Old South Leaflets.

The Story of Massachusetts.
INTRODUCTION.

The Old South Leaflets were prepared primarily for circulation among the attendants upon the Old South Lectures for Young People. The subjects of the Leaflets are immediately related to the subjects of the lectures, and they are intended to supplement the lectures and stimulate historical interest and inquiry among the young people. They are made up, for the most part, from original papers of the periods treated in the lectures, in the hope to make the men and the public life of the periods more clear and real.

The Old South Lectures for Young People were instituted in the summer of 1883, as a means of promoting a more serious and intelligent attention to historical studies, especially studies in American history among the young people of Boston. The success of the lectures has been so great as to warrant the hope that such courses may be sustained in many other cities of the country.

The Old South Lectures for 1883, intended to be strictly upon subjects in early Massachusetts History, but by certain necessities somewhat modified, were as follows: “Governor Bradford and Governor Winthrop,” by Edwin D. Mead. “Plymouth,” by Mrs. A. M. Diaz. “Concord,” by Frank B. Sanborn. “The Town-meeting,” by Prof. James K. Hosmer. “Franklin, the Boston Boy,” by George M. Towle. “How to study American History,” by Prof. G. Stanley Hall. “The Year 1777,” by John Fiske. “History in the Boston Streets,” by Edward Everett Hale. The Leaflets prepared in connection with these lectures consisted of (1) Cotton Mather’s account of Governor Bradford, from the “Magnalia”; (2) the account of the arrival of the Pilgrims at Cape Cod from Bradford’s Journal; (3) an extract from Emerson’s Concord Address in 1835; (4) extracts from Emerson, Samuel Adams, De Tocqueville, and others, upon the Town-meeting; (5) a portion of Franklin’s Autobiography; (6) Carlyle on the Study of History; (7) an extract from Charles Sumner’s oration upon Lafayette, etc.; (8) Emerson’s poem, “Boston.”

Adams, on Republican Government; (6) extracts from Josiah Quincy's Boston Address of 1830; (7) Words of Webster; (8) a portion of Governor Andrew's Address to the Massachusetts Legislature in January, 1861.


Henry's First Speech against the Constitution, in the Virginia Convention; (7) the Federalist, No. IX.; (8) Washington's First Inaugural Address.


The Old South Lectures are devoted primarily to American history. But it is a constant aim to impress upon the young people the relations of our own history to English and general European history. It was hoped that the glance at some striking chapters in the history of the last eight centuries afforded by these lectures would be a good preparation for the great anniversaries of 1889, and give the young people a truer feeling of the continuity of history. In connection with the lectures the young people were requested to fix in mind the following dates, observing that in most instances the date comes about a decade before the close of the century. An effort was made in the Leaflets for the year to make dates, which are so often dull and useless to young people, interesting, significant, and useful.— 11th Century: Lanfranc, the great medieval scholar, who studied law at Bologna, was prior of the monastery of Bec, the most famous school in France in the 11th century, and archbishop of Canterbury under William the Conqueror, died 1089. 12th Cent.: Richard I. crowned 1189. 13th Cent.: Dante, at the battle of Campaldino, the final overthrow of the Ghibellines in Italy, 1289. 14th Cent.: Wyclif died, 1384. 15th Cent.: America discovered, 1492. 16th Cent.: Spanish Armada, 1588. 17th Cent.: William of Orange lands in England, 1688. 18th Cent.: Washington inaugurated, and the Bastile fell, 1789. The Old South Leaflets for 1888, corresponding with the several lectures, were as follows: (1) "The Early History of Oxford," from Green's "History of the English People;" (2) "Richard Cœur de Lion and the Third Crusade," from the Chronicle of Geoffrey de Vinsauf; (3) "The Universal Empire," passages from Dante's De Monarchia; (4) "The Sermon on the Mount," Wyclif's translation; (5) "Copernicus and the Ancient Astronomers," from Humboldt's "Cosmos;" (6) "The Defeat of the Spanish Armada," from Camden's "Annals;" (7) "The Bill of Rights," 1689; (8) "The Eve of the French Revolution," from Carlyle. The selections are accompanied by very full historical and bibliographical notes, and it is hoped that the series will prove of much service to students and teachers engaged in the general survey of modern history.

The year 1889 being the centennial both of the beginning of our own Federal government and of the French Revolution, the lectures for the year, under the general title of "America and France," were devoted entirely to subjects in which the history of America is related to that of France as follows: "Champlain, the Founder of Quebec," by Charles C. Coffin. "La Salle and the French in the Great West," by Rev.


The lectures for 1892 were upon “The Discovery of America,” as follows: “What Men knew of the World before Columbus,” by Prof. Edward S. Morse. “Leif Erikson and the Northmen,” by Rev. Edward A. Horton. “Marco Polo and his Book,” by Mr. O. W. Dikmick. “The Story of Columbus,” by Mrs. Mary A. Livermore. “Americus Vespucius and the Early Books about America,” by Rev. E. G. Porter. “Cortes and Pizarro,” by Prof. Chas. H. Livermore. “De Soto and Ponce de Leon,” by Miss Ruth Ballou Whittemore, Old South prize essayist, 1891. “Spain, France, and England in America,” by Mr. John Fiske. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Strabo’s Introduction to Geography; (2) The Voyages to Vinland, from the Saga of Eric the Red; (3) Marco Polo’s account of Japan and Java; (4) Columbus’s Letter to Gabriel Sanchez, describing his First Voyage; (5) Amerigo Vespucci’s account of his First Voyage; (6) Cortes’s account of the City of Mexico; (7) the Death of De Soto, from the “Narrative of a Gentleman of Elvas”; (8) Early Notices of the Voyages of the Cabots.


The lectures for 1895 were upon “The Puritans in Old England,” as follows: “John Hooper, the First Puritan,” by Edwin D. Mead; “Cambridge, the Puritan University,” by William Everett; “Sir John Eliot

The lectures for 1896 were upon "The American Historians," as follows: "Bradford and Winthrop and their Journals," by Mr. Edwin D. Mead; "Cotton Mather and his 'Magnalia,'" by Prof. Barrett Wendell; "Governor Hutchinson and his History of Massachusetts," by Prof. Charles H. Levermore; "Washington Irving and his Services for American History," by Mr. Richard Burton; "Bancroft and his History of the United States," by Pres. Austin Scott; "Prescott and his Spanish Histories," by HON. ROGER WOLCOTT; "Motley and his History of the Dutch Republic," by REV. WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS; "Parkman and his Works on France in America," by Mr. John Fiske. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Winthrop's "Little Speech" on Liberty; (2) Cotton Mather's "Bostonian Ebenezer," from the "Magnalia"; (3) Governor Hutchinson's account of the Boston Tea Party; (4) Adrian Van der Donck's Description of the New Netherland in 1655; (5) The Debate in the Constitutional Convention on the Rules of Suffrage in Congress; (6) Columbus's Memorial to Ferdinand and Isabella, on his Second Voyage; (7) The Dutch Declaration of Independence in 1581; (8) Captain John Knox's account of the Battle of Quebec. The last five of these eight Leaflets illustrate the original material in which Irving, Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman worked in the preparation of their histories.

