed the cause. The judgment was rendered on the 22d June.

The biographer of Sharp states, in connection with his efforts to have slavery declared unlawful in England, this singular circumstance. He had cited, in the trial of one of the cases, an extract from Blackstone, in these words: "And this spirit of liberty is so deeply implanted in our Constitution, and rooted even in our very soil, that a slave or a negro, the moment he lands in England, falls under the protection of the laws; and, with regard to all national rights, becomes *eo instanti* a free man."

The counsel for the master denied that Blackstone laid down any such proposition, and produced the volume and page cited, and read, "A negro, the moment he lands in England, falls under the protection of the laws, and so far becomes a freeman; though his master's right to his service may possibly still continue." This, of course, led to a further investigation; when it was discovered that Sharp had given the language of the first edition of the "Commentaries;" and that the author, during these trials, had altered his text in his fifth edition, from which the counsel had read. Whatever one may think of an historian's changing his propositions in a subsequent edition of his work to suit the political temper of the passing hour, it is certainly to be deprecated that an author so widely known and universally respected as a legal authority should have been chargeable with such a folly or discrepancy upon so grave a subject.

As to the course taken by Lord Mansfield in this case, though finally bold and decisive, he was obviously slow, if not reluctant, to act. The opinions of Lord Hardwick and Talbot had been the received doctrine of the courts; and he had himself repeatedly given up slaves to their masters, upon application for his aid in their behalf, when they had run away from them. Sharp states this fact, among others, in his letter to the Bishop of London, in 1795: but the efforts of those who denied the right to hold slaves in England had gained such a hold upon the popular mind by the time that Somerset's case was heard in 1772, that he felt compelled, by his own convictions, to

meet the fearful responsibility of declaring a judgment which destroyed the rights of every slaveholder in England to hold his slave any longer as property; and, by so doing, was fortunate enough to identify his fame with the great triumph of freedom which was achieved through his agency. But, while posterity honors his memory, there is no occasion to forget that he followed, but did not lead, the revolution which abolished slavery in England.

Mr. ROBBINS communicated a sketch of the contents of the manuscript "Journal de Castorland," prepared by the Assistant Librarian, Dr. Appleton. This paper was referred to the Committee of Publication, and is here printed.

"Journal de Castorland."

In the midst of the turbulent scenes of the French Revolution (in the year 1792), there was published at Paris a prospectus, containing a description of two hundred thousand acres of land in Montgomery County, in the northern part of the State of New York; with a plan of association, by which the subscribers agreed to emigrate to America, and to establish a settlement on the north side of Black River, near Lake Ontario, within the territory now including the towns of New Bremen and Croghan.

The volume recently presented to the Society contains a printed copy of this prospectus, together with the manuscript constitution of the association, the names of the proprietors, and a journal of the proceedings of the emigrants, from the 1st of July, 1793, to the 20th of September, 1796, with the surveys of the acquired territory. The constitution was adopted on the 28th of June, 1793; and the names of forty-one members are recorded as proprietors of eighteen hundred and eight shares.

On the 1st of July, Messrs. Pharoux and Desjardins were nominated as *commissaires* of the company in America; and

the latter, having received his instructions, departed the same evening in the diligence for Havre. After a short stay at Rouen, they arrived at Havre on the 4th, where arrangements had already been made for their transportation to New York in an American vessel, the "Liberty," of one hundred and eighty tons,— Captain M'Dougall. After some delay in their embarkation, their departure from Havre took place on the 8th. The difficulties of the voyage seem to have commenced at the outset, as the entry of this day records the visit, at three several times, of the national guard, the detention of the vessel until eight in the evening, waiting the arrival of the captain: "Grand embarras pour loger quarante passagers dans un bâtiment convenable pour douze, au plus. . . . Désolation de Madame Baucel," &c. Passing the coast of England, the Land's End, and the Lizard, they discovered a great fleet in the south-west, and heard heavy cannonading in the distance; and on the 14th, in the latitude of Bordeaux, the voyagers fell in with "*un corsair anglais de Guernsey*," carrying twenty-four guns. This ship, approaching under French colors, boarded the American vessel; and after an examination of her papers, finding the captain *en règle*, hoisted the English ensign, and left them.

The three weeks following were passed without any adventure worthy the notice of our journalist; but he gives an amusing account of the characters and peculiarities of the passengers, of whom the greater number were going to the French West-India islands, by the way of the United States, in order to avail themselves of the protection of the American flag.

Among the company on board were a merchant and an actress from Havre, the *comédienne* having left a husband, her children, and her creditors, in France; a miniature painter, with his "friend;" and an English *chevalier d'industrie*, with his pretended wife and niece from the Palais Royal, in Paris: but the most boisterous party was that of the *plaideur*

Baucel, consisting of his wife and four children; this amiable family being always quarrelling, either among themselves, with the other passengers, or with the crew.

The monotony of the voyage was interrupted by an attempt at suicide on the part of the young *comédienne*, in a paroxysm of jealousy; but the tragic event was happily averted by the timely use of remedies. Another exhibition, "*une scène des plus éclatantes*," was occasioned by the violence of one of the dames of the Palais Royal; and the captain was finally obliged to separate the passengers into different companies at the table. The fresh provisions fell short, the salted meats were "*détestable*," and the water "*mauvaise*." In the midst of the discontent occasioned by these mishaps, they were met by the French frigate "*La Blonde*," in the vicinity of the Bermudas; the officers of which supplied them with fruit and other provisions, and cautioned them against "*les corsairs anglais*," with which the sea between those islands and the continent was infested.

From the 16th of August to the 5th of September, we find interesting notices of the various objects of natural history met with upon the voyage. At length, land-birds began to appear, and swallows alighted occasionally upon the rigging. On the night of the 6th of September, the captain judged that they were about eighty miles from New York. At about ten in the evening, one of the company (M. Pharoux), being upon deck, discovered through the darkness the white foam of breakers near the shore, and immediately apprised a fellow-passenger (a shipmaster of Nantes), by whose efforts, feebly seconded, according to our author, by the officers of the ship, her course was altered, and the danger avoided. After standing off the land during the night, on steering again for the coast in the morning, the Highlands of New-York were seen. Sailing up the bay of New York, escaping, in the obscurity of a passing squall, one of the dreaded "*corsairs*," the voyagers were delighted with the beauty of

the scenery, as, in the early hours of evening, the vessel moved onward to her anchorage. The journalist mentions also the agreeable impressions produced by the barking of dogs, the hum of voices, and other sounds from the shore, upon the weary passengers.

Finding it almost impossible to procure lodgings in New York, it was determined, after delivering their letters to Governor Clinton and others, to proceed to Albany, where the voyagers intended to winter. Accordingly, on the 20th of September, they left New York in the sloop "General Schuyler," and reached Kinderhook on the 23d, after an agreeable voyage up the Hudson. Albany appears to have impressed the writer pleasantly; but, the difficulty in procuring lodgings being equally great here as in New York, the emigrants were advised by General Schuyler to go on to Schenectady. They left Albany for that place on the 27th; and, there embarking in a boat, commenced the ascent of the Mohawk River, having engaged a German named Simon as captain of the boat, and two "Yankees" as oarsmen. At Little Falls, the boat was transported on a carriage around the rapids. At Fort Schuyler, they overtook two boats,—one containing a New-England family on the way to establish themselves at Niagara; the other, a family from Jersey, going to Kingston, formerly Fort Frontenac.

The difficulty of navigation increased as they ascended the river: but, by occasionally carrying the boat by land, the obstructions were surmounted; and, on the 10th of October; they reached Fort Stanwix, where they left the Mohawk; and, by a portage of little more than a mile, reached the waters of Wood Creek, a tributary of the Oswego River. The water being yet low, a part of the company pursued their way by land, while another boat was procured to aid in the transportation of the luggage. On the following night, their encampment was illuminated by the burning forests; and the grandeur and sublimity of the scene were fully appre-

ciated by the voyagers. Descending Wood Creek, they entered Fish Creek; and, on the 13th, reached New Rotterdam, then a settlement of three log-houses. Here, at ten at night, they were awakened by the arrival of M. Vanderkemp, one of the leaders of the Revolution against the Stadtholder in 1787, who had been obliged to take refuge in America, and had acquired the title to a considerable territory in New York and Pennsylvania. They soon reached the Onondaga River, which is described as nearly of the width of the Seine at Paris. Passing the rapids, and other difficulties of navigation which they encountered in their course, occasionally carrying their boats around the falls by land, they came at length in sight of the ruins of Fort Oswego, and the waters of Lake Ontario in the distance. After some detention at this point, in consequence of the extreme caution of the commander of the post, they were allowed to proceed on their journey. Passing Stony River (or "Rivière de l'Assomption," as it is called by the French), they landed near Point Traverse, in Hungry Bay, or "la Baie de Nivernois." At length, on the 20th of October, having rowed for two hours against a violent head wind, the travellers reached their own territory; and landed at ten, A.M., near the mouth of Black River. After having enjoyed the magnificent prospect, and noted the general aspect and geological formation of the country, on the 23d they commenced the ascent of the river, in the hope of reaching the establishment of Baron Steuben, which they believed to be about thirty miles distant. This course was determined upon in consequence of the lateness of the season, the voyagers fearing lest the ice should put a stop to navigation, and compel them to winter in Canada. Crossing Oneida Lake, they arrived once more at New Rotterdam, on the 31st of October. At midnight, they were again visited by M. Vanderkemp, who had newly established himself at about four miles from New Rotterdam. They were here regaled with a repast of bear's meat; which the author

describes as an excellent and delicate viand, "*mais un peu fade.*" On the 4th of November they arrived at Whites-town, at that time a settlement of only seven years, and already numbering seven hundred inhabitants. Among the prominent objects, they notice "*la court-house (siège de la justice), le meeting (lieu de prières des Presbytériens), les maisons de Juge White, et autres fondateurs de cet établissement entièrement du aux Yankées.*" At the tavern they tasted "*punch au lait,*" which they denominate "*le grand régal des habitants.*" At evening, on the 7th, they were hospitably entertained at Schoharie by Colonel Wisher, who apologized for wearing his hat at the table, "*attendu qu'il avait été scalpé par les Indiens.*"

The next day, they arrived once more at Schenectady; and, the day following, reached Albany. Here the party separated for the winter, — M. Pharoux determining to proceed to New York, while M. Desjardins fixed his residence for the season in Albany. M. Brunel accompanied M. Pharoux to Philadelphia, where they lost no time in delivering the letters and despatches with which they had been charged. They did not find Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, at home. Mr. Robert Morris received his visitors, "*sans cérémonie, voyant qu'il n'y avait rien à gagner avec nous.*" Their reception from the Secretary of State was still less flattering. "M. Jefferson," writes the journalist, "*ne nous offrit pas les sièges.*" He asked his visitors if many of their countrymen would emigrate to America. They answered, that probably many thousands of families would seek an asylum in this country. The effect is best described in the language of the journal: "*Cela lui fit faire une grimace qui nous amusa beaucoup, d'autant que nous connaissions la haine pour les étrangers qu'il n'a pas même déguisée dans ses Notés sur la Virginie.*" Discouraged by the coldness of their reception, the emigrants declined presenting to Washington a letter of recommendation which they had received from the

American ambassador at Paris; and their visit to Philadelphia is recorded as "*aussi triste que la ville est uniforme.*" Among the works of art noticed in the city was the statue of Franklin over the entrance to the library, *dans une niche comme un saint.*

The emigrants left Philadelphia on the 3d of December; returning to New York, where M. Pharoux remained for the winter, M. Desjardins proceeding to Albany. A petition was presented to the Legislature of New York for permission to hold the property which they had purchased. This right was accorded to the actual residents in the country, but refused to Pierre Chassanis, in whose name the conveyances had been executed, and who remained in Europe.

Meanwhile, the want of funds had become a serious obstacle to the prosecution of their plans for developing the resources of the newly acquired domain. After a brief visit to New York in the spring of 1794, and some time spent in the collection of provisions and other requisites for the intended journey, our travellers, with a corps of surveyors, set out for Castorland on the 13th of May. On their way, they received the most friendly attentions from Baron Steuben, who, at the close of the Revolutionary War, had been presented, by the State of New York, with sixteen thousand acres of unreclaimed land in Oneida County. He had built a log-house at Steubenville, where he resided during the greater part of the last years of his life. At the house of the baron they found Madame Mappa, the wife of General Mappa of the Dutch Revolution of 1787, who, having with the Holland Company acquired a large territory in New York and Pennsylvania, had here sought an asylum.

The agents arrived at the point selected for the commencement of the survey by the 15th of June, and the next day commenced their operations, — Messrs. Frey, Castine, and Webster, each with four assistants, being engaged in the field-work; M. Pharoux and two others following in a boat with

provisions; and M. Desjardins and Baptiste, with five men, taking the charge of building the log-house, &c. The work in the various departments was diligently prosecuted during the summer; but, before the close of the season, death had invaded the little settlement. One of the men in the employ of the company died, and several others were prostrated by sickness. Meanwhile, M. Desjardins, recalled to New York by business connected with the land-title, reached that city on the 29th of August. After a conference with Mr. Constable relative to the extent and bounds of the territory which he had sold to the associates, the credentials of the agent not being *en règle*, and Chassanis, in whose name the territory was acquired, not having the right of possession, the interview was abruptly terminated, and Desjardins again returned to Albany. Here he met M. and Madame de Latour Dupin, "*qui, échappés des mains de Robespierre, sont venus chercher comme nous dans ce pays un asile temporaire.*" Reaching Fort Schuyler on the 14th of September, our writer was astonished to see Mr. Webster, one of the surveyors, with most of the men whom he had left at Castorland, and to learn from them that six only remained with M. Pharoux at the settlement, that M. Frey would join them the next day, and that disease was rife among the little company still at the log-house. This discouraging news determined M. Desjardins to push forward at once towards the settlement. Procuring a horse, he set out alone on the same day; but, losing his way in the forest, was glad to take up his lodging for the night in a deserted log-house. He arrived on the 18th without other accident, except a fall from his horse in fording a stream, which, however, caused no serious injury. Nearly all the company remaining at the post were prostrated by disease; and, on the 22d, one of them expired. In the evening, after they had performed the last duties to their comrade, a messenger arrived from Baron Steuben with supplies. But M. Pharoux now fell sick; and, on the 26th,

Desjardins, as the only one able to walk, although scarcely recovered from an attack of the disorder, set out on foot for the house of the baron, in the hope of procuring assistance, which their neighbors had been prevented from rendering by the fear of infection. He had not proceeded far, when he heard the sound of a little bell attached to the neck of a mare belonging to one of the workmen, which, having been lost in the swamp two months before, had been supposed to have perished there. Having secured the animal with some difficulty, Desjardins returned, and despatched one of the assistants on horseback to Steubenville. On the 28th, we have the following sad yet humorous entry in the journal: "Toujours faibles et malades, nous soignant mutuellement, et moralisant tout à notre aise sur l'enchaînement des circonstances qui nous avaient conduits sur les bords du Black River, dans le meilleur des mondes possibles."

A violent storm of wind and rain on the night of the 29th determined them to abandon the settlement; and, on the next day, they took their departure on foot, but soon met an old domestic of Baron Steuben leading the horse, which they rode by turns; and thus, on the 3d of October, reached Steubenville in the afternoon, greatly fatigued. By the kind attentions of their host, the health of the invalids was soon re-established; and after returning once more to Castorland, in order to secure the effects which they had left at the log-house, they proceeded on their journey. After reaching New York, they received intelligence of the death of Baron Steuben, whom they mourned as the only friend to whom they could look for assistance "dans ce pays égoïste;" and they add, "Sa bienveillance égalait son amabilité."

It was not until the 1st of June in the following year (1795) that the emigrants again left Albany for Castorland; where the advance of the party arrived, without accident, on the 20th. They had taken the precaution to engage a larger number of workmen and mechanics, and one or two families,

in view of the misfortunes of the last year; but new difficulties occurred with those who were engaged in the construction of a mill, a forge, a canal, and other works, some of them appearing to be *mauvais sujets*. On the 21st of September, after a heavy rain, which had swollen the streams to a great height, M. Pharoux, with a surveying party, attempted to cross the river upon a raft, which was carried by the force of the current over the falls; Pharoux and two other men were drowned, and Mr. Brodhead was wounded by the fragments of the raft; the others escaping, "*comme par miracle*," with the loss of their instruments, clothing, and provisions. A rainy season produced a new attack of sickness in the infant settlement; and, on the 17th of October, snow fell. In the mean while, their provisions began to fail; but the work on the mill and log-house was steadily prosecuted until the 30th of November, when the journalist, with the workmen, left the effects of the company in charge of Mr. Robinson and a Canadian family for the winter. Although the snow had disappeared at Castorland, the travellers found two inches at "Topping's," and two feet on the plateau of Steubenville. After a toilsome journey over almost impassable roads, partly by wagon and partly on horseback, they reached Albany on the 15th of December.

On the 14th of January (1796), Desjardins "assisted" at a sale of the company's lands; and, although the price paid only reached one dollar per acre, the amount realized enabled the agents to fulfil their engagements, and thus terminate their labors for the season.

The next step was to secure the services of Alexander Hamilton as counsel, by whose advice another petition was addressed to the senate of New York. Colonel Burr was subsequently retained as attorney for the agents, in connection with Hamilton.

Meanwhile, on the 25th of February, Desjardins resumed his journey to Castorland. Arriving at Fort Schuyler on the

27th, he met with a party from the settlement, who informed him, that in consequence of the open winter, and the want of means of transportation for forage, they had been obliged to send the cattle to Whitestown; leaving an assistant with directions to open the road to Castorland, if possible. Desjardins returned at once to Albany. In the spring, the emigrants retraced their steps to the settlement, where they arrived on the 7th of May. Their affairs had been badly managed on the part of their employees. Some of the cattle had died from hunger, others had perished by accident in the forest; but the journalist appears to have retained a hopeful confidence in the ultimate success of the undertaking, as he writes, in recording some of these misfortunes, "*Habitué aux contretems dans tout ce que nous entreprenons, je ne m'occupai que du remède.*" His firmness was soon to be put to another severe test. On the evening of the 28th of June, one of the men reported that the small canoe had been detached from its fastening at the river-side, and that he could see it in the middle of the stream, and could distinguish the sound of oars. Hardly crediting the last statement of his informant, Desjardins entered his sleeping apartment, and noticed that the little trunk which contained their money and papers was not in its place. The discovery was soon made that they were robbed; but, the night being dark and rainy, it was deemed useless to cross the river in pursuit of the thief. The money stolen amounted to six hundred dollars, in silver and bank-notes; besides which, the packet contained important papers, and other articles of value. Suspicion fell upon a man who had engaged in the service of the company for a single day, and who had left them only the night before the robbery. In the morning he was pursued, arrested, and committed for trial. After the examination, the complainant was greatly astonished at seeing the culprit, with the officer who had him in charge, enter the tavern, seat himself at the table with the magistrate, and enter freely into conversation with him.

The summer was passed in the usual employments of the season; and we find them making preparations for the engraving of a map of Castorland; but we do not know that the plan was ever carried into execution. The monotony of the emigrants' life at the settlement was varied towards the close of the summer by the arrival of M. Adet, the ambassador from the French Republic to the United States, in the course of a tour which he made to the mineral springs of Saratoga and to Lake George.

Near the end of September, M. Tillier arrived from Europe with a commission from the company at Paris, appointing him to the agency in the place of M. Desjardins, who surrendered to the new official the papers and effects of the company which he had in charge, and prepared to leave Castorland.

A slight fall of snow on the 1st of November determined M. Tillier also to quit the settlement; and, on the next day, we find the sad record in the journal, "Je quittai Castorland avec un presentiment que je n'y reviendrais plus." The presentiment seems to have been realized; as, after occasional entries in the journal, made during the winter at Albany, the last record, dated April 10, 1797, mentions the securing of the papers belonging to the associates for transportation to the settlement. The little colony was, not long after, abandoned; and the lands passed into the possession of other proprietors. The enterprise and energy of the American have penetrated the wild region where the French emigrants sought their home. New towns and villages have been founded; the resources of that tract of country are rapidly developing; and, within a few years, a railway has been constructed along the valley of Black River.

In the cabinets of some collectors, there may be seen a coin or medal, called the "Castorland Piece," which was struck in Paris, and intended either as currency in the intended settlement, or to commemorate the inauguration of the

enterprise, as the journal preserves the record of the toils and hardships encountered by the pioneers in this undertaking, and of the unfortunate issue of the adventure.

[Several manuscript documents relating to the "Castorland" settlement are contained in the New-York State Library. See Catalogue of MSS. in New-York State Library, p. 97. For a full account of the proceedings of the company, see Hough's "History of Lewis County," pp. 34-70, 104-108; and "History of Jefferson County," pp. 46-55.]

MARCH MEETING.

The Society held a stated monthly meeting this day, Thursday, March 10; the President in the chair.

Donations were announced from the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon; the Chicago Historical Society; the Essex Institute; the New-England Loyal Publication Society; the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History; John Appleton, M.D.; Hamilton Hill, Esq.; Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq.; Hon. James H. Lane; Mr. S. H. Smothers; John Tappan, Esq.; George W. Thacher, Esq.; William Winthrop, Esq.; the publishers of the "Round Table;" and from Messrs. Lincoln (S.), Robbins (C.), Sibley, Washburn, Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

A communication was received from the Corresponding Secretary, stating that, on account of his feeble health, he was unable any longer to discharge his duties to the Society, and declining to be a candidate for re-election at the annual meeting.

The President announced the recent arrival from Malta of several boxes containing a donation of valuable books from William Winthrop, Esq., United-States consul at that place.

Voted, That the President be requested to communicate to Mr. Winthrop the cordial thanks of the Society for his large and repeated benefactions.

The President presented a large number of ancient broadsides and other printed documents found among the Winthrop Papers. It having been suggested by one of the members that a catalogue of Harvard College of the year 1700 (the only one of that date known to be in existence), noticed by him among these printed papers, might with propriety, with the President's consent, be presented by the Society to Harvard College, it was, after some conversation, *voted*, That the whole collection be referred to a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Ellis, Deane, and Livermore, to examine and report as to the disposition of the whole or any portion of the same.

Mr. TICKNOR read a note addressed to him by Francis S. Hoffman, Esq., of New York, offering to the acceptance of the Society two impressions, in pure tin, of a medal in memory of Washington Irving: whereupon the following vote, offered by Mr. Ticknor, was unanimously passed:—

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be given to Francis S. Hoffman, Esq., of the city of New York, for his gift, this day received, of a copy of the beautiful medal which he has caused to be struck in memory of the late Washington Irving,—an appropriate and graceful tribute to one whose genius, at once so brilliant and so gentle, has done honor to his country, and to the age in which he lived.

Mr. Ticknor in a few words gracefully acknowledged the manner in which the Society had received his “Life

of Prescott," which he had prepared in the place of the Memoir assigned to him by the Society; and spoke with great feeling of his still deepening impression of the estimable and admirable traits of Mr. Prescott's character, which he had endeavored to delineate with simple truthfulness.

The President presented a *fac-simile* of the Emancipation Proclamation by the President of the United States; also two beautiful portraits of General Washington and Mrs. Washington, reduced copies from Stuart's portraits.

A communication from Mr. Whitmore relating to the authorship of a paper entitled "Reasons to be considered for justifying the Undertakers of the intended Plantation in New England," &c., was referred to the Committee on publishing the Proceedings.

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

DEAR SIR, — The publication, in your interesting "Life of John Winthrop," of a paper entitled "Reasons to be considered for justifying the Undertakers of the intended Plantation in New England," &c., has naturally caused a comparison between it and a similar paper commonly ascribed to Rev. Francis Higginson. In editing a reprint of the "Hutchinson Papers," I have been obliged to examine both documents closely; and I desire to present certain facts which lead me to consider your copy the original, and your distinguished ancestor the author.

You are aware that the only authority for Higginson's claim is the fact that Hutchinson prints it with the Agreement, and the Journal of his voyage written by Higginson. A slight claim is also made in favor of the Rev. John White, of Dorchester; but this, I presume, will be easily dismissed. When we consider the two copies, we see at once that Governor Winthrop's is more comprehensive and better arranged. It contains all that Higginson has, and has more system in its plan. When we descend to a minute criticism of particular words and phrases, we find that Winthrop has preserved the original.

It would be impossible to expand Higginson's phrases into his, but extremely easy to abbreviate these into Higginson's.

Thus, taking the first eight "general considerations:" in the first,

WINTHROP WRITES:

"The Jesuits labour to rear up in those parts."

¶ 2

"All other churches of Europe are brought to destruction; and our sins, for which the Lord begins already to frown upon us, do threaten evil times to be coming upon us."

HIGGINSON WRITES:

"To rear up in all places of the world."

"All other churches of Europe are brought to destruction; and it may be justly feared that the like judgment is coming upon us."

¶ 3

"This land grows weary of her inhabitants; so as man, who is the most precious of all creatures, is here more vile and base than the earth *we* tread upon, and of less price than a horse or a sheep. Masters are forced by authority to entertain servants, parents to maintain their own children: all towns complain of the burthen of their poor, though we have taken up many unnecessary, yea, unlawful trades to maintain them; and we use the authority of the law to hinder the increase of our people, as by urging the statute against cottages and inmates. And thus it is come to pass, that children, servants, and neighbors, especially if they be poor, are counted the greatest burthens, which, if things were right, would be the chiefest earthly blessings."

"The land grows weary of her inhabitants; so that man, which is the most precious of all creatures, is here more vile and base than the earth *they* tread upon: so as children, neighbours, and friends, especially of the poor, are counted the greatest burdens, which, if things were right, would be the chiefest earthly blessings."

It is easily seen that Winthrop gives the reason why children, &c., are counted burdens; while Higginson, in omitting them, makes his two sentences without any dependence on each other.

WINTHROP.

¶ 5

"We are grown to that height of intemperance in all excess of riot, as no man's estate almost will suffice to keep sail with his equals."

HIGGINSON.

4

"We are grown to that excess and intemperance in all excess of riot, as no *mean* estate almost will suffice [a man] to keep sail with his equals."

Here Higginson is so obscure, that a word has to be supplied to make sense; but Winthrop, by writing "man's" for "mean," makes the sentence clear.

WINTHROP.

¶ 6

"The *fountains* of learning and religion are so corrupted, as (beside the unsupportable charge of their education) most children (even the *best wits* and of fairest hopes) are perverted, corrupted, and utterly overthrown, by the multitude of evil examples and the licentious *government* of those seminaries, where men strain at gnats and swallow camels, use all severity for maintenance of caps and other accomplishments, but suffer all ruffian-like fashions and disorder in manners to pass uncontrolled."

Here Winthrop's "corrupted fountains" is better than the "corrupted schools" of Higginson. His "best wits" means the most intelligent; and I doubt if "wittiest" was a word used in 1629. So Winthrop mentions the "licentious *government*" of the schools, censuring a general laxity of rule; but Higginson's "licentious governors" points to personal guilt on the part of the rulers.

Again: Winthrop, from his family connections, might be particular in censuring a lack of discipline in the universities; but why should Higginson be familiar with the details after leaving his college?

WINTHROP.

¶ 8

"If any . . . join the church, . . . it will be an example of great use both for removing the *scandal of worldly and sinister respects* which is cast upon the adventurers, to give more life to the faith of God's people in their prayers for the plantation, and to encourage others to join the more willingly in it."

Here the change of a word by Winthrop makes all clear. He wishes to remove the scandal of improper motives which do not exist: Higginson wishes to remove the scandal and the improper motives which do not exist. The criticisms may seem trivial; but where we find the one author, Winthrop, writes always clearly, the other makes confused and erroneous statements. It is evident, then, that Winthrop's text is more correct than Higginson's.

When we proceed to the Objections and Answers, Winthrop's copy is more copious and better arranged. It will not be necessary to

HIGGINSON.

5

"The *schools* of learning and religion are so corrupted, as (beside the unsupportable charge of their education) most children, even the *best, wittiest*, and of fairest hopes, are perverted, corrupted, and utterly overthrown, by the multitude of evil examples and licentious *governors* of those seminaries."

HIGGINSON.

8

"If any, &c., it will be an example of great use both for the removal of *scandal and sinister* and worldly respects, to give more life, &c."

dissect and contrast the two versions. I will only cite the first in Winthrop, and the fifth in Higginson's arrangement. The objection is, that they had no warrant to enter into the land possessed by others. Winthrop answers, "That which lies common, and hath never been replenished or subdued, is free to any that *possess* and *improve* it." He argues that man only has a right to what he can occupy and improve. As to the Indians, "So as, if we leave them sufficient for their use, we may lawfully take the rest; there being more than enough for them and us." Higginson abbreviates, "That which is common to all is proper to none." He then copies the examples of the different kinds of right to property, and adds, "Secondly, there is more than enough for them and us." Now, the two ideas are different; Winthrop carefully reserving the right to a portion to the Indians, Higginson denying all claims by them. The passage is too long to copy; but the reader will find the examples drawn from the Scriptures are a part of Winthrop's argument, but have nothing to do with Higginson's trenchant axioms. I think we may safely conclude that Higginson had but an abbreviated copy of the original paper: indeed, it seems as if his copy were written out from short-hand notes, which would account for the transposition of sentences, and the numerous verbal errors. It must be remembered that the only evidence to support Higginson's claim must be found in the superior purity of his text; and this, I think, must be abandoned.

We then agree that the correct reading is to be found in a manuscript written by Forth Winthrop, who was his father's copyist; that Winthrop was preparing numerous documents of a similar nature at the same time; that the internal evidence (as in the reference to the universities) is in his favor.

One other criticism may be offered. The "general considerations" in seven paragraphs recite that England was no longer a place for the devout; that colonizing was a duty; that the land was ready, and that a company ought to join forces with the Church. The eighth proposition was, that it would be an example of great use if those who were known to be godly, and to live in wealth and prosperity, should so join the Church, and go to New England. We know that Winthrop was the chief of the persons here indicated, and that he responded to this call. I cannot reject the impression, that the man who accepted this position was the man to write this solemn appeal. It would almost seem as if the propositions, as we read them, were the several stages of a debate held at Isaac Johnson's house; and that,

after the eighth, there was but one step to take, — the signing of the Agreement at Cambridge.

Until light shall come to us from some other source, I think we must hold that John Winthrop, who has faithfully reported the “causes” of the settlement of New England, was the man who gave these considerations their form.

Yours very truly,

W. H. WHITMORE.

A letter was read from A. L. Rawson, Esq., of Syracuse, N. Y., offering for the Society’s cabinet a sword purporting to have been carried by Colonel John Brooks in the war of the Revolution. The sword was referred for examination to Mr. Charles Brooks.

A donation of two photographs of the “Aspinwall Elm,” from Samuel Masury, was communicated by the Librarian, who was directed to present the thanks of the Society to the donor.

The President exhibited, partly for the sake of the autograph signatures attached to it, an order of the Privy Council to investigate the charges of William Morton, of New London, against John Tinker and others. The order was found among the Winthrop Papers. The occasion of this order is explained in the following statement, furnished by Dr. Appleton, our Assistant Librarian: —

The document here submitted, dated 14th September, 1664, is addressed to the Commissioners for New England, — Colonel Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, Colonel George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick. It bears the seal of the Privy Council, and the signatures of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon; John, Earl (afterwards Duke) of Lauderdale, Secretary of State for Scotland; John, Earl of Middleton, Commissioner for Scotland; Humphry Henchman, Bishop of London, who succeeded Juxon,

on the translation of the latter to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury; John, Lord Berkeley, of Stratton; Sir William Morice, one of the principal Secretaries of State; Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State; Sir Thomas Ingram, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; and John Nicholas, probably Secretary of the Council.

The order requires the Commissioners to examine the complaints in the petition of William Morton; and, if they appear to be well founded, that the guilty persons "be proceeded against according to Justice, for vindication of his Majestie's Honour; and also to take particular Care for the Reliefe and Reparation of the Petitioner's great Sufferings, as an Encouragement of his Loyalty and good Affections to his Majestie's Service."

William Morton, a native of London, and one of the early settlers of New London, where he was constable in 1662, brought an accusation against John Tinker, an assistant and first magistrate, charging him with treason: whereupon Mr. Tinker commenced an action against Morton and two others for defamation, and a fine was imposed on the defendants by the "Particular Court."

Miss Caulkins, in her "History of New London," gives a curious protest issued by Morton, wherein he styles himself "a free denison of that most famous country of England," and proceeds with his charge against Tinker, "who," he says, "is lookt at as one that should excicute Justice, and sworne by oath soe to doe, espetially to studdie the honour of our Royall King and of his life and happie being; yet, notwithstanding, the saide Tinker, although it was notoriously knowne unto him that some had spoken Treason against the King in a high degree, . . . flung away the Testimony: wherefore, in the name of his Maiesty, whose deputy I am, I doe protest against the said Tinker, that he has concealed treason against the King, contrary to the Laws of England; & so, as I conceive, has brought himselfe under treason."