The lectures for 1897 were upon "The Anti-slavery Struggle," as follows: "William Lloyd Garrison, or Anti-slavery in the Newspaper," by William Lloyd Garrison, Jr.; "Wendell Phillips, or Anti-slavery on the Platform," by Wendell Phillips Stafford; "Theodore Parker, or Anti-slavery in the Pulpit," by Rev. Edward Everett Hale; "John G. Whittier, or Anti-slavery in the Poem," by Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer; "Harriet Beecher Stowe, or Anti-slavery in the Story," by Miss Maria L. Baldwin; "Charles Sumner, or Anti-slavery in the Senate," by Moorfield Storey; "John Brown, or Anti-slavery on the Scaffold," by FRANK B. SANBORN; "Abraham Lincoln, or Anti-slavery Triumphant," by HON. JOHN D. LONG. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) The First Number of The Liberator; (2) Wendell Phillips's Eulogy of Garrison; (3) Theodore Parker's Address on the Dangers from Slavery; (4) Whittier's account of the Anti-slavery Convention of 1833; (5) Mrs. Stowe's Story of "Uncle Tom's Cabin"; (6) Sumner's Speech on the Crime against Kansas; (7) Words of John Brown; (8) The First Lincoln and Douglas Debate.

The lectures for 1898 were upon "The Old World in the New," as follows: "What Spain has done for America," by Rev. Edward G. Porter; "What Italy has done for America," by Rev. William Elliot Griffis; "What France has done for America," by Prof. Jean Charle-
Magne Bracq: "What England has done for America," by Miss Katharine Coman; "What Ireland has done for America," by Prof. F. Spencer Baldwin; "What Holland has done for America," by Mr. Edwin D. Mead; "What Germany has done for America," by Miss Anna B. Thompson; "What Scandinavia has done for America," by Mr. Joseph P. Warren. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Account of the Founding of St. Augustine, by Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales; (2) Amerigo Vespucci's Account of his Third Voyage; (3) Champlain's Account of the Founding of Quebec; (4) Barlowe's Account of the First Voyage to Roanoke; (5) Parker's Account of the Settlement of Londonderry, N.H.; (6) Juet's Account of the Discovery of the Hudson River; (7) Pastorius's Description of Pennsylvania, 1700; (8) Accretius's Account of the Founding of New Sweden.


The lectures for 1900 were upon "The United States in the Nineteenth Century," as follows: "Thomas Jefferson, the First Nineteenth-century President," by Edwin D. Mead; "The Opening of the Great West," by Rev. William E. Barton; "Webster and Calhoun, or the Nation and the States," by Prof. S. M. Macvane; "Abraham Lincoln and the Struggle with Slavery," by Rev. Charles G. Ames; "Steam and Electricity, from Fulton to Edison," by Prof. F. Spencer Baldwin; "The Progress of Education in the Nineteenth Century," by Mr. Frank A. Hill; "The American Poets," by Mrs. May Alden Ward; "America and the World," by Hon. John L. Bates. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) Jefferson's Inaugurals; (2) Account of Louisiana in 1803; (3) Calhoun on the Government of the United States; (4) Lincoln's Cooper Institute Address; (5) Chancellor Livingston on the Invention of the Steamboat; (6) Horace Mann's Address on the Ground of the Free School System; (7) Rufus Choate's Address on the Romance of New England History; (8) Kossuth's First Speech in Faneuil Hall.

The lectures for 1901 were upon "The English Exploration of America," as follows: "John Cabot and the First English Expedition to America," by Prof. Charles H. Levermore; "Hawkins and Drake in the West Indies," by Mr. Joseph P. Warren; "Martin Frobisher and the Search for the North-west Passage," by Prof. Marshall S. Snow; "Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his Expedition to Newfoundland," by Mr. Ray Greene Huling; "Sir Walter Raleigh and the Story of Roanoke," by Rev. Edward Everett Hale; "Bartholomew Gosnold and the Story of
Cuttyhunk," by Rev. William Elliot Griffis; "Captain John Smith in Virginia and New England," by Hon. Alfred S. Roe; "Richard Hakluyt and his Books about the English Explorers," by Mr. Milan C. Ayres. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) John Cabot's Discovery of North America; (2) Sir Francis Drake on the Coast of California; (3) Frobisher's First Voyage; (4) Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Expedition to Newfoundland; (5) Raleigh's First Roanoke Colony; (6) Gosnold's Settlement at Cuttyhunk; (7) Captain John Smith's Description of New England; (8) Richard Hakluyt's Discourse on Western Planting.


The lectures for 1903 were upon "The World which Emerson knew," as follows: "The Boston into which Emerson was born," by Mr. Edwin D. Mead; "The Latin School and Harvard College a Century Ago," by Rev. Edward Everett Hale; "Emerson in Concord: The Citizen and the Neighbor," by Rev. Loren B. MacDonald; "Emerson's Friends and Fellow-workers," by Mr. George Willis Cooke; "Emerson in Europe, and the Men whom he met," by Rev. John Cuckson; "The Lecturer, the Essayist, and the Poet," by Mr. John Tetlow; "The Anti-slavery Struggle and the Civil War," by Rev. Charles G. Ames; "A Century from the Birth of Emerson," by Lieut. Governor Curtis Guild, Jr. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) William Emerson's Fourth of July Oration, 1802; (2) James G. Carter's Account of the Schools of Massachusetts in 1824; (3) President Dwight's Account of Boston at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century; (4) Selections from the First Number of The Dial; (5) Alexander Ireland's Recollections of Emerson; (6) The American Lyceum, 1829; (7) Samuel Hoar's Account of his Expulsion from Charleston in 1844; (8) Channing's Essay on National Literature, 1830.

The lectures for 1904 were upon "Heroes of Peace," as follows: "John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians," by Prof. Edward C. Moore; "Horace Mann and his Work for Better Schools," by Mr. George H. Martin; "Mary Lyon and her College for Girls," by Miss Mary E. Woolley; "Elihu Burritt, the Learned Blacksmith," by Rev. Charles E. Jefferson; "Peter Cooper, the Generous Giver," by Mr. Edward H. Chandler; "Dorothea Dix and her Errands of Mercy," by Rev. Christopher R. Eliot; "General Armstrong and the Hampton Institute," by Pres. Booker T. Washington; "Colonel Waring and How he made New York clean," by Rev. William Elliot Griffis. The Leaflets were as follows: (1) John Eliot's Day-breaking of the Gospel with the Indians; (2) Passage on Education and Prosperity, from Horace Mann's Twelfth

The Old South Leaflets, which have been published during the years since 1883 in connection with these annual courses of historical lectures at the Old South Meeting-house, have attracted so much attention and proved of so much service that the Directors have entered upon the publication of the Leaflets for general circulation, with the needs of schools, colleges, private clubs, and classes especially in mind. The Leaflets are prepared by Mr. Edwin D. Mead. They are largely reproductions of important original papers, accompanied by useful historical and bibliographical notes. They consist, on an average, of twenty pages, and are sold at the low price of five cents a copy, or four dollars per hundred. The aim is to bring them within easy reach of everybody. The Old South Work, founded by Mrs. Mary Hemenway, and still sustained by provision of her will, is a work for the education of the people, and especially the education of our young people, in American history and politics; and its promoters believe that few things can contribute better to this end than the wide circulation of such leaflets as those now undertaken. It is hoped that professors in our colleges and teachers everywhere will welcome them for use in their classes, and that they may meet the needs of the societies of young men and women now happily being organized in so many places for historical and political studies. Some idea of the character of these Old South Leaflets may be gained from the following list of the subjects of the numbers which are now ready. It will be noticed that most of the later numbers are the same as certain numbers in the annual series. Since 1890 they are essentially the same, and persons ordering the Leaflets need simply observe the following numbers.

No. 1. The Constitution of the United States. 2. The Articles of Confederation. 3. The Declaration of Independence. 4. Washington's
Farewell Address.  5. Magna Charta.  6. Vane's "Healing Question.
7. Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629.  8. Fundamental Orders of Con-
nnecticut, 1638.  9. Franklin's Plan of Union, 1754.  10. Washington's
Inaugurals.  11. Lincoln's Inaugurals and Emancipation Proclamation.
12. The Federalist, Nos. 1 and 2.  13. The Ordinance of 1787.  14. The
Constitution of Ohio.  15. Washington's Circular Letter to the Govern-
ors of the States, 1783.  16. Washington's Letter to Benjamin Harrison,
1784.  17. Verrazzano's Voyage, 1524.  18. The Constitution of Swit-
erland.  19. The Bill of Rights, 1689.  20. Coronado's Letter to Mendo-
za, 1540.  21. Eliot's Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel
among the Indians, 1670.  22. Wheelock's Narrative of the Rise of the
Indian School at Lebanon, Conn., 1762.  23. The Petition of Rights, 1628.
26. The Agreement of the People.  27. The Instrument of Government.
28. Cromwell's First Speech to his Parliament.  29. The Discovery
of America, from the Life of Columbus, by his son, Ferdinand Columbus.
30. Strabo's Introduction to Geography.  31. The Voyages to Vinland,
from the Saga of Eric the Red.  32. Marco Polo's Account of Japan and
Java.  33. Columbus's Letter to Gabriel Sanchez, describing the First
Voyage and Discovery.  34. Amerigo Vespucci's Account of his First
Voyage.  35. Cortes's Account of the City of Mexico.  36. The Death
of De Soto, from the "Narrative of a Gentleman of Elvas."  37. Early
Notices of the Voyages of the Cabots.  38. Henry Lee's Funeral Oration
on Washington.  39. De Vaca's Account of his Journey to New Mexico,
1535.  40. Manasseh Cutler's Description of Ohio, 1787.  41. Wash-
ington's Journal of his Tour to the Ohio, 1770.  42. Garfield's Address on
the North-west Territory and the Western Reserve.  43. George Rogers
Clark's Account of the Capture of Vincennes, 1779.  44. Jefferson's Life
of Captain Meriwether Lewis.  45. Fremont's Account of his Ascent of
Fremont's Peak.  46. Father Marquette at Chicago, 1673.  47. Washin-
gton's Account of the Army at Cambridge, 1775.  48. Bradford's Memoir
of Elder Brewster.  49. Bradford's First Dialogue.  50. Winthrop's "Con-
Cotton's "God's Promise to his Plantation."  54. Letters of Roger Will-
iams to Winthrop.  55. Thomas Hooker's "Way of the Churches of New
England."  56. The Monroe Doctrine: President Monroe's Message of
1823.  57. The English Bible, selections from the various versions.  58.
Hooper's Letters to Bullinger.  59. Sir John Eliot's "Apology for Soc-
rates."  60. Ship-money Papers.  61. Pym's Speech against Strafford.
64. Sir Henry Vane's Defence.  65. Washington's Addresses to the
Churches.  66. Winthrop's "Little Speech" on Liberty.  67. Cotton
Mather's "Bostonian Ebenezer," from the "Magnalia."  68. Governor
Hutchinson's Account of the Boston Tea Party.  69. Adrian Van der
Donck's Description of New Netherlands in 1655.  70. The Debate in
Columbus's Memorial to Ferdinand and Isabella, on his Second Voyage.
72. The Dutch Declaration of Independence in 1581.  73. Captain John
Knox's Account of the Battle of Quebec.  74. Hamilton's Report on the
Coinage.  75. William Penn's Plan for the Peace of Europe.  76.
Washington's Words on a National University.  77. Cotton Mather's
Lives of Bradford and Winthrop.  78. The First Number of The Liber-

The leaflets, which are sold at five cents a copy or four dollars per hundred, are also furnished in bound volumes, each volume containing twenty-five leaflets: Vol. i., Nos. 1-25; Vol. ii., 26-50; Vol. iii., 51-75; Vol. iv., 76-100; Vol. v., 101-125; Vol. vi., 126-150. Price per volume, $1.50. Title-pages with table of contents will be furnished to all purchasers of the leaflets who wish to bind them for themselves. Annual series of eight leaflets each, in paper covers, 50 cents a volume.

Address DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK, Old South Meeting-house, Boston.

It is hoped that this list of Old South Lectures and Leaflets will meet the needs of many clubs and classes engaged in the study of history, as well as the needs of individual students, serving as a table of topics. The subjects of the lectures in the various courses will be found to have a logical sequence; and the leaflets accompanying the several lectures can be used profitably in connection, containing as they do full historical notes and references to the best literature on the subjects of the lectures.
The Old South prizes for the best essays on subjects in American history were first offered by Mrs. Hemenway in 1881, and they have been awarded regularly in each successive year since. The competition is open to all graduates of the various Boston high schools in the current year and the preceding year. Two subjects are proposed each year, forty dollars being awarded for the best essay on each of the subjects named, and twenty-five dollars for the second best,—in all, four prizes.

The first prize essay for 1881, on "The Policy of the early Colonists of Massachusetts toward Quakers and Others whom they regarded as Intruders," by Henry L. Southwick, and one of the first-prize essays for 1889, on "Washington's Interest in Education," by Miss Caroline C. Stecker, have been printed, and can be procured at the Old South Meeting-house. Another of the prize essays on "Washington's Interest in Education," by Miss Julia K. Ordway, was published in the New England Magazine, for May, 1890; one of the first-prize essays for 1890, on "Philip, Pontiac, and Tecumseh," by Miss Caroline C. Stecker, appeared in the New England Magazine for September, 1891; one of the first-prize essays for 1891, on "Marco Polo's Explorations in Asia and their Influence upon Columbus," by Miss Helen P. Margesson, in the number for August, 1892; one for 1893, on "The Part of Massachusetts Men in the Ordinance of 1787," by Miss Elizabeth H. Tetlow, in March, 1895; one for 1898, on "The Struggle of France and England for North America," by Caroline B. Shaw, in January, 1900; and one for 1901, on "Early Explorations of the New England Coast," by Hyman Askowith, in March, 1903.