Morton was ordered to give bond in £500 to appear and answer the suit of Mr. Tinker in May, 1663; but, in October of the same year, the plaintiff died, and was honored with a funeral at the public charge. The case was referred by the General Court in October, 1665, to the Governor (Winthrop), the Deputy-Governor (Mason), Mr. Leete, Mr. Chapman, and Matthew Griswold, or any four of them, "to heare and issue," and to make report in May following; Morton consenting to this disposition of the affair. He died in comparative obscurity and poverty, probably in 1668.

The order of the Privy Council is here printed.

To Our very loving Friends the Commissioners for New England, or any Two of them.

After Our hearty Commendations. Wee here enclosed send you the Petition of William Morton of the Towne of New London, in the Colony of Connectecutte in New England, wherein he complayneth of Crimes of a high Nature committed against his Ma^{ty}: by seuerall Persons there, and of the Injustice done to himself and others for endeavouring to proceed against them according to their Duty and Allegiance. Which Wee hauing taken into Consideration, Haue thought fitt, and do accordingly hereby pray and require you fully to examine the Complaints in the Petition mentioned; and if they appeare true by credible and sufficient Testimony, that you cause such of those persons who shall be found guilty, to be proceeded against according to Justice for vindication of his Ma^{ty}: Honour; and also to take particular Care for the Releife and Reparation of the Pet^r: great Sufferings, as an Encouragement of his Loyalty and good Affections to his Ma^{ty}: Service. And so not doubting of your ready Obedience to these Our Commands, Wee bid you heartily Farewell.

From the Court at Whitehall, the 14th day of September, 1664.

Your very loving Friends,

CLARENDON C.	LAUDERDAILL.	MIDDLETON.
HUMFR: LONDON.	JO. BERKELEY.	
	WILL. MORICE.	
EDW: NICHOLAS.	THO: INGRAM.	JOHN NICHOLAS.

Lre to the Com^{rs}: of New England.

The President nominated, as a Committee to examine the Treasurer's accounts, Messrs. Lawrence, Russell, and F. E. Parker.

The President also appointed, with the consent of the Society, as a Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, Messrs. Washburn, S. Lincoln, and Livermore.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 14, 1864.

The Society held its annual meeting this day, Thursday, April 14, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

Donations were announced from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; the State of Rhode Island; the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec; the New-England Loyal Publication Society; the Bishop Seabury Mission; the Trustees of Bowdoin College; the Young Men's Association of Cincinnati; the Vestry of Christ's Church, Longwood; Hon. Ira M. Barton; Mr. W. L. Bradley; Henry B. Dawson, Esq.; Rev. B. F. De Costa; Thomas Gaffield, Esq.; Thomas S. Kirkbride, M.D.; Henry T. Parker, Esq.; Benjamin S. Shaw, M.D.; Rev. Edwin M. Stone; Rev. Frederic A. Whitney; William Winthrop, Esq.; and from Messrs. Lamson, Loring, Robbins (C.), Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President announced the death of Hon. Robert Hallowell Gardiner in the following terms:—

It is proper that we should make mention to-day that the Hon. Robert Hallowell Gardiner, whose name has been on the roll of our Honorary Members for five years past, died at his residence at Gardiner, Me., on the 22d of March last. He was a graduate of Harvard University, of the class of 1801; and has been associated with not a few of the most valued institutions — literary, charitable, and religious — in New England. He was for many years connected with the government of Bowdoin College; and for a still longer period, I believe, President of the Historical Society of Maine. He lived a long and useful life, exercising a liberal hospitality on his noble estate, in which not a few of us have shared; and died at the age of eighty-two years, widely esteemed and respected.

The President presented from M. Jules E. Souchard, the French consul at Boston, several discourses of M. Rouher, Minister of State, in the sittings of the Senate and of the Corps Législatif of France.

Erastus B. Bigelow, Esq., of Boston, and William C. Endicott, Esq., of Salem, were elected Resident Members.

Mr. ELLIS, from the Committee to whom was referred the collection of “broadsides” presented at the last meeting, reported that they had found the collection to be very valuable; that the papers should be arranged in chronological order, and carefully preserved in a suitable volume; and that the catalogue of Harvard College, of the year 1700, might with propriety, by the consent of the donor, Mr. Winthrop, be presented to

the library of that institution, provided a copy were made to be preserved in the archives of the Society. A wish was also expressed by the Committee, that Mr. Sibley, the Librarian of Harvard College, would prepare a history of the triennial catalogues of that institution, for publication in the Proceedings of our Society.

The Report was accepted, and the catalogue given accordingly to Harvard College.

The Chairman of the Standing Committee, the Librarian, and the Treasurer, produced their Annual Reports. In the absence of the Cabinet-keeper (Dr. Green) at the seat of war, the Report on the Cabinet, as prepared by the Assistant Librarian, was presented.

These Reports were all accepted, and referred to the Committee on the Publication of the Proceedings. They here follow:—

Annual Report of the Standing Committee.

The Standing Committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society would hereby respectfully offer their Report of the transactions of the Society during the last year, and of its present condition.

Though there has been but little to mark the history of the Society the last year, it has quietly pursued its duties with satisfactory success. It has, with a single exception, held its regular meetings during the year, at several of which interesting communications have been made.

[The remarks relating to the condition of the library, being substantially the same as given in the Librarian's Report, are here omitted.]

The Society has issued no publications the present year; but the Committee are happy to inform them that a volume of

Collections is in a good state of forwardness, and a volume of Proceedings is partly completed.

Its individual members, however, have not been inactive. Works have been produced by them which have been a valuable and permanent addition to the historic literature of the country. In the Memoir of their late associate, Mr. Prescott, by another member of this Society, nothing is wanting in the completeness of the notice of that remarkable man, in the style of its execution, or the spirit which pervades it. Nor should the Society fail to recognize the just tribute so appropriately paid to the founder of this Commonwealth by one who continues to honor the name; nor is it a matter of regret that it was reserved for so long a time, in view of the fidelity with which this contribution has been made to the history of Massachusetts. From another of its members, whose distinguished services in the camp and field have been the subject of frequent eulogium, they may expect a work of great interest and value upon the character and history of many important events of the war, of which he has been an immediate observer in his place as chaplain of one of the Massachusetts volunteer regiments.

In connection with the current events of the Rebellion in which the country is involved, the Committee would recall the memorial of the bloody field of Gettysburg, commemorated so eloquently in another form by one of the distinguished members of this Society, which they received through the kindness and considerate regard of Mr. McConaughy, and forwarded through their friends of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in the section of a tree which stood upon that field, and bears the marks of more than a hundred Minie balls received during the battle, bearing testimony to the fierceness of the struggle.

The state of the finances of the Society, upon which so much of its working efficiency depends, is shown by the Report of its careful and attentive Treasurer. It gives honor-

able evidence of the liberality of its patrons on every occasion when its necessities have seemed to be the most pressing.

The Society have to regret the loss of the valuable services of their Librarian, who declines a re-election; and are pained to learn that the ill health of their Corresponding Secretary has obliged him to give up the duties of that place.

The number of its members at the commencement of the year just closed were as follow: Ninety-six Resident, and one hundred and twelve Corresponding and Honorary Members. Of Resident Members, four have died, and five have been elected; making the present number ninety-seven. Of the Corresponding and Honorary Members, five have died, and six have been added; making, in the whole, one hundred and thirteen Corresponding and Honorary Members.

These changes serve to remind the Society that death has been busy within the circle of their association during the past year; though the number whose decease has been noticed from time to time, as they occurred, is smaller than during some former years. Appropriate references have been made to the character and services of the deceased by the President and other members of the Society; and it is to be hoped that a more permanent tribute to them may find a place in the coming volume of the Proceedings of the Society.

The Committee would, in closing, congratulate the Society upon its present prosperous condition. With its funds, its library, and its catalogue of members, it may be confidently hoped that its character amongst kindred associations may be sustained, and its active usefulness still more widely extended.

For the Committee.

EMORY WASHBURN, *Chairman.*

Annual Report of the Treasurer.

The Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society presents the following statement of its final condition:—

GENERAL ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL, 1864.

DEBITS.	
John Appleton	\$1,037.47
George Arnold	649.99
Insurance	187.50
Boston Taxes	230.00
Sundries	334.93
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	120.00
Appleton Fund	732.18
Printing	758.68
Coal	94.50
Certificate of \$1,000 in 5-20 Loan	1,018.41
Binding	208.96
	<u>\$5,372.52</u>
CREDITS.	
Balance of Account of 1863	\$270.21
Rent of Suffolk Savings Institution	2,200.00
Assessments	382.00
Admission Fees	40.00
Sales of Society's Publications	796.01
Tax of Suffolk Savings Bank	230.00
Hon. William Minot, Executor of Will of Mary P. Townsend	1,000.00
Balance due the Treasurer	474.30
	<u>\$5,372.52</u>

THE APPLETON FUND.

This fund consisted of ten thousand dollars, presented to the Society, Nov. 18, 1854, by the executors of the will of the late Samuel Appleton, on the condition that its income be applied to the purchase, preservation, and publication of historical material. It was received from the executors in ten shares of manufacturing stocks. These stocks were sold in February and March; and the net proceeds, amounting to twelve thousand two hundred and three dollars, were invested in the real estate of the Society, according to the Declaration

of Trust on file, and recorded in the Register of Deed's office, book 827, p. 63. Volumes three, four, five, and six of the fourth series of the Society's Collections were printed, from the income of this fund, and a portion of the Society's Proceedings, and the strictly historical portion of the volume of the Proceedings printed for 1862-63.

Account ending April, 1864.

DEBITS.

John Wilson & Son, printing portion of volume of Proceedings, 1862-63	\$504.12
Andrew Holland, Printing	25.00
John Appleton, services	200.00
W. M. Miller	7.50
Balance in the Treasurer's hands	1,347.07
	<u>\$2,083.69</u>

CREDITS.

Balance of Account of 1863	\$1,351.51
One Year's Interest on the Investment in Society's Building	732.18
	<u>\$2,083.69</u>

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND.

This fund consists of two thousand dollars, presented to the Society, Oct. 15, 1855, by Hon. David Sears; the annual income of which may be expended in certain specified objects, as the Society may by special vote direct. It is invested in the real estate of the Society.

Account to April, 1864.

DEBITS.

Balance in the Treasurer's hands	\$510.57
	<u>\$510.57</u>

CREDITS.

Balance of Account of 1863	\$390.57
Income to March 1, 1864	120.00
	<u>\$510.57</u>

THE DOWSE FUND.

This fund, of ten thousand dollars, was presented to the Society, April, 1857, by the executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse; and it was invested in a note signed by Edward Hyde and O. W. Watris, secured by mortgage on real estate. This note was paid on the 7th of April, 1863; and the whole fund was then invested in the real estate of the Society. The income of this fund is included in the rent received from the Suffolk Savings Bank; and the expenditure is included in salaries paid to Messrs. Appleton and Arnold, who are employed in the care of the Dowse Library.

PROPERTY OF THE SOCIETY.

The Estate on Tremont Street. — The Society purchased, March 6, 1833, of the Provident Savings Institution, the second story and one-half of the attic story of this building for \$6,500; and on the 13th of March, 1856, the remainder of the interest of this institution, for \$35,000. A portion of this was paid by subscription; and, for the remainder, the Society mortgaged the whole estate, to the Suffolk Savings Bank for Seamen and Others, for \$27,500. This mortgage was discharged on the 7th of April, 1863. The payments of the note have been as follows: Two thousand dollars from the legacy of Miss Mary P. Townsend; sixteen hundred dollars from the legacy of the late Nathaniel I. Bowditch; five hundred dollars from the Historical Trust-Fund; twelve thousand two hundred and three dollars from the net proceeds of the sale of stocks of the Appleton Fund; ten thousand dollars from the note of Hyde and Watris, constituting the Dowse Fund; and the balance, eleven hundred and ninety-seven dollars, from a donation by the late Hon. William Sturgis to enable the Society to discharge the mortgage. The lower floor is rented to the Suffolk Savings Institution for fifteen years from March 1, 1856, at an annual rent of \$2,200.

The Library, Paintings, and Cabinet. — The general library consists of about nine thousand bound volumes and fifteen thousand pamphlets.

The Society's Publications. — These consist of the thirty-six volumes of the Collections, four volumes of Proceedings, and two volumes of the Catalogue, — nearly eight thousand volumes, which are for sale.

The Appleton Fund, of ten thousand dollars; *The Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund*, of two thousand dollars; *The Dowse Fund*, of ten thousand dollars, — all invested in the real estate of the Society, as explained in this Report.

The Dowse Library. — This library was presented to the Society by the late Thomas Dowse, and consists of about five thousand volumes.

The Copyright of the "Life of John Quincy Adams." — This was presented to the Society by Hon. Josiah Quincy. A new edition is on sale by Crosby and Nichols.

Stock. — A certificate of one thousand dollars in the 5-20 United-States loan.

THE INCOME.

The income of the Society consists of an annual assessment, on each Resident Member, of seven dollars, or, instead, the payment of sixty dollars; the admission-fee, of ten dollars, of new members; the rent of the lower floor of the Society's building; the sales of the publications of the Society; the sales of the "Life of John Quincy Adams;" and the interest on one thousand dollars of United-States stock.

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, *Treasurer.*

Boston, April 12, 1864.

Annual Report of the Librarian.

In accordance with the rules of the Society, the Librarian submits the following as his Annual Report on the condition of the library of the Historical Society:—

During the past year, the accessions to the library have been numerous,—those from donors exceeding in number the receipts from similar sources during the preceding year; while, at the same time, a number exceeding that of former years has been received in the way of exchange and by actual purchase. The accessions received as gifts are as follows: Four hundred printed volumes, ten volumes of manuscripts, two hundred and sixteen miscellaneous manuscripts, seven bound and eight unbound volumes of newspapers, two hundred and two broadsides, twelve hundred and eleven pamphlets, eight maps, and seven plans. The accessions by exchange consist of one hundred and thirty-nine volumes and six pamphlets. The accessions by purchase are twenty-eight volumes. During the year, therefore, the accessions from all sources have been—

567 printed volumes,
10 volumes of manuscripts,
15 volumes of newspapers, and
1,217 pamphlets.

A substitute has been received for the volume reported as missing at the last annual meeting; and another book, which has been missing for many years, has been replaced by exchange.

The most valuable donations to the library have been as follows: William Winthrop, Esq., United-States consul at Malta, has presented about two hundred volumes of historical and miscellaneous works, besides pamphlets; and notice has been received of two packages from the same donor, shipped for Boston. From William Appleton, Esq., has been received an interesting manuscript, "Journal de Castorland," and several valuable works on heraldry, and also fourteen pieces of ancient manuscripts, illustrative of the style of chirography at different periods of time. Clement H. Hill, Esq., has presented several volumes of Dodd's "British Peerage and Baronetage," and a large number of pamphlets. Several

volumes of the "Massachusetts Register," and a collection of pamphlets, have been received from Hon. William Minot. The Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon have presented eight volumes of its transactions. A collection of old newspapers and rare pamphlets has been received from John F. Eliot, Esq.; and several curious tracts from Rev. Charles Brooks. Henry A. Whitney, Esq., has presented a valuable collection of French tracts relating to the Rebellion, in excellent binding; and valuable donations have also been received from James Lenox, Esq., and Hon. Henry Wilson. The principal donations of pamphlets, besides those already mentioned, have been by the President (including a valuable collection from the Winthrop Papers), and from Charles E. Norton, Esq.

At the present time, the Society's library, consisting of nearly sixteen thousand volumes, and about thirteen thousand and five hundred unbound pamphlets, is well arranged in the several rooms appropriated to its use, as follows:—

In the Librarian's room	295 volumes (including 61 duplicates).
In the middle room	5,835 volumes.
In the upper hall	3,579 volumes.
In the small upper room	300 volumes of duplicates.
In the Dowse Library	4,650 volumes.
Newspapers	705 bound volumes.
Manuscripts	517 volumes.
	<hr/>
	15,881
	Unbound pamphlets, about . . . 13,500
	Duplicate pamphlets, about . . . 5,000
	<hr/>
	18,500

Of the unbound pamphlets, four thousand seven hundred and five are placed upon the floor in the small apartment over the Librarian's room, for want of suitable cases for containing them,—a fact which was made known in the last Annual Report. The duplicate pamphlets (amounting in num-

ber to about five thousand) are in the attic-story, and are not included in the count of thirteen thousand, which have been carefully arranged for use.

[After calling the attention of the Society to the want of more shelf-room for its increasing volumes, and the need of better accommodations for its portraits, and also suggesting the importance of connecting the upper hall with the middle room by a staircase, the report proceeds:—]

The ordinary duties of the library have been performed as usual; and little remains to be done to make the Society's collection of books the best arranged of any society-library in the country. In this connection, it seems to be the duty of the Librarian to call the attention of the Society to the fact, that, as yet, no book-plate has been prepared for the Dowse Library; which duty should be performed, and the Librarian authorized to insert copies in each volume of the collection. At the same time, the shelf and book numbers should be neatly affixed to each volume on the inside of the covers. This attention to the Dowse Library is not absolutely required for its use, but for the convenience of returning books to their proper places.

Although the circulation of books has been small for so large and valuable a collection of historical works, nevertheless the library has been used very considerably, both by its members and by visitors pursuing historical investigations. Its halls have been places of study, and its volumes of books and its rare pamphlets have been in frequent use, the character of the collection of works being more for consultation than for home-reading. To make the facilities of the library greater, and more in accordance with the objects of the establishment of the Society, a liberal appropriation should be made for the purchase of new historical books, and for supplying deficiencies in the different departments which the Society professes to include within its province. What books the Society already has are well arranged and thoroughly catalogued, and are very easily found when wanted; but the good arrangement and excellent catalogue

do not supply to the searcher what the library does not possess, and what it much wants, — a comparatively fair collection of books on any one historical subject. The most the library can do is to furnish what it has; yet it seems that a fair annual expenditure would fill many gaps, which a reliance on donations will never effect.

In closing this Report, the Librarian terminates his duties in connection with the library; and, while he thanks the Society for the indulgence he has received in the performance of his duties, he respectfully requests that his shortcomings may be soon forgotten, and not invidiously contrasted with the new energy which may be brought forth by his successor.

Respectfully submitted.

NATHANIEL B. SHURTLEFF, *Librarian*.

Boston, 14 April, 1864.

Annual Report on the Cabinet.

In the continued absence of the Cabinet-keeper, the Assistant Librarian submits the following Report of the accessions to the cabinet, and of the present condition of that department.

The donations to the cabinet during the last year have not been numerous. Among those most worthy of notice may be mentioned photographic copies of the portraits of George and Martha Washington, from Stuart, colored in oil, and an engraved portrait of Sir Jeffrey Amherst, presented by the President of the Society; a medal, struck in 1859, in commemoration of Washington Irving, the gift of Francis C. Hoffman, Esq.; a fragment of pottery and a piece of iron from the ruins of Fort Charles, erected by Jean Ribault on Paris Island, S.C., presented by Edward L. Pierce, Esq.; two pieces of ancient Peruvian pottery, brought from South America by Commodore John Percival (United-States Navy),

the donation of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop; a *fac-simile* of the warrant for beheading Charles I., framed, and a photograph of St. Botolph's Church, Boston, Eng., the gift of William G. Brooks, Esq.; a fragment of Plymouth Rock, from the piece contributed to the Sanitary Fair, in Boston, by the Pilgrim Society, presented by George Livermore, Esq.; two photographs of the "Aspinwall Elm," in Brookline, taken before, and immediately after, its destruction, the gift of Samuel Masury, Esq.; a sword, said to have been used by the late General John Brooks in the war of the Revolution, presented by A. L. Rawson, Esq., of Syracuse, N.Y.; two cannon-balls and an iron scoop, dug up in grading the grounds around the monument on Breed's Hill, the donation of Amos A. Lawrence, Esq.; and a specimen of North-Carolina currency, issued in 1778, the gift of Mr. Horace P. Tuttle of the Forty-fourth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers.

Among the memorials of the existing Rebellion, received during the year, may be noticed an interesting relic from the battle-field of Gettysburg, being the trunk of a white-oak tree, from the forest on Wolf Hill, riddled with musket-balls, the donation of D. M'Conaughy, Esq., of Gettysburg; an English Whitworth twelve-pound shot, fired from Rodman's Point, N. C., April 2, 1863, at the United-States gun-boat "Commodore Hull," — Captain W. G. Saltonstall, — presented by Amos A. Lawrence, Esq.; and bullets fired from Fort Wagner during the assault upon that work on the night of the 18th of July, 1863, given by Major John W. M. Appleton of the Fifty-fourth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers.

The condition of the portraits belonging to the Society is nearly the same as at the last annual meeting.

The coins and medals contained in the cabinet have been examined, newly arranged in the case in which they have been kept for many years, and numbered in conformity with the catalogue. A series of coins of the sovereigns of England, from Elizabeth to George III., is placed in the glass

case for exhibition, together with the specimens of early American coinage.

By vote of the Standing Committee, the epaulets of Washington, the swords of Miles Standish and Captain Benjamin Church, of Colonel Prescott and Captain Linzee, with the coat worn by Franklin at the signing of the treaty of alliance with France, and the Bible formerly belonging to Isaac Allerton, were loaned to the managers of the Fair, for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission, held at the Music Hall, for exhibition; and were duly returned at the close of the fair.

JOHN APPLETON.

Library of the Mass. Hist. Society,
April 14, 1864.

Dr. SHURTLEFF communicated a letter from T. William Wake Smart, M.D., Northiam, Staplehurst, Kent County, England, proposing to furnish to the Society, for publication, a series of extracts from manuscript letters of Rev. John Allin, Vicar of Rye. Referred to the Committee on publishing the Proceedings.

Dr. Shurtleff also presented, for reference to the same Committee, the following note to a paper, communicated by him at a previous meeting, on the maps of Boston:—

Since the preparation (in 1862) of the list of the printed maps of Boston, on pp. 37–40 of the last volume of Proceedings, several copperplate engravings of plans of the town have come to the writer's notice, of which a brief description, prepared in August last, follows:—

London-Magazine Map: In the "London Magazine" for April, 1744, is published, without naming the engraver, "A Chart of the Coast of New England, from Beverly to Scituate Harbor, including the Ports of Boston and Salem," the plate measuring 10 by 7½ inches. A neatly engraved "Plan of the Town of Boston" occupies one

corner of the plate, and measures 5 inches from the Fortification on the Neck to Winnisimmet Ferry-way, and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in the extreme breadth of the town. Although the streets, as they were at the time of making the plan, are laid out on this map, a very few names of the topographical points of interest alone are noted on the plate.

Gentleman's-Magazine Map: A map $10\frac{1}{2}$ by 8 inches, designated as "A New and Correct Plan of the Town of Boston," was published, without name of either author or engraver, in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for October, 1775. This map includes a portion of "Charlestown in ruins," and purports to have been "drawn upon the spot." It is remarkably well executed, and exhibits streets and topographical positions not on earlier plans of the town. In the January number of the magazine for the same year (1775) is a whole-sheet chart of the harbor of Boston, 14 by 12 inches, including a plan of the town made from an actual survey never before made public, and entitled "A Plan of the Town and Chart of the Harbor of Boston, exhibiting a View of the Islands, Castle, Forts, and Entrances into the said Harbor," and bears date Feb. 1, 1775. It includes Chelsea on the north, and Hingham on the south; and is chiefly valuable for the soundings, which are given with apparent precision.

Almon's Map: Published in the first volume of "Almon's Remembrancer," in 1775; size, $10\frac{1}{4}$ by $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches. This is a rudely drawn map of the environs of Boston, and is very inaccurate in its details. Except that it was drawn in June, 1775, and published in London, Aug. 28, 1775, and that it gives the headquarters, camps, and lines, together with the principal roads from Boston, it would be of very little value. It takes in a portion of Chelsea on the north, Hog Island on the east, Dorchester on the south, and Cambridge colleges on the west.

Gazetteer Map: Engraved in 1784 for the contemplated "Gazetteer of the Towns of Massachusetts," and published in the October number of the "Boston Magazine" for that year. It measures 9 by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and is a very creditable performance. It is styled "A New and Accurate Plan of the Town of Boston in New England," and, like the two preceding maps, gives to the Great Elm on the Common the name of "Liberty Tree." This map was re-engraved, in 1849, for an edition of the narrative of the Boston Massacre, and is interesting as containing some particulars not on other plans of the town.

The Committee of Nomination reported the following list of officers of the Society for the ensuing year:—

<i>President.</i>	
HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D.	BOSTON.
<i>Vice-Presidents.</i>	
JARED SPARKS, LL.D.	CAMBRIDGE.
COLONEL THOMAS ASPINWALL, A.M.	BOSTON.
<i>Recording Secretary.</i>	
CHARLES DEANE, A.M.	CAMBRIDGE.
<i>Corresponding Secretary.</i>	
REV. CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D.	BOSTON.
<i>Treasurer.</i>	
HON. RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, A.M.	CHARLESTOWN.
<i>Librarian.</i>	
THOMAS C. AMORY, JUN., A.M.	BOSTON.
<i>Cabinet-keeper.</i>	
SAMUEL A. GREEN, M.D.	BOSTON.
<i>Standing Committee.</i>	
WILLIAM G. BROOKS, Esq.	BOSTON.
REV. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D.D.	CHARLESTOWN.
HORACE GRAY, JUN., A.M.	BOSTON.
CHARLES E. NORTON, A.M.	CAMBRIDGE.
REV. EDWARD E. HALE, A.M.	BOSTON.

The above-named gentlemen were unanimously elected.

Mr. ELLIS offered the following vote, which was unanimously adopted; viz.:—

Voted, That the Society regret to learn that Joseph Willard, Esq., Corresponding Secretary of the Society, has been compelled by feeble health to decline being a candidate for re-election; and that their thanks be given to him for the acceptable manner in which he has for seven years performed the duties of his office.

The thanks of the Society were also voted to Dr.

Chandler Robbins for his numerous and valuable services as Recording Secretary during a period of seven years; to the Hon. Emory Washburn, Chairman of the Standing Committee, and his retiring associates, and to Dr. N. B. Shurtleff, the Librarian for the past two years, for their careful attention to the interests of the Society.

On motion of Mr. LIVERMORE, it was *voted*, That the Standing Committee be requested to make arrangements for the preparation of an historical paper, to be communicated at each stated meeting, by one of the members of the Society.

The President then called the attention of the Society to the Third Centennial Anniversary of the birthday of Shakspeare; remarking as follows:—

You will hardly need to be reminded, gentlemen, that we are now within a few days of the great Tercentenary commemoration of the birthday of Shakspeare; and, though our Society has made no arrangements for any formal observance of the day, we can none of us be insensible to the interest of the occasion.

It is eminently appropriate that the principal celebration of the event should take place in the land and on the spot where it occurred; and we shall all look eagerly for the report of what shall be said and done at Stratford-upon-Avon on the successive days which have been designated for the commemoration. Our own land, unhappily, is hardly in a condition for engaging in the festivities of such an anniversary with all the zeal and heartiness it is so well calculated to excite. Yet we all feel that it might well become us to take a part in the jubilee. We all feel, that, as the descendants of English ancestors who were contemporary with Shakspeare, we have a full share both in the large inheritance of his fame, and in the world's great debt to his memory.

We do not forget that he had finished his marvellous work, and gone to his rest, four years before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock; fourteen years before the Massachusetts Company embarked at Southampton.

We do not forget that it was the wreck of Sir George Somers in the Bermudas in 1609, when on his way to Virginia for the re-enforcement of an American colony, which is said to have suggested the scene and some of the most striking incidents for that one of his dramas which stands first in his printed volumes, and which, for the sublimity of its conceptions and the exquisite beauty of its language, is second to nothing which he ever wrote.

It is interesting to us to remember, too, that the same Earl of Southampton who was Shakspeare's earliest patron and especial friend, and to whom he dedicated his first poem, was among the earliest friends of New-England colonization; and that to the influence of his son, then Lord Treasurer of England, some of the most valuable privileges of at least one of our New-England charters were afterwards ascribed.*

But, above all, we cannot forget the inexhaustible wealth which Shakspeare has contributed to that English literature, which, down to the period of our National Independence, certainly, we have a right to speak of as our literature, and to that English language, which, thank Heaven, is ours, and will be ours for ever.

Nor can we fail, as an Historical Society, to remember Shakspeare as an historian, as well as a dramatist and a poet. The original title of his collected works, as published successively in 1623, 1632, 1664, and 1685, was, "Mr. William Shakspeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies." And what historian has ever done so much as he to give life and individuality to the great characters which he portrays, or to

* See Sir H. Ashhurst's Dedication to the Lady Rachel Russell of Cotton Mather's Funeral Sermon on Governor Fitz John Winthrop, as reprinted in London, 1710.

make the events which he describes familiar as household words for ever? It may be that he was not always exact in following the old chronicles of Holinshed, or that he may have sometimes indulged a poetic license in dressing his figures for the stage. Yet no one will doubt that the common mind of the last two centuries has owed its most vivid impressions — I had almost said its only impressions — of the Richards and the Henrys, of Macbeth, King Lear, and King John, — to say nothing of Julius Cæsar and Mark Antony, — to the historical dramas of Shakspeare.

Unhappily, he that has given us so many grand delineations of others has left but few records of himself. Even the day of his birth, which is about to be celebrated, is but a matter of inference: it is only known, certainly, as the day of his death. We know the date of his baptism and of his funeral. We know where he was born, and where he was buried. We know that he married Anne Hathaway, and had three children. We know that he went to London, wrote plays, and helped to perform them at the "Globe" and the "Blackfryers." We know that he returned to Stratford-upon-Avon; made a will, "commending his soul into the hands of God his Creator, hoping and assuredly believing, through the only merits of Jesus Christ his Saviour, to be made partaker of life everlasting;" and soon afterwards died at fifty-two years of age.

Almost every thing else is inference, conjecture, uncertain tradition. And so it happens that we know least of him, of whom we should all desire to know most. Not one familiar letter; not one authentic conversation; hardly a domestic incident; only three or four known autographs, and those but signatures; not a scrap of his original manuscripts, a single line of which would outsell the collected autographs of all the monarchs of the world, — not a scrap of those priceless manuscripts, though the players must have had them all, when they said, in their preface to the first edition of his works, that "his mind and hand went together; and that what he

thought, he uttered with that easiness, that we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers."

And this brings before us a fact most important to his character. We know that so insensible was he to the worth of his own writings, or so indifferent to their fate, that he never collected or revised them for publication; and that it was seven years after his death before they entered upon that world-wide career of immortality which the press and the stage, the art and the literature, of almost every land beneath the sun, have since united to secure for them, and which they seem destined to enjoy, generation after generation, age after age, above all other writings, except the Holy Scriptures.

Nor would we willingly forget that the only epithets coupled with his name by his contemporaries and friends were "our gentle Shakspeare," "our worthy Shakspeare," "our beloved Shakspeare."

But it is not my purpose, gentlemen, even were it in my power, to anticipate the eloquent eulogies which will be pronounced on the great English dramatist, at home and abroad, during the approaching commemoration-week. I only designed, by these few remarks, to prepare the way for the following resolution, which your Standing Committee have authorized me to submit for your adoption:—

Resolved by the Massachusetts Historical Society, That, in view of the near approach of the Tercentenary commemoration of the birthday of SHAKSPEARE, we gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity afforded us by this, our seventy-third Annual Meeting, to enter upon our records an expression of our profound reverence for the genius of that marvellous man; of our gratitude to God for the matchless gifts with which he was endowed for the instruction and delight of mankind; of our deep sense of the inexhaustible riches which his writings have added to the literature and the language which were the birthright of our fathers, and which are ours by inheritance; and of our hearty sympathy with all those, whether in Old England, in our own country, or in any other part of the world, who shall unite in celebrating so memorable a nativity.

MAY MEETING.

The Society held its stated monthly meeting this day, Thursday, 12th May, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President, Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

Donations were announced from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; the City of Boston; the Essex Institute; the New-England Loyal Publication Society; the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; the Treasury Department of the United States; the Trustees of the Free Public Library of New Bedford; John Appleton, M.D.; George E. Chambers, Esq.; Mr. Deloraine P. Corey; Henry T. Drowne, Esq.; Mrs. Phebe Ann Hanaford; Clement H. Hill, Esq.; Mr. Samuel H. Smothers; M. Jules E. Souchard; Mr. S. Urbino; William Winthrop, Esq.; the publishers of the "Round Table;" and from Messrs. Brooks (W. G.), Robbins (C.), Webb, Winthrop, and Worcester, of the Society.

A letter was read from Rev. Mr. Hale, stating that he would be prevented by his numerous engagements from serving on the Standing Committee, to which he had been elected at the Annual Meeting. Whereupon the last Nominating Committee were requested to make a nomination to fill the vacancy occasioned by Mr. Hale's resignation.

The President read a letter from Mr. William P. Ellison, presenting, for the Society's acceptance, two coins, — one, a copper coin, supposed to have been issued by the Moors about the year 1000; the other, a Spanish gold coin of date 1743.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be given to Mr. Ellison for this acceptable contribution to its cabinet.

The President presented to the Society the seal of the old Kennebec or Plymouth Land Company, the proprietors of lands on the Kennebec River. The device of the seal is an anchor and a codfish; above which, in the border, is a crown, with the motto, "Nec frustra dedit rex."



The President, at the same time, exhibited a grant or deed of land from the Plymouth Company to Thomas L. Winthrop, dated 2d February, 1816, sealed with the above-described seal. The deed recites:—

The Patent granted by James I., 3d November, 1620, to the Council at Plymouth; and the "Charter and Deed of Affeofment, bearing date the 16th [13th?] day of January, A.D. 1629," to William Bradford and his associates, who subsequently assigned the tract on Kennebec River to the Colony of New Plymouth. On the 27th of October, 1661, the Colony, by their deed of bargain and sale of that date, for the consideration of the sum of £400 sterling, sold all the lands on that river to Antipas Boyes, Edward Tyng, Thomas Brattle, and John Winslow, their heirs and assigns for ever. The lands within the limits of their claim were confirmed to the proprietary by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, by their deed dated 18th February, 1789; and by them was the grant made to Thomas L. Winthrop, as above, in 1816.

The Hon. E. R. Hoar, of Concord, was elected a Resident Member.

The President read a letter from the Hon. James Lloyd, formerly a senator in Congress from Massachusetts, addressed to Samuel Breck, Esq., of Philadelphia,

explaining the origin of the motto on his carriage,
“ Please God I live, I’ll go.” It is here printed : —

James Lloyd to Samuel Breck, of Philadelphia.

AUG. 20, 1817.

MY DEAR SIR, — I notice, from your letter to Anna, that the motto on our carriage had attracted some attention, and become an object of speculation; that in the newspapers it had been called a riddle: and I also observe your wish to receive from me an explanation of it. From the propounder of a riddle, the solution, you know, is not fairly to be expected; in addition to which, the story will not only be long, but, being about a family connection, will be a prosing one, except to those immediately interested in it. I shall therefore feel no great inclination to give it, for the indulgence of an idle curiosity, to a common querist; but from you the inquiry is a natural one, and I feel bound from many motives to accede to your request, and to furnish the reply to it which follows.

My maternal great-grandfather (you will perceive what you are coming to), John Nelson, was a spirited and respectable inhabitant of Boston in the latter part of the seventeenth century. He was related to the Temple and Buckingham families in England: one of his daughters was the mother of the late Sir John Temple; a second married the father of Edward Dowse, Esq., of Dedham; and a third, my grandfather, Henry Lloyd, of the Manor “Lloyd’s Neck,” or “Queen’s Village,” in the State of New York.

In 1689, Mr. Nelson headed the Bostonians who surrounded the Government fort, turned the guns of a battery in the vicinity on it, and demanded the delivery thereof, and the surrender of Sir Edmund Andros, an arbitrary and unpopular royal governor, who had retired to it for security; but, thinking it safest to comply with the summons, he delivered up the fort, and was shortly after shipped from the colony for England. Soon after this, Mr. Nelson, being in Nova Scotia on mercantile business, was taken prisoner by the French or the Indian allies, and carried to Quebec; where, obtaining intelligence of an intended and important expedition that was then preparing in Canada against the settlements on the Penobscot and Piscataqua River, at the very great risk of his life he endeavored to communicate the designs of the French to the Government of Massachusetts, and succeeded in the attempt by procuring two

Frenchmen to be the bearers of the information, who, after executing their commission, were retaken, carried to Canada, and punished as deserters. Mr. Nelson was carried out with them, in expectation of sharing the same fate. They were shot before his eyes: but he was remanded to prison, and soon after sent to France; and when on his passage, being still alive to the interests of his country, he again succeeded, by prevailing on a fellow-passenger, to carry information of a second project of the French to send twelve men-of-war and two thousand troops, which were then daily expected in Canada from Europe, to make a descent on the English colonies, and to sweep the coast from New Hampshire to Carolina.

On his arrival in France, he was confined in a small hole or dungeon for two years, without being permitted to see any one other than the person who fed him with his victuals through a grate. At the expiration of this time, a gentleman who had noticed these daily supplies had the curiosity to inquire who the prisoner was, and to speak to him, and offer his services. Mr. Nelson desired no other favor than the transmission of a letter from him to his friends in England; in consequence of which, a demand was soon after made for his exchange or release. He was then considered as a person of some importance, and was taken from his dungeon, and sent to the Bastille; where he remained until shortly before the termination of the war by the Peace of Ryswick, when he was allowed to go to England on his parole, and on security being given by a French gentleman (tradition says in the penal sum of twenty thousand pounds) for his return. Soon after this, peace was concluded; and, the circumstances of his situation and conduct having excited some attention, he was questioned respecting them by King William, who also asked him if he intended going to France; observing, that, as the war was then ended, his doing it was unnecessary. Mr. Nelson replied, it was his intention to return; and mentioned the security that had been given for him. The king, with some warmth, repeated, that it was unnecessary, and forbade him to do it. "Will your majesty then pay my bonds?" was asked. "No!" said the king. Then Nelson replied, "Please God I live, I'll go!" and go he did. And as an evidence of respect for his memory, and admiration of his integrity and independence, one of his remote descendants — your present correspondent — has adopted his answer as a motto for the coat-of-arms on which those of his ancestor are quartered.

The sequel of the history of Mr. Nelson is neither a very grateful

nor a very uncommon one. After delivering himself up in France, he was discharged, and returned to England, where, Hutchinson in his "History of Massachusetts" says, he was brought into trouble for going back to France contrary to the king's order; but at length returned to his family, after ten or eleven years' absence. His private concerns, during this period, suffered extremely; nor did he receive any compensation for his disinterested and hazardous services and sufferings either from the royal or colonial governments. Probably his manliness and honesty prevented the one, and his dispositions and religious opinions at that day impeded the other; for the same author (Hutchinson, in whose words most of the preceding narrative is given) remarks, in reference to his conduct at the seizure of Sir Edmund Andros, that he was a young gentleman of good family, an enemy to the tyrannical government of Andros, but an Episcopalian in principle, and of a gay, free temper, which prevented his being allowed any share in the administration after it was settled, although he was at the head of the party that demanded the surrender of the fort. The same objections, probably, attached to him through life, as he was not of a temper to obviate them: and a similar fate, in some degree, has followed his memory; for although it has been honored and cherished by his posterity, and a shade of imputation never rested on it, yet two reverend editors or compilers of "Annals of New England" and "the Eminent Men of it," amid a host of others whom it would puzzle the genius of a Pope or a Churchill to damn to fame, even in verse that might otherwise be immortal, have not deemed his name worthy of their notice; I should hope, from ignorance of the preceding facts, — some of which, though not the principal part, are derived from family anecdotes, — rather than from the prevalence of the same ungracious and uncharitable feelings which actuated their predecessors.

Voilà, my friend, the *dénouement* you have asked of the mystery "of the motto." If the perusal carries with it any thing of penance, you have to remember, it is wholly of your own seeking; although I cannot say there is ordinarily much of comfort or of consolation to be derived from this reflection.

Yours affectionately, &c., &c.

[JAMES LLOYD.]

The Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Robbins, read letters of acceptance from J. Foster Kirk, Esq., and Erastus B. Bigelow, Esq.

JUNE MEETING.

The stated monthly meeting of the Society was held this day, Thursday, June 9, at eleven o'clock, A.M., in the Dowse Library; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the American Philosophical Society, the Executive Committee of the American Antislavery Society, the Essex Institute, the Maine Historical Society, the New-England Loyal Publication Society, the Royal University of Norway, and the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History; from John Appleton, M.D.; William T. Coggeshall, Esq.; Mr. Andrew Cushing; Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq.; Rev. Rufus P. Stebbins, D.D.; Mr. Kent B. Stratford; Mr. William B. Trask; William W. Warren, Esq.; and from Messrs. Bartlet, Livermore, Metcalf, Robbins (C.), Sibley, Whitney, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary, Dr. ROBBINS, read letters of acceptance from William C. Endicott, Esq., and from Hon. E. R. Hoar, who had been elected Resident Members. He also read a letter addressed to him from Mr. S. A. Washington, of Darnestown, Montgomery County, Md., offering for sale a seal with the coat-of-arms and motto of General Washington, which the writer

said was not lost to history, as had been supposed by Mr. Everett, but was in his possession; he having inherited it from his father, the late Bushrod Washington, jun. He referred for a description of the seal, of which he enclosed an impression in wax, to the "Historical Magazine" for May, 1863.

The President announced, as a gift from Mr. Joseph Williamson, of Belfast, Me., a photograph of a Latin inscription on a plate of copper, about eight inches by ten in size, found in Castine, in the State of Maine; of which an account was given by Mr. G. H. Witherlee of that place, in a communication to the "Bangor Whig and Courier" of April 7, 1864. The inscription is as follows: * —

"1648, 8 Jun[ii], F[rater] Leo Paris[iensis], in Capuc[inorum] Miss[ione], posui hoc fund[amen]t[u]m in h[o]n[o]rem N[ost]ræ D[omi]n[ic]æ Sanctæ Spei."

A letter, written by Elisha Gearfield to Lieutenant Isaac Gearfield, of Tyringham, dated "Weston, June 23, 1775" (six days after the battle of Bunker Hill), was read by the President. The writer says, "I got down here well last Saturday, and went to Roxbury on Monday. I have no news to write: only some say that, and I believe there was, about a hundred of our men killed in the last fight on Saturday last; and it is reported that there [were] a thousand, and some say fifteen hundred, regulars, among which was General Howe. Dr. Warren, Major Mores, were killed; Colonel Gardner

* For further particulars concerning this inscription, see "Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society" for April, 1864, pp. 59-66.

wounded. I cannot tell whether there was any Tyringham men killed or not."

The letter was presented by Mr. Kent B. Stratford, to whom the thanks of the Society were voted for the gift.

The President also communicated, as a gift from Mr. William S. Appleton, a small book, of eighty-eight pages, entitled "England's Shame; or, The Unmasking of a Politick Atheist: being a full and faithful Relation of that grand Impostor, Hugh Peters. . . . By William Yonge, Dr. Med., London. . . . 1663."

The President stated that the author of this book, which he understood to be quite rare, was a principal witness against Peters at his trial in 1660.

The thanks of the Society were directed to be communicated to Mr. Appleton for this contribution to the library.

Mr. LIVERMORE, from the Nominating Committee, reported the name of Leverett Saltonstall to fill the vacancy in the Standing Committee; and Mr. Saltonstall was unanimously elected.

Mr. SIBLEY read a valuable and interesting paper on the history of the Triennial Catalogues of Harvard College, which he had been requested to prepare.*

The President called attention to a large sheet lying on the table (a gift to the Society), being the "Pedigree of Appleton," prepared by Dr. John Appleton, the Assistant-Librarian; and the customary acknowledgments were directed to be made to the donor.

* Mr. Sibley will furnish a copy of his paper for the next volume of the Proceedings.

The President also took occasion to refer to the visit to our rooms, on the 2d instant, of the Russian admiral, Lessoffsky, and the officers of the Russian squadron, now the guests of the City of Boston.

JULY MEETING.

The Society held its stated monthly meeting this day, Thursday, July 14, at eleven o'clock, A.M., in the Dowse Library; the President, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, in the chair.

In the absence of the Librarian, the Recording Secretary announced donations from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; the State of Vermont; the Department of State of the United States; the City of Boston; the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York; the Mercantile-Library Association of San Francisco; the New-England Loyal Publication Society; the Smithsonian Institution; the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History; the Trustees of the Peabody Institute, South Danvers; John Appleton, M.D.; William S. Appleton, Esq.; Leonard C. Bowles, Esq.; Charles L. Flint, Esq.; Charles L. Hancock, Esq.; Clement H. Hill, Esq.; Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq.; John D. Philbrick, Esq.; Hon. Joseph Segar; William B. Smith, Esq.; Mr. S. H. Smothers; William V. Spencer, Esq.; J. M. Toner, M.D.; Mr. William B. Trask; and from Messrs. Brooks (W. G.), Quint, Robbins (C.), Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The senior member of this Society, the Hon. JOSIAH QUINCY, having died since the last monthly meeting,* Mr. WINTHROP, the President, in announcing his death, spoke as follows:—

When we were last assembled here, gentlemen, at our stated monthly meeting, on the ninth day of June, our Society, for the first time since its institution in 1791, had on its catalogue just a hundred names of living members, resident within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. An election at the previous meeting in May had at length completed the full number allowed by our charter; and on that day our roll was full.

At the head of that roll—first in the order of seniority, and second, certainly, in nothing that could attract interest, respect, and veneration—stood the name of one who had been a member of the Society during sixty-eight out of the seventy years of our corporate existence; who had witnessed our small beginnings; who had been associated with Belknap and Sullivan and Tudor and Minot, and the rest of the little band of our immediate founders, in all but our very earliest proceedings and publications; who for seventeen years, long past, had been our Treasurer, and had repeatedly done faithful and valuable service as a member of our Executive and of our Publishing Committees; whose interest in our prosperity and welfare had known no suspension or abatement with the lapse of time; who had contributed liberally to the means by which our condition had of late been so largely improved, and our accommodations so widely extended; and who so often, during the very last years of his eventful and protracted life, had lent the highest interest to our meetings by his venerable presence, and by his earnest and impressive participation in our discussions and doings.

* Mr. Quincy died on the first day of July, at Quincy.

You all remember, I am sure, how proudly he marshalled the way for us into this beautiful Dowse Library, when its folding-doors were first thrown open seven or eight years ago, and when it might so well have been said of him, —

“The monumental pomp of age
Was with this goodly personage;
A stature undepressed in size,
Unbent, which rather seemed to rise,
In open victory o'er the weight
Of eighty years, to loftier height.”

You all remember how impressively he reminded us, not long afterwards, at that memorable meeting on the death of our lamented Prescott, that he became a member of this Society the very year in which that illustrious historian was born.

You all remember how playfully he observed, a few years later, when seconding the nomination of the late Lord Lyndhurst as one of our Honorary Members, that the same nurse had served in immediate succession for the infant Copley and himself, and that she must certainly have given them both something very good to make them live so long.

You all remember how pleasantly he recalled to us that earliest reminiscence of his own infancy, when, being taken by his widowed mother out of Boston, while it was in the joint possession of the British army and of a pestilence even more formidable than any army, he was stopped at the lines to be smoked, for fear he might communicate contagion to the American troops who were besieging the town.

You have not forgotten that delightful meeting beneath his own hospitable roof, on the eighty-third anniversary of the battle of Lexington, — the guns of which might have startled his own infant slumbers, — when he read to us so many interesting memoranda, from the manuscript diaries of his patriot father, in regard to events which led to the establishment of our National Independence.

Still less can any of you have forgotten his personal attend-

ance here only a few months since, when, with an evident consciousness that he had come among us for the last time, he presented to us several most interesting and valuable historical documents — at this moment passing through the press — which he had recently observed among his private papers; which he thought might possibly have come into his possession as one of our Publishing Committee more than half a century ago; and which, with the scrupulous exactness which characterized him through life, he desired to deliver up to us personally, before it should be too late for him to do so.

No wonder, my friends, that we always welcomed his presence here with such eager interest. No wonder that with so much pleasure we saw him seated, from time to time, in yonder Washington chair, hitherto reserved for him alone; for he alone of our number had ever personally seen and known that “foremost man of all this world.” No wonder that we cherished his name with so much pride at the head of our roll, as an historical name, linking us, by its associations with the living as well as with the dead, to the heroic period of our Revolutionary struggle; and no wonder, certainly, that we all feel deeply to-day, when we are assembled to receive the official announcement of his death, that a void has been created in our ranks and in our hearts, which can hardly be filled.

I have spoken of his name as an historical name; and I need hardly say, that it would have been so, even had it been associated with no other career than his own. His own fortunate and remarkable life, — embracing the whole period of our existence thus far as a nation, and covering more than a third of the time since the earliest colonial settlement of New England, — a life crowded with the most varied and valuable public service, and crowned at last with such a measure of honor, love, and reverence, as rarely falls to the lot of humanity, — was sufficient in itself to secure for him an historical celebrity, even while he still lived. But, indeed, his name

had entered into history while he was yet an unconscious child. In a letter of the Rev. Dr. William Gordon's, dated on the 26th of April, 1775, and contained in his contemporaneous "History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of America," will be found the following passage:—

"My friend Quincy has sacrificed his life for the sake of his country. The ship in which he sailed arrived at Cape Ann within these two days; but he lived not to get on shore, or to hear and triumph at the account of the success of the Lexington engagement. His remains will be honorably interred by his relations. Let him be numbered with the patriotic heroes who fall in the cause of Liberty, and let his memory be dear to posterity. *Let his only surviving child, a son of about three years, live to possess his noble virtues, and to transmit his name down to future generations.*"

Nor can we fail to recall, in this connection, those most remarkable words in the last will and testament of that patriot father, whose career was as brilliant as it was brief, and whose premature death was among the severest losses of our early Revolutionary period:—

"I give to my son, when he shall arrive to the age of fifteen years, Algernon Sidney's Works, John Locke's Works, Lord Bacon's Works, Gordon's Tacitus, and Cato's Letters. May the spirit of Liberty rest upon him!"

Such was the introduction to history of him whose life is just closed. Such were the utterances in regard to him while he was yet but of infant years. How rarely is it vouchsafed to any one to fulfil such hopes and expectations! Yet, now that he has left us at almost a patriarch's age, these words seem to have been prophetic of the career which awaited him; and we could hardly find a juster or a more enviable inscription for his monument than to say that "he lived to possess the noble virtues of his father, and to transmit his name down to future generations," and that "the spirit of Liberty rested upon him."

It is not for me, however, gentlemen, to attempt even a sketch of the career or character of our departed associate and friend. I have indeed been permitted to know him for many years past, as intimately, perhaps, as the difference of our ages would allow. As I attended his remains a few days since as one of the pall-bearers, — a distinction which was assigned me as your President, — I could not forget how often at least forty years before, when he was the next-door neighbor of my father's family, I had walked along with him, hand in hand, of a summer or a winter morning, — he on his way to the City Hall as the honored Mayor of Boston; and I, as a boy, to the Public Latin School just opposite. From that time to this I have enjoyed his acquaintance and his friendship, and have counted them among the cherished privileges of my life. But there are those of our number, and some of them present with us to-day, who have been associated with him, as I have never been, in more than one of his varied public employments, and who can bear personal testimony to the fidelity and ability with which he discharged them.

We may look in vain, it is true, for any of the personal associates of his early career as a statesman. He had outlived almost all the contemporaries of his long and brilliant service in our State and National Legislatures. But associates and witnesses are still left of his vigorous and most successful administration of our municipal affairs, and of his faithful and devoted labors for sixteen years as President of our beloved University. Meantime, the evidences of his literary and intellectual accomplishments are familiar to us all, in his History of the University, in his History of the Athenæum, in his Municipal History of Boston, in his Biographies of his ever-honored father, and of his illustrious friend and kinsman, John Quincy Adams, and in so many speeches, addresses, and essays, upon almost every variety of topic, historical, political, literary, social, and moral.

We may follow him back, indeed, to the day when he was

graduated with the highest honors at the University of which he lived to be the oldest alumnus; and we shall never find him idle or unemployed, nor ever fail to trace him by some earnest word or some energetic act. Everywhere we shall see him a man of untiring industry, of spotless integrity, of practical ability and sagacity, of the boldest independence and sturdiest self-reliance; a man of laborious investigation as well as of prompt action, with a ready pen and an eloquent tongue for defending and advocating whatever cause he espoused, and whatever policy he adopted. Even those who may have differed from him — as not a few, perhaps, did — as to some of his earlier or of his later views of public affairs, could never help admiring the earnest enthusiasm of his character, and the unflinching courage with which he clung to his own deliberate convictions of duty. Nor could any one ever doubt that a sincere and ardent love of his country and of his fellow-men, of political and of human liberty, was the ruling passion of his heart.

And seldom, certainly, has there been witnessed among us a more charming picture of a serene and honored old age than that which he has presented during the last few years. Patient under the weight of personal infirmities; hopeful in the face of public dangers and calamities; full of delightful reminiscences of the past, and taking an eager interest in whatever might promote the welfare of the present; grateful to God for a long and happy life, and ready to remain or depart as it might please Him, — he seemed, so far as human judgment might presume to pronounce, to have attained a full measure of that wisdom of which it is written, "Length of days is in her right hand; and, in her left, riches and honor."

Not many years ago, he prepared an agricultural Essay, which is now on our table. Not many months ago, and when he was on the eve of his ninety-second birthday, I met him at the Cambridge Observatory, coming to visit the institution which had been a special object of his interest and of his

bounty, and to take a last look, as he said, at the great revealer of the stars. Still later, I found him in his own library, reading Thucydides, and applying the matchless periods of Pericles to the dangers of our dear land, and to the heroic deaths of so many of our brave young men. Nothing seemed wanting to complete the picture of such an old age as was described by the great Roman orator, and exemplified by the great Roman censor. Nor would it be easy to find a better illustration than his last years afforded of those exquisite words in which the great poet of the English lakes has translated and expanded one of the most striking passages of that consummate essay of Cicero:—

“ Rightly it is said
That man descends into the vale of years;
Yet have I thought that we might also speak,
And not presumptuously, I trust, of age
As of a final EMINENCE; though bare
In aspect and forbidding, yet a point
On which 'tis not impossible to sit
In awful sovereignty; a place of power,
A throne, that may be likened unto his,
Who, in some placid day of summer, looks
Down from a mountain-top.”

It only remains for me, gentlemen, to call your attention to the resolutions of your Standing Committee, which will be reported by the Rev. Dr. Ellis.

Dr. ELLIS, from the Standing Committee; offered the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That, in the death of Josiah Quincy, — whose name has stood on our roll sixty-eight years, and for the last seventeen years has led the list of our members, — this Society shares in an especial manner in the feelings which have been manifested through our whole community. We honored him for the highest private virtues, and for very many services to the public in the long succession and the large variety of the offices which he filled, and the trusts which he discharged. We recognized in him a combination of the noblest principles which we venerate in the fathers of the Commonwealth, and the elder patriots of the land who were also his friends. His lofty

integrity, his large and wise public spirit, the utility of his enterprises, and the practical benefits which are now enjoyed by us as their results, will assure to his name and memory enduring honors.

Resolved, That the President be requested to name one of our associates to prepare the usual Memoir.

Dr. Ellis then spoke as follows:—

The members of this Society, representing all the interests and pursuits of our higher social, civil, and literary elements, may heartily engage in this sincere tribute to the honored and venerated Nestor of our fellowship. He was the object of our common regard, and that of no ordinary sort or measurement. We loved to see him in these halls, if only as a silent listener; feeling that he helped us largely to realize history, and to connect the years that are gone by their best memories and virtues with our own living days. We loved more to hear his firm voice, as he stood erect under his burden of years, assuring to us an unchanging individual identity. We waited upon his always authentic and instructive utterances, whether from the stores of a faithful memory, or from those almost printed manuscripts on which he had inscribed the terse matter, brief and full, which he had to communicate. Now that his own lips are closed, and we can no longer hold that delightful converse with him in which he made the men and the events of the two generations behind us to live with all their glow of vitality, we must look to books to tell us what was his own place and influence among them. He has told many of us his first recollection—a memory that might well stamp itself deep and strong—of his looking out from a carriage on the British redcoats at their lines on Roxbury Neck, a child of three years, when his mother, the widow of his patriot father, was among the last allowed to leave this then beleaguered town. He has prepared with his own pen the full autobiographic record of that part of his life which covers his political career, with its antagonisms, its sharp party strifes,

its sympathies and antipathies for the soul of a good and true man. His own individuality in forming and holding to a conviction, of which the younger of us are not uninformed, stands attested on the records alike of the National and State Legislature, where he is found in each place voting in a minority of one. Let us hope that we shall not have over long to wait for the full memorial of him from the most fitting hands and the closest confidential trust to which he committed all his private papers. We may assure ourselves, that, even when those papers deal with what is antiquated to us, it will be in a way which will renew in them the fire and the vigor of life.

Besides a large number of pamphlets, Mr. Quincy has contributed to our shelves seven substantial volumes of biography and history, the subjects of which cover the career of some of his own contemporaries, or relate the annals and fortunes of institutions in which he himself held conspicuous trusts, and for which he did eminent service.

His long life was led through times and events of momentous interest, beginning and ending at revolutionary epochs, divided by nearly a century of years. His associates and correspondents all through his career were men of eminence, of place, and of high personal qualities. He was himself the equal of the best and ablest of them. The qualities of those times entered almost into his composition and organization; they wholly controlled and exercised the development of his character and the direction of his life; and, while we share this common interest in him and in his career, there is hardly a member of this Society but had some special relationship of acquaintance or obligation with him, in his own private, professional, social, or civil range. Mr. Quincy held a succession of offices which gave him more than a functional headship over each of the learned professions, and a magisterial or advisory supervision of the various and most heterogeneous practical affairs of society. It is for that variety of service, performed uniformly with rare fidelity and with consummate ability, leav-

ing permanent helps and advanced positions for all his successors, that we must speak of him with admiration and gratitude.

There is a stage or period in the development of every institution and organization, of progressive possibilities and capacities, when it needs the quickening or restorative skill of a man of practical energy, independent spirit, and firm will. One of the most characteristic distinctions of Mr. Quincy was his fitness for the successive offices which he filled at the time when he entered upon them, and in the condition in which he found them. Critical and exciting were the demands and the responsibilities attending respectively the Chief Magistracy of this city and the Presidency of the College, when he assumed those trusts. He found city and college alike in transition states, from old methods, limited purposes, restricted means, inconveniences and embarrassments, to more expansive, generous, and comprehensive possibilities, to the attainment of which they needed the foresight of a large directing mind, and the guidance of an independent and bold spirit.

This city is deeply indebted to Mr. Quincy for many of those admirable elements in its works of utility, its institutions, and its present principles of municipal administration, our own pride in which finds its full warrant in the encomiums they have received from over our whole land and from abroad. Its streets, market, schools, and other public edifices, testify that while he was providing wisely, though some thought rashly, for what to him was the present, he had in view the much larger demands — we all know now how reasonable and moderate the provision for them — of a near future. Sometimes his schemes and plans were devised and pursued by his own fertility of faculty, under his own sole advocacy and resolute persistency of purpose. Sometimes he had the sympathy and co-operation of a few strong and wise supporters against sharp opposition from prominent individuals or a popular party. I never heard that in this office, or, indeed, in any

other, he ever gave over any purpose or aim which he had proposed; nor can I recall a case in which any successor of his has undone his work. He loved what is good in popularity, and was utterly indifferent to the other ingredients of it; being quite an independent judge as to what constituted those respective elements of popularity. Of course, a man of his always rigidly upright, often stern, and sometimes severe spirit in the works of reform and improvement, especially those into which he threw the most of his own earnestness and pride as their originator, would be sure to meet many opponents. His opponents might also become his personal enemies,—a condition, however, contingent on his own feeling or judgment as to whether he should or should not so regard them. The younger portion of us are told of his ardor, his impetuosity, his severity of sarcasm and rebuke, in old political strifes. We are the rather prepared to believe this, when, besides assuring ourselves, that, in his earlier life, men and measures engaged his attention which were likely to require just such treatment from a man of his rectitude and independence, we call before us his looks and tones as at times we have seen and heard him. He was compacted of Roman and Puritan virtues, allowing for the two meanings of virtue as preceded by either or both those epithets. He was able to stand the brunt of all the opposition which he provoked. He stood so clear of all imputations of sinister or selfish purpose, that, when his schemes and enterprises were challenged, he could give his whole advocacy to them, without any incidental effort for self-defence. He saw some stormy days, and was himself the subject of occasional hostility. He had to read the Riot Act, and to hear an angry mob surging threateningly near his own dwelling. The second line of an ode of his favorite Roman poet—*Civium ardor prava jubentium*—must often have come to his lips, though not without generous variations for the word *prava*. But none of those citizens would have disputed to him the

application of the whole of the first line, *Justum et tenacem propositi virum*; though they might have preferred to emphasize the *Tenax propositi*.

Having, after six years of this city service, declined to be a candidate for re-election as Mayor, he was ready for quite another sphere in the College, which was also in a condition to require wise and energetic oversight. He began there, as he began everywhere, by acquainting himself with facts and phenomena, faults, needed changes, improvements, and the way and means for them. He put things to rights. He asserted his headship. He renewed, invigorated, expanded, enriched every old department of the University, and added largely to its scope and resources. He sometimes stood between the students and the authorities. He always stood over the students,—harsh and imperious occasionally in word and aspect, faithful and friendly in counsel and feeling. They generally found out that the condition for respecting him was to understand him, and that the condition for loving him was to have no reason for being afraid of him. There are men doing noble service in all the professions around us, whose charges were borne by his private benevolence, while their spirits were cheered by his rallying encouragement. The question, I remember, was often discussed, whether he had real strong sympathies for young men,— could deal with them by wise allowances and gentle tolerances. Some said, that having striven with politicians, and presided over boards of aldermen and councilmen, and disciplined a fire and a police department, he sometimes confused the situation, and mistook his measures in his academic sphere. Candor and justice will be satisfied with the judgment, that, while there might have been reason for raising the question,— which, in fact, was one likely to suggest itself,— there was no reason for deciding the question in the slightest degree unfavorably to the fitness, the grace, or the conspicuous success, of his administration of the College. The living alumni of his sixteen

classes will not fail of bearing some form of testimony to this. It was characteristic of him that he should have written the History of the College down to his own time. The continuation of it will have a good start from him. Those beautiful appearances of his of late years on its public days have been the joy of its alumni, and have drawn glorious tributes to him. Nor can one forget, in connection with his life at Cambridge, the generous and refined hospitalities of his home, discharged with such grace and dignity by that admirable lady who filled out the ideal of the old-school refinement and accomplishment.

We are sometimes helped to a knowledge of a man's excellences by observing in him some of those characteristics which are called prejudices. One of those convictions held by Mr. Quincy was, that it was an injury to our young men to travel or study in Europe. Many of his pupils can call to mind, that, on informing him of their purpose to go abroad, they received from him the frank avowal, "I am sorry for it. The chances are that you will be ruined by it. But I hope not." He had never been abroad. When he was most free to go, he had no desire to do so. He was an American result of modified English antecedents. A true peer in nature and mien, unable to make himself honestly a democrat, he schooled himself to a special discipleship of an independent republicanism. He thought that he and his country had got all of good that England had to give; and as for the other foreign nationalities and their ways, they certainly did not present to him their enviable side or qualities. Coming of a Puritan lineage, through an ancestral line which had discharged the trusts involved in the developing of a wilderness colony onward to a self-governed commonwealth, he kept strong hold of the firm-set pillars of the fabric. To a thoroughly sincere piety, and a most reverential tone of devotion, he joined a spirit of independent inquiry and a demand for reasonable convictions in matters of religion. No layman could at the time have been

set over the University who could better than himself have softened the shock or the reminder of the change in usage and observance from a clerical headship.

The honors and labors of his life had a felicitous consummation mingled of dignity and of beauty. It presented one of those very rare cases in which providential allotments, combined with human conditions and the peculiarities of a marked individuality, gathered their finest garland for a crown of tranquil and revered old age. This afforded opportunities for the mellowing of character, for the turning of all sternness into a self-searching of principles, motives, and actions, and for the vindication before all critical eyes of the well-trying integrity which had never faltered. The last decade of his years was numbered, one by one, by some new token of the deepening interest and respect of our whole community. His calendar, as it advanced, was announced in the papers. The literary and oratorical fruits of his long harvest were credited to the verification of his own theory, that the way in which an old man should keep his mind from wearing out is to keep it hard at work.

He had hoped that he might live to see the end of this fearful civil strife which convulses our land, and which so stirred the fire of his noble inborn, high-taught patriotism. But, whether or not that should be so, his faith outran his hope; and he believed that it could have but one possible end, and that a righteous one, leaving us still a nation, but chastened and purified. If any one asked him of the cause and purpose of the war, he would have been likely to have referred his questioner to certain prophetic utterances of his own in the Congress of the United States, in January, 1811.

A full serenity of scene and feeling attended his release from life, by that rarest of all human experiences, a natural death, as the ripe fruit falls from the unshaken bough in the still air. He was waiting to be called, and was just beginning

to fear delay in the summons. He lived at last for simple rest, and musing on the gleanings of thought from his last readings of his favorite moralists and philosophers, Cicero and Lord Bacon; trusting his memory and his spirit for diviner nutriment. To the end he read and wrote; and, because they were the last transcript from his pen, he has enhanced the sweet and gracious piety of the lines of Addison, which he copied as his hand was losing its cunning:—

“When all thy mercies, O my God!
My rising soul surveys,
Transported with the view, I'm lost
In wonder, love, and praise.”