The subjects of the Old South essays from 1881 to 1905 are given below, in the hope that they will prove suggestive and stimulating to other students and societies. It will be observed that the subjects of the later essays are closely related to the subjects of the lectures for the year.

1881. What was the policy of the early colonists of Massachusetts toward Quakers and others whom they regarded as intruders? Was this policy in any respect objectionable, and, if so, what excuses can be offered for it? Why did the American colonies separate from the mother country? Did the early settlers look forward to any such separation, and, if not, how and when did the wish for it grow up? What was the difference between the form of government which they finally adopted and that under which they had before been living?

1882. Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain boys; or, the early history of the New Hampshire grant, afterward called Vermont. The town meeting in the Old South Meeting-house on July 22 and 28, 1774.

1883. The right and wrong of the policy of the United States toward the North American Indians.

What were the defects of the "Articles of Confederation" between the United States, and why was the "Constitution of the United States" substituted?
1884. Why did the Pilgrim Fathers come to New England?
The struggle to maintain the Massachusetts charter, to its final loss in
1684. Discuss the relation of the struggle to the subsequent struggle of
the colonies for independence.
1885. Slavery as it once prevailed in Massachusetts.
The "States Rights" doctrine in New England, with special reference to
the Hartford Convention.
1886. The Boston town meetings and their influence in the American
Revolution.
English opinion upon the American Revolution preceding and during
the war.
1887. The Albany Convention of 1754, its history and significance,
with reference to previous and subsequent movements toward union in the
colonies.
Is a Congress of two houses or a Congress of one house the better?
What was said about it in the Constitutional Convention, and what is to
be said about it to-day?
1888. England's part in the Crusades, and the influence of the Crusades
upon the development of English liberty.
The political thought of Sir Henry Vane. Consider Vane's relations to
Cromwell and his influence upon America.
1889. The influence of French political thought upon America during
the period of the American and French Revolutions.
Washington's interest in the cause of education. Consider especially his
project of a national university.
1890. Efforts for the education of the Indians in the American colonies
before the Revolution.
King Philip, Pontiac, and Tecumseh: discuss their plans for Indian
union and compare their characters.
1891. The introduction of printing into England by William Caxton,
and its effects upon English literature and life.
Marco Polo's explorations in Asia, and their influence upon Columbus.
1892. The native races of Mexico, and their civilization at the time of
the conquest by Cortes.
English explorations in America during the century following the dis¬
cover by Columbus.
1893. The part taken by Massachusetts men in connection with the
Ordinance of 1787.
Coronado and the early Spanish explorations of New Mexico.
1894. The relations of the founders of New England to the Univers¬
ities of Cambridge and Oxford.
The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut and their place in the history
of written constitutions.
1895. New England politics as affected by the changes in England
from 1629 to 1692, the dates of the two Massachusetts charters.
The character of Cromwell as viewed by his contemporaries. Consider
especially the tributes of Milton and Marvell.
1896. Early historical writings in America, from Captain John Smith to
Governor Hutchinson.
The Harvard historians, and the services of Harvard University for
American history.
1897. The history of slavery in the Northern States and of Anti-sla¬
very Sentiment in the South before the Civil War.
The Anti-slavery movement in American literature.

1898. The Struggle of France and England for North America, from the founding of Quebec by Champlain till the capture of Quebec by Wolfe.

The History of Immigration to the United States from the close of the Revolution to the present time. Consider the race and character of the immigrants in the earlier and later periods.


Washington's Plan for a National University: The Argument for it 2 Hundred Years Ago and the Argument To-day.


Longfellow's Poetry of America: His Use of American Subjects and his Services for American History.

1901. The Explorations of the New England Coast previous to the landing of the Pilgrims in 1620, with special reference to the early maps.

The Services of Richard Hakluyt in promoting the English coloniza¬tion of America.

1902. The Political History of the Louisiana Territory, from the Treaty of Paris in 1763 to the Admission of Louisiana as a State in 1812.

Explorations beyond the Mississippi, from the Discovery of the Columbia River by Captain Gray to the Last Expedition under Fremont.

1903. The Works of Emerson in their Reference to American History, —the Colonial period, the period of the Revolution, and the period of the Anti-slavery Struggle and the Civil War.

The Condition of Public Education in Massachusetts at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century.

1904. The services of Elihu Burritt and other Americans in connection with the International Peace Congresses in Europe from 1843 to 1851.

The life and work of Francis Parkman as an illustration of heroic de¬votion in the historical scholar.


The Rise and Decline of the Massachusetts Whale-fishery, studied es¬pecially in connection with the history of New Bedford and Nantucket.
The Old South essayists of these years now number over two hundred; and they naturally represent the best historical scholarship of their successive years in the Boston high schools. They have been organized into an Old South Historical Society, which holds monthly meetings for the reading of papers and general discussion. The meetings of the society for the season of 1896-97 were devoted to the study of the Anti-slavery Struggle. The general subject for the season of 1897-98 was "The Heritage of Slavery," taking up reconstruction, the education of the freedmen, etc. The subject for 1898-99 was "The History of the Spanish Power in America." The 1899-1900 studies were of "Economic and Social Forces in Massachusetts to 1800." The courses for 1900-1901 and 1901-1902 were on "The Puritan Movement." The course for 1902-1903 was on various movements in the United States during the Nineteenth Century. The course for 1903-1904 was on the French and Indian Wars. The course for 1904-1905 was on Boston in the Nineteenth Century.

The society is not concerned with self-culture alone. The promotion of good citizenship is one of its objects, as well as historical study. It aims to bring history to bear upon life. It has a strong Educational Committee; and through the arrangements of this committee, many of its young men each winter give courses of illustrated historical lectures in the various educational centres of Boston, devoting their work largely to Boston local history.

The society has also instituted annual historical pilgrimages, in which it invites the young people of Boston and vicinity to join. Its first pilgrimage, in 1896, was to old Rutland, Mass., "the cradle of Ohio." Its second pilgrimage, June, 1897, in which six hundred joined, was to the homes of Whittier by the Merrimack. The third pilgrimage, June, 1898, joined in by an equal number, was to the King Philip Country, Mount Hope, R.I. The 1899 pilgrimage was to Plymouth. The 1900 pilgrimage was to Newburyport. The 1901 pilgrimage was to Newport. The 1902 pilgrimage was to Portsmouth. The 1903 pilgrimage was again to the Whittier country. The 1904 pilgrimage was to Andover. The 1905 pilgrimage was to New Bedford.
THE OLD SOUTH WORK.

The extent of the obligation of Boston and of America to Mary Hemenway for her devotion to the historical and political education of our young people during the closing period of the 19th century is something which we only now begin to properly appreciate, when she has left us and we view her work as a whole. I do not think it is too much to say that she has done more than any other single individual in the same time to promote popular interest in American history and to promote intelligent patriotism.