Dying in Quincy, receiving funeral honors in Boston, borne to his grave through Cambridge, and resting now on the slope of Harvard Hill in Mount Auburn, the closing scenes covered those of his life's labor and happiness. We may share his own strong hope of immortality, and believe that his life is rounded by something better than a sleep.

Mr. EVERETT, in rising to second the resolutions of Dr. Ellis, said, —

I have been requested, Mr. President, by the Standing Committee, to second the resolutions offered by Dr. Ellis; and I do it with the greatest pleasure, although his carefully prepared, just, and eloquent analysis of President Quincy's character, and your own pertinent, feeling, and most impressive address, have left me little to say. An opportunity will perhaps be afforded me next week of paying a tribute to his memory in another place; but I must ask your indulgence for a few moments at this time, to give utterance to the feelings which we all share, and which have been so eloquently expressed by the gentlemen who have preceded me.

You have, Mr. President, justly intimated the reasons for which President Quincy's decease should be noticed in the most respectful manner within these walls. He became a

member of our Society in early life, and was considerably our senior associate. He took a lively interest in the Society, and missed no opportunity of promoting its welfare; attending its meetings occasionally down to the last months of his protracted life. Besides this, he co-operated with the Society in its appropriate labors, enriching the literature of the country with a series of historical works of high and recognized value, two of them prepared at the instance of the Society. Still more, sir, it may be truly said, that he not only wrote history, but made it, in the sphere (and that a most diversified and elevated sphere) in which he moved; exhibiting through life those marked qualities, which, by sympathy, infuse moral strength into a community, and animate other men to the efforts by which individuals and nations obtain an honorable place in the annals of mankind.

I have said, sir, that President Quincy's historical works had a high recognized value; and most certainly, if his vigorous intellect, methodical studies, his untiring industry, and his great facility of labor, had borne no other fruit, the series of his historical publications would have given him, though not a man of letters by profession, a most respectable place among American authors. With the exception of Congressional speeches, and occasional essays on the topics of the day, his first work of considerable compass was prompted at once by filial affection and patriot duty: I mean the Memoir of his honored father, one of the most distinguished of those referred to by you, sir, who prepared the minds of their countrymen for the Revolution. He had the kindness to afford me an opportunity of perusing it in manuscript. It was appropriately published in 1825, at the close of the first half-century. It contained the journals and copies of some of the letters of the lamented subject of the Memoir, especially those written during his short visit to England in 1774-5, — the last year of his life; and I can truly say, that there is no volume which to the present day I read with equal interest for the events

of that memorable year, as contemplated by an eye-witness — and such an eye-witness — in England. He had the inestimable privilege of hearing the two speeches made by Lord Chatham, on the 20th January, 1775, declared by his son, William Pitt, “to be surely the two finest speeches ever made, unless by himself.” Of these speeches Mr. Quincy made a full report from memory, and from a few notes he was able to take at the time. It is in some parts evidently a more accurate report than that published by Dodsley in 1779, after Lord Chatham’s death, from notes by Hugh Boyd. Portions of Mr. Quincy’s report were published in Gordon’s letters on the Revolution; Mr. Quincy’s papers having been placed in his hands while composing that work. The last entry in Mr. Quincy’s journal is, “Had great satisfaction in reading my report of the debates in the House of Lords to one or two friends who heard them. They thought them exceedingly correct, and were amazed at the blunders, omissions, and misrepresentations of the printed accounts.” President Quincy’s Memoir of his father also contains the journal of a visit made by him to Charleston, S.C., in 1773, and which is of extreme interest. This youthful patriot, as you have stated, sir, died on the return voyage from Europe, and within sight of the granite cliffs of New England; young in years alone, mature in wisdom, patriotism, and public service. When we reflect that he was taken from the country at the age of thirty-one, we cannot suppress the thought, that a gracious compensation was designed by Providence in prolonging the years of the son to thrice that duration.

The History of the University is next in order of time, as it is the most voluminous and elaborate of President Quincy’s works. It was suggested by the duty which devolved upon him on the memorable occasion of the second centennial anniversary of the institution. It was obviously, on the part of the President, a work at once of affection and duty. It embodies all those portions of the records of the

University which throw light on its general history; on its feeble but hopeful beginnings; its gradual development in the succeeding generations and in the last century; its rapid expansion in the present century. It exhibits the noble steadiness with which Old Harvard has maintained itself through the storms of two centuries, and its re-active influence on the public opinion of the country. Especial pains was taken by President Quincy to do justice to the characters of the distinguished benefactors and patrons of the College, from the ever-memorable Harvard to the present day. These and other pertinent and kindred topics are treated in his History in appropriate detail, according to their respective interest and importance, in a clear and vigorous, and, when the topic admitted, eloquent style of idiomatic English; the whole forming a repository, which, next to the original records themselves, will constitute the standard authority for the history of the institution, till its prosperous growth, as we may hope, through two more centuries, shall require other volumes and other dutiful pens to record its multiplied benefactors, its extended usefulness, and ever-growing honors.

President Quincy's next historical work of considerable compass, in the order of publication, was the History of the Town and City of Boston. Like the History of the University, this work grew out of an anniversary discourse; viz., that which he delivered at the second centennial anniversary of the city. Suspended during his presidency at Cambridge, its preparation was resumed immediately upon his resignation of that high trust. This History, like that of the College, was truly a labor of love. The family of President Quincy had been identified with Boston from the foundation. His ancestor came over with John Cotton; and the position of his descendants had been maintained, in honor and influence, through all the succeeding generations. His father had taken an active part in all the memorable occurrences which had turned the eyes of the civilized world on Boston after the pas-

sage of the Stamp Act: the President himself, born and bred in Boston, had represented her in the State Legislature and in Congress; and, in the infancy of the new civic organization, he had served her at the head of its municipality for six years. Thus was he eminently a Bostonian of the Bostonians. The chief part of the work is naturally devoted to an account of the writer's administration, and of the series of measures relative to its public buildings, its markets, the eleemosynary establishments, the fire-department, the schools, and other municipal interests, in which the public spirit, the executive ability, and moral courage, displayed by Mayor Quincy, cannot fail to awaken at once the admiration and gratitude of the citizens of Boston.

In 1845 appeared the revised edition of Graham's "History of the United States." It was published under the superintendence of a committee of the Historical Society, consisting of President Quincy and two or three other respected members. The first volume of this work contained a Memoir of James Graham, prepared, in compliance with a resolution of the Society, by Mr. Quincy, and embodying all that is personally known of a writer who cherished a warm and consistent affection for this country, and did more than any other foreigner to extend the knowledge of it abroad.

In 1847, and being then at the advanced age of seventy-five, Mr. Quincy, at the request of the late Mr. R. G. Shaw, prepared for publication the journals of their kinsman, Major Samuel Shaw, with a Memoir of his life. This most excellent gentleman not only served with great credit through the whole Revolutionary War, receiving at its close an emphatic testimonial from Washington, but he sailed in the vessel which opened the trade to China, as the agent of an association of capitalists formed for that purpose; and was appointed first American consul to Canton under the old confederation, and afterwards by President Washington. President Quincy's Memoir is a highly interesting contribution to the history both

of the Revolution and of American commerce, a just tribute to the memory of a man of sterling merit, and well worthy the pen of the distinguished writer.

The year 1847 was signalized by the death of John Quincy Adams at the post of duty, and in the capital of the United States. He was the distant relative, the neighbor, the contemporary, the confidential friend, of Mr. Quincy; and, at the request of our Society, the duty of paying the last tribute of respect to the memory of the illustrious departed devolved on him. He readily accepted the trust; and, instead of confining himself within the limits of a Memoir of the ordinary length, he drew up a volume of more than four hundred pages, embracing a comprehensive history of the life and services of Mr. Adams. The work did not make its appearance till the year 1858, when the venerable author was in his eighty-seventh year. I recollect no other instance in this country of so large a work from a person so far stricken in years; but I perceive in it no abatement of intellectual power. In a modest prefatory note, it is stated to be the object of the writer to narrate the political life of Mr. Adams from his published works, from authentic unpublished materials and personal acquaintance, and in this way to make him the expositor of his own motives, principles, and character, in the spirit neither of criticism nor eulogy. This difficult and delicate task was performed by the venerable author with signal success; and with this the series of his elaborate historical efforts closes. I need not say, that, with his other occasional literary labors,—several of which, such as the History of the Boston Athenæum, which I ought to have included in the series, were of a nature to require no little time and research in their preparation,—they form what would, in almost any case, be considered the life-work of an industrious man. But, till his retirement from the presidency of Harvard at the age of seventy-three, Mr. Quincy's literary labors must have been all prepared in the brief intervals of

leisure allowed by engrossing official duties and cares. While, therefore, they would have given him an enviable reputation had he been exclusively or even mainly a man of letters, it must be remembered, that, in his case, the writer was overshadowed by the active relations — political, judicial, municipal, and academic — in which he stood to his day and generation. On these I need not attempt to dwell: but when we consider that Mr. Quincy was for years, and with a brilliant reputation both for business and debate, the representative of Boston, both in the State Legislature and in Congress, an acknowledged leader of the political party to which he belonged; that, as a judge, his term of office, though short, was signalized by a most memorable decision, relative to the law of libel; that, as Mayor of Boston for six years, — an office assumed under all the difficulties of the transition state to which Dr. Ellis has alluded, — his administration was distinguished for the most important improvements and reforms; and lastly, that, with great acceptance and public favor, he presided over the oldest literary institution in the country, bringing to the arduous and responsible station a variety of qualifications, administrative and literary, intellectual and moral, rarely if ever combined in one man, and most certainly never surpassed; and that, having in an advanced but vigorous age become *emeritus* in this long and honorable career, instead of indulging in the repose conceded to the decline of life, he continued for twenty years, by word and deed, to perform all the duties of an active patriot, vigilant for the public weal, jealous for the public honor, and full of courage and confidence in the darkest hours of the present tremendous struggle; adding, finally, to all his other titles of respect and honor, the authority which length of years, attended with virtue and wisdom, can alone confer, — we must all feel, we do all feel, as we gather round the grave of President Quincy, that we have lost our FIRST CITIZEN.

Mr. Everett was followed by the Hon. RICHARD H. DANA, Jun., who spoke as follows:—

Mr. PRESIDENT,—I have received from the Standing Committee a request to say a few words on this occasion,—a privilege which I suppose I owe rather to a family friendship with the honored deceased than certainly to any personal claims. It is hardly for me to speak of one, who had lived nearly his half-century before I was born, in the presence of so many who knew him so much longer and more intimately than I can claim to have done, though he honored me beyond my deserts. Before such an assembly as this, sir, I shall attempt no more than to notice one characteristic of Mr. Quincy; and, as to that, rather to speak of the effect he always produced upon me, than to offer an opinion or analysis of his mental constitution.

Mr. Quincy was a nobleman. He filled out our ideal of what the nobleman should be where nobles or conscript fathers rule in society and in the State. He had the merits, and he partook somewhat of the defects, of that character. He was favored by nature with the front, the station, the voice, the manner, that should belong to the nobleman; and, still more, he had in his soul the true temper of nobility. His was a lofty, high-toned character,—some perhaps would say, a proud and rather high-strung temper. Honored members have just told us, and told us with eloquence, and fulness of detail, of his fidelity to all duties, his integrity, and his laboriousness. It is for me only to tread this narrow path, beset with delicacies, and to recall to myself and you the high-spirited, chivalrous gentleman. Thackeray says that the “grand manner” has gone out. It had not gone out with us while Mr. Quincy lived. A boy at school, when he came to Cambridge, I met a man in the street, who, I felt sure from his *style*, must be Mr. Quincy, and raised my hat to him, and received a most gracious bow in return. It was

he; and he could be recognized anywhere by any one on the look-out for a high character among the highest.

A good deal has been said to-day, and well said, of the spirit of liberty that inspired his father, and rested on the son. I do not doubt or mean to disparage devotion to the liberties of all human beings; but there was in the men of that day a love of *independence*, that was no small element among the causes of our Revolution. Remember, brethren, that we were provincials,—governed by a class of crowned, coroneted, and mitred men living in another hemisphere, in whose privileges and dignities we could have no part. I can conceive of men with little or no aversion to such dignities in their own State, and with little confidence in political equality, rising in indignant resistance to such a subordination as that. It was that proud devotion to independence that Burke said united the holders of slaves in a common cause with the free North. After our independence was secured, when the conflict raged over half the world, between the radical philosophy of the French revolutionists and the conservative philosophy of Burke and England, the sympathies of many, of most, of our highest patriots in New England, were with the latter.

Mr. Quincy told me, not long before his death, that he had the means of proving, from the private letters and journals of the patriots who formed our Constitution and set it in motion, that their chief apprehension for its permanency was from what they feared would prove to be the incompatibility between the two classes of men, the two systems of society they would represent, who must control its policy and patronage. They feared an antagonism in a republic of equals,—between what was substantially an oligarchy, founded on slavery, and the free, mixed classes of the North. It was the more dangerous, because it was sectional and absolutely restricted. There was a sectional class, an aristocracy, or whatever else you may call it, with which the people of the

Northern States could take no part, excluded by their moral convictions and by geographical laws. That this slavery, which met their intellectual disapproval and their moral aversion, was a matter of State control and responsibility, was not enough. They feared that it would generate an aristocratic spirit, which would tell on the national life and national politics. They saw that it tended to foster an arrogating political class. They knew that oligarchal classes, with their interests, maxims, and sympathies, had often governed the world. They feared that the antagonism, the incompatibility, between these classes and interests, would lead to a separation; the weaker section, whichever that might prove to be, striking for its independence,—a separation made the easier by the fact, that the systems were separated by a geographical line. When I told him that I did not remember this in the published writings of that day, his answer was, that they earnestly desired a union for our strength and preservation, and kept out of public discussion the tender points; but that I would find it in their letters and journals.

I allude to these subjects, Mr. President and brethren, I beseech you to believe, in an assembly of gentlemen of all shades of opinion, only because they explain the political course of Mr. Quincy; at least, in my opinion, throw some light upon it.

It was Mr. Quincy's belief,—I do not wish to say here, on this occasion, and before you, whether it was a true or an unsound opinion; take it either way,—it was his opinion, that such an antagonism, such a growing incompatibility, existed from the first, and culminated gradually to the end. It was his belief, that the struggle between the Federal and Democratic parties was, to no small degree, a struggle between these interests. True, the lines were not so drawn. Most of the questions and the issues framed were purely political; but he believed the overthrow of the Federal party, and the installation of the Virginia dynasty, was a suc-

cess to the slaveholding class, since which the education and property of New England have never had their share in the government, unless in exceptional cases, and sometimes upon what may be called special terms.

Mr. Quincy thought that the contest of 1820, on the admission of Missouri, was substantially a contest between these classes and interests, and ended, as before, in a substantial success of the sectional, oligarchal system. Such, too, he believed to be, and with similar results, the struggle of 1850, on the admission of California; and such the final struggle of 1860, the first practical defeat of that class.

Now, sir, Mr. Quincy, so believing, so feeling, to the depth of his being, was not of a temper to acquiesce in that subordination. His independent spirit was enforced by the moral aversion he had for the system on which that dominant class founded its power. He could not bow to it. No: he feared, in the critical winter of 1860-61, but one result. That was not peaceable dissolution; it was not war. He feared only some compromise by which the slaveholding class, with its maxims and interests, should gain a permanent, social, and political ascendancy over the free, mixed classes of the North. That was the one result he could not bear. Against that he would have been willing to rebel. Rather than that, he would have seen the Union, much as he loved and valued it, rent in twain, or severed into as many parts as it might please God to divide it.

You will remember, sir, that I am not presenting the highest view of Mr. Quincy's character. I know he loved the largest liberty. He not only advocated, — that is cheap, — he labored for, the greatest good of the greatest number. He saw in the present struggle far more and greater things than the political emancipation of the North from the control of a sectional dynasty.

Mr. Quincy loved public life, public duties, and public station. It is the more to his credit, that he never bowed,

never swerved,—nay, was never suspected of bowing or swerving,—to mere popular opinion. He paid little respect to mere numbers on a question of right and wrong. His creed admitted no such blasphemy as that the voice of the majority is the voice of God. Perhaps, indeed, his gallant spirit took a little secret, unacknowledged satisfaction in being in a brave minority. To no one may both parts of Lord Mansfield's celebrated declaration be better applied than to him: "I love popularity; but it is that popularity which follows, not that which is run after."

I do not know, Mr. President, what may be the custom of this Society on occasions like the present. I do not know whether you ever present to yourselves here the reverse of any picture of a deceased brother,—whether you ever examine here the weaving of the tapestry behind, by which the best effects are produced. But as I am, and have always been, an unfeigned admirer, devotee, of the heroic qualities of Mr. Quincy, perhaps I can the better touch upon what may be brought forward elsewhere, and what may have been considered in his lifetime, as defects.

I do not know what is the definition of bigotry. We ordinarily associate it with inquisitions and tortures; but I suppose it means only an undue confidence in and devotion to our opinions, and is consistent with entire kindness, and desire to do justice. In that scientific sense, if any one who has differed from Mr. Quincy, and has felt the shock of his collision, the *congressus Achilli*, should complain that he was severe, and even bigoted, I should say, that the manliest course was to admit, that, in that sense, there might be some ground for the charge, and to set it down as one of the infirmities of a great character,—one of those terms upon which alone, in our imperfect condition here, we can obtain such a fellowship and example. The denomination known among us as the Orthodox Congregationalist have objected that his "History of Harvard University" has not done them

and their colleges justice in their relations to Harvard. I have never read either side, and have no opinion on the question; but I have been told by good judges, partial to Mr. Quincy and his side, that the complaint is not without foundation. Such was his affection for Harvard and its supporters, such his convictions in its favor, that he did not see readily the qualifications and objections. Was it not so, too, in political contests? I am inclined to think we must admit that it sometimes was. But, having been thus frank and candid, I claim the right, in return, to remind you what these imperfections were, and from what they sprung. They sprung from no ill nature, no indifference to the rights or feelings of others, but from the depth and heartiness of his convictions.

Burke would not see — he could not see — Charles James Fox, though on his death-bed, much as he loved him. Why? Burke was so convinced that the French political philosophy, to which Fox had lent the aid of his great influence, was dangerous to social morals, and the very existence of any respectable body politic, that he could not dis sever the man from the opinion. It is easy to say, that we must separate ourselves and others from our and their opinions. Perhaps superhuman beings would do so. If opinions are mere intellectual tenets, or if they are the cards with which we play the game of life, it were easy. Those men will find no difficulty in doing that, with whom opinions on vital questions of our relations to God and man, and the welfare of all here and hereafter, are no more than opinions on natural science or geographical statistics. If men are conscious, that, in themselves, there is no connection between their souls, their characters, their entire natures, and their opinions, it is inexcusable in them not to make the distinction in dealing with other men who differ from them. But, with Mr. Quincy, opinions on vital questions were convictions. They took deep root in his nature. They were inseparable from all he valued or feared in himself, and all he respected or distrusted

in others. They might turn out to be right or wrong; but they were drawn from the past, and bore upon the highest duties of mankind in the present, and the destinies of mankind in the future. They might be right or wrong at last; but to him they were *truths*, and he treated them accordingly. To his final convictions on vital questions, he was ready to sacrifice all, — even life. How could he treat them lightly? With such a character, on such questions, we need not fear to meet complaints from those who have encountered him front to front, — that he was severe, or even bigoted. We have little sympathy with those complaints when they come from men who met his scorn or rebuke for civil cowardice, or dereliction of duty.

It has been said that he was not a wise political leader. He certainly showed wise forecast in his own affairs, and in those of the city and university. In politics, he saw clearly into general principles; and, in many respects, divined remote consequences. Still, I confess, I should not like to promise myself or my party unreservedly to his guidance on the policies of the day and hour. Perhaps the combination of qualities in his nature, not easy to analyze, made him far-sighted, and not good at near sight. Perhaps his temperament did not admit of his dealing with men and measures as the policy of political management requires.

If I have erred in noticing these qualifications or deficiencies in his constitution, it is a great gratification to believe that in them I have noticed all the objections that have ever been made against him. What brighter eulogy could I pass upon Mr. Quincy than to say, that after a life spent in the severest conflicts of municipal, academical, state, and national life, in which he had much ungracious work to do, no charge has ever been made against him? I honestly say, I never heard of any, affecting in any way his private or public character, which I have not touched upon to-day, and before you, his friends.

I would not underrate or gloss over, still less try to render attractive, imperfections, however usually attending lofty natures. But, if we regard the common opinion of mankind, they are not those that the ordinary New-England character most needs to be guarded against. The philosophy of Benjamin Franklin has done too much towards lowering the tone of the youth — I should rather say, of the partially educated youth — of New England. Franklin deserved, sir, the statue you helped to raise to him, and the eloquent oration with which you inaugurated it; for he did great things for science, and rendered great services to his country in her struggle for independence. He brought to the aid of his country sagacity, energy, and patience, and shed much honor on our infant name. But take from Benjamin Franklin what he did for science and the independence of his country, and try him alone upon his philosophy, and maxims for life, and I would rather, a thousand times rather, that any one in whose veins ran my blood, that any — all the youth of New England — should look to the example of Josiah Quincy than to that of Benjamin Franklin.

Mr. President, among all the true and gratifying commendations that have been and will be passed upon Mr. Quincy, I trust we shall not overlook nor keep in the background, but always put foremost, those qualities which made him the heroic, lofty gentleman.

The resolutions were then unanimously adopted.

The President called the attention of the Society to two small photographs of Mr. Quincy, enclosed in one frame: one from a miniature taken in 1796, the year he was elected a member of this Society, at the age of twenty-four; the other, taken from life, on the 6th of May, 1863, at the age of ninety-one.

The following letter — written in his exquisitely

beautiful hand — from the venerable Dr. Jenks, who, the President said, though not the first on our roll of members in the order of election, was now by some years our senior member as to age, was read by the President: —

BOSTON, June 7, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR, — I received, a short time since, a printed note from the Historical Society's Committee, of which you are one, inviting historical communications from the members of the Society, to be read at the meetings, and printed if approved.

It would give me great pleasure if I could respond favorably to this application; but in truth, though released providentially from professional engagements, I am yet very busy, as health may permit, in endeavoring to accomplish an object which I have had before me for several years, and which absorbs almost all the time I can devote to reading and writing.

I am pleased with the Society's design, and hope it will produce results of much literary importance; and, in contemplating it, my mind has dwelt on a Memoir of the Admiral De Coligny of France, who entertained thoughts of America. Also a view of the progress of Russia towards the Eastern Provinces of China, by occupying the Amour. Likewise a Review of "Purchas's Pilgrims," Memoirs of Philip de Mornay, and of Chancellor de l'Hôpital, would exhibit, with an account of the historian of France, De Thou, excellent examples of integrity in other than British or American worthies. And pardon me if I also suggest a wish, that Hayley's "Essay on History," accompanied with its invaluable notes, might be recommended for republication.

Yours respectfully and affectionately,

WM. JENKS.

C. DEANE, Esq.

In a subsequent letter to Mr. Deane, Dr. Jenks adds "the recommendation of some considerable account of the late Abbé de Mably, and his remarks on the several Constitutions of the United States, addressed to the Hon. John Adams when he was negotiating in Holland." He proceeds: —

The abbé expended many thoughts on this subject, and what he wrote was read with some interest at the time. Whether it was translated from the French or not, I am not informed. Mr. Bancroft may have exhausted the matter, or a full account be contained in the volumes of Mr. Adams, which I have not an opportunity of looking into at present, being confined to my chamber by illness; but it seems to me worthy of investigation. And as we have so many young men, and men of middle age, to whom the French language is as familiar as their own, it appears to me, that, if not done already, ample justice should now be done to the memory of a kind Frenchman who felt deeply for our country when such feeling was at least not universal. And I have an impression that his remarks were not in all respects acceptable to Mr. Adams himself, or to others of our leading politicians, who thought, indeed, that they understood American politics somewhat better than any foreigner whatever.

De Mably's Works are in fifteen volumes 8vo, preceded by an eulogy. What he wrote to Mr. Adams, four letters, is in the eighth volume, but does not occupy the whole of it.

I say nothing about Mazzei, Mr. Jefferson's correspondent.

Yours, dear sir, sincerely,

WM. JENKS.

C. DEANE, Esq.

AUGUST MEETING.

The Society held its stated monthly meeting this day, Thursday, Aug. 11, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

In the absence of the Librarian, the Recording Secretary announced donations from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; the Albany Female Academy; the Long-Island Historical Society; the New-England Loyal Publication Society; the New-Hampshire Historical Society; the New-Jersey Historical Society; the

Society of Antiquaries of London; the Trustees of Bowdoin College; Messrs. Adams, Sampson, and Co.; Mrs. E. M. Appleton; John Appleton, M.D.; Mrs. Caroline H. Dall; Rev. S. Hopkins Emery; Charles L. Flint, Esq.; Daniel C. Gilman, Esq.; Charles L. Hancock, Esq.; Henry Humphreys, Esq.; Ebenezer Lane, Esq.; Adjutant-General John T. Sprague, of New York; John Swett, Esq.; Allen Tenny, Esq.; George H. Thurston, Esq.; William Winthrop, Esq.; the publishers of the "Round Table;" and from Messrs. Robbins (C.), Sabine, Shurtleff, Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President remarked as follows:—

Recent English papers have announced to us the death of Thomas Colley Grattan, Esq., who was elected a Corresponding Member of this Society on the 26th of December, 1844. He was then Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Boston, and was favorably known to us all as the author of several instructive and entertaining works of history as well as fiction. But, since our last meeting, we have met with a loss which comes nearer home to us, in the death of the Rev. Alvan Lamson, D.D., who has been on our Resident Roll since the 30th of April, 1840. He died at Dedham, where he had long been settled as a clergyman, on the 19th ult. A faithful and beloved pastor, a learned theologian, an able writer on ecclesiastical history, he was respected and esteemed by all who knew him. I am instructed by the Standing Committee to offer the following resolution:—

Resolved, That we have learned with deep regret the death of our respected associate, the Rev. Alvan Lamson, D.D.; and that the President be requested to name one of our number to prepare the customary Memoir for our Proceedings.

The resolution was unanimously adopted; and the President nominated the Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, D.D., to prepare the Memoir.

Dr. WALKER then spoke as follows:—

I ask permission, Mr. President, to add a few words to your very proper notice of the death of my classmate, Dr. Lamson.

He was born in Weston, Mass., on the 18th of November, 1792. Having gone through his preparatory studies at Phillips Academy, Andover, he entered Harvard College at the Commencement of 1810.

At college, he was one of the best scholars in his class; and he kept up his scholarly tastes and habits to the last. I hardly know one among us better entitled to be called a learned divine, after the manner of the English learned divines of the last century, such as Jortin and Lardner. He was among the very few settled clergymen in this country, or any other, who read the Fathers. For several years, he was joint editor, with Dr. Gannett, of the "Christian Examiner," a journal to which he had been one of the most valuable contributors from the beginning. His principal work, "The Church of the First Three Centuries," published only a few years before his death, has given him a high and permanent place among ecclesiastical historians.

He was ordained at Dedham in 1818, at a time when the respective rights of the church and the congregation were sharply contested, and his own ordination was troubled by this question. It is to his praise as a pastor, especially in these days of short pastorates, that the connection with his people, which began in strife and division, lasted without interruption of its harmony for more than forty years, and until his failing strength constrained him to resign. In the pulpit, he was very far from being what is called a "sensation preacher;" but he was uniformly thoughtful, serious, instruc-

tive, and eminently discreet, as appears from an admirable volume of printed discourses which he has given to the world. There are few clergymen, I suppose, who do not sometimes preach sermons which they are sorry for; but I doubt whether this was ever true of Dr. Lamson.

He lived beyond the term usually allotted to man, and old age brought with it a full share of its infirmities; but it also seemed to me, more than in any other case I have known, to add sweetness and grace to his character.

Dr. Walker was nominated by the President to prepare the Memoir of our late senior member, Hon. Josiah Quincy, LL.D.

Mr. FORBES read some "Personal Memoranda" relating to maritime affairs, in which he had been engaged since the year 1811; remarking as follows:—

Mr. PRESIDENT,— In presenting a memorandum relating to certain small enterprises which I originated, or in which I took a prominent part, I would say that I am not impelled to do so because I think the facts will be of any marked benefit to the world, or because I wish to bring my name before the Society obtrusively. My object is simply to record the facts for what they are worth, — no more and no less. Perhaps it may appear to be in bad taste to call your attention to these small matters. My apology, if any be necessary, lies in the belief that these facts are of too small moment to be remembered among the mass of large facts coming before you, unless I bring them forward myself. I confess, sir, to the weakness of desiring that my little farthing candle may be allowed to glimmer in your archives.

Personal Memoranda.

Having been connected with maritime affairs from the age of seven years, in 1811, when I went to France with my

mother; having been captured once on the way out, and twice on the way home, in 1813; having adopted the sea as a profession in 1817, at the age of thirteen, progressing gradually, until in 1821 I commanded an Indiaman, and in 1830 a ship of my own; and having abandoned the sea as a profession soon after, when I became a merchant,—it is natural that I should have taken a somewhat active part in various enterprises which it may not be out of place to put on record in the archives of the Historical Society.

Most of these enterprises were novel in their character; some of them successful, and some otherwise. Other individuals were interested in them, and some of them may have been suggested by others; but on the whole, as I am held responsible for all that failed of success, it is but reasonable that I should take to myself the credit of those which proved otherwise.

In 1837, I made up a voyage, in which Messrs. Thwing and Perkins had a share, in the ship "Canton Packet," Captain Thomas Peirce. She took part of a cargo of tea and general merchandise from China to Manilla, and filled up with sugar; went direct to New Orleans, carrying sugar to Louisiana; which seemed much like carrying "coals to Newcastle." This part of the cargo did well; but, owing to the crisis then pending, the voyage, like nearly all others from the East at that time, proved to be a losing one. I believe this was the first and the only direct voyage from the East Indies to a Gulf port.

Dec. 9, 1843, the ship "Paul Jones" sailed with the first ice taken to China; and, on her way thence to Bombay, landed a piece at Singapore.

Nov. 4, 1844, the propeller schooner "Midas," Captain William Poor, left New York for China. She was *the first American steam-vessel that went beyond the Cape of Good Hope*, and *the first to ply in the waters of China*. She was disabled by neglect to her boiler, came home *via* Rio Janeiro under sail,

and ran for a long time between the ports of Savannah and Rio Janeiro as a sailing vessel.

Jan. 18, 1845, the propeller bark "Edith," Captain George W. Lewis, left New York for Bombay and China. She was *the first American steamer that went to British India, and the first square-rigged propeller that went to China under that flag.*

She also failed in finding profitable employment between China and India; owing more to the prejudices of her agents than to any failure in her power or arrangements. She returned under sail to New York, landing a cargo at Rio Janeiro on the way; was soon after chartered by the United-States Government; went to Brazos Santiago with stores for General Taylor, under the command of Captain Couillard; was purchased by the Government; and, after running successfully in the Gulf of Mexico for a year, went round Cape Horn; and was lost near Santa Barbara, while in charge of an officer of the United-States Navy.

On the 7th April, 1845, I signed a contract, with others, to build an iron paddle-wheel steamer, called the "Iron Witch," to be designed by Ericsson for great speed. She was tried on the North River in the early part of the ensuing year, but was not fast enough to compete with the regular Albany boats; had side-propellers put upon her, in place of paddles; but, failing to go as fast as Ericsson designed, her engines were taken out, and put into a wooden hull built by Brown of New York, who received the iron hull in part payment. The wooden vessel was called the "Falcon." She was sold to George Law, and was *the first steamer that plied to Chagres in connection with the California route.* The "Iron Witch" was nearly three hundred feet long, and was *the first iron passenger steamer that plied on the North River.*

Every New-York engineer predicted that the "Iron Witch" would be a failure; but not one of them gave the right reason for her so turning out.

Had she been a success, I should have claimed a share of

the merit ; but, as she proved to be an expensive failure, I am willing to throw the entire blame on my copartners, Messrs. Wetmore, Mills, Thayer, King, J. M. Forbes, their engineer Ericsson, and their agent M. O. Roberts.

On the 15th September, 1845, I sailed for Liverpool in the steam-propeller ship "Massachusetts," of about seven hundred and seventy tons ; which ship made one other voyage to that port ; was chartered in June, 1846, to carry troops to the Gulf of Mexico. She continued in the Government service until bought, when, under the command of Captain David Wood, she bore the flag of General Scott to the siege of Vera Cruz. After our success in Mexico, she was transferred to the navy department, and has been constantly in the Government service from that time. She is now known as the "Farrallones."

The machinery of this ship, as well as that of the "Edith" and "Midas," was designed by Ericsson. The "Massachusetts" was the *first American propeller packet ship which went to England*, and the *first steamer, under that flag, designed for passengers to that country* since the "Savannah," — a vessel with auxiliary power applied to paddles, which went one voyage to England from a Southern port in 1819, or thereabouts.

The "Bangor," an old paddle-wheel boat, and the "Marmora," a screw, had previously crossed the Atlantic under the American flag, but were lost sight of in the Mediterranean.

In 1838, I designed and endeavored to build a tug-boat for the underwriters of Boston ; but it was not determined on until May, 1844, when a company, comprising most of the underwriters, appointed Mr. Thomas Lamb, Captain Charles Pearson, and myself, a committee to carry out that intention. The result was an iron tow-boat of about three hundred tons, with two propellers, and large motive-power designed by Ericsson. This boat was put under steam in November, 1845. It was generally supposed that she would not endure long,

and would not tow well; and, as I had been the original designer of the anticipated failure, she was named the "R. B. Forbes," with a view to punish me: but she proved to be a very valuable adjunct to the commerce of Boston; and, after fifteen years' service, was sold to the United States in the beginning of the war, took part in the attack on Port Royal, and, not long after, was lost, between Capes Henry and Hatteras, by bad management. This was *the first tug-boat of any importance built for Boston*, and the *first iron vessel built for mercantile purposes in New England*.

In January, 1847, I loaded the ship "Bombay," for China, with ice, being *the first cargo taken there*; a small quantity having gone previously in the "Paul Jones," in 1843, as before said. On the 28th March, 1847, I sailed for Cork with a cargo of provisions, contributed principally by the citizens of Boston and vicinity for the famine-stricken Irish, in the sloop-of-war "Jamestown," of about a thousand tons. The ship was loaned to me personally by a joint resolution of Congress, through the instrumentality of my friend the Hon. R. C. Winthrop, then in Congress. We arrived in Cork, outer harbor, on the 12th April; delivered the cargo, under the prestige of the British Government, into the hands of a committee, in which I was represented by Mr. William Rathbone, of Liverpool. Sailed on the 22d April; and arrived at the Navy Yard at Charlestown on the 16th May, just seven weeks to an hour from the day of leaving. My volunteer officers on this very interesting occasion were Captains F. W. Macondray and J. D. Farwell, mates; Luther Parks, surgeon; Joseph Lyman, secretary, who was accidentally left behind.

The entire sympathy on the part of this community with which this voyage was got up, and the success with which Providence blessed it, made it one of the most agreeable incidents of my life.

The "Jamestown" was probably *the first vessel of the United States Navy commanded by a civilian on a foreign voyage*.

She went out, however, strictly as a merchant-ship, leaving all but two of her guns behind.

In 1847, I sent to China, on the deck of a ship, a small iron propeller, called the "Firefly," which was *the first vessel of the kind which plied on the Canton River*. She was sold in 1849, went over to San Francisco, and, for a long time, plied on the bay as a tug.

In 1849, I shipped to China the frame and machinery of a wooden paddle-wheel steamer, called the "Spark." She was there set up, and ran between Canton and the outer anchorages successfully, and, for all I know to the contrary, runs there still. She was *the first American paddle-wheel passenger steamer that plied in the waters of China*; having been preceded by the "Midas," "Edith," and "Firefly," screws.

In 1849, I also built an iron paddle-wheel steamer, about seventy-five feet long by twelve beam, under the auspices of Ericsson, and sent her to San Francisco on the deck of the ship "Samoset," Captain Hollis. If she had been sold on arrival, the result would have been much more favorable than any steam operation with which I have been connected. She was sold, went to the Sacramento, and, I believe, *was the first American steamer that plied on that river*.

In 1855-6, I sent to China, for a friend, an iron paddle-wheel steamer, about eighty feet by fourteen, in two parts, on the deck of an hermaphrodite brig of less than three hundred tons. She *was the first iron paddle steamer that plied on China waters under the American flag*.

In 1857, I built an iron yacht, called the "Edith," *the first of her kind built in this vicinity*.

In 1857-8, I built, and despatched from this city, an iron paddle-wheel steamer, called the "Argentina," of a hundred tons, for the survey of the tributaries of the La Plata. Commander Thomas J. Page, United-States Navy, in command of her, explored various rivers of the Argentine Republic, *ascending the Parana beyond where any steamer had previously*

navigated; passing the rapids called Salto de Apipé, *never before passed by a vessel of her size. This was the first iron paddle-wheel steamer built in Massachusetts.*

In 1858, I also built, and carried out on the deck of the iron brig "Nankin," a paddle-wheel iron steamer, fifty-three feet long by twelve beam, called the "Alpha." The "Nankin" *was the first iron sailing vessel built here for commercial purposes.*

The iron yacht "Edith," forty-three tons only, preceded the expedition, and arrived in the La Plata two weeks before it, in a remarkably short passage of forty-five days. She *was the first and the only vessel of the New-York yacht squadron that passed the equator, and the first to exhibit the American flag at the head of navigation on the head-waters of the Rio Negro and the Uruguay, in the republic of that name; the "Alpha" going still higher up the Rio Negro than any American vessel had before ascended; and afterwards, in command of Com. Page, ascending into the very heart of the South-American continent, into Bolivia as far as the latitude of fourteen degrees south. She also ascended the Vernejo and the Pilcomayo, where no steamer had before been seen.*

In the spring of 1861, I built and sent to China, in pieces, on board the bark "Palmetto," an iron paddle-wheel boat, which was set up in Shanghae, and called the "Hyson," which went into the interior waters of the Yangtsekiang; and, in the autumn of the same year, I sent out to Shanghae another iron paddle-wheel steamer, seventy-five by sixteen feet, on the deck of the schooner "Calliope," of two hundred and fifty-six tons. She was completed at Shanghae, and was called the "Tsatlee;" and she also plied on the tributaries of the Yangtsekiang. These two iron boats were *the first of their kind, under the American flag, which plied on the waters of that river.*

And lastly, in the spring of this year, 1864, I built the brig "Jeanie," which took out two complete wooden propeller

steamers on her deck, and one in frame, under deck, to ply on the Yangtsekiang. They were fifty feet long by twelve wide, and are called "Sampson," "Hercules," and "Leviathan." Their fate is not yet decided, as they are still on the way.

Besides these enterprises, when in China, in 1839-40, I acted as agent in sending *the first cargo of tea to England in an American ship*, the "Oriental;" and, during the same time, I sent the ship "Thomas Perkins" to Calcutta for the *first cargo of cotton which was imported into China in an American vessel*.

Also, during the same eventful period, I sent several cargoes of tea from China to the vicinity of the British free port of Singapore, and there transshipped the same to British vessels for England; being the *first that went into consumption in England by that process*. I was also interested in sending two cargoes of American cotton direct from Mobile and New Orleans to China, in the ships "Farwell" and "Akbar," about 1846. They were *the first and only full cargoes sent from the ports of the South to China*.

The captain of the "Farwell," Alexander Scudder, informed me that he brought the first cargo of cotton from Mobile to Boston many years ago.

Dr. WEBB read extracts from a manuscript volume in the handwriting of Robert Keayne of Boston, consisting of notes of sermons preached by John Cotton, and of ecclesiastical proceedings of the First Church. Dr. Webb stated that the volume corresponded in appearance and character with another manuscript-book of Keayne, now in the archives of this Society.

Dr. HOLMES presented a photograph, about four inches by five in size, of Dorothy Quincy, daughter of Edmund and Dorothy (Flynt) Quincy, wife of Edward Jackson, mother of Jonathan and Mary Jackson; grandmother

of Charles, James, and Patrick T. Jackson, and of Sarah Wendell, daughter of Oliver Wendell and Mary (Jackson) Wendell; great-grandmother of Oliver Wendell Holmes, son of Abiel Holmes and Sarah (Wendell) Holmes, and of Amelia Lee (Jackson) Holmes, daughter of Charles Jackson, and wife of Oliver Wendell Holmes, by whom this photograph was made from the original in the possession of his family. The stabs through the canvas of the painting, which are minutely represented in the photograph, were made by the swords of British officers during the military occupation of Boston.

The President read the following letter from Peter Faneuil to Captain Peter Buckley; a gift to the Society from Charles L. Hancock, Esq.:—

BOSTON, February 3, 1738.

Capt. PETER BULKLEY.

SIR, — Herewith you have Invoice of Six hh' fish & 8 barrels of alewives, amounting to £75.9.2 — which when you arrive at Antigua be pleased to sell for my best advantage & with the net produce of the same purchase for me for the use of my house, as likely, a strait limbed Negro lad as possible you can about the age of from 12 to fiveteen years, & if to be done one that has had the small pox, who being for my Own service, I must request the fav^r you would let him be one of as tractable a disposition as you can find, wth I leave to your prudent care & management, desireing after you have purchased him, you would send him to me by the first good Opportunity recommending him to a Particular care from the Captain, by whom you send him. Your care in this will be an Obligation — I wish you a good Voyage & am

S^r Your humble Servant.

PETER FANEUIL.

P S — If there shoulde not be en^o to purchase the boy desired be pleased to adv^o & if any over plus, to lay it out for my best advantage, in any thing you think proper.

P. F.

To Cap^t PETER BUCKLEY

Commander of the ship Byam, These.

*Invoice of the cost and Charge of Sundry Merch^d Laden on b^d the Ship
Byam. Peter Buckley, master, being on my own proper account and resque
and Goes cons^d said Peter Buckley — Viz.*

6 hh^d Fish — Vizt.

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Gross . . . 45. 3. 7 43.2

Tare . . . 4. 3. 2. Neet. 41.0.5., a 26s. . . £53.7.2

8 barrells Alewives 40s 3 16.2.0

paid for 6 Empty hh^d & packing 17s 6, £5.5.0

paid Cartage and portorage 15. 6.

£75.9.2

Boston the 5 February 1738.
Errors Excepted

PETER FANEUIL.

Mr. Loring communicated the following Memoir of
the Hon. WILLIAM STURGIS, prepared in accordance with
a vote of the Society.

M E M O I R

OF THE

H O N . W I L L I A M S T U R G I S .

BY CHARLES G. LORING.

THE formation of character being the chief purpose of human life, considered in reference alike to this world and to the world of which this is the threshold, the death of any member of our community, who has exhibited a character of commanding influence, or of peculiar strength or beauty, naturally excites the desire to learn by what means the end of living was thus far accomplished.

Nor is the inquiry of less usefulness than interest. Recurrence to the road which has led to moral or intellectual pre-eminence or to conspicuous achievement is needed, not only to indicate the means for attaining to the noblest object of human effort, but to correct an often erroneous estimate of circumstances, generally accounted advantages, which, however, are not infrequently hinderances to the best progress in life; and to better understand others, which we are prone to regard as hardships or privations, but which are, in reality, needful helps in scaling the heights of a worthy ambition. And especially is such recurrence to early influences important in a community like that in which our lot is cast, where the casual relations of birth have no power to raise the possessor to any permanent or widely extended

usefulness or power, independently of his individual worth, whatever may have been his lineage or fancied advantages of inherited position.

It is an instructive fact, that the men, who of late years have been chiefly distinguished among us for elevation of character in public and private life, — who acquired the largest fortunes for themselves, and assisted others in acquiring them, — and who exerted the greatest influence upon the commercial and manufacturing interests of this portion of our country, — were men of no early advantages, excepting the absence of the circumstances usually accounted as such; with no means of providing their daily bread but their own industry; no better education than our public schools afforded; and no patrons but such as faithful service in humble stations had acquired for them. Samuel Appleton, Nathan Appleton, Amos Lawrence, Abbott Lawrence, William Appleton, and William Sturgis, are names familiar among us as household words, in their suggestion of ability, wealth, influence, and intellectual and moral pre-eminence. And to the same list may be added the names of Francis C. Lowell and Patrick T. Jackson, who, under some few circumstances usually esteemed more advantageous, rose, independently of them, to be the architects of their own fortunes, and the founders of the vast manufacturing interests of the Eastern States.

The memoirs of such men are also interesting and useful, as exhibiting representative types of the fruit of New-England descent and training. The energy, self-devotion, personal independence, moral purity, and earnestness of the Pilgrim Fathers have come down in undiminished force, though in modified forms, to their descendants. Their intensity of character and of purpose has been as visible in the peaceful enterprises of commerce and manufactures, which have made the United States the second commercial nation in the world, as it was when manifested of old in clearing the forest, subduing the savage, and establishing the foundations

of republican government in the wilderness. Nor has it been less conspicuous in the generous use made of the fruits of toil, as the liberal foundations of unprecedentedly numerous and wise institutions for promoting religious, moral, and intellectual culture, and for the relief of human suffering, abundantly testify. And now, in this dark hour of our country's agony, the same intensity of character has burst forth with yet increasing lustre in the voluntary sacrifices of life and property, so generally and nobly made for the suppression of treason, the maintenance of the nation's life, and the glory of its flag. When the history of the present Rebellion shall be written, the voluntary contributions of blood and treasure everywhere laid by the people of the Free States upon the altar of their country, in a resolute defence of the great principles of freedom and of law, and in a self-relying determination to sustain the Government and the honor of the national standard at all hazards and at any price, will constitute an era in the annals of patriotism more glorious to the United States, and of better augury for their future safety and power, than any warlike achievements, however illustrious.

Perhaps no one, known by the present generation, has presented a more striking example of the peculiar traits of character of the Pilgrim Fathers, as modified by the advanced civilization of the age, than the subject of this Memoir; who, entering life upon a little farm on the sands of Cape Cod, began his career of self-reliance when sixteen years old, as a sailor-boy before the mast, on wages of seven dollars a month, and has recently closed his days on earth at the ripe age of eighty-one years,—possessed of a most ample estate, standing with his family in the foremost rank of American society, and distinguished for a highly cultivated intellect, and for remarkably extensive knowledge, that embraced not only the commerce of the globe, but a wide field of historical and literary information. Nor was he less conspicuous for firm and liberal principles, for a clear perception of jus-

tice, for a high sense of honor, for generous sentiments and tender affections; and he died surrounded by numerous and ardent friends of all ages,—from gray-haired contemporaries, to the charmed boy with whom he conversed as a companion upon the philosophy of life or the events of the times, and the little children who loved to gather around him to listen to his tale of marvels and adventures among the Indians of the North-west Coast.

WILLIAM STURGIS was born on the twenty-fifth day of February, 1782, in the town of Barnstable, on Cape Cod, in Massachusetts, near to Plymouth, the landing-place of the Pilgrims of the "Mayflower." His father, of the same name, was a highly respectable shipmaster of Barnstable, who for many years sailed in command of various vessels from Boston. He was a lineal descendant of Edward Sturgis, the first of the name in this country, who came over from England in 1630, and, having first settled at Charlestown, afterwards removed to Yarmouth, where, in 1638, he is recorded as one of the "first planters" of that town.

His mother was Hannah Mills, the youngest daughter of the Rev. Jonathan Mills, a graduate of Harvard University, who was settled in the ministry at Harwich, where he died.

His earliest introduction into life was to a sphere of usefulness and responsibility. His father's nautical pursuits kept him from home for the greater portion of his time, leaving to his wife the care of the young family (of which William was the eldest child and the only son), and of the few acres of land that constituted what was then called a Cape-Cod farm. She was a capable and energetic woman, with a large share of sound common sense; but she found it indispensable to avail herself of the aid of her son, as soon as he was old enough to afford any, in the management of their domestic affairs. She was, however, too judicious to suffer her requirements to interfere with his regular attendance at school, whenever one, public or private, was within reach. The schools of that day

were none of them of a high order, compared with those of the present time; but such as he attended were probably as good as the average then to be found in country towns at a distance from the metropolis. At the age of thirteen, his mother, being solicitous to procure for him the best education her means would afford, sent him to a private school in Hingham, kept by Mr. James Warren, son of General Warren of Plymouth, a prominent patriot of Revolutionary times. Here he passed a year; and in a memorandum made by him, from which this brief account of his life is chiefly taken, he bears grateful testimony to his teacher's fidelity, by saying, "If I did not make sufficient progress, it was not the fault of the instructor, who was attentive and efficient." His subsequent love of learning, and the ability in composition to which he attained amidst occupations generally regarded as unfavorable to the cultivation of letters, bear equally satisfactory testimony to the fidelity with which the pupil improved his brief opportunity for gaining the rudiments of an education. In the year 1796 he came to Boston, and entered the counting-house of his kinsman, the late Mr. Russell Sturgis, at that time largely engaged in the purchase and exportation of what were denominated "shipping furs."

And here, too, his aptitude, and his faithful improvement of his time and of the means of acquiring knowledge in the service of his employer, prepared him in a peculiar manner for taking advantage of the seemingly marvellous contingencies, so soon unexpectedly to present themselves, and to be made the stepping-stones of his rapid career to the ultimate objects of his ambition. After remaining in this service about eighteen months, he entered the counting-room of Messrs. James and Thomas H. Perkins, merchants of great eminence and extensive commercial relations, and at that time much engaged in trade with the North-west Coast and China. He remained there until the death of his father, which took place abroad in the year 1797, after his vessel

had been captured and plundered by piratical privateers in the West Indies. His family were left in straitened circumstances; and William, being now thrown wholly upon his own resources, and compelled to adopt some occupation that might not only secure his present support, but give promise of future success in life, did that "which was most natural for a young Cape-Cod boy to do" under such circumstances,— he decided "to follow the sea."

Having been taught the rudiments of navigation at school, he set earnestly to work, devoting all the time that could be spared from his duties in the counting-room to the acquisition of such further knowledge of the theory and practice of the art as would qualify him for office on board of a ship, and thus prepare the way for early promotion to the command of one.

After a few months of diligent study under the instruction of Mr. Osgood Carlton, a well-known and highly respected teacher of mathematics and navigation in those days, he was pronounced competent to navigate a ship to any part of the world. And events most unexpectedly and speedily followed, that manifested the fidelity with which he had studied, and the justice of the eulogium of his instructor.

In the summer of the year 1798, his employers, the Messrs. Perkins, were fitting out a small vessel, the "Eliza," of one hundred and thirty-six tons (below the average in size of those now employed in the coasting trade), for a voyage to the Northwest Coast, San Blas on the western coast of Mexico, and China, under the command of Captain James Rowan. This officer was a good practical seaman, without education or much theoretical knowledge of navigation; but, having been several times on the North-west Coast, he was well qualified to carry on a trade with the Indians, which was conducted wholly by barter. The large number of the crew for a vessel so small, amounting to one hundred and thirty-six men, but necessary for defence against the Indians, rendered the

passage one of great discomfort to those before the mast, and exposed the "green hand" to a somewhat severe experience of the hardships of a sailor's life. They sailed from Boston early in August; and, after touching at the Falkland and the Sandwich Islands, they reached the North-west Coast in the latter part of the month of December. Captain Rowan soon perceived the peculiar qualifications and efficiency of young Sturgis, and selected him as his assistant in the management of the trade. This was an opportunity which the young aspirant well knew how to appreciate and improve. He not only devoted himself assiduously to the mastery of the business in all its details, but also to a laborious study of the Indian languages, and to the cultivation of friendly relations with the natives by kind words and courteous manners, as well as by the most scrupulous truthfulness and honor in his dealings with them. By such means he soon succeeded in securing a degree of affection, respect, and influence among these natives of the forest, to which no other white man had ever attained, and of nobler worth than even the kindred elevation which he afterwards enjoyed in the best informed and most polished society of his native State. Indeed, his name has ever since been cherished by these untutored savages with singular affection and reverence, in sad contrast with their recollections of the vices and barbarities of others, whose superiority in civilization, if such it can be called, served only as the means of brutal excesses, frauds, and cruelties, of which the former experience of the poor Indian afforded no parallel. Among the latest tidings from that decaying race came affectionate inquiries from an aged chief concerning his old friend, "the good Mr. Sturgis," — the dying echo of the influences of a noble character upon the children of the forest, still reverberating, after more than sixty years, from the shore of the Pacific Ocean to his grave on the shore of Atlantic.

After visiting numerous tribes, and disposing of the portion

of the cargo destined for that coast in exchange for sea-otter skins and other furs, they anchored in the port of Caiganeé, in latitude 55° north, much frequented by trading vessels. Here they found two Boston ships,—the “Despatch,” commanded by Captain Breck; and the “Ulysses,” by Captain Lamb. The crew of the latter ship were in a state of mutiny. They and the officers, having revolted a few days before, had seized the captain, put him in irons, and confined him to a state-room, with an armed sentry at the door. This was alleged to have been done in consequence of the cruel treatment by Lamb of those under his command. Captains Rowan and Breck interfered, obtained his release, and took him on board of the “Eliza.” After negotiations with the mutineers, occupying several days, and a promise by Lamb to pardon all that had been done, and to treat them better in future, the crew, with the exception of the officers and two seamen, consented that he should resume the command of his ship. This was done; the second and third mates, with the two unwilling seamen, being taken on board the other vessels, and the chief mate being confined in irons on board of the “Ulysses.” This arrangement left that ship with no officer excepting the boatswain, who was illiterate, and without a knowledge of navigation. Captain Lamb made very liberal proposals to induce some officer from the “Eliza” or the “Despatch” to take the situation of chief mate on board of his ship, but unsuccessfully; for, so bad was his reputation for ill treating his officers as well as his men, that no one was willing to go with him. It was indispensable, however, that there should be some officer on board capable of navigating the ship, and of managing the trade with the Indians, to take the place of Captain Lamb, in the event of his death, or his inability to continue in command.

Young Sturgis being competent for both of those duties, although deficient in practical seamanship, Captain Lamb proposed, that he should take the place of chief mate of the

"Ulysses," with liberal wages; and should also act as his assistant in trading with the Indians, and for his services should receive a small commission upon all furs collected on the Coast. Such an offer to a lad of seventeen, then a boy in the fore-castle, doing duty as a common sailor, but eager for advancement in the profession he had chosen, was too tempting, in regard both to station and emolument, to be rejected; and, on the thirteenth day of May, he left the "Eliza," and joined the "Ulysses," though not without serious misgivings. They remained on the Coast, collecting furs, until November; when they sailed for China, and arrived at Canton near the close of the year. There they found the "Eliza," which, after visiting several ports on the western coast of Mexico, reached Canton in October, and was then nearly ready to sail for home. Young Sturgis had found his situation on board of the "Ulysses" less uncomfortable than he had apprehended, but nevertheless far from being a pleasant one; and he eagerly accepted a proposal from Captain Rowan to rejoin the "Eliza," and take the position of third mate on her homeward passage. As Captain Lamb could easily procure experienced officers at Canton, he consented to this arrangement; and, professing entire satisfaction with the manner in which Mr. Sturgis had performed his duties, promptly paid him his wages and commissions. The "Eliza" soon afterwards sailed, and arrived in Boston in the spring of the year 1800.

The reputation of Mr. Sturgis was now so far established, that he was immediately engaged to serve as first mate and assistant-trader on board of the ship "Caroline," owned by Messrs. James and Thomas Lamb and others, and then fitting out for a three-years' voyage to the Pacific Ocean and China, under the command of Captain Charles Derby of Salem,—a worthy man, but not particularly qualified for the enterprise, as he was in feeble health, had not before visited the coast, and knew nothing of the Indian trade. He appeared to be in a consumption when they sailed; and his health failed so

rapidly, that, before the end of the first year, he virtually gave up the command to Mr. Sturgis; and, in the course of the second year, he formally resigned it to him, went on shore at the Sandwich Islands, and there died shortly afterwards.

Thus this young man, at the early age of nineteen, and with less than four years' experience at sea, became master of a large ship in a far-distant country; the sole conductor of an enterprise requiring the highest qualifications of seamanship, together with the greatest energy and discretion in the management of a large crew, employed in peculiar and miscellaneous services on shore as well as on board; and requiring also unceasing vigilance and courage to prevent surprises and attacks by the savage inhabitants, and great judgment and skill in conducting a barter trade, now committed wholly to his care and responsibility. He proved himself worthy of the trust. He completed the voyage with entire success. He had obtained a valuable collection of furs on the coast, which exchanging at Canton for an assorted China cargo, with this he returned to Boston in the spring of the year 1803, to the great satisfaction and profit of his employers; and thus entitled himself to stand in the foremost rank in the most difficult and responsible department of his chosen profession.

It is difficult to imagine a state of more intense satisfaction and of more laudable pride, than that with which this youth, just entering upon manhood, and not yet invested with its legal responsibilities, must have greeted the shores of his native State. Only five years before, he had left it as a stripling before the mast, and he was now returning to it as the master of a noble ship, with a valuable cargo on board, the fruit in great measure of his own skill and exertions, and with the consciousness of an established reputation that would thereafter enable him to command opportunities in the road to rank and fortune.

The combination of circumstances which thus led him at this early age so suddenly and unexpectedly to the pinnacle of his ambition, and a position of such grave and honorable responsibility, cannot but arrest the attention of the most thoughtless reader. To such as may be disposed to account it fortuitous it certainly presents a remarkable problem in the calculation of chances. But to those who believe, that there is "a divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will," this wonderful adaptation of the means to the end, and these events, seemingly so accidental and disconnected, working harmoniously to show how capacity and success may be the reward of energy and faithfulness in the spring-time of life, will suggest a more inspiring solution, in the lesson of instruction and encouragement which it was intended to convey. There is not the slightest reason for believing that young Sturgis entered the counting-room of his kinsman with any especial purpose in reference to his subsequent career, the only apparent cause being the willingness of a relative to lend to him a helping hand in preparing him for mercantile life; but the knowledge which he thus acquired of the qualities and relative natures of furs was doubtless the chief external cause of his early and surprising success. It induced his first commander to select him as his assistant in trading with the natives. This opened wide to him the door for the learning of their languages, the cultivation of their confidence and friendship, and the acquisition of tact and skill in dealing with them; and these attainments, already great, were doubtless of most important influence in causing his appointment as chief mate of the "Ulysses," which, again, was the introduction to his subsequent precocious and successful career.

As his early qualification had, while he was gaining it, no direct reference to the great results to which it led, so the opportunities for its almost immediate and successful application had no probable connection with any such use of it in

the ordinary course of events. The most extravagant fancy could not have pictured a more improbable thing than the sudden elevation to which a mutiny on board of another ship, upon a far-distant and wild coast, was so soon to raise him; or the further advancement which was to follow so immediately, in his next voyage, from the resignation of the master, vesting in him the command of the ship, and constituting him the sole conductor of one of the most arduous and responsible enterprises of the naval profession.

Of course the owners of the vessel were solicitous for the continuance of such an agent in their service. She was accordingly at once fitted out, and sailed under his command on another similar voyage, which also proved eminently successful, terminating in June in the year 1806.

Mr. Sturgis, or, as he was then uniformly styled, Captain Sturgis, was now first in the foremost rank of all engaged in this department of commercial enterprise; and his services were of course eagerly sought for. Mr. Theodore Lyman, a merchant of Boston, had become largely interested in the North-west trade. He had, at this time, two ships on the Coast; and was fitting out another for the same destination, named the "Atahualpa." He offered Captain Sturgis very liberal terms to take command of this ship and proceed to the Coast for one season, and assume the charge and direction of all his business there; and thence to go on to Canton, taking with him one of the other two vessels, and the furs collected by all of them, to be exchanged for homeward cargoes. This offer was accepted; and, in October, he sailed on his fourth voyage round the world. Thus the sailor-boy of 1798 had become in 1806, as it were, an admiral, in command of a fleet upon the Coast, where, eight years before, he had arrived in the humblest station. This expedition also proved very profitable both to Mr. Lyman and to himself, and terminated on his arrival in Boston in June, 1808.

The threatening aspect of the foreign relations of the

United States, and the embargo which then paralyzed commercial enterprise, detained Mr. Sturgis at home until April in the year 1809; when he again sailed in command of the "Atahualpa," for Mr. Lyman, upon a direct voyage to Canton, with an outfit exceeding three hundred thousand Spanish milled dollars, to be invested there in a return cargo. In this adventure the late Mr. John Bromfield was associated with him,—a gentleman of great intelligence and elevated character. A warm friendship immediately grew up between them, which constituted much of the happiness of their lives, until the lamented death of Mr. Bromfield in the year 1849.

The vessel, lightly armed with a few small cannon, came to anchor in Macao Roads (about seventy miles from Canton) on the night of the 21st of August; and, early the next morning, was attacked by a fleet of sixteen Ladrone or piratical vessels, some of them heavily armed, under command of Appotesi, a noted rebel-chief. The fight was a very desperate one on the part of the comparatively small crew of the "Atahualpa," and continued for more than an hour; some of the pirates being so near as to succeed in throwing combustibles on board, which set the vessel on fire in many places. But the coolness and intrepidity of her commander, aided by the presence and assistance of Mr. Bromfield, inspired her gallant crew with invincible courage. The pirates were repulsed with great slaughter, and the ship was enabled to escape, and find protection under the guns of the Portuguese fort. She was again attacked by them on her passage up, in company with four other American ships, but finally reached Canton in safety. This voyage, like all the rest in which he had been engaged, terminated very successfully, and he arrived at Boston in April, 1810.

By twelve years of arduous effort and unremitting toil in the service of others, at sea and in foreign lands, and by prudent economy, Mr. Sturgis had now acquired sufficient means for establishing himself in business on his own account. He

concluded, therefore, to abandon the sea; and now entered into copartnership with Mr. John Bryant, under the name and firm of "Bryant and Sturgis," as merchants resident in Boston for the prosecution of foreign trade. This copartnership continued for more than half a century, being for many years the oldest in the city of Boston, and was indeed terminated only by the death of Mr. Sturgis. Although these gentlemen were unlike in many respects, and entertained different views on many subjects, their connection was entirely harmonious; and the writer of this Memoir heard Mr. Sturgis, not long before his decease, remark that no unpleasant word had ever passed between them. Their business was principally with places upon the Coast of the Pacific and with China; and, from the year 1810 to 1840, more than half of the trade carried on with those countries from the United States was under their direction. They occasionally, however, had commercial intercourse with nearly every quarter of the world.

In the year 1810, Mr. Sturgis was united in marriage to Elizabeth M., daughter of John Davis, Judge of the District Court of the United States for the District of Massachusetts: *clarum et venerabile nomen*, which, to those who knew him, recalls the image of one of the most scholarly, benignant, and venerable gentlemen, and one of the purest, most enlightened, and humane judges, that ever blessed society, or ever adorned the bench. His presence was felt as a benediction no less in court than everywhere else. It was he, who, not long before his death, while sitting, in an autumn twilight, at his window in the country, conversing with a friend upon old age, and the falling leaves as illustrative of the decay of life, replied, "Yes; but then we see the stars more plainly."

Mr. and Mrs. Sturgis had six children: one son, who died at an early age; and five daughters, all of whom were married, and three of whom, with their mother, survive him.

It could not be otherwise than that a person of the mental

strength and activity of Mr. Sturgis should soon become generally known and appreciated, and that any political party should desire to increase its power and influence by sending him as its representative in the public councils. Nor was it less natural, that one whom rapid and unexampled success must have inspired with confidence should be willing to widen the sphere of his reputation and influence. We find accordingly, that, in the year 1814, he was elected a representative of the town of Boston in the Legislature of Massachusetts; and such was his capacity and fidelity, that, from that period until 1845, he was for the greater portion of the time a member of the House or of the Senate. He was not, however, and from his nature could not be, popular in political life, nor fitted to succeed as an aspirant for political preferment, even if his taste or inclination had pointed in that direction. He was altogether too independent and self-relying, and too single-minded in his conceptions of duty, to enter into the compromises required of the leaders of a political party, however necessary such compromises may be considered, and however justifiable in persons of different temperament, or of what perhaps may be accounted broader views of policy. No party could rely upon his support of measures, or his acquiescence in them, for its own sake, when, in his private judgment, they conflicted with the general welfare. The too-often controlling argument, that the preservation of the existence or power of the party is the one thing essential for the public safety, or that "the party is the State," could never weaken his conviction, that he was the servant of the State, and not of any party. His political influence, however, was the greater in general society; and was perhaps as potent as that of any other individual not in the highest rank of public service. He was nominated for election to the House of Representatives in Congress at the time when Mr. Nathan Appleton was a candidate, as representing the principle of protection in opposition to that of free trade; but

he withdrew from the canvass in order to secure his friend's success. He was an active and influential member of the Convention for revising the Constitution of the State in 1820. For some years preceding his death, he had been the oldest member of the Boston Marine Society, of which he was for some time the President. He was an honorary member of the Massachusetts Mechanics' Charitable Association; and a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, to whose archives he made important contributions, and to whose funds he was a liberal benefactor.

Of the character, intellectual ability, and varied attainments of Mr. Sturgis, there happily remain memorials highly valuable and interesting, which, for the sake of history, and in justice to his memory, should be put in a permanent form. They consist of his "Diary, or Journal of his First Voyage"; "Three Lectures upon the North-west Coast," originally delivered before the Mercantile-Library Association in 1845-6, and subsequently, by request, before the members of the House of Representatives; an article in the "North-American Review" in 1822, (vol. xv., art. 18, p. 370,) upon the subject of "The Claims of Russia upon the North-west Coast"; a pamphlet containing the substance of a Lecture upon the Oregon Question in 1845; and two articles upon the tragedy on board the United States brig-of-war "Somers," printed in the "Semi-weekly Courier" of Aug. 7, 1843, entitled "The Somers Mutiny."