Mrs. Hemenway was a woman whose interests and sympathies were as broad as the world; but she was a great patriot, and she was pre-eminently that. She was an enthusiastic lover of freedom and of democracy, and there was not a day of her life that she did not think of the great price with which our own heritage of freedom had been purchased. Her patriotism was loyalty. She had a deep feeling of personal gratitude to the founders of New England and the fathers of the Republic. She had a reverent pride in our position of leadership in the history and movement of modern democracy; and she had a consuming zeal to keep the nation strong and pure and worthy of its best traditions, and to kindle this zeal among the young people of the nation. With all her great enthusiasms, she was an amazingly practical and definite woman. She wasted no time or strength in vague generalities, either of speech or action. Others might long for the time when the kingdom of God should cover the earth as the waters cover the sea, and she longed for it; but, while others longed, she devoted herself to doing what she could to bring that corner of God’s world in which she was set into conformity with the laws of God—and this by every means in her power, by teaching poor girls how to make better clothes and cook better dinners and make better homes, by teaching people to value health and respect and train their bodies, by inciting people to read better books and love better music and better pictures and be interested in more important things. Others might long for the parliament of man and the federation of the world, and so did she; but, while others longed, she devoted herself to doing what she could to make this nation, for which she was particularly responsible, fit for the federation when it comes. The good patriot, to her thinking, was not the worse cosmopolite. The good State for which she worked was a good Massachusetts; and her chief interest, while others talked municipal reform, was to make a better Boston.

American history, people used to say, is not interesting; and they read about Ivry and Marathon and Zama, about Pym and Pepin and Pericles, the ephors, the tribunes, and the House of Lords. American history, said Mrs. Hemenway, is to us the most interesting and the most important history in the world, if we would only open our eyes to it and look at it in the right way; and I will help people to look at it in the right way. Our very archeology, she said, is of the highest interest; and through the researches of Mr. Cushing and Dr. Fewkes and others among the Zuñis and the Moquis, sustained by her at the cost of thousands of dollars, she did an immense work to make interest in it general. Boston, the Puritan city,—how proud she was of its great line of heroic men, from Winthrop and Cotton and Eliot and Harvard to Sumner and Garrison and Parker and Phillips! How proud she was that Harry Vane once trod its soil and here felt himself at home! How she loved Hancock and Otis and Warren and Revere and the great men of the Boston town meetings—above all, Samuel Adams, the very mention of whose name always thrilled her, and whose portrait was the only one save Washington’s which hung on the oaken walls of her great dining-room! The Boston historians—Prescott, Motley, Parkman; the Boston poets, Longfellow, Lowell, Emerson,—each word of every one she treasured. She would have enjoyed and would have understood, as few others, that recent declaration of Charles Francis Adams’s, that the founding of Boston was fraught with consequences to the world not less important than those of the founding of Rome. All other Boston men and women must see Boston as she saw it,—that was her high resolve. They must know and take to heart that they were citizens of no mean city; they must be roused to the sacredness of their inheritance, that so they might be roused to the nobility of their citizenship and the greatness of their duty. It was with this aim and with this spirit, not with the spirit of the mere antiquarian, that Mrs. Hemenway inaugurated the Old South Work. History with her was for use,—the history of Boston, the history of New England, the history of America.

In the first place, she saved the Old South Meeting-house. She contributed $100,000 toward the fund necessary to prevent its destruction. It is hard for us to realize, so much deeper is the reverence for historic places which the great anniversaries of these late years have done so much to beget, that in our very centennial year, 1876, the Old South Meeting-house, the most sacred and historic structure in Boston or in the country, was in danger of destruction. The old Hancock house, for which, could it be restored, Boston would to-day pour out unlimited treasure, had gone, with but feeble protest, only a dozen years before; and but for Mrs. Hemenway the Old South Meeting-house would have gone in 1876. She saved it; and, having saved it, she determined that it should not stand an idle monument, the tomb of the great ghosts, but a living temple of patriotism. She knew the didactic power of great associations; and every one who in these thirty years has been in the habit of going
to the lectures and celebrations at the Old South knows with what added force many a lesson has been taught within the walls which heard the tread of Washington and which still echo the words of Samuel Adams and James Otis and Joseph Warren.

The Old South lectures have proved that our American history can be presented to our young people in such a way as shall awaken their deepest interest and make them want to come again and again for more and more; they have shown to those who have been concerned in the management how broad and rich and varied are the fields into which the young students may be led: and they have made all serious people who have attended the lectures feel their important practical bearing, how close the relation of history to politics, and how potent an instrumentality such lectures may be made for the promotion of good citizenship. Not every city has its Old South Meeting-house, with the wealth of associations which, as already said, lends such re-enforcement to the impressiveness of meetings where the names of Winthrop and Franklin and Samuel Adams are upon the tongue; not everywhere can broad subjects be rooted in local history and illustrated by local landmarks as in Massachusetts, and especially in Boston, with their great line of Colonial and Revolutionary traditions,—and the utility of such local interests, their stimulation to the imagination, their provocation to thought, cannot be valued too highly; not everywhere can such munificence be hoped for as that which has made possible the interesting experiment at the Old South Meeting-house. But there is no American city where boys and girls and parents and teachers cannot be gathered together in some place where the spirit of Winthrop and Adams and Washington and Lincoln will be in their midst; there is no American city which is not a joint heir to our national history, nor whose local history is not ten times more interesting and didactic, ten times more closely connected with broad general movements, than those suppose who do not think about it; and there is no city without citizens quite able to support, and teachers, ministers, and lawyers quite able to prepare, series of lectures which shall do the work which it is the aim of the Old South lectures to do in Boston, of awakening in the young people, who are so quickly to control the nation, a true sense of their indebtedness to the present and the future, by awakening in them a true sense of their indebtedness to the past.—Edwin D. Mead.
Of their departure from Leyden, and other things ther aboute, with their arrivall at South hamton, were they all mete togethers, and tooke in ther provissions.

At length, after much travell and these debats, all things were got ready and provided. A smale ship* was bought, & fitted in Holand, which was intended as to serve to help to transport them, so to stay in ye cuntrie and atend upon fishing and shuch other affairs as might be for ye good & benefite of ye colonie when they came ther. Another was hired at London, of burden about 9. score;† and all other things gott in readines. So being ready to departe, they had a day of solleme humiliation, their pastor taking his texte from Ezra 8. 21. And ther at ye river, by Ahava, I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seeke of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance. Upon which he spente a good parte of ye day very profitably, and suitable to their presente occasion.‡ The rest of the time was spente in powering out prairs to ye Lord with great fervencie, mixed with abundance of tears. And ye time being come that they must departe, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of ye citie, unto a towne

* The Speedwell.  † The Mayflower.

† Edward Winslow, in a controversial tract printed in London twenty-six years after this time, gives the substance of some "wholesome counsel Mr. Robinson gave that part of the church whereof he was pastor, at their departure from him to begin the great work of plantation in New England," which has been justly celebrated for the noble spirit of Christian liberty that pervades it. This is usually styled Robinson's "farewell discourse"; but whether it was preached from the text cited above, or not, Winslow, the only authority for it, does not inform us.
sundrie miles of called Delfes-Haven,* wher the ship lay ready to receive them. So they lefte ye goodly & pleasante citie, which had been ther resting place near 12. years; but they knew they were pilgrimes, & looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to ye heavens, their dearest countrie, and quieted their spirits. When they came to ye place they found ye ship and all things ready; and shuch of their freinds as could not come with them followed after them, and sundrie also came from Amsterdam to see them shipte and to take their leave of them. That night was spent with little sleepe by ye most, but with freindy entertainmente & christian discourse and other reall expressions of true christian love. The next day, the wind being faire, they wente aborde, and their freinds with them, where truly dolfull was ye sight of that sade and mournfull parting; to see what sighs and sobbs and praires did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye, & pithy speeches peirst each harte; that sundry of ye Dutch strangers yt stood on ye key as spectators, could not refraine from tears. Yet comfortable & sweete it was to see shuch lively and true expressions of dear & unfained love. But ye tide (which stays for no man) caling them away yt were thus loath to departe, their Reverend pastor falling downe on his knees, (and they all with him,) with waehr cheeks comended them with most fervente praires to the Lord and his blessing. And then with mutuall imbres and many tears, they tooke their leaves one of an other; which proved to be ye last leave to many of them.

Thus hoysing saile,† with a prosperus winde they came in short time to Southhamton, wher they found the bigger ship come from London, lying ready, wth all the rest of their company. After a joyfull wellcome, and mutuall congratulations, with other freindy entertainements, they fell to parley aboute their bussines, how to dispatch with ye best expedition; as allso with their agents, aboute ye alteration of ye conditions. Mr. Carver pleaded he was imployed hear at Hamton, and knew not well what ye other had don at London. Mr. Cushman answered, he had done nothing but what he was urged too, partly by ye grounds of equity, and more espetially by necessitie, other wise all had bene dashd and many undon. And in ye beginning he ac-

---

* "The minor part, with Mr. Brewster, their elder, resolved to enter upon this great work, (but take notice the difference of number was not great,) . . . they that stayed at Leyden feasted us that were to go, at our pastor’s house, being large; where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts, as well as with the voice, there being many of our congregation very expert in music. . . . After this they accompanied us to Delph’s Haven, where we were to embark, and there feasted us again."—Winslow.

† This was about July 22, 1620
quainted his felow agents here with, who consented unto him, and left it to him to execute, and to receive ye money at London and send it downe to them at Hamton, wher they made ye provisions; the which he accordingly did, though it was against his minde, & some of ye marchants, y€ they were their made. And for giving them noistce at Leyden of this change, he could not well in regarde of ye shortnes of ye time; againe, he knew it would trouble them and hinder ye bussines, which was already delayed overlong in regard of ye season of ye year, which he feared they would find to their cost. But these things gave not contente at presente. Mr. Weston, likewise, came up from London to see them dis-patcht and to have ye conditions confirmed; but they refused, and answered him, that he knew right well that these were not according to ye first agreemente, neither could they yeeld to them without ye consente of the rest that were behind. And indeed they had spetiall charge when they came away, from the cheefe of those that were behind, not to doe it. At which he was much offended, and tould them, they must then looke to stand on their owne legs. So he returned in displeasure, and this was ye first ground of discontent betweene them. And wheras ther wanted well near ioo to clear things at their going away, he would not take order to disburse a penie, but let them shift as they could. So they were forst to selle of some of their provis-sions to stop this gape, which was some 3. or 4. score firkins of butter, which comoditie they might best spare, haveing provided too large a quantitie of y€ kind. Then they write a leter to ye marchants & adventurers aboute ye diferances concerning ye conditions, as foloweth.

Aug. 3. An°: 1620.

Beloved freinds, sory we are that ther should be occasion of writing at all unto you, partly because we ever expected to see ye most of you hear, but espetially because ther should any differance at all be conceived between us. But seing it faleth out that we cannot conferr togeather, we thinke it meete (though brefly) to shew you ye just cause & reason of our differring from those articles last made by Robart Cushman, without our comission or knowledg. And though he might propound good ends to himselfe, yet it no way justifies his doing it. Our maine diference is in ye 5. & 9. article, concerning ye deviding or holding of house and lands; the injoying wherof some of yor selves well know, was one spetiall motive, amongst many other, to provoke us to goe. This was thought so reasonable, y€ when ye greatest of you in adventure (whom we have much cause to respecte), when he propounded conditions to us freely of his owne accorde, he set this downe for one;
a coppy whereof we have sent unto you, with some additions then added by us; which being liked on both sids, and a day set for ye pai-
mente of moneys, those of Holland paid in theirs. After yt, Robart 
Cushman, Mr. Peirce, & Mr. Martine, brought them into a better 
forme, & write them in a booke now extante; and upon Robarts shewing 
them and delivering Mr. Mullins a coppy therof under his hand (which 
we have), he payd in his money. And we of Holland had never seen 
other before our coming to Hamton, but only as one got for him selve 
a private coppy of them; upon sight wherof we manyfested uter dis-
like, but had put of our estats & were ready to come, and therfore was 
too late to rejecte ye vioage. Judge therfore we beseech you indifferently 
of things, and if a faulte have bene comited, lay it wher it is, & not 
upon us, who have more cause to stand for ye one, then you have for 
ye other. We never gave Robart Cushman comission to make any one 
article for us, but only sent him to receive moneys upon articles before 
agreed on, and to further ye provissions till John Carver came, and 
and to assiste him in it. Yet since you conceive your selves wronged as 
well as we, we thought meete to add a branch to ye end of our 9. article, 
as will almost heale that wound of it selfe, which you conceive to be 
in it. But that it may appeare to all men yt we are not lovers of our 
elves only, but desire also ye good & inriching of our freinds who have 
adventured your moneys with our persons, we have added our last 
article to ye rest, promising you againe by leters in ye behalfe of the 
whole company, that if large profits should not arise within ye 7. years, 
yt we will continue togeather longer with you, if ye Lord give a blessing.* 
This we hope is sufficente to satisfie any in this case, espetialy freinds, 
since we are asured yt the whole charge was devided into 4. parts, 3. of them will not stand upon it, netheir doe regarde it, &c. We are 
in shuch a streate at presente, as we are forced to sell away 60H. worth 
of our provissions to cleare ye Haven, & withall put our selves upon 
great extremities, scarce haveing any butter, no oyle, not a sole to mend 
a shoe, nor every man a sword to his side, wanting many muskets, 
much armoure, &c. And yet we are willing to expose our selves to 
shuch eminentte dangers as are like to insue, & trust to ye good provi-
dence of God, rather then his name & truth should be evill spoken of 
for us. Thus saluting all of you in love, and beseeching ye Lord to give 
a blesing to our endeavore, and keepe all our harts in ye bonds of peace 
& love, we take leave & rest, 

Yours, &c. 

Aug. 3. 1620. 

It was subscribed with many names of ye cheefest of ye company. 
At their parting Mr. Robinson write a letter to ye whole com-
pany, which though it hath already bene printed, yet I thought

* "It was well for them yt this was not accepted." —Bradford's Note.
good here likewise to inserte it; as also a breefe letre writ at ye same time to Mr. Carver, in which ye tender love & godly care of a true pastor appears. [These two noble letters of Robinson, here omitted, are both printed in Old South Leaflet No. 142, "Words of John Robinson."]