The most interesting portion of his life, as affording means for contemplating the formation and the peculiarities of his character, was that which began with his first voyage to the North-west Coast at sixteen years of age, and ended with his last expedition abroad, from which he returned at the age of twenty-eight, after attaining a measure of success, knowledge, reputation, and wealth, which might satisfy the reasonable hopes of most men, if it were the result of a long life arduously devoted to the pursuit.

The "Diary" contains not only the records of events of ordinary daily interest (as the courses of the vessel, and barter with the natives and others), which might be made in moments snatched from duty or rest, but full descriptions of the places visited, of the various tribes, of the modes of traffic, of the manners and habits of the Indians, interspersed with occasional impressive descriptions of scenery, and with anecdotes characteristic of savage life. And with them are mingled citations from Shakspeare, Milton, and Goldsmith; indicating, that, amid all the severe and engrossing labors of his daily life, this boy-man was nourishing the germs of a literary taste, which was to ornament, and minister to the happiness and usefulness of, his maturer years. "Ossian" was one of his favorite books at sea; and, to the mind of a young man, turning from the exhausting drudgeries of daily toil to seek literary food in pastures of his own choosing, there was a not unaccountable affinity in the tone and sentiment of that vague and mystical poetry with the wild and often sublime solitudes of the North-west Coast, where so many of his days, and watches of the night, were passed.

In this "Diary," also, are contained tables of the longitude and latitude of every place visited, and of the number of skins acquired; also a sort of dictionary or list of the most familiar Indian words,—the English in one column, and those of the several tribes opposite to them in corresponding ones,—evidencing the pains he took for the accurate learning of their languages. Of these he became so thoroughly a master, that, as the writer of this Memoir has been recently informed by one, who, engaged in the like enterprises, saw him upon the Coast, he could not only carry on the trade with the natives, and converse with them easily about matters of ordinary intercourse in their own tongues, but could freely discuss with them any other topics in which they were interested, including themes of religion, philosophy, and morals, as well as of trade; and could banter and exchange repartees

with them as familiarly as any one of their number. The same gentleman states further, that his popularity with the Indian chiefs was unbounded; that he was universally known, welcomed, and trusted; and that he exercised an influence among them, to which no white man ever before attained, and in which no chief excelled him.

He not only kept this minute and accurate record of all the transactions relating to his own vessel and his trade, but one also of all the vessels which they met on the Coast, or of which they could obtain any account; — of their voyages, the places they visited, the number of skins they obtained, and all the other incidents tending to a perfect knowledge of the business. His "Journal" is replete with criticisms and comments upon the manner of conducting the trade, and the vices, faults, follies, and mistakes of those engaged in it; evincing a clearness of vision, maturity of judgment, and decision of character, truly wonderful in a lad of seventeen years of age; and winding up with a detailed statement of the course to be pursued in order to make a successful voyage.

By the extensive knowledge of details which he was ever careful to obtain, and by a constant study of the various elements and phases of the business in which he was engaged, he afterwards became enabled to foresee the fluctuations and changes which would necessarily follow the precipitate embarkation in it of numerous adventurers whom its profitable-ness would soon allure, and thus to avoid the miscalculations and mischances which befell most of them, and to accumulate wealth for himself and his employers, while many others at the same time encountered only ruinous losses.

There are upon record instances of marvellous precocity in poetical invention, and in limited departments of science, which have excited the astonishment and admiration of the world; but it may be well doubted whether any such instance can be accounted more surprising, in its kind, than this, of practical ability in a youth, leaping as it were in an instant

from the fore-castle to the quarter-deck an accomplished navigator, endowed with the irresistible power of command, which a strange and mutinous crew could not but obey;—speedily attaining, as if by intuition, a knowledge of the principles, details, complications, and whole scope of a newly discovered trade on a far-distant, savage coast; with a knowledge, also, of human nature, and a tact in controlling men, both civilized and savage, which very few in long lives of service among them acquire;—governing and governed by the principles of an inflexible justice and a high sense of honor;—and mingling with the severest of human labors and responsibilities the habitual cultivation of literary taste.

The following are extracts from the “Diary,” on his first arrival on the coast, a few days before entering upon his eighteenth year, with no other opportunities for mental culture than those above stated, and none for this sort of composition but such as could be snatched at intervals from the laborious drudgery and miscellaneous interruptions of life in the fore-castle.

Here are two descriptions of scenery in Norfolk Sound:—

“The appearance of the country here is really romantic. On one side of us, within pistol-shot, and which seems in the evening almost as if you could touch it, is a thick spruce wood, extending close to the water’s edge, frowning in native horror, and looks to be only fit for wild beasts to prowl in: on the other side appears a mixture of land and water. At short distances are passages which either run inland, or, by joining, cut the country up into small islands. Some of them are not much larger than the ship, and numbers much smaller. They are composed of rocks rising just clear of the surface of the water, on which is sprinkled a little soil; and from this rises a thick cluster of tall spruce-trees, which, in the *tout ensemble*, look very handsome, and often bring to my mind the romantic little Island of Poplars, in which is Rousseau’s tomb. Add to this the melancholy sighing of the wind among the pines. But a truce to descriptions; and let me proceed to business.

“The place where we walked was all rocks; and, on the shore-

side of us, they rose like a barrier, in some places full an hundred feet perpendicular. On the tops of these (which overhung all the beach beyond the Point) again are tall spruce-trees, which seem to grow on the edge of the precipices as plenty and as thick as on the lowland. Some of them, which had advanced their heads too high for the feeble support their roots afforded, had shared the fate of all such foolish pretenders, by being dashed from the pinnacle to the bottom of the precipice; and, with their roots still clinging to the rocks above, and their heads on the beach below, offered an instructive example to thousands, who, by presuming on as slight foundations, have no right to expect aught but the same fate. . . . In the afternoon, two large canoes came round the East Point; and, as they turned it, all joined in a war-song, which they rattled off with spirit quite handsomely. Upon their approach, we found that they each contained a petty chief, and about nine young men. The chiefs, who were both good-looking men, and carried themselves with great dignity, sat upon a high box in the middle of the canoes. They had beards about two inches long, with a considerable pair of whiskers; and wore very long hair, which, by what we could understand, was taken from the heads of their enemies killed in battle. The tops of their heads were powdered with small geese-down; and a long red and yellow feather, painted, which rose over all, completed the head-dress. In their ears they wore a kind of shell of pearl, which is of some value here, and, when the coast was first visited, was esteemed of very great. Over their shoulders they wore a cloth of their own manufacture, about a fathom square, made out of the wool of their mountain sheep: round the edges they work in sea-otter's fur; and, on the whole, it makes a very handsome appearance. What they wore on their legs I could not say, as they did not condescend to rise from their seats, but, after purchasing three or four muskets, left us, and went on shore. All the young men in the canoes had their faces daubed with red and black, and their heads powdered with red ochre and geese-down. This, though no doubt only what is conformable to their ideas of beauty, yet made them look not far unlike Milton's description of Death, — 'Fierce as ten furies, terrible as hell.'

The following is an account of a visit to an Indian habitation: —

"Alsatree now took me by the hand, and led me towards the house. In entering it, you may well imagine my astonishment, when,

instead of six or eight people, as I expected, I beheld about forty people — men, women, and children — seated around an enormous fire, which was made in the middle of the house. Some were employed in making fish-hooks for halibut; some, wooden bowls. The women were busy broiling and boiling halibut; the children, waiting upon the old folks; and several of the females, who were not slaves, making wooden lips. At my entrance, labor stood suspended; and they looked at me with about as much astonishment as Hamlet, when he first saw his father's ghost."

It appears that affection and sentiment are not exclusively confined, as seems sometimes to be supposed, to what we call the civilized heart. Speaking of the death of Captain Newbury, who had acquired the confidence and friendship of the Indians by his kindness and justice, a chief said: —

"Newbury — a good man! He is now gone to a good country, and I shall not see him again: but I have his chest at my house in which he kept his clothes; and, when I look at it, I think of him.

"Mr. Bumstead and myself went on shore on the beach, and took a walk through their huts. There were about fourteen, with eleven or twelve persons around each; and they did not look unlike what our imagination pictures to us of bands of robbers seated around their fires in some dark forest, where they waylay the unwary traveller. They, however, so far from molesting, treated us with the greatest civility; and, as we passed each tent, would insist upon our sitting down with them. But, after having seen those we knew, and shaken hands with all, we returned immediately on board. We saw Shanakate, the Great Eater; and though supperless, yet *he* appeared happy, surrounded by his children, whose faces, newly varnished with train oil and red ochre, shone by the light of the fire like the body of a chaise newly painted, and verified Goldsmith's description of a port of rural felicity, where the fond father

'Smiles at his cheerful fire, and round surveys
His children's looks, that brighten with the blaze.'

There are several notices of cases where chiefs had been entrapped on board of vessels, and confined in irons until

compelled to regain their freedom by heavy ransoms. The following is one of them:—

“ He [one of the chiefs], however, would not venture himself on board of us; having been several times made prisoner by different vessels, and obliged to ransom himself by giving up the greatest part of his skins. This was the way some people, not worthy of the name of men (and who, I thank Heaven, cannot call themselves Americans), took to make their fortunes. C——, C——, and Alsatree, the principal chiefs on the coast, they trepanned on board their ships; and, having seized and laid some of them in irons, forced them, contrary to every principle of honor or humanity, to deliver up their skins before they would give them their liberty.”

From the earlier entries in the “Journal,” it appears, that, when he arrived upon the Coast, the author was imbued with all the prejudices against the Indians, which, at that period, prevailed so universally among his countrymen, and the sources of which he attempts in the third Lecture to explain. This circumstance invests his subsequent opinions, formed after long and familiar personal acquaintance with them, and very peculiar opportunities for careful and extensive observation, with peculiar interest and truthfulness. And so keenly did he always feel and express himself upon the subject, that probably no thought would have cheered his dying hour more gratefully, than that he should be instrumental in leaving on record a testimonial in their behalf.

The three “Lectures” are particularly valuable for their development of the habits of life and the moral and intellectual characters of those Indian tribes by one who lived with them on terms of familiar and confiding friendship, and as constituting the most important and trustworthy record, if not the only one, of their later, soon to become their final, history. Nor are they less strikingly illustrative of the noble traits of character of their author in the details of his intercourse with the Indians, and of the efforts which he ever loved to make, in

public and in private, to vindicate them from the obloquy and hatred of which they have been too generally and thoughtlessly the objects.

His opportunities were such as particularly qualified him for this undertaking, since his first visit to the Coast was made in 1799, about twenty years after Cook's discovery of Nootka Sound, and while the generation was still living that "witnessed the arrival of the first white man among them; and many of the very individuals who were prominent at the time of Cook's visit were still in the prime of life, and became personally known to him." He passed a number of years among them at the time when they were first becoming known to the civilized world, and were in a state approximating to that in which the discoverers of the northern portion of our continent found the aboriginal inhabitants; and he continued to carry on the trade with them, personally or by agents, until it ceased to be valuable,—witnessing its growth, maximum, decrease, and final abandonment by the citizens of the United States.

The "Lectures" are written in a clear, simple, and expressive style, indicating familiarity with English literature, and at times exhibiting the truest eloquence in sentiment and description.

Although requested for the press by the appreciative audience to which they were originally addressed, and afterwards by others, the author uniformly declined to publish them, from distrust, as is understood, of their value. They are, however, well worthy of being perpetuated, as interesting and authentic memorials of a very important though temporary department of commercial enterprise, and of the manners and characters of a people now rapidly becoming extinct; and also as a vindication of the natives from the unmerited reproaches heaped upon them by the corrupters, oppressors, and murderers of their race.

His feelings upon this subject are thus emphatically expressed at the commencement of the first Lecture:—

“These early visits gave me the opportunity, too, of observing changes in the habits and manners of the Indians, effected by intercourse with a more civilized race; and, I regret to add, brought to my knowledge the injustice, violence, and bloodshed which have marked the progress of this intercourse from first to last. I cannot expect that others will feel the same degree of interest in these reminiscences that I feel; but I have thought that they might engage your attention for a while, and perhaps awaken sympathy for the remnant of a race fast disappearing from the earth, — victims of injustice, cruelty, and oppression, and of a policy that seems to recognize *power* as the sole standard of *right*.”

Again, near the close: —

“The numerous tragical occurrences on the Coast show the personal hazards incurred by those engaged in the trade, and perhaps warrant the remark of Mr. Greenhow, in his valuable memoir upon Oregon, prepared by order of Congress. Speaking of the American trade upon the Coast, he says: ‘The persons engaged in this trade were constantly exposed to the most dreadful hardships and dangers, against which nothing but extraordinary courage and skill on their part could have enabled them to struggle successfully. More than one American ship has been seized, and all on board massacred, by the natives of the Pacific coasts; and seldom, indeed, did a vessel from the United States complete her voyage in that ocean, without losing some part of her crew by the treachery of those with whom they were dealing.’ Mr. Greenhow and myself agree, in the main, as to the facts, but are at issue as to the cause. He ascribes it to the treachery and ferocity of the Indians; I, with better opportunities for investigating and ascertaining the truth, find the cause in the lawless and brutal violence of white men: and it would be easy to show that these fatal disasters might have been averted by a different treatment of the natives, and by prudence and proper precaution on the part of their civilized visitors.”

The second Lecture is more particularly devoted to the character, manners, and domestic habits of the Indians. The following description will probably surprise many who have been accustomed to look upon them as little better than beasts of the field; and, rightly considered, might do some-

thing towards improving and elevating the domestic relations of parent and child, as generally acted upon even in highly civilized Christian communities:—

“The Indians of whom I speak are piscatory in their pursuits; reside upon the borders of the sea, from which they draw their principal subsistence; and use altogether the canoe, both for this purpose and for transporting themselves and families from place to place. Their migrations are limited to a change of residence from one permanent village to another at different seasons of the year, following the periodical movements of the several species of fish upon which they mainly depend for food; and to trading excursions, which are often made, sometimes to distant points, visiting tribes residing several hundred miles from their own village. Upon these occasions they are usually accompanied by their women and children, who are adroit and skilful in the management of canoes, and, in taking and curing fish, are as efficient as the men themselves. These circumstances, exercising a material influence upon their domestic and social character, have, in a degree, softened the naturally stern nature of these Indians, and rendered them less sanguinary than the tribes in the interior. War, however, is not unfrequent; and bravery and skill in conducting it are qualities commanding as high admiration and respect as among the most warlike people: and the Indian upon the borders of the Pacific accords to an accomplished and successful destroyer of his fellow-men the same pre-eminence that is conceded to him by the most civilized nations. *In their domestic relations, they manifest as much tenderness and affection as can be found in any state of society.* The constant presence of their women gives to them a proper influence; and their position, though subordinate in some respects, is, upon the whole, as favorable as that occupied by their sex in civilized life,—nominal submission, actual control. *Children are uniformly treated with tenderness and indulgence, seldom punished, and never struck.*

“The Indian doctrine is, that it may be necessary to beat dogs, but not to strike a child. The children, on their part, seem intuitively respectful and submissive to their seniors. I do not recollect to have seen punishment inflicted upon a child but in a single instance, and then not very severely. A woman, with a family of children, was alongside of the ship in her canoe, making some purchases; and, among other articles, she obtained a quantity of molasses, which was

put into a large tub in her canoe. A little naked urchin, two or three years old, half covered with oil and dirt, made repeated attempts to get at the molasses, much to the mother's annoyance. At length, in a great pet, she caught the child by the arms, and plunged it into the tub, leaving it seated in the viscid substance up to its chin. The child bore the punishment with as much stoicism, and employed himself in the same manner, as a young Yankee would have done.

"The only occasion upon which blows are inflicted is in the practice of a singular custom among them. At times during the winter, in a cold, frosty morning, all the boys of a village, from five to ten years old, assemble upon a sandy beach in a state of nudity; and, each having furnished himself with a bunch of rods, they wade into the water up to their armpits: and then commences an uproarious scene; each one using his rods with his whole strength in thrashing every one who comes within his reach, always giving a preference to those of his own size. This continues for some time; when, at a given signal, a general plunge and a short swim finishes the frolic, and they resume their garments and their gravity. The Indians say that this practice hardens the bodies of the little fellows, and the flagellation they get loosens their skins, and thus promotes their growth."

These untaught savages do not appear to have attained to the scientific discovery in favor of the flagellation of children, — that it is salutary as a counter-irritant, in order to relieve irritation within; but they seem to have found out what may be more valuable, namely, the means of preventing it. It probably had never occurred to them as a convenient safety-valve for letting off the impatience, spleen, or ill-temper of the parent.

A conversation with a chief concerning the ornaments with which the Indians are accustomed to adorn themselves is alike amusing and suggestive:—

"Their fancy for many articles could be traced to a desire to imitate their somewhat more polished visitors; and the absurdity, if any there was, lay in the manner in which they used them. When attacked upon this point, they would dryly refer to some of our usages as equally absurd with their own. Talking one day upon such

matters with Altadsee, a sarcastic old chief of the Hanslong tribe, I ridiculed the practice of covering their own and their children's garments with rows of brass and gilt buttons, and loading them with old keys, to be kept bright at a great expense of labor. 'Why,' said he, 'the white men wear buttons.'—'True,' I replied; 'but they are useful to us: the fashion of our garments requires buttons to secure them.'—'Ah!' said he, 'perhaps it is so; but I could never discover the usefulness of half a dozen buttons upon your coat-tails: and, as for the waste of labor in scouring old keys, you are right; it is very foolish, and almost as ridiculous as the fashion, which I am told prevails in your country, of placing brass balls upon iron fences in front of your houses, to be polished every day, and tarnished every night. Truly,' he added, 'Eijets hardi and Hanslong hardi cootnanous coonnug' ('White people and Hanslong people are equally foolish')."

Their dwellings, furniture, and household ornaments, are thus described:—

"Their dwellings are of a more permanent character than those of the Indians in the interior. In the winter villages, some of the houses are quite large, covered with boards, and probably as comfortable as the houses in London and Paris are represented to have been five centuries ago. I have seen houses upon the southern part of the Coast more than one hundred feet in length, and forty in breadth; and Jewett, who was two years a prisoner among them, describes Maquinna's house at Nootka as a hundred and fifty feet long. In articles of furniture, either for use or ornament, they are quite deficient; and their mode of living is so simple, that little is required. The only ornamental articles I recollect to have seen in their houses were copper tea-kettles. These we imported from Holland, and carried to the Coast in large quantities. It would have been almost sacrilege among the Indians to have degraded this beautiful piece of furniture, as they esteemed it, to culinary uses. It was placed in an elevated and conspicuous position in the house, kept perfectly bright, and regarded with as much solicitude and care as I have elsewhere seen bestowed upon a tawdry French vase, filled with showy artificial flowers, and carefully covered with a glass case."

Of their usual demeanor, he says:—

"The Indians are not a joyous race, and have few amusements. The only public ones are singing and dancing, and these not in a style

calculated to inspire or indulge mirth. The women take no active part in the dance; but their pleasant voices are often heard in song, sometimes with great sweetness and pathos. Their musical instruments are a hollow cylinder, used as a drum, and rattles of various sorts; but they are only used to mark time, and stimulate the dancers, who take great pains to prepare themselves for the occasion, and only appear in full dress. When engaged in the war-dance, they cover the head with scalps taken from their enemies, the hair filled with the down of sea-fowl or the eagle. Their mode of scalping adapts it to this purpose; for they take off the whole skin of the head, preserving it entire, with the hair attached. I cannot commend their grace in the dance; but their spirit is worthy of imitation. They engage in it with some life and animation: at least it was easy to discover whether the dancers were awake or asleep,—a fact not readily ascertained in modern days in more polished communities.”

After commenting upon the imperfect, prejudiced, and partial descriptions of Indian character generally to be found in books and in the stories of travellers, Mr. Sturgis thus announces the result of his own observation and study of it:—

“My own opportunities were favorable for observing and estimating Indian character; but, even with a close and long-continued intimacy under circumstances that tended to dispel the reserve that an Indian maintains in his intercourse with strangers, I found it scarcely possible to comprehend, much less to describe him, or to understand his motive for much that he does. His character is made up of incongruous and seemingly conflicting elements. The noblest impulses and best feelings of man’s nature are in him closely allied to brutal propensities; and the bright and dark hues are so mixed and blended, that at times they are scarcely distinguishable, and seem lost in one another. He is, even to those who have most carefully studied him, a mysterious being, and must remain so; for we cannot fully comprehend his impulses and motives: and doubtless Mr. Schoolcraft is correct in remarking, as he does, that ‘the civilized man is no less a mysterious and unaccountable being to an Indian, because his springs of action are alike unintelligible to him.’ But, while it may not be possible to comprehend all the anomalies of Indian character, enough may be discovered and understood to entitle him to much higher consideration than he usually enjoys. Few have

the opportunity to make a just estimate of this race. Those who form an opinion of them from the wretched, degraded remnants of the tribes who formerly occupied New England, such as the Penobscots and others, or from delegations from more distant tribes that are occasionally paraded about and exhibited, like wild animals, as a show, will do the Indian great injustice, and have a very erroneous impression. To judge the Indian fairly, he must be seen, as I have seen him, in his native forest, before he becomes contaminated by intercourse with civilized men; for, to our reproach be it spoken, contamination and degradation invariably and speedily follow such intercourse.

“In this original state, while he retains his independence, and preserves self-respect, he is proud even of existence; and it is not a mere poetical fiction in the writer who says, that ‘the Indian in his primitive state stands erect, his foot firmly planted upon his mother earth, surveys the wide expanse of Nature, and, with conscious superiority, strikes his breast, and exclaims exultingly, “I am a man”!’ I have at times perceived the workings of strong and lofty feelings in the Indian’s bosom, that could not be more truly or happily expressed. Mr. Catlin, with all his frippery, has given many interesting facts respecting remote Indians, who, at the time of his visit, were little changed by the intrusion of civilization; and I doubt not his statements may be relied on, with some little allowance for his evident partiality for the red man. His conclusion, after a long residence among them, is, in his own words, that ‘the North-American Indian, in his primitive state, is a high-minded, honorable, hospitable being’; and in another passage he asserts, that ‘the North-American Indian, in his native state, is an honest, hospitable, faithful, brave, warlike, cruel, revengeful, relentless, yet honorable, contemplative, and religious being.’ My own experience does not lead me to dissent from this opinion. It may sound strangely to hear the Indian spoken of as a religious being; but, if a constant reference in all that he does to the supposed will of his Creator constitutes a religious being, the North-American Indian is eminently one. Mr. Schoolcraft, speaking of the great tribes of the Far West, says, ‘It would surprise any person to become acquainted with the variety and extent to which an Indian is influenced by his religious views and superstitions: he takes no important step without reference to them; they are his guiding motives in peace and in war; he follows the chase under their influence, and his very amusements take their tincture from them.’

“To the Indian, much that we do seems ridiculous and absurd; and some of the practices of civilized life are as revolting to his feelings as their most barbarous usages are to ours. I have often been struck with the comments of sensible Indians upon what they had noticed or learned respecting our customs, particularly by those of Keow, the principal chief of Caiganee, a place much frequented by trading-vessels. Keow was, upon the whole, the most intelligent Indian I met with. He was a shrewd observer, of quiet perception, with a comprehensive and discriminating mind, and insatiable curiosity. He would occasionally pass several days at a time on board my ship; and I have often sat up half the night with him, answering questions, and listening to his remarks. I have no doubt that our conversation, first and last, would fill several folio volumes, even in the sight-destroying type of modern pamphlet-printing. His comments on some features of our social system, and upon the discrepancies and inconsistencies in our professions and practice as Christians, particularly in relation to war, duelling, capital punishment for depredations upon property, and other less important matters, were pertinent and forcible, and by no means flattering to us, or calculated to nourish our self-conceit.”

This Lecture closes with a thrilling description of an Indian execution; which, but for its length, should be inserted here, as a specimen of the rare powers of Mr. Sturgis as a writer; and is omitted only in the confident belief that the whole course of Lectures will soon be given to the public, as hereafter suggested.

The third Lecture is devoted to the consideration of the treatment of the Indians of the North-west Coast at the hands of the white man, “showing that he was the aggressor; and vindicating the red men from the charge that has often been brought against them, of wanton cruelty and unprovoked barbarity.” Although evidently written under the influence of strong feelings of commiseration for the wrongs inflicted upon this unhappy race, such as a generous and lofty nature could not but entertain in contemplating such a subject, the statements made from his personal knowledge, and the historical evidence adduced, seem fully to sustain his conclusion.

It closes with the following beautiful and touching declaration, in which his descendants may hold his name embalmed in precious remembrance, as that of a truly great and noble man. No one ever possessed a larger power for evil or for good, with perfect impunity in its exercise, than William Sturgis possessed on the North-west Coast; and no man ever exercised it with profounder humanity, more inflexible justice, a more conscientious sense of responsibility, and greater kindness, than he displayed towards these uncivilized, helpless, and outraged inhabitants of the wilderness.

“When I call up the past, and look back upon the trials and dangers of my early pursuits, it is with feelings that I should vainly attempt to describe. I have cause for gratitude to a higher Power, not only for escape from danger, but for being spared all participation in the deadly conflicts and murderous scenes which at times surrounded me. I may well be grateful that no blood of the red man ever stained my hands; that no shades of murdered or slaughtered Indians disturb my repose; and the reflection, that neither myself nor any one under my command ever did or suffered violence or outrage during years of intercourse with those reputed the most savage tribes, gives me a satisfaction, in exchange for which wealth and honors would be as dust in the balance.”

These Lectures were received with great favor by the audiences before which they were delivered, and they added to the general respect previously entertained for the elevated character of the author, as well as to his literary reputation.

The first effort of Mr. Sturgis as an author, in print, was in the pamphlet upon the Oregon Question, before alluded to.

In the year 1821-22, the people of the United States were startled by claims suddenly and unexpectedly made by the Russian Government to the exclusive possession of the most valuable portions of the North-west Coast, amounting virtually to the right of exclusive possession of the whole American continent north of the 51st of latitude, and of holding the Pacific Ocean as a close sea to that extent, although about four thousand miles across.

The emperor had issued a ukase to this effect, which had been communicated by the Russian minister, the Chevalier de Poletica, to our Government. By it, all foreign vessels coming within one hundred miles of the shores of the territories so claimed were declared subject to confiscation and forfeiture, with the cargoes on board.

To Mr. Adams's inquiry for an explanation "of the grounds of right, upon principles generally recognized by the laws and usages of nations, which could warrant the claims and regulations contained in the edict," M. de Poletica declared himself happy to fulfil the task; and he undertook in an official communication to maintain them upon three bases, — the titles of first discovery, of first occupation, and of peaceable and uncontested possession for more than half a century. These propositions he undertook to establish by a variety of historical references and statements, which certainly, to one not otherwise informed, made out a very plausible, if not a very strong case.

Such an event could not fail to excite the deepest interest among those who were engaged in the trade on the Coast, then at its height, and particularly in the mind of Mr. Sturgis, who was thoroughly master of the subject by means of his personal exploration of the most important portions of the territory included in the ukase, and of the study he had made of its history, both by inquiry of the natives, and in the published Voyages of the discoverers and adventurers in those regions. The importance of the trade at that time was so great, and the indignity to the United States which would be involved in a summary enforcement of the threat was so manifest, that war between the two countries seemed inevitable, unless the justice of these claims could be demonstrated, or the assertion of them should be abandoned.

Mr. Sturgis immediately prepared, and published in the "North-American Review," a reply to them and to the several arguments adduced by the Russian minister, which, it is

believed, constitutes a refutation as annihilating as any to be found in the records of political discussion. His familiarity with all the essential facts and elements of the case from the earliest known period, his admirable array of the argument, and the clear and vigorous style in which it was presented, leave nothing to be desired. It gave the *coup de grace* to the most material portions of the claim, and secured for the author an extensive reputation for being among the ablest public writers, as he had long been among the first of the eminent merchants, of his country.

In the subsequent negotiation with Russia upon the subject, she abandoned the chief of these vast pretensions; the United States conceding to her the exclusive right of settlement within ten leagues of the sea north of latitude 54° 40', — that being the southern limit of the Russian possessions in America thus extended.

The estimation in which this contribution to the "Review" was held may be seen in the following remark concerning it, in a note from the Hon. Mr. Everett, dated 11th October, 1827: "This consideration naturally leads me to turn my thoughts to those gentlemen whose assistance I formerly enjoyed; and, after the tributes which have been publicly paid to your article on the North-west Coast, you cannot call it flattery, if I say, that to no one piece was the 'North-American Review' (under my editorship) so much indebted as to that with which you favored me."

The next subject upon which Mr. Sturgis came before the public, with his name, was the sad tragedy on board of the United-States brig-of-war "Somers," under Commander Mackenzie, in the sudden execution of one of her officers and two seamen, without previous trial, on the charge of an attempt to excite a mutiny. It took place in the summer of 1843; and no event short of the immediate danger of a foreign war probably ever excited the people of the United States more profoundly.

It became the subject of universal, animated discussion in conversation, and of numerous heated articles in the gazettes and periodicals of the day. A great majority of them were in favor of Commander Mackenzie; not only fully sustaining him, but attributing to him extravagant praise for heroic conduct in the execution of those unhappy men. Among such articles; the most conspicuous was one in the "North-American Review," which was written by a gentleman of the legal profession, and of eminent literary reputation; and which, as was remarked in the leading paper of the day, would "pass down to future inquirers as the contemporary expression of opinion of the ablest and most esteemed of the critical journals of the country."

Indeed, so general at first was the belief of the justifiable nature of the execution as a matter of irresistible necessity, from the impulsive conviction that such an awful transaction could not by possibility have otherwise taken place, that comparatively very few were found who thought otherwise, or ventured to express such thoughts if they entertained them. Mr. Sturgis was, however, one of the few who did entertain them; and it is needless to add, that he therefore fearlessly expressed them.

After the termination of the trial of the commander, by a naval court-martial, for the alleged murder of these men, in which, by a majority of three fourths of the members, the charges were "found not to be proven," and the publication of the evidence and the finding of the Court, and of the article alluded to in the "North-American Review," Mr. Sturgis published, as we have before stated, under his signature, two articles, headed "The Somers Mutiny," and "The Somers Mutiny, No. 2"; which may be found in the "Semiweekly Courier" of August 7, 1843.

Great as was the confidence which his nautical experience, cool judgment, and known honesty and independence of thought, could not but extensively inspire, still no one could

have been prepared for the critical ability, literary skill, legal acumen, and eloquence, exhibited in these papers.

The first was occupied, in part, by a consideration of the existence and probable causes of the wide-spread popular opinion in favor of Commander Mackenzie, but was mainly devoted to a masterly, vigorous, and comprehensive reply to the article in the "North-American Review." The second contained a careful analysis and most able discussion of the evidence, in which he maintained, "that the occurrences on board the 'Somers,' after the arrest of Spencer, *ought not to have induced any cool, judicious commander, exercising an ordinary degree of judgment and discretion, to have thought it necessary to put Spencer, Cromwell, and Small to death for the safety of the 'Somers' and the security of the officers and crew;*" and it closed in terms of unequivocal and very strong condemnation of Commander Mackenzie, "not only for what took place on board the 'Somers,' but likewise for his persevering efforts, in his official narrative, on his trial, and in his published defence, to blast the reputation of the living, and render odious the memory of the dead."

The following pathetic appeal may take rank with the best specimens of modern eloquence:—

"It might have been thought necessary, for the vindication of Commander Mackenzie upon his trial, that all the offences alleged to have been committed by young Spencer on board the 'Somers' should be fully set forth. But what possible good can now result from gathering and recording every doubtful anecdote of his boyish life? The reviewer does not give his authority for the stories he relates. They may or may not be true. But, whether true or false, they are, in my opinion, out of place upon the pages of the 'North-American Review.' Let the dead rest. No deed of violence had been done by the accused. The only charge against him is the *intention* to commit a crime. And, were the charge true, surely a horrid death, under the most aggravating circumstances, suddenly announced to him, with notice that ten minutes would be allowed him for preparation, — ten minutes! — in that fearful hour, for a child to pour forth to his

parents the agony of his soul ; to express contrition ; to explain all that might palliate his offences ; to entreat their forgiveness, and to invoke, as he did invoke, blessings on their heads ! — ten minutes for life's closing scene, — to make his peace on earth, and prepare to stand before the judgment-seat of God ! — surely, surely, such a death might expiate crime actually committed : let it atone for the *intention* only to commit one, and let the dead rest. Spare the living too. If the political eminence of the father must place him beyond the pale of humanity, and leave him exposed to these attacks, be tender with the mother ; respect her grief. She now finds consolation for her agonized feelings in the firm belief that her son died innocent. Is it generous, is it just, needlessly to shake her belief, take from her this consolation, and add a keener pang to the anguish of a mother's heart ? Sure I am, that only the want of due consideration could have led the amiable and high-minded writer of the Review to follow in the track of thoughtless newspaper-scribblers or venomous party politicians, and by giving currency to idle gossip, or something worse, heap obloquy upon the memory of the defenceless dead, and wound afresh the lacerated and quivering feelings of the living."

These papers produced a great change in public sentiment throughout this part of the country, the minds of many having been previously uninformed of the precise facts, and of the course of reasoning relied upon in justification of Commander Mackenzie, most of which, indeed, could be fully known only after the publication of the trial.

They should be preserved in some permanent form, not merely as specimens of the masterly ability and independence of the writer, but as the proper counterpart of the celebrated article referred to, that it may not "pass down to future inquirers as the [*only*] contemporary expression" of the public opinion of the day ; the subject being, as Mr. Sturgis in his introduction says, one which "affects in no slight degree the reputation of the navy, the character of the country, the sacred cause of justice, and the holy rights of humanity."

But a still more important and signal service was rendered to his country by Mr. Sturgis, upon the breaking-out of the controversy between England and the United States, in

the year 1844, concerning the Oregon Territory; which controversy the political partisans on both sides of the water, in equal utter ignorance of the position and extent of the country and of its history, and of the various rights of other nations upon its coasts, were ready to inflame into open war.

Here, again, his personal familiarity with the topography of the coast, with the course of trade on its various rivers, and with the extent to which it had been resorted to and occupied by foreign nations, and particularly by Spain, England, and the United States, qualified him in a very peculiar degree, if not exclusively, as far as an individual could be qualified, for the formation of an impartial judgment, and for enlightening others upon the subject; and he proved himself as well adapted to the task intellectually and morally, as he was by this peculiar knowledge.

He prepared an elaborate treatise upon the subject, which he afterwards delivered as a Lecture before the Association above mentioned, in January, 1845, the substance of which was soon afterwards printed as a pamphlet.

The matter was one of great perplexity and seeming confusion, owing to the miscellaneous claims made by Russia, England, Spain, and the United States, of prior discoveries, and of the use and occupation of various portions of this vast wilderness, bounded on the east by the Rocky Mountains, on the west by the Pacific Ocean, with its numerous indentations, bays, sounds, inlets, capes, and islands, and extending from the forty-second degree of north latitude to that of 54° 40'; constituting an area of seven hundred and sixty miles in length from north to south, and of about five hundred from east to west, with large rivers extending far into and draining the interior.

No one, remembering the agitation of this question at that time, can be forgetful of the insensate cry of "Fifty-four forty, or fight!" which was so flippantly and recklessly uttered by the party politicians of the day, in equal ignorance and

disregard of the truth and the right of the case; or can forget the deep apprehension of a closely impending war, felt by the friends of peace on both sides of the Atlantic.

In this treatise, Mr. Sturgis, after an exhausting exhibition of the material facts of the case, and a setting forth of the respective claims and pretensions of the parties interested with great clearness and judicial impartiality, arrived at the following result:—

“Some of the objections made by the British commissioners to our claims to the *exclusive* possession of the whole territory cannot be easily and satisfactorily answered; and some of their objections are unfounded or frivolous, — the mere skirmishing of diplomacy, and unworthy of high-minded diplomatists: but it must, I think, be evident, to any one who looks carefully into the whole matter, that *some* of the pretensions of each party are, to say the least, plausible; and that, according to the rules established among civilized nations in similar cases, each has some rights, which should be adjusted and settled by compromise and mutual concession.”

He then entered upon a discussion of the various interests which each party might be supposed to have in the possession of these territories, and concluded by recommending the adoption of the line substantially established by the subsequent treaty, but defining it in much more precise and clear terms, which, if they had been copied, would have prevented the possibility of misapprehension, and have saved the two countries from the unhappy San-Juan controversy, which still rankles as a thorn to disturb their friendly relations.

The line as described in the treaty is in these words: “From the point on the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, where the boundary laid down in existing treaties and conventions between the United States and Great Britain terminates, the line of boundary between the territory of the United States and those of her Britannic Majesty shall be continued westward along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from

Vancouver's Island, and thence southerly through the middle of said channel and Fuca's Straits to the Pacific Ocean."

The line proposed by Mr. Sturgis was as follows: "A continuation of the parallel of forty-nine degrees across the Rocky Mountains to tide-water, say to the middle of the Gulf of Georgia; thence by the *northernmost navigable passage* (not north of forty-nine degrees) to the *Straits of Juan de Fuca*, and down the middle of these straits to the Pacific Ocean; the navigation of the Gulf of Georgia and the Straits of Juan de Fuca to be for ever free to both parties; *all the islands and other territory lying south and east of this line* to belong to the United States, and all north and west to Great Britain."

It will be perceived that the insertion of the words here italicized would have rendered the definition of the navigable passage intended, and of the territories intended to be separated by it, too plain to admit of controversy.

This pamphlet was not only widely circulated among the ministers and statesmen at Washington, but also among those in England, where it met with almost universal approbation for its intelligence and candor.

The writer of this Memoir feels perfectly justified, by the evidence in his possession, in asserting that the settlement of this dangerous controversy, by the line adopted, was mainly, if not entirely, owing to this effort of Mr. Sturgis, and the use made of it by the friends of peace in both countries.

It must be a rare fortune for any private individual, holding no official station, and in no immediate connection with the statesmen conducting the foreign relations of his country, to be thus instrumental in the final solution of two great national controversies, which, but for his efforts, might have terminated in disastrous wars.

Both of these adjustments are monuments of his intellectual ability and literary accomplishments, and call for a grateful national remembrance; but that of the Oregon Question evinces the breadth of view also, and the rare magnanimity,

which enabled him justly to appreciate and honestly to vindicate the claims of the adversary of his country, while firmly maintaining her own.

To these qualities, signally manifested in this pamphlet, may probably be attributed, in a great measure, its success in moderating the views of his own countrymen, and winning the confidence of the English rulers and people.

The three Lectures upon the trade of the North-west Coast and the characters and manners of the Indian tribes, the article in the "North-American Review" upon the claims of the Russian Government to that region of the American continent, and this discussion of the question in controversy between Great Britain and the United States concerning the Oregon Territory, are the most extensive, authentic, and valuable contributions to the earlier history of that part of the world which have hitherto been made, and probably leave very little for future gleaners. It is to be hoped that they will be embodied in a volume for permanent preservation, as they would constitute one without which no collection of books upon the subject of America, and no historical library, could be accounted complete; and to them, for the reasons above suggested, should be added the papers upon the "Somers Mutiny."

Such is the brief, simple narrative of the principal events in the life of this extraordinary man. They sufficiently, perhaps, proclaim the intellectual strength and moral elevation which were the most conspicuous features of his character. His whole nurture, indeed, seemed fitted for the cultivation of the sterner virtues almost exclusively. His childhood and early boyhood passed upon a little sterile farm, the labors of which devolved principally upon himself, with no room for mental expansion beyond the occasional privileges of a village school; his youth and early manhood spent on shipboard, in the rough companionship of the fore-castle and the steerage, or in the lonely watches of despotic authority upon the quarter-deck, — breasting the tempests of the open

sea, or the more harassing perils of coastwise navigation upon wild and inhospitable shores; his introduction to business life in traffic with the savage inhabitants of the Coast; and his almost total seclusion, in most of the forming periods of life, from the opportunities of mental and spiritual culture, and the influences of a refined civilization,—might well have seemed calculated for the growth only of the heroic courage, indomitable energy, self-reliance, and ability to command, by which he was among all men pre-eminently distinguished. To the general observer, his quickness of perception, clearness of judgment, stern love of justice, fearless independence, promptitude of decision, and dauntless resolution,—constituting a character of rare strength,—might often overshadow its gentler traits, and sometimes might obscure these even from his own consciousness. But there was a native urbanity, a depth of affection, a readiness of sympathy, a generosity, a refined nobleness of nature, manifest to those whom he loved, or to whom friendship or any just claim gave opportunity for the exercise of them; and these were exhibited no less in his intercourse with the wild Indians upon the far-off savage coast, than at the domestic hearth or in the social circles of civilized life. And to these were added a love of letters, a ready wit, a sense of honor, and an appreciation of the courtesies and amenities of cultivated life, which might seem hard to be accounted for under such rough training, except in the natural structure of his mind and heart,—as steel of the hardest temper takes the finest polish. No one, who knew him, ever doubted, that at all times and under any circumstances, he would “dare do all that may become a man”; and no one probably ever lived more uniformly faithful than he to the conviction, that “who dares do more is none.”

In turning to contemplate the character of Mr. Sturgis in private life, we might naturally anticipate some diversity of opinion; as it is not possible for a man of faculties so various

and acute, and of such abounding energy, to produce on all minds similar and harmonious impressions. His rapidity of decision, strength of will, and entire independence in the expression of his convictions, would, of necessity, at times awaken a spirit of opposition, and sometimes, perhaps, excite irritation; although in his later days certainly, and throughout his life so far as opportunity for observation on the part of the writer of this Memoir extended, his convictions were always uttered with an urbanity, and a graceful disclaimer of any want of deference to those of others who might differ from him, that entirely disarmed the hearers of any suspicion of arrogance or overweening confidence on his part. His early life passed in necessarily entire reliance upon his own resources and judgment in the most exciting, perilous, and responsible duties, could not but have imbued him with some corresponding degree of self-confidence, and may occasionally have rendered him less accessible to conviction in matters of preconceived opinion, than persons of inferior force of character. But it would be a great injustice to his memory, for one familiarly versed in his habits of conversation and discussion, whether upon matters of business, or of speculation only, not to bear witness to the courtesy and candor with which his side of the question was uniformly maintained, and to his readiness to yield to the stronger reason; while instances will recur to the minds of his friends, in which, although not at first convinced, he would afterwards seek to make known a change of opinion consequent upon further reflection.

It may be, that many accounted him stern, who saw him only occasionally, or when called upon to express opinions concerning the management of public or private affairs, or the policy that had been or should be pursued concerning them. He certainly was stern in his hatred and denunciation of all falsehood, equivocation, and pretence, under any and all circumstances; and he had, perhaps, less indulgence or con-

sideration than most men for the weakness by which so many are led into conduct and situations wanting in nothing of fraud and criminality but the originating will. Perhaps, too, he had less consideration for the imbecility of purpose, by reason of which multitudes so often, more or less voluntarily, become dependent upon charity or pecuniary aid. These were natural consequences of his own peculiar habit of self-reliance, and the hard discipline of self-denying economy, severe labor, and unremitting effort, by which he had surmounted the difficulties of early life while dependent solely upon his own exertions, and had without help attained to the highest objects of his aspiration. Further: his own reflection and observation had satisfied him, that the promiscuous giving of alms was productive of far more evil than good; and to yield to importunity in begging would have been in him a weakness instead of a virtue.

He rarely, therefore, gave to street mendicants, or in response to the numerous calls made by individuals for pecuniary aid. And this has led to the belief, more or less extensive, that he was wanting in liberality. But without claiming for him a pre-eminent spirit of philanthropy, or any unusual degree of impulsive generosity, justice now demands a reference to munificent gifts made by him, which, in his lifetime, he took studious pains to conceal.

A short time before his death, he gave to the Observatory in Cambridge the sum of ten thousand dollars, having before made to it several valuable donations. Upon application to become one of several to contribute for the payment of the balance of the debt of this Society, incurred in the purchase of its Hall, he promptly gave the whole sum required. Many instances might be adduced in which he gave large amounts for public charities and for private relief; usually, however, accompanied with strict injunctions of secrecy. A singular illustration of the misconception that may prevail upon such a subject occurred soon after his decease. A gen-

tleman, who supposed himself well acquainted with Mr. Sturgis, in speaking of him to another friend, remarked, that it was to be regretted that "he was so close, and always so unwilling to give." To which the person addressed replied: "I do not know how that may be in comparing him with others; but I do know, that, within a short space of time, he has given ten thousand dollars to one institution and two sums of one thousand dollars each to two other charitable purposes; and that he recently contributed five hundred dollars for raising one of our regiments." The gentleman felt reproved, but made no reply. He soon afterwards returned to apologize to the living and the dead for his remark; saying, "Since I left you, I have heard of two other recent instances of like liberal, but secret, donations." It is known to a few only, that he appropriated an ample fund of twenty thousand dollars for a public benefaction, to which an allusion only can now be made. This is held by trustees selected by himself to effect his object; which will be an enduring monument not only of generosity, but of the most considerate wisdom and humanity. Few men probably, of equally extensive munificence, take equal pains that the left hand shall not know what the right hand is doing.

Nor was this liberality confined to the relief of suffering, and the promotion of science and art. Mr. Sturgis was equally ready to lay portions of his wealth upon the altar of sentiment, and reverence for the honored dead.

When, in the year 1834, the philosopher and philanthropist, Spurzheim, died in this city, where his lectures had excited a deep and extensive interest, and gave an impulse to thought upon mental, moral, and physical development,—the fruits of which have been ever since abundantly apparent in our pulpits, lecture-rooms, and schools,—his remains were deposited with public honors in Mount Auburn; and Mr. Sturgis, who had listened to his teachings, soon afterwards erected, at the cost of a thousand dollars from his own purse,

the beautiful monument which marks the place where rest the remains of the beloved and honored stranger; in testimony, to use his own words, of "respect for the memory of one, whose clear, comprehensive, and elevated view of the nature of man marked him as the sound philosopher; and whose unwearied efforts to promote human happiness, by physical, intellectual, and moral culture, placed him in the foremost rank of the philanthropists of the age."

Instances might be adduced of his peculiar promptitude of decision and action in emergencies of peril; but the enumeration would be superfluous, as his character has been already sufficiently shown to leave no question of it under any circumstances.

With this abounding energy was mingled a magnanimity and kindness of feeling, which made him ever ready to strengthen or aid others to whom his interposition might be useful. The following note from Theodore Parker will show to what extent an impromptu act of kindness may be serviceable, and in what manner it must have been rendered, to be so long and so gratefully remembered:—

"BOSTON, Nov. 30, 1855.

"WILLIAM STURGIS, Esq.

"DEAR SIR, — Fourteen years ago this month, I delivered a course of lectures on matters pertaining to religion in Boston. A few minutes before I began to speak, while I felt such agonies of embarrassment and fear as I hope never to know again, you came and sat down beside me, and strengthened me. I have been thankful ever since; and now beg you to accept the volume which accompanies this note, with the grateful regards of

"Yours truly,

"THEODORE PARKER."

The act and the acknowledgment are equally honorable to both parties. When will the world learn that kindness and sympathy are, beyond all others, the most powerful levers with which to move the human heart?

On another occasion, at an assemblage to listen to an address from Mr. Wendell Phillips, some disturbance arose from efforts made to prevent his being permitted to speak. Mr. Sturgis, who was present, although he was probably as decidedly opposed to the orator's peculiar sentiments as any person in the room, immediately stepped forward upon the platform, and, appealing to the sense of propriety and the self-respect of the audience, and at the same time vindicating the right of free speech, secured the meeting from further interruption.

As an instance of the firmness of resolution which was so marked a feature of his character, it is worth relating, that, during his voyages at sea, he became greatly addicted to smoking, insomuch that he was scarcely ever without a cigar in his mouth in his waking hours. One evening, while pacing the quarter-deck with this solace of his lonely watches in his lips, the strength which this habit had acquired, as manifested in the extent to which it had reached, suddenly occurred to him; and, after pausing a few moments, he deposited the cigar upon the taffrail, saying to himself, "I will not take another until I change my mind": and he never smoked another in his life, except during the battle with the Chinese pirates above described; at the commencement of which he called for his cigars, to the enjoyment of which the circumstances doubtless gave a peculiar zest.

A similar instance is in his total abstinence from wine; in the moderate use of which, in company with his friends, he took great pleasure; but, being satisfied that it had a tendency to cause or aggravate a disease to which he was liable, he abstained entirely from it. Of spirituous liquors he never drank a glass in his life, being, as he said, so deeply impressed with the evils of intoxication, that he early resolved never to drink one; and he never did.

No man was more faithful to the dictates of disinterested friendship. Nor did his affectionate service terminate with

the lives of his friends; but it became the inheritance of their families, in deeds of kind attention and assistance rendered wherever acceptable. Nor did it cease even with his own life, but was renewed and prolonged in testamentary bequests. Allusions to particular instances would be an offence to him, whose affectionate consideration of others was excelled only by his sensitive and scrupulous delicacy. One instance, however, may not inappropriately be alluded to, as illustrating this fidelity in the rendering of service, and testing its genuineness far more than the bestowment of money could have done. It is this, that, for a period of about thirty years, he took entire charge of the very large estate of a personal friend, absorbing equal time and labor with the care of his own, upon the condition of never being asked to receive compensation.

In his personal habits, Mr. Sturgis lived in almost Spartan simplicity, although liberal to his family in bestowments upon his children, and in supplying generously all that constitutes the comfort and substantial luxury of a well-ordered household. His dress was always simple and unpretending; his furniture and equipage entirely without ostentation or superfluity; nothing being expended upon works of art and the elaborate adornments in which so many find great and reasonable pleasure. These he held in very light esteem. Although endowed with a keen sensibility to the beauties of nature, as his writings abundantly testify, he appeared to be singularly deficient in taste for art, always disclaiming the capacity to derive pleasure from it.

No pictures adorned his walls, and no sculpture found niches in his house. It seems difficult to account for this inaptitude to enjoy that which by many is justly accounted one of the choicest privileges of cultivated life. The only solution which suggests itself is to be found in the habits acquired in the severe simplicity of his early days, and in the self-denying economy which he was compelled to practise; limiting his expenditures to the absolute necessities of life,

and discarding every indulgence in what seemed a superfluity, or might interrupt his progress to the stations to which he aspired. Perhaps this misfortune, as many may deem it, was in part owing to the entire want of any opportunity for acquiring the rudiments of taste in art at the period of life when the faculties and feelings are most susceptible to its influence.

One of the peculiar traits of his social character was a ready wit, a faculty of repartee and badinage rarely excelled, if not very rarely equalled. But it was always entirely under his control, and was never suffered to transcend the bounds of a courteous urbanity, or of innocent amusement. Indeed, it was not unfrequently the happiest means of conveying an expression of his affection and regard for his friends; and occasionally it found vent in versification, indicating great readiness and felicity in such use of his pen. Nor did he shrink from the practical consequences of his merriment, if turned to account against him.

An amusing instance of his humor and readiness occurred while he was in the legislature. In an animated debate, a friend, whom he highly esteemed, ornamented an able argument, on the side to which Mr. Sturgis was opposed, with somewhat numerous quotations in Latin and Greek. As soon as he sat down, Mr. Sturgis arose, and remarked, "that he had been much impressed with the very able argument to which he had listened, and especially with the learned citations with which it had been adorned, and which, he did not doubt, were most apposite and illustrative, but which he, and, as he believed, a large majority of those to whom they were addressed, did not comprehend, not having been taught the languages in which they were uttered; that he was not willing, however, that his friend should carry off all the literary honors of the occasion, nor alone have the benefit of producing conviction by speaking in an unknown tongue; and, in conclusion, he repeated several sentences in the Indian language of the

North-west Coast, affirming that they were as much to the point, and doubtless as intelligible and convincing to most of those present, as had been the quotations in Latin and Greek with which the gentleman had favored them."

In commercial transactions and all matters of contract, Mr. Sturgis ever acted upon the highest principles of mercantile integrity. His extensive knowledge, quick perception, and understanding of human nature, gave him decided advantages over most men; but such was the legitimate and honorable use he made of them in negotiation, that no suspicion of his want of entire good faith was ever excited. Probably no man ever lived in our community in whose integrity, or in whose bare word, more implicit faith was reposed.

He had very large sums always invested in loans and personal securities; but he never took more than the legal rate of interest. In conversation, not long before his decease, he said to a friend: "I have never taken more than six per cent. for the money I have lent; and you may think this a little inconsistent, when I tell you, that, if it were a question of merchandise or stocks, I might make the very best bargain I could, and use in a proper way any knowledge I might have, which I had a right to, to give me the advantage. It is not my habit, my taste, if you please; and," he added, "I always remember a remark which old Mr. Astor once made to me, that the practice of taking usurious interest 'narrowed the mind and 'ardened the 'art.'"

His judgment upon all matters of investment was greatly prized and sought for, and always freely and cheerfully given, whatever might be his personal interests, — with the frank disclosure, however, of any that might be supposed to influence his opinion.

His extensive and familiar knowledge of all branches of trade and manufactures, and of the intrinsic values of estates real and personal, caused him to be much sought for as president or director in many of the larger and more important

incorporated institutions; the duties of which offices he performed with exemplary disinterestedness, punctuality, and fidelity.

The strength of the domestic affections in Mr. Sturgis was in correspondence with the other elements of his character. His love for his children and grandchildren was tender and intense, and was his chief source of daily interest and happiness, particularly in the later period of his life. He imparted to them liberally of his large fortune, and cultivated with them the habit of constant and cheerful intercourse; making his departure to be felt by them as the loss not only of a natural protector, but also of a familiar companion and confiding friend.

The depth of his parental attachment was manifested on the death of his son,—a youth of remarkable promise, both intellectual and moral, standing at the head of his class in the university, and equally conspicuous for every manly grace and virtue. He was suddenly killed, at the age of sixteen years, by a blow from the boom of a vessel, while he was on a sailing excursion. His father never recovered from this grief. He had naturally placed the fondest hopes in this only son, who had already become a proud ornament of his advancing age; who seemed possessed of every faculty and virtue which the fondest and most judicious parent could desire; and to whom he looked for the transmission of his name and reputation with increasing honor.

It was his first great grief; and its shadow darkened the whole remainder of his life. At first, the intensity of his agony was such, that no mention of the young man's name, or allusion to the event, was ever made; every one feeling, that, though not prohibited, the allusion would be but a fresh excitement of an uncontrollable sorrow with which the father was struggling. In his strong nature, he sought no sympathy, preferring to suffer in the solitude of his own soul; or he dared not trust himself to converse on the subject, lest it

might betray him into a weakness, to which he would not yield; or he felt, perhaps, that his loss was so profound and unutterable as to be beyond relief. This was indeed a sad mistake, in which, however, he continued for many years; and it was not until he was far advanced in life, that he could bear any allusion to this sorrow. But the "sable cloud" gradually "turned forth her silver lining on the night,"—in the subdued intensity of his character; the increasing tenderness of his affections; the touching sensibility which he manifested when a parental grief befell any one, however unknown, or otherwise a stranger to his heart; and in his manifestations of interest in the friends of his beloved boy. He became conscious of his error; and, in a letter of condolence to a friend in affliction, long after his son's death, he expressed his regret that he had thus yielded to his first impulses; and counselled free interchange of thought and feeling, as the natural, and among the most effectual, means of relief.

About twenty years before his death, his love of his family and his taste for the simplicity and surroundings of rural life, led him to establish a home in the country during the summer and autumn, where he could gather around him all his children and their families. For this purpose, he selected a spacious and commodious house, originally constructed for a summer hotel, on the border of Horn Pond,—one of the most beautiful and romantic of the many beautiful lakes with which New England abounds; and here they passed together many delightful seasons in the most unrestrained enjoyment of affectionate and confiding family intercourse, of a generous hospitality, and of all the simple luxuries which country life affords and country life alone can supply.

One side of the lake was bordered by very steep hills, rising abruptly, and covered with deep woods. He was wont in the evening to take his boat alone under the deep shadows of this shore, and remain there until quite late; where the solitude, evening grandeur, and utter stillness of

the scene, brought back to him, as he said, his early years on the North-west Coast.

He indulged his grandchildren in the most unrestrained liberty of familiar affection; and many hours, of the deepest interest to their parents and any visitors in the circle, as well as to the little ones, they passed in his company; when after frolicking with them in their childish games, he would yield to their solicitations for some stories about the Indians and the North-west Coast. Such narratives, beginning in the twilight on the piazza, were sometimes protracted into late evening, being enlivened with illustrations of the opinions or religious character of some Indian like Kilchart, until the listeners came to feel towards him as warm a personal friendship as did the narrator. To use the words of one who was familiar with his daily life there, "Those who then visited Horn Pond will not easily forget, either the natural beauty of the lake, with the densely wooded mountain rising beyond it, or the images of those who dwelt there, and who have since passed from this earth; who were so full of life and joy and radiance, and who entered so largely into the daily happiness of him who has just gone to meet them. There was in their character a loyalty, a straightforward truthfulness, a depth of affection, and a nobleness of nature, that were evidently hereditary."

The death, thus alluded to, of two of his beloved daughters, so changed the scene of such hitherto undisturbed and unalloyed happiness, and the effects of it were so great upon his heart, that the associations and the contrast became too painful; and this patriarchal summer home was, not long afterwards, relinquished.

Mr. Sturgis would probably not be accounted a religious man by those whose faith demands the nurture of a prescribed ritual or of stated observances; or by those whose piety leads to a self-denying asceticism, as a means of propitiating an offended God; or by those who base their trust upon the

intellectual belief of a particular scheme of salvation; or by those whose idea of the whole duty and destination of man is his exclusive culture and exercise of the devotional sentiments, regardless of the development of the other elements of his nature. But, if an entire conviction of the existence and attributes of God — as the Author and Supreme Governor of the universe; as a Ruler of infinite power, justice, and love; and as having designed his children for ultimate happiness hereafter, to be attained by means of the discipline of life, and by conscientious obedience to his will as revealed in his works, in the nature of the human soul, and in the inspirations of the teachers whom he has sent in all ages to enlighten them — if this entitle any man to the appellation of religious, it may be justly claimed for him. It is certain, however, that he made no especial pretensions to that character; and he would have infinitely preferred to be classed among the unbelieving, rather than to be guilty of the hypocrisy, or the blasphemy, of professing a faith that he did not sincerely entertain. His views of God were, that he is a beneficent Parent, who makes all things work together for good; and of death, that it is but an exchange of worlds, alike for the departing and for those soon to follow; and these views were beautifully illustrated in the following bequest in his will to one who was, otherwise than by the incident referred to, almost unknown to him: "I give and bequeath to the Rev. John H. Morison, of Milton, the sum of five hundred dollars, as a mark of my esteem and respect, and approval of the manner in which he led the services at the funeral of my late friend, W. W. Swain, at New Bedford. The cheerful and bright views of the change which we call death, that he expressed on that occasion, are altogether in accordance with my own long-cherished sentiments."

The personal appearance of Mr. Sturgis was very impressive. Although of rather low stature, his square frame, upright posture, and whole movement, indicated great muscular strength and energy. His head, rather closely set

upon the shoulders, was large; his forehead, broad and high; his eyes were of dark blue, overhung by peculiarly heavy brows; his nose was aquiline; and his mouth, when closed, strongly indicative of firmness and resolution. His countenance, when composed, was grave and full of expression,—a clear index of the dignity and energy by which he was ever distinguished; but, when lighted up by the tenderness of affection or the joyousness of spirit in which he abounded, or by the animation of conversation, it became singularly beaming with his emotions; giving to their utterance a gentleness, strength, or vivacity, never to be forgotten by those who enjoyed the privilege of familiar converse with him. It is greatly to be lamented by his friends and descendants, that an extreme aversion to having his portrait taken, or any representation made of him by which his personal appearance could be perpetuated, has deprived them of the treasure which a suitable likeness would have been.

The writer of this Memoir lays down his pen with regret. It has been to him a grateful occupation to dwell upon the character and remembered traits of one whose friendship, although acquired in the "sear and yellow leaf" of old age, had shed many refreshing influences, which he had hoped still longer to enjoy. No one can be so sensible as himself of the imperfect manner in which his pleasing duty has been performed; nor could any one have been more gratified, had he been enabled to lay a more fitting tribute upon the grave of one so much respected and beloved.

SEPTEMBER MEETING.

The Society held its stated monthly meeting this day, Thursday, Sept. 8, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

In the absence of the Librarian, the Recording Secretary announced donations from the American Antiquarian Society; the Mercantile-Library Association of New York; the New-England Loyal Publication Society; Thomas B. Akins, Esq.; John Appleton, M.D.; Major John W. M. Appleton; Messrs. William H. Forbes and Co.; John Jay, Esq.; Benjamin P. Johnson, Esq.; Allen Tenny, Esq.; Rev. Frederic A. Whitney; and from Messrs. Bartlet, Brooks (C.), Deane, Green, Robbins (C.), Washburn, Webb, and Winthrop, of the Society.

The President announced, as a gift to the Society from the author, two volumes,—one a “Memoir of the Hon. Reuel Williams,” prepared for the Maine Historical Society; the other “An Address delivered at the Erection of a Monumental Stone in the Walls of Fort Popham, Aug. 29, 1862,”—both by John A. Poor, Esq.

The President read a letter of invitation, from the committee of arrangements, to attend a celebration of the settlement of the town of Dartmouth: the invitation was accepted, and the appointing of a delegate was left with the President.

The President called the attention of the Society to the recent death of one of our foreign Corresponding Members, as follows:—

The Rev. Joseph Romilly was elected a foreign Corresponding Member of this Society on the eighth day of July, 1852. He was one of the senior Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge; and, for more than thirty years, the esteemed registrar of the university. It was in this capacity that he was able to render valuable service to the cause of American biography and history, by furnishing dates and facts connecting our New-England Fathers with one of the great universities of their native land. If our senior member, Mr. Savage, were with us to-day, he would unite with me in bearing testimony to the willing and abundant pains which Mr. Romilly had so often taken to answer our inquiries, and to the earnest interest which he always manifested in such researches as had for their object to illustrate the filial ties by which New-England men were bound to his own beloved *Alma Mater*. Mr. Savage would unite with me also in acknowledging the agreeable personal attentions we had both received from Mr. Romilly at his own chambers in Trinity, and the warm appreciation we both entertained of his character and accomplishments. Mr. Romilly was a nephew of the celebrated Sir Samuel Romilly, and cousin to the present Master of the Rolls. He was graduated at Trinity in 1813, in the high rank of fourth wrangler, and was afterwards chaplain to the late Archbishop of York. He died of disease of the heart, at Great Yarmouth, whither he had gone to recruit his health, on the 6th of August last, at the age of seventy-five.

The following paper, drawn up by the Assistant Librarian, Dr. APPLETON, was laid before the meeting; and some of the ancient maps referred to were exhibited:—

The early charts of the harbor of Boston are not generally included in the list of maps prepared by Dr. Shurtleff, and published in the last volume of Proceedings; and there are several charts and plans contained in the library of the So-

ciety, not mentioned in the list, which may be appropriately noticed in connection with it.

In a volume of charts presented in March last by William Winthrop, Esq., of Malta, entitled "L'Atlas Maritime," is a chart of the American coast from "Isle Royale" (Cape Breton) to New York, published in Paris by Bellin in 1757, containing upon one side a smaller plan, with the title "Plan du Havre du Baston," as the name is uniformly spelt wherever it occurs on the chart. The plan measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and includes Chelsea and Nahant on the north, and Weymouth and Hingham on the south. The Gallicized names applied to certain localities in the vicinity of Boston are rather amusing; but "Vinisimit," "Isle Hagman," "Calf Moon," "Isle Pumkins," and "Hoff's Tombs," will readily be recognized.

In Jeffrey's "American Atlas," published at London in 1776, in the corner of a map of New England is a "Plan of the Town of Boston," measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and comprising only the peninsula. It indicates, in common with several of the earlier maps, the position of the "Old Wharf," extending from the South Battery to Clarke's Wharf. The Great Elm on the Common is called "Liberty Tree." A marginal note gives the dates of the principal fires which had occurred in the town.

The collection entitled "L'Atlas Amériquin," Paris, 1778, contains a similar plan, of like dimensions, and representing the same objects, with the names translated into French; the outlines, &c., being apparently taken from the plan last mentioned.

In the fourth volume of "The Atlantic Neptune," published at London in 1781, may be found a "Chart of Boston Bay," measuring 39 by 28 inches, and including the coast from Beverly to Scituate. This chart is compiled by "J. F. W. Des Barres, Surveyor of the Coast and Harbors of North America." There is also, in the same volume, a plan of the

harbor, and of the coast from Nahant to Nantasket Beach, on a larger scale; and on the sheets immediately following are several views of the town, the entrance to the harbor, &c., which are finely executed.

Another miscellaneous collection contains a "Chart of the Harbor of Boston," without date, or name of engraver or publisher, but probably issued about 1776, as the "Ruins of Charlestown" are indicated, and "Charlestown Tree" is mentioned as a noted landmark. The size of this plate is $34\frac{1}{2}$ by 21 inches.