This letter, [that to the whole company] though large, yet being so fruftfull in it selfe, and suitable to their occation, I thought meete to inserte in this place.

All things being now ready, & every bussines dispatched, the company was caled togeather, and this letter read amongst them, which had good acceptation with all, and after fruit with many. Then they ordered & distributed their company for either shipe, as they conceived for ye best. And chose a Govr & 2. or 3. assistants for each shipe, to order ye people by ye way, and see to ye disposing of there provissions, and shuch like affairs. All which was not only with ye liking of ye maisters of ye ships, but according to their desires. Which being done, they sett sayle from thence aboute ye 5. of August; but what befell them further upon ye coast of England will appeare in ye nexte chapter.

Off the troubles that befell them on the coaste, and at sea, being forced, after much trouble, to leave one of ther ships & some of their companie behind them.

Being thus put to sea they had not gone farr, but Mr. Reinolds of ye lesor ship complained that he found his ship so leak as he durst not put further to sea till she was mended. So ye m. of ye biger ship (caled Mr. Joans) being consulted with, they both resolved to put into Dartmouth & have her ther searched & mended, which accordingly was done, to their great charg & losse of time and a faire winde. She was hear thorowly searcht from steme to sterne, some leaks were found & mended, and now it was conceived by the workmen & all, that she was sufflciente, & they might proceede without either fear or danger. So with good hopes from hence, they, put to sea againe,* conceiving they

*Smith, who speaks of but one embarkation, prior to the final sailing of the Mayflower from Plymouth on the 6th of September, says, "they left the coast of England the 23d of August, with about 120 persons." Bradford gives no dates in the narrative as to the time when they put into Dartmouth or when they departed thence. Cushman, on page 71, in a letter written from Dartmouth to a friend in London, dated Aug. 17th, says, "We lie here waiting for her [the Speedwell, which was being 'mended'] in as fair a wind as can blow, and so have done these four days, and are like to lie four more," &c. From this passage Prince doubtless gathered his dates, where he says, "they put into Dartmouth about Aug. 13"; and "about Aug. 21 they set sail again." This latter date is of course somewhat conjectural, and that given by Smith, above quoted, may be the correct one. See New England's Trials, p. 16, 2d ed., London, 1622; Prince, I. 71.

57
should go comfortably on, not looking for any more lets of this kind; but it fell out otherwise, for after they were gone to sea again above 100 leagues without the Lands End, holding company together all this while, the master of ye small ship complained his ship was so leak* as he must bear up or sink at sea, for they could scarce free her with much pumping. So they came to consultation again, and resolved both ships to bear up back again & put into Plimoth, which accordingly was done. But no spetiall leak could be founde, but it was judged to be ye general weaknes of ye shipe, and that shee would not prove sufficient for the voiage. Upon which it was resolved to dismiss her & parte of ye companie, and proceede with ye other shipe. The which (though it was greevous, & caused great discouragement) was put in execution. So after they had tooke out such provision as ye other ship couid well stow, and concluded both what number and what persons to send bak, they made another sad parting, ye one ship going backe for London, and ye other was to proceede on her viage. Those that went bak were for the most parte such as were willing so to doe, either out of some discontente, or feare they conceived of ye ill success of ye viage, seeing so many croses befale, & the year time so farr spente; but others, in regarde of their owne weaknes, and charge of many yonge children, were thought least usefull, and most unfite to bear ye brunte of this hard adventure; unto which worke of God, and judgmente of their brethern, they were contented to submite. And thus, like Gedions armie, this small number was devided, as if ye Lord by this worke of his providence thought these few to many for ye great worke he had to doe. But here by the way let me show, how afterward it was found ye the leaknes of this ship was partly by being over masted, and too much pressed with sayles; for after she was sold & put into her old trime, she made many viages & performed her service very sufficiently, to ye great profite of her owners. But more espetially, by the cuning & deceite of ye master & his company, who were hired to stay a whole year in ye countrie, and now, fancying dislike & fearing wante of victes, they ploted this strategem to free them selves; as afterwards was knowne, & by some of them confessed. For they apprehended ye the greater ship, being of force, & in whom most of ye provisions were stowed, she would retayne enough for

* Smith says, “but the next day the lesser ship sprung a leak that forced their return to Plymouth, where, discharging her and twenty passengers, with the great ship and a hundred persons besides sailors, they set sail again the sixth of September,” &c. New England’s Trials, p. 16.
her selfe, what soever became of them or ye passengers; & indeed shuch speeches had bene cast out by some of them; and yet, besides other incouragments, ye cheefe of them that came from Leyden wente in this shipe to give ye mfr. contente. But so strong was self love & his fears, as he forgott all duty and former kindnesse, & delt thus falsly with them, though he pretended otherwise. Amongst those that returned was Mr. Cushman & his familie, whose hart & courage was gone from them before, as it seems, though his body was with them till now he departed; as may appear by a passionate letter he write to a freind in London from Dartmouth, whilst ye ship lay ther a mending; the which, besides ye expressions of his owne fears, it shows much of ye providence of God working for their good beyonde man's expectation, & other things concerning their condition in these streeths. I will hear relate it. And though it discover some infirmities in him (as who under temptation is free), yet after this he continued to be a spetiall instrumente for their good, and to doe ye offices of a loving freind & faithfull brother unto them, and pertaker of much comforte with them.

The letter is as followth.

To his loving friend Ed: S.* at Henige*House in ye Duk's Place, these, &c.

Dartmouth, Aug. 17.

Loving friend, my most kind remembrance to you & your wife, with loving E. M. &c. whom in this world I never looke to see againe. For besides ye eminent dangers of this viage, which are no less then deadly, an infirmitie of body hath ceased me, which will not in all liuely-hoode leave me till death. What to call it I know not, but it is a bundle of lead, as it were, crushing my harte more & more these 14. days, as that altho' I doe ye actions of a liveing man, yet I am but as dead; but ye will of God be done. Our pinass will not cease leaking, els I thinke we had been halfe way at Virginia, our viage hither hath been as full of crosses, as our selves have been of crokednes. We put in hear to trime her, & I thinke, as others also, if we had stayed at sea but 3. or 4. howers more, shee would have sunk'e right downe. And though she was twise trim'd at Hamton, yet now shee is open and leakie as a seive; and ther was a borde, a man might have pul'd of with his fingers, 2. foote longe, wher ye water came in as at a mole hole. We lay at Hamton 7. days, in fair weather, waiting for her, and now we lye hear waiting for her in as faire a wind as can blowe, and so have done these 4. days, and are like to lye 4. more, and by yt time ye wind will happily