The earliest manuscript plan of any part of the peninsula of Boston, which I have seen, is a curious sketch by John Bonner, drawn in 1714, exhibiting the water-front, with the wharves from Long Wharf to Windmill Point, and the names of the owners; showing also that portion of the "Old Wharf" which extended from the South Battery to Long Wharf, and indicating the depth of water in the channel "in footes," to use the expression of Bonner. This plan is also interesting, as it represents the appearance of the warehouses on Long Wharf at that time, as viewed from the South Battery. The dimensions of the sheet are 18 by $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

There is also a rudely drawn manuscript plan of the harbor and adjacent parts of the country, 8 by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in measurement, dated in 1776, and exhibiting the position of the American forces during the siege of Boston; the number of the Continental troops being stated at twenty thousand, and the Royal forces in the town at eight thousand men.

It may be mentioned, that we have now in the library two excellent impressions of the map of Beaurain, noticed by Dr. Shurtleff, and containing the representation of the Continental or Pine-tree banner. One copy, colored, is in the atlas presented in 1859 by Count Jules de Ménéou: the other is among the donations of the last year by William Appleton, Esq.

REV. CHARLES BROOKS made the following report:—

MR. PRESIDENT,—Appointed to examine the evidence for the genuineness of the sword which has been given to our Society by A. L. Rawson, Esq., as the sword used by Colonel John Brooks in the battle at Saratoga, on the 7th of October, 1777, I am able to report that *it is the sword he wore on that memorable day*. A few words concerning his use of it may lead us to value it as one of the precious relics in our collection of Revolutionary jewels.

Its form and finish are like those used by captains of the common militia after 1750. Fond of military service, he probably used this sword on the 19th of April, 1775, when, as captain of the "Reading Minute-men," he encountered the British troops at Concord and Lexington. Dr. Ripley's History says, "As the enemy passed the road from Bedford, they met a body of minute-men, commanded by Major John Brooks. There was a sharp action, and several of the British were killed." Mr. Foster, an eye-witness, says, "The enemy faced about suddenly, and fired a volley of musketry upon us. They overshot. The fire was immediately returned, and two British soldiers fell dead in the road near the brook."

The sword was kept in its owner's possession for the next seven eventful years; but I will name only one of the many memorable occasions on which he drew it,—*the Battle of Saratoga*, where 5,752 of the enemy were compelled to surrender.

The historian says, "Jackson's regiment of Massachusetts, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks, was still more successful. It turned the right of the encampment, and carried by storm the works occupied by the German reserve. Brooks maintained the ground he had gained. This advantage of the Americans was decisive."

Another historian, a member of the army, says, "The capture of General Burgoyne and his army may be attributed in

no small degree to the gallant conduct of Colonel Brooks and his regiment on the 7th of October."

In 1819, the Hon. Roger Wolcott Williams, of Connecticut, gave me a minute account of Colonel Brooks's skill and bravery on that occasion. I will only mention the central fact. When he saw the decisive moment had come, he lifted his sword in the air, and commanded his regiment to follow their colonel at "double-quick." He immediately led the way to the top of the intrenchments, — a mark to a thousand sharpshooters, — crying, "Come on, come on!" They did come on; and the most violent and bloody conflict ensued, in which they decided the fate of the day.

Another quotation from an eye-witness shall close my report. He says, "The confidence which Washington reposed in Colonel Brooks was shown on many occasions, and particularly in calling him to his councils in that terrible moment, when at Newburgh, in March, 1783, a conspiracy of some of the officers had well-nigh disgraced the army and ruined the country. On this occasion, the commander-in-chief, *to whom this was the most anxious moment of his life*, rode up to Colonel Brooks, with intent to ascertain how the officers stood affected. Finding him, as he expected, to be sound, he requested him to keep his officers within quarters, to prevent them from attending the insurgent meeting. Brooks replied, "Sir, I have anticipated your wishes, and my orders are given." Washington, with tears in his eyes, took him by the hand, and said, "COLONEL BROOKS, THIS IS JUST WHAT I EXPECTED FROM YOU." I hope the sword we own will be called the *Sword of Saratoga*.

The President remarked as follows: —

It seems that the British Archæological Association have recently been paying a visit to the county of Suffolk in old England. At one of their meetings in Ipswich, a paper was read, which is thus described in a recent English paper:

“Mr. C. Hopper read a paper on Suffolk emigrants to *New Zealand* (!) in 1634, with a letter to Archbishop Laud, beseeching him to hinder the emigration; and an account of two emigrant-ships fitted out at Ipswich in 1633. Mr. James Read incidentally remarked, that the result of the above emigration was the founding of the town of Ipswich in Massachusetts; and that one of the passengers, John Webster, was the father (!) of Daniel Webster, the celebrated American statesman.” It may fairly be presumed, that *New Zealand* in this paragraph was a misprint for *New England*; and that some remote ancestor of the late Daniel Webster, rather than the father, was intended to be suggested as a passenger in an emigrant ship in 1634. The paper, however, could hardly fail to be interesting to us; and he hoped it might be forthcoming, in a more extended and accurate form, at some future day.

Mr. DEANE said he wished to call the attention of members to some papers then lying upon the table, which had been placed in his hands a few weeks since by Dr. Palfrey, who had procured them from London to illustrate a certain portion of his “*History of New England*,” the third volume of which was then in the press. Dr. Palfrey had kindly consented that they should be read to the meeting, and then take their place in a volume of the Society’s Proceedings. The papers consisted of copies of two letters of Josiah Winslow, Governor of Plymouth Colony,—one addressed to his majesty Charles the Second, the other to Henry Coventry, Esq.; and two speeches of Joseph Dudley, delivered at the time he was inaugurating his brief administration as President of New England in 1686. The letters of Winslow here follow:—

Josiah Winslow to King Charles the Second.

State Paper Office — Colonial Series.
Colonial Papers
No 46 Art 149.

In another hand:—
[“ From the Gov^r of N Plimouth with
the Indian spoiles.”]

DREAD SOVERAIGNE, — Your unworthy servant and subject humbly craves your royall pardon for this bold intrusion to kiss your hands by these rude lines, and hope I shall obtayne it because they flowe from no other fountayne but the loyalty of my harte and affections to your Majestey's person and intrest. I have bene greatly ambitious ever since your happy returne to your kingdomes to have wayted on your Majesty, that I might have obtayned the happyness to see the Prince in whome the Nations that are your subjects are soe happy, but being prevented by some publike employe put upon mee (altho unworthy) in this your Colony of New Plymouth, and espetically in two or three years last past of our troubles, ocationed by the rebellion of some of our neighbouring Sachems or Indian Princes and their people and allies, I dispaire (at least for the present) to enjoye such favoure, and therefore adventure these few lines, not to give your Majesty the trouble to take notice of the many Callamities your prorer subjects in these coloneys have induered by a warr with so barbarouse an enemy (because I know that will bee presented to your Majestey's veiw by some that have lately put forth the narrative therof) but only to assuer you that as wee were no way injuriose or provoaking so as to ocation their rebellion, neyther have wee failed to the uttermost of our power to maintayne your Majestey's interest and our owne, agaynst theyre unreasonable and violent intrusions. And as God hath graciously owned and blest us in that affaire so we beg your Majestey's good acceptance there in; and that the contynued smiles of your fav^rable aspect may make us revive and flowrish after such killing troubles. I shall not presume to give your Majesty further trouble but to crave your favourable acceptance of these few Indian rareties, beeing the best of our spoyles, and the best of the ornaments and treasure of sachem Phillip the grande Rebell, the most of them taken from him by Capt. Benjamin Church (a person of great loyalty and the most successfull of our Commanders) when hee was slayne by him; beeing his Crowne, his gorge, and two belts of their owne makeing of their golde and silver;

praying dayly for your Majesteys long life and happy raigne and
that God will bless you with a numerouse and virtuouse progeny,
and grant that you and they may be inthroned in his heavenly
Kingdome, I crave leave to subscribe greate Sire

Your most unworthy srvt

NEW PLYMOUTH
June 28 77.

and loyall subject

JOSIAH WINSLOW.

(*In dorso*)

From y^e gov^r of Plymouth to y^e King. 26 July 1676.[?]

B A

P-8

Scaled with a coat of arms.

(*Addressed*)

To the most Illustreouse Prince Charles the second by the grace of God of England
Scotland France and Ireland King at his Courte these humbly p^{re}sent
Whitehall.

Josiah Winslow to Henry Coventry.

State Paper Office — Colonial Series.
Colonial Papers
No 46 Art 201.

[*In another hand.*—
"Touching Mounthorpe."]

MARSHFIELD, May 1st 1680.

RIGHT HONORABLE, — I received yours of y^e twenty sixth day of
Sept 79 by hand of Mr Randolph, informing of his Majestys reception
and graciouse acceptance of our letters of y^e first of July 79. It
would bee high ingratitude not to give your hon^r my humble thanks
for such a favour, and imprudence not to imbrace and improve that
opportunity of acquaintance & corispondency w^{ch} your curteouse lines
incourage to. I intreate your Hon^r therefore to be assured that I
am very ambitious (as to serve his Majtys interest in generall) soe
to serve your Hon^r pticularly in any thing whereing I may: &
concerning this poor Colony I can give this testimony, that they are
generally (I believe I might say universally) a people of as loyall a
spirit as are liveing in any of his Majestys plantations, and will I hope
be redy at all times to give such demonstration of it as opportunity
and their capacity will inable them unto. Sr wee were very unhappy
in the miscariage of our first Letters and address to his Majesty,
copy of which wee sent the last year, w^{ch} your Hon and the Honor-
able Sr Rob^t Southwell in the name of the Right Honorable y^e
Lords of his Majesty Privy Counsell tells us, wth our last, are under
the consideration of the Lords of the Comittee for Trade and Forraine
Plaintations in order to an answer. Wee doubt not of his Majestys
Justise and favour in the granting us free enjoyment of the lands of

Mount Hope therein mentioned (wch is known to all our neighbours to be clearely and all most in the midst of our Pattent grant, all though possess by Sachem Phillip untill y^e late Indian warr and then dearly purchased by great expence of blood and treasure) but the timely receipt of those letters might have prevented y^e suspension wee are under of settleing them: ocationed by Mr John Crowns petitioning his Majesty for them. Sr I request you will be his Majestys remembrancer in our behalf for his speedy and favourable determination therein for as much as wee have now opportunity to settle a trading plantation there by merchants and others out of Boston Colony of good estate, by wch I hope wee should in short time be more serviceable to his Majty^s then formerly. His Majty^s returning thanks by yo^r Hon^{rs} hands for that small present mentioned in those letters (although never rec^d) doth all most inforce me to name y^e person that I have reason to believe detaines them: they were by the shipmaster that carryed them delivered to Mr Ashurst of London, mercht, and by him, as hee writes me word, delivered to my wives brother, Majr Waldegrave Pelham, an Essex gentleman of Ferriers Hall in Bewers, beeing by him demanded by my letter, for I wrote to him to present the letters &c to his Majty in my name and I doubt not but hee had them, & possibly Mr Ashurst son or serv^t can prove the delivery of it to him. I was very unwilling because of our relation to have named him, but I have twice write to him very plainely and advised him to frame y^e best excuse he could for his neglect, and yett to deliver them; but he will not give mee a word in answer; if his Majesty should see cause to co^mmand him before him I beleive they might yett be obtained. And hee would indeed for such a presumption deserve a severe check, yett I cannot but intreat favour for him (notwithstanding besides this injury he detaynes from his sister above a thousand pounds due to us being legacies given by her father and grand father to both, he being heire and executor. Pardon that degression. Sr I have drawn up and here inclosed returned your Hon^{rs} a breif answer to y^e queries directed to mee as pticular as at present I could and very faithfully according to my understanding: only a cobby of our charter I have not sent because wee have not had a genell court without whose advise or knowledg to have sent it I knew it would have been ill taken; but I beleive they will be perswaded to send some meet pson to waite upon his Majty wth it. Mr Randolph hath seen y^e originall and plainely understands it to take in great pt of the Narrigansett country soe much controverted about by Conecticot & Road Island, but his Majty^s good pleasure in

these matters shall quiet us who desire not to be more great then good. Sr I have nothing of news worthy your knowledge. Mr Randolph will give you full knowledg of our Countrey. Craveing pardon for my prolixity, praying God to bless his Majty and Court & pticularly wishing your Hon^{rs} prosperity I crave leave to subscribe

Yo^r Hon^{rs} .

faithfull and humble serv^t

JOSIAH WINSLOW.

(*In dorso*)

N PLYMOUTH 1 May 1680.

From Mr Winslow to Mr Coventry

Rec^d the 30 June 1680

From the E of Sunderland.

(*Address*)

To the Right Honorable Henry Coventry Esq^r one of his Majestys

Principle Secritarys at his Lodgings these present

Whitehall.

B B

P-2

Mr. Deane remarked that the speeches of Dudley were printed in Boston soon after they were delivered, but do not appear to have been reprinted since ; and no copy of that publication exists here. Indeed, the first speech, of the 17th of May, is not known to be extant in this country ; nor have our public records preserved any notice that such an address was made by Dudley to the General Court on laying his commission before that body. A copy of the second speech was procured some years since from the State-paper Office in London, and may be found in the " Council Records " at the State House. Mr. Deane further remarked as follows : —

It will be remembered, Mr. President, that the proceedings against the Massachusetts Charter, which had been going on for some years in England, chiefly under the instigation of " that evil genius of New England," Randolph, were brought to a close in October, 1684, when the judgment (conditionally rendered the June before) was finally entered up ; a copy of which was received here by Secretary Rawson, 2d of July,

1685. Before any new government, however, was established, King Charles died. Blaithwait then wrote to the Governor, advising an immediate proclaiming of King James; which was done April 20, "with sorrowful and affected pomp," at the town-house in Boston. But, in the language of Hutchinson, "there were symptoms of an expiring constitution." Several of the towns had neglected, in 1684, to send their deputies to the General Court; and the records show that but little business was done. An equal indifference was manifested relative to public affairs in the Legislature the next year. But the forms of government, under the old charter, were feebly continued till May, 1686; on the 12th of which month the usual elections took place, and Bradstreet was re-elected governor. Two or three days after, the "Rose" frigate arrived at Boston,* bringing a commission to Joseph Dudley, as "President of New England."† Although it was some relief to the people of Massachusetts to escape the infliction with which they had been threatened in the person of the notorious Kirke as governor, still Dudley's appointment, under a novel and arbitrary constitution of government, was regarded as but the lesser evil. They now fully realized that their charter privileges were gone.

The General Court was then in session. On the 17th, a copy of Dudley's commission was laid before them, and also the exemplification of the judgment given in the High Court of Chancery against the charter; and the first of the two speeches before us was made by the President. An answer to Dudley, "and the rest of the gentlemen named in

* Some authorities say he arrived on the 14th, and some say the 15th, of May. Hutchinson gives the latter date.

† Dudley's commission, which bears date 8th October, 1685, made him President of Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, and the Narraganset Country. It named a council of seventeen persons. Governor Bradstreet, and his son Dudley Bradstreet, whose names were included in it, refused to serve. The entire commission is not known to be extant. An extract from it may be found in 1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, v. 244-246; see also Hutchinson's *Mass.*, i. 351.

his majesty's commission," was resolved upon by the Court on the 20th, which concludes thus: "We think it highly concerns you to consider whether such a commission be safe either for you or us: but if you are so satisfied therein as that you hold yourselves obliged thereby, and do take upon you the government of this people, although we cannot give our assent thereto, yet hope [we] shall demean ourselves as true and loyal subjects to his majesty; and humbly make our addresses unto God, and in due time to our gracious prince, for our relief."

On the same day, the Court passed an order appointing "a committee for a repository of such papers on file with the Secretary as refer to our charter, and negotiations from time to time for the security thereof, with such as refer to our title to our land by purchase of Indians or otherwise; and the Secretary is ordered to deliver the same to them." The following, of the same date, is the last entry in the records of the expiring government: "This day the whole Court met at the Governor's house; and there the Court was adjourned to the second Wednesday in October next, at eight of the clock in the morning."*

A few days later, on the 25th of May, the President and Council met. The copy of the judgment against the charter was read, with his majesty's commission to the new government. The President and Council took the oath of allegiance, and Dudley delivered the second of the two speeches referred to; at the close of which, a proclamation was read, setting forth his majesty's commission, which was "published by beat of drum, and sound of trumpet," and ordered to be sent to every town.† Thus was inaugurated the administration of Joseph Dudley, soon to be superseded by that of the detested Andross.

* Hutchinson's *Mass.*, first ed., i. 340-343; Chalmers' *Annals*, 417; Barry's *Mass.*, i. 477, 478; *Mass. Col. Rec.*, v. 514, 515; 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, ii. 284, 285.

† Barry's *Mass.*, i. 481.

[*A printed paper*][*This in MS. :—*
"Speeches of the President of New England
Rec^d 5 Aug^t 1686."]*By the President and Council of His Majesties Territory and Dominion
of New England in America :—*

Whereas the President and Council are informed that many false Representations and reflections have been made upon what was lately spoken and declared by the President in the Council House at Boston when he together with the members of the Council did there shew forth and publish to such of the late Magistrates and Deputies and other principal inhabitants as were then present the Exemplification of the Judgement of his Majesty in his High Court of Chancery against the late Governour and Company of this place as also his Majesties Royal Commission for the erecting of the present Government they have thought it expedient that the Presidents speech taken verbatim by credible persons be forthwith printed and published.

EDWARD RANDOLPH, *Secr.*COUNCIL HOUSE, BOSTON, June 3^d 1686.

The Speech of the Honourable Joseph Dudley Esq President of his Majesties Council of this his territory and Dominion of New England to the late General Assembly in the Council-House in Boston May 17 1686 is as followeth.

GENTLEMEN, — Here are present of His Majesties Council several of this place besides whom there are other gentlemen whom we have desired to be here as witnesses of what we have in charge to declare unto you.

And First I must acquaint you that we may now take you now only for such as you are (*viz*) considerable gentlemen of this place and Inhabitants of all parts of the countrey, and so a proper assembly to have his Majesties commands communicated to you and under that notion we treat with you, we may not deal with you as a Governour and Company any more.

The first thing we notife to you is the exemplification of a judgement entered on his Majesties behalf given in his High Court of Chauncery against the Charter and Government of this place. We are commanded to make it known to his Majesties subjects here and we are willing to do it first to yourselves. From your Attourney (while you were in Being) I had a copy of it and it was communi-

cated to the Council here read in the House of Magistrates and in the House of Deputyes, the difference betwixt them is in these words [where[upon] a copy of the *Inspeximus* was read]. I leave it with you to be added to what I formerly gave you: if any gentlemen desire further satisfaction, there will be an office open suddenly where it may be seen.

The next thing is, His Majesties pleasure to settle a government here. The copy of his Royal Commission for that end we sent to you and understand it has been communicated. We are next to notify unto you His Majesties grace and favour for the encouragement of Trade in settling a Vice admiralty here with power and authority to extend from the Territory of New York to the utmost bounds of his Majesties Dominion Eastward the management of which is to be in this place, each page is signed with his Majesties own hand (His Majesty being pleased to manage the Admiralty in his own Royal person) and I here present you with the sight of it.

We have further letters from his Majesty and the honourable the Lords Committees for Forreign Plantations and I am willing his Majesties subjects here should know (so farr as concerns them) the directions and instructions therein contained. And we have other particular instructions for his Majesties service, but if any be so hardy (as is said) to object to any clauses in his Majesties commission we have no direction or allowance to capitulate with you about his Majesties command therein. We hope you will not ask things of us we are not allowed to argue, such must apply themselves immediately to his Majesty. It may be thought the unkindness of this good people and the many injuries they have done me may have put me forward to doe more in this matter than otherwise I would have done. I will endeavour and (I will assure you) I will pray to God to enable me I may forget all injuries and and * prejudices and if I can do any thing towards an Indulgence † in matters of Religion and put forward the good of this place and represent their grievances (when I shall orderly know them) I shall be glad to serve you as well as ever I have done and more.

The address of this cuntryes Governour and Company could not come to the kings ear, nor obtain the sight of his Majesty, but if these gentlemen whose Estates and Interests are here amongst you can assist to the advancement of any thing that can secure you or

* Sic.

† Misprinted Idulgence.

represent your interest to the king His Majesty has allowed us and graciously commanded us so to doe ; and there will be alwaies something for you to ask which cannot be laid before his Majesty but by the humble address of the Persons now betruſted, and you need not ſolicit them to aſſiſt in what they know requisite for this peoples good.

Mr. Danforth. I ſuppoſe you expect no reply from the Court?

Pres. I know no Court here in being till the kings Court be in order and ſetled ; and it will incurr the kings diſpleaſure ſo to underſtand yourſelves and I ſuppoſe what I now ſpeak is the mind of the reſt of the Council here preſent.

To which the gentlemen of His Majesties Council then aſſented.

The ſpeech of Joſeph Dudley Eſq Preſident of His Majesties Council of this his territory and dominion of New England to the aſſembly in the Council Houſe in Boſton May 25th 1686 wher the Kings Commiſſion was read and the Preſident and Council ſworn and took their places accordingly.

GENTLEMEN, — Both my ſelf and the other honourable members of his Majesties Council preſent have taken this Government and Bench by his Majesties ſpecial command wherein we are required all excuſes ſet aſide to take the charge and management of this his Majesties territory and dominion of New England and by all meanes carefully to intend his ſervice and the growth and flouriſhing of theſe plantations and you have now ſeen us ſolemnly ſworn according to the direction in his Majesties Commiſſion even now read and publiſhed unto you. And you muſt allow me to tell you that it is impoſſible for my ſelf and theſe gentlemen of all whoſe ability induſtry and loyalty I have no reaſon to doubt, except for my ſelf, I ſay it is impoſſible for us to bring to paſs his Majesties deſire and expectation which we are well aſſured is no other than the happy increaſe and advance of theſe provinces by their more immediate dependence upon the Crown of England, unleſs all his good ſubjects intend and conſpire the ſame by a ſober loyal and dutiful demeanour towards his Majesties government here which therefore we now adviſe you of as the plaineſt path unto your own happineſs and of which we may not doubt that you will not fail us.

The neceſſary alterations in the rule and form of adminiſtration of this this * his Majesties Government from the methods late uſed

* *Sic.*

by the Government while it stood by charter as (by his Majesties Indulgence and favour) they need be but a few so we assure you shall with all care and prudence be contrived as plain and easie as is possible, and we shall hasten humbly to lay them at his Most gracious Majesties feet for his allowance and confirmation.

I may not omit to remark unto you in his Majesties Commission that gracious and favourable clause of Indulgence in matters of religion so necessary for the peace and flourishing of this place as also that of his Command unto his President and Council here that they further lay before him such methods and rules in Government as are necessary for you and when we are commanded to ask, we are assured that so just and wise a prince as our sovereign (whom we serve) is, doth not mean to deny. It greatly imports us therefore and I humbly pray to God that we may improve both the said Indulgence and direction of address to his Majesty, to his Majesty's satisfaction and our own future lasting benefit.

If there be any so ill minded as to suppose they are now escaped from under a strict and severe government and think to allow themselves in debauchery and ill living, (which have hitherto happily been prevented from over running these Plantations, and which hath been the true cause of their being so much more considerable than their neighbours) we do assure them, and we do humbly render our thanks to God and his Majesty that his commands and directions to us are expressly to the contrary and most agreeable to our own inclinations. And we do therefore justly expect from the several justices of the peace constables and other officers now presently to be commissioned and established that they carefully intend the suppression of all vice and ill manners and we shall alwaies strengthen your hands therein and God can make the success happy.

I shall have done when I have told you that for the injuries late offered to myself by this people I should not once have mentioned them but to assure you that I have perfectly forgotten them and that I am a true and sincere lover of my countrey and shall by all means (if I may be therein assisted and advised) not fail to demonstrate it unto you by the following short administration of government; and this I say as remembering that (you well know) I have my account to make immediately to his Majesty and finally to God the judge of all.

Boston

Printed by Richard Pierce for Samuel Phillips
and are to be sold at his shop at the West end of the Exchange.

MDCLXXXVI.

Mr Lawrence addressed the meeting as follows:—

Mr. PRESIDENT, — A review of the financial history of those nations which in modern times have been engaged in protracted wars would be an interesting study, and at this time useful to ourselves, in showing the consequences which follow the adoption of different theories.

In the remarks now submitted, the design will be only to direct attention to the method of carrying on war, in a single instance, adopted by Prussia, by the United States, France, and England.

Frederick the Great, when he came to the throne of Prussia in 1738, found himself at the head of a finely ordered military establishment, with an exchequer free from debt. The maxims of his father were not lost to him. To the policy which they indicated, and to his army of sixty thousand men, he ascribed the fact, that his little kingdom of five million people held a position next to the first nations of Europe.

On the death of the Emperor Charles the Sixth of Germany, he moved his army into Silesia, and seized that province, contrary to solemn treaties, and in opposition to the remonstrances of the Great Powers. His course provoked a war, which proved one of the most memorable of modern times. For seven years, Prussia fought the greatest military nations of Europe, and was unconquered. During this war, the population decreased one-tenth. One-sixth of the males of military age perished in the military service. The fields were ravaged by the armies of her enemies: fifteen thousand houses were burned. The English and German allies lost a hundred and sixty thousand men; the Swedes, twenty-five thousand; the princes of the empire, twenty-eight thousand. The Russians lost a hundred and twenty thousand in four battles; the Austrians lost a hundred and forty thousand in ten battles; the French lost two hundred thousand soldiers.

All these countries incurred great debts, except Prussia: she incurred none. England doubled her debt of seventy-two million pounds; France borrowed two thousand million francs; Austria, five hundred million florins; Sweden was almost bankrupt. Frederick, on the contrary, incurred no debts; but he enforced strict economy, and levied heavy taxes. The civil magistrates received a bare subsistence: the court fared not much better than the army. The king asserted, that no one could complain so long as there was an abundance of potatoes and rye-bread; that with these, and with lead and gunpowder and horses, he could defy all Europe. His energy, and his adherence to his policy, carried the country through. His enemies were driven from his soil. With the cessation of hostilities came a diminution of taxes, and the recuperative power of the nation had full force.*

The history of our own Revolution is one of financial disaster. The relations of the provinces to each other did not permit the adoption and enforcement of a uniform financial system. The issues of legal-tender notes caused them steadily to depreciate, until they ceased to be exchangeable for gold and silver. Debtors seized the opportunity to liquidate the claims against them, and creditors were ruined. As the war continued, the Continental currency ceased to command the commonest necessaries of life; then it disappeared, and never was redeemed.†

* See Macaulay's *Essay on Frederick the Great*; Campbell's *Frederick the Great*, vol. ii.

† The permanent war-debt in 1790 was \$79,124,464, including \$25,000,000 expended by the States. This had been selling for about ten cents on the dollar. After the adoption of the Constitution, this was funded, and was ultimately paid. The treasury notes or Continental currency, issued from 1776 to 1781, was \$357,476,000. All of these which were outstanding when they ceased to circulate were lost to the holders of them. The war-debt of 1812 and 1815 was \$49,780,822, funded; \$18,452,800, treasury notes. The old debt remaining in 1814 was \$39,905,183, making the total debt in 1815, \$108,138,805, all of which was paid.—*Pitkin's "History of the United States."*

In the European war which lasted from 1793 to 1815, Great Britain incurred the largest debt which has ever been funded, and which has commanded the confidence of the people. The banks ceased to pay in specie in 1797. Then the Bank of England increased its circulation, until it rose from £9,047,000 to £27,261,000. The number of country banks increased from four hundred in 1797 to nine hundred and twenty-two in 1815.* The public expenditure, which was £24,713,000 in 1793, had risen to £105,678,000 in 1815. Undisturbed by hostile armies, agriculture and manufactures never were so flourishing. The depreciation of the currency was only twenty-six per cent, as compared with gold.

The difference in the price of produce was much greater. The average rise in the price of six staple articles (wheat, barley, oats, rye, beans, pease), in nineteen years, was a hundred and fifteen per cent. But the cost, in five counties, of keeping the poor, was advanced in ten years (1801 to 1811) only twenty-six per cent,† which shows that pauperism diminished. The weekly wages in woollen factories were increased, from 1795 to 1815, fifty-five per cent.‡ The wages of skilled mechanics were increased, from 1800 to 1814, eighty-one per cent.§ The rent of arable land rose from ten shillings an acre in 1790 to forty-five shillings in 1812; which shows great agricultural prosperity. The advance in the price of fourteen leading articles (including iron, wheat, beef, sugar, butter, hops) was ninety per cent. ||

After twenty-seven years, specie payments were resumed; and now the debt and the currency of Great Britain command the confidence of the world.

The history of the French Revolution, and the wars that

* Encyc. Brit., Art. Money and Banks.

† Encyc. Brit., Art. Manchester.

‡ Encyc. Brit., Art. Woollen Manufactures

§ Tooke on Prices, p. 158.

|| See Tooke's Tables; Appendix to Part IV.

followed it, is one of commercial and financial disorder. So much gold and silver had been sent abroad, or had been hoarded, owing to the fear of popular disturbance, that it was impossible for the government to meet its payments. In this emergency, the National Assembly, in 1790, ordered an issue of paper-money.

At the same time, the municipalities were authorized to purchase upon credit the church and crown lands which had been confiscated, giving for them bills payable at fixed times; thus affording them an opportunity to resell the lands to individuals when the times should be more propitious. These municipal bills were made a legal tender, and were the forerunners of the "assignats." As the prices of commodities advanced, more money was required for the transaction of business; and the National Assembly, having taken possession of the lands of the refugees, thus holding nearly half of the real estate of the republic, began to issue paper-money based on the credit thus obtained. These were the assignats. They served the purpose of the government; and the creditors were forced to receive them in liquidation of their claims. With them were purchased the supplies and equipments necessary for the levy of 1,500,000 troops; and with them the soldiers were paid. When the issue of assignats amounted, in 1796, to five thousand million francs, their value had become so reduced, that the public and private creditors suffered great injustice. Then legislation was resorted to; which imposed on all who refused to take the currency, or who traded in gold and silver, or who speculated in articles of necessity, the severest penalties. This stopped trade. Producers refused to offer for sale what they could only exchange for assignats. A remedy was sought in severe taxation, discriminating against the rich. In fixing the tax on incomes, it was decided that one thousand francs was enough for each member of a family: all above that was called superfluous, and was therefore subject to the call of the government.

The assignats having ceased to perform the office of currency, it was decreed that a new issue of paper should be made, called "mandates;" and this should be exchangeable for assignats, in the proportion of one to thirty. They were made a legal tender; and heavy penalties were decreed against all who refused to receive them: but they sunk rapidly in value, and the country was left without a currency. Meantime, a great portion of the property of France had been transferred from the original owners to new men. Debtors had paid their obligations in depreciated paper, and had become rich. Great fortunes had been made by speculations, and by contracts given to the favorites of the government. Annuitants, and those who relied on fixed values for their incomes, were impoverished not much less than those whose estates had been confiscated. In six years from the first issuing of the assignats, the laws were repealed which made paper-money a legal tender; and the assignats and the mandates disappeared, and never were redeemed.

Since the commencement of the present Rebellion, the National Government has made extraordinary efforts, by loans payable in specie and by the issue of legal-tender notes, to raise the means for its suppression. Until recently, there has been no system of severe and general taxation: therefore the increase of debt has been rapid. Since the suspension of specie payments by the banks, there has been a steady rise of values, though not in proportion to the rise of gold. In July last, when gold was at two hundred and eighty, the rise in prices of twenty staple articles,* over the prices in July, 1860, was a hundred and twenty-five per cent.

In making estimates of the amount of debt to be paid by taxation, there must be included the debts of States, cities, and towns. No table of these has been published.

* Pot and pearl ashes, sperm candles, anthracite coal, sheathing-copper, coffee, cotton, flour, corn, beans, hay, American iron, lead, molasses, linseed-oil, lard-oil, rice, sugar, rum, and wool.

Mr SPARKS related an anecdote of Washington, told him by Lafayette, at La Grange, in 1828. One day, while the army was encamped at Morristown, N. J., Lafayette, who was a constant visitor at headquarters, saw a citizen of that place, who had been on terms of friendly intercourse with Washington, enter the room, and address the General as usual; but he observed that Washington received him very coldly, with a mere nod of the head. Lafayette thought but little of this, as the General was busy at the time in consultation with some officers, and in looking over some papers. But the gentleman repeated his visit, and met with a similar reception, although Washington, at this time, did not appear to be specially engaged. Lafayette, who was on the most intimate relations with Washington, took occasion to ask the General the reason for his change of manner towards this person.

It appears, that, but a short time before, the State of New Jersey had complied with the recommendation of Congress to the States, and passed an act making the Continental currency a legal tender in that State; and it had come to Washington's knowledge, that this man had availed himself of his legal privileges, and paid off a debt, contracted under a different state of things, in this depreciated currency. On Lafayette's asking the General, therefore, the cause of his coldness to this person, with whom he had been on friendly terms, Washington replied, that he had tried to speak to him, but, "that Continental money stuck in my throat, and the words would not come out!"

Meeting dissolved.

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