* The person to whom this letter is addressed is doubtless the Edward Southworth whose widow, Alice, was afterwards married to Governor Bradford.
turne as it did at Hampton. Our victuals will be halfe eaten up, I think, before we goe from the coaste of England, and if our viage last longe, we shall not have a months victuals when we come in ye-countrie. Neare 700li. hath bene bestowed at Hampton, upon what I know not. Mr. Martin saith he neither can nor will give any accounte of it, and if he be called upon for accounts he crieth out of unthankfullnes for his paines & care, that we are susspitious of him, and flings away, & will end nothing. Also he so insulteth over our poore people, with shuch scorne & contempte, as if they were not good enough to wipe his shoes. It would break your hart to see his dealing,* and ye mourning of our people. They compleaine to me, & alass! I can doe nothing for them; if I speake to him, he flies in my face, as mutinous, and saith no complaints shall be heard or received but by him selfe, and saith they are frowarde, & waspish, discontented people, & I doe ill to hear them. Ther are others yt would lose all they have put in, or make satisfaction for what they have had, that they might departe; but he will not hear them, nor suffer them to goe ashore, least they should rume away. The sailors also are so offended at his ignorante boldnes, in medling & controuling in things he knows not what belongs too, as yt some threaten to misscheefe him, others say they will leave ye shipe & goe their way. But at ye best this cometh of it, yt he maks him selfe a scorne & laughing stock unto them. As for Mr. Weston, excepte grace doe greatly swaye with him, he will hate us ten times more then ever he loved us, for not confirming ye conditions. But now, since some pinches have taken them, they begine to reveile ye trueth, & say Mr. Robinson was in ye falte who charged them never to consente to those conditions, nor chuse me into office, but indeede apointed them to chose them they did chose.† But he & they will rue too late, they may now see, & all be ashamed when it is too late, that they were so ignorante, yea, & so inordinate in their courses. I am sure as they were resolved not to scale those conditions, I was not so resolute at Hampton to have left ye whole bussines, excepte they would seale them, & better ye voyage to have bene broken of them, then to have brought such miserie to our selves, dishonour to God, & detrimente to our loving freinds, as now it is like to doe. 4. or 5. of ye cheefe of them which came from Leyden, came resolved never to goe on those conditions. And Mr. Martine, he said he never received no money on those conditions, he was not beholden to ye marchants for a pine, they were bloudsuckers, & I know not what. Simple man, he indeed never made any conditions with the marchants, nor ever spake with them. But did all that money flie to Hampton, or was it his owne? Who will goe & lay out money so rashly & lavishly as he did, and never know how he comes by it, or on what conditions? 2ly. I tould him of ye alteration longe agoe, & he was contente; but now he dominires, &

* "He was governour in ye bigger ship, & Mr. Cushman assistante."—Bradford.
† "I thinke he was deceived in these things."—Bradford.

60
said I had betrayed them into ye hands of slaves; he is not beholden to them, he can set out 2. ships him selfe to a viage. When, good man? He hath but 50\textsuperscript{1} in, & if he should give up his accounts he would not have a penie left him, as I am persuaded,* &c. Freind, if ever we make a plantation, God works a mirakle; especially considering how scante we shall be of victuals, and most of all ununited amongst our selves, & devoyd of good tuturs & regimente. Violence will break all. Wher is ye meek & humble spirite of Moyses? & of Nehemiah who reedified ye wals of Jerusalem, & ye state of Israel? Is not ye sound of Rehoboams braggs daly hear amongst us? Have not ye philosphers and all wise men observed ye\textsuperscript{4} even in setled comone welths, violente governours bring either them selves, or people, or boath, to ruine; how much more in ye raising of comone wealths, when ye mortar is yet scarce tempered ye\textsuperscript{4} should bind ye wales. If I should write to you of all things which promiscuously forerune our ruine, I should over charge my weake head and greeve your tender hart; only this, I pray you prepare for evill tidings of us every day. But pray for us instantly, it may be ye Lord will be yet entreated one way or other to make for us. I see not in reason how we shall escape even ye gasping of hunger starved persons; but God can doe much, & his will be done. It is better for me to dye, then now for me to bear it, which I doe daly, & expecte it howerly; haveing received ye\textsuperscript{4} sentance of death, both within me & without me. Poore William King & my selfe doe strive who shall be meate first for ye fishes; but we looke for a glorious resurrection, knowing Christ Jesus after ye\textsuperscript{4} flesh no more, but looking unto ye\textsuperscript{4} joye ye\textsuperscript{4} is before us, we will endure all these things and accounte them light in comparison of ye\textsuperscript{4} joye we hope for. Remember me in all love to our freinds as if I named them, whose praires I desire ernestly, & wish againe to see, but not till I can with more comforte looke them in ye face. The Lord give us that true comforte which none can take from us. I had a desire to make a breefe relation of our estate to some freind. I doubte not but your wisdome will teach you seasonably to utter things as here after you shall be called to it. That which I have written is treue, & many things more which I have forborne. I write it as upon my life, and last confession in England. What is of use to be spoken of presently, you may speake of it, and what is fitt to conceile, conceal. Pass by my weake maner, for my head is weake, & my body feeble, ye Lord make me strong in him, & keepe both you & yours.

Your loving freind,  
Robart Cushman.

Dartmouth, Aug. 17. 1620.

These being his conceptions & fears at Dartmouth, they must needs be much stronger now at Plimoth.

* "This was found true afterward."—Bradford.
Of their voyage, & how they passed ye sea, and of their safe arrivall at Cape Codd.

Sept' 6. These troubls being blowne over, and now all being compacte togethe in one shipe, they put to sea againe with a prosperous winde, which continued diverc days togethe, which was some incouragmente unto them; yet according to ye usuall maner many were afflicted with sea-sicknes. And I may not omitte hear a spetiall worke of Gods providence. Ther was a proud & very profane yonge man, one of ye sea-men, of a lustie, able body, which made him the more hauty; he would allway be contemning ye poore people in their sicknes, & cursing them dayly with greevous execrations, and did not let to tell them, that he hoped to help to cast halfe of them over board before they came to their journeys end, and to make mery with what they had; and if he were by any gently reproved, he would curse and swear most bitterly. But it plased God before they came halfe seas over, to smite this yong man with a greevous disease, of which he dyed in a desperate maner, and so was him selfe ye first ye was throwne overbord. Thus his curses light on his owne head; and it was an astonishmente to all his fellows, for they noted it to be ye just hand of God upon him.

After they had injoyed faire winds and weather for a season, they were incountred many times with crosse winds, and mette with many feirce stormes, with which ye shipe was shroudlly shaken, and her upper works made very leakie; and one of the maine beames in ye midd ships was bowed & craked, which put them in some fear that ye shipe could not be able to performe ye voyage. So some of ye cheefe of ye company, perceiving ye mariners to feare ye suffisiecie of ye shipe, as appeared by their mutterings, they entred into serious consulttation with ye m's & other officers of ye shipe, to consider in time of ye danger; and rather to returne then to cast them selves into a desperate & inevitble perill. And truly ther was great distraction & differance of opinion amongst ye mariners them selves; faine would they doe what could be done for their wages sake, (being now halfe the seas over,) and on ye other hand they were loath to hazard their lives too desperatly. But in examening of all opinions, the m's & others affirmed they knew ye ship to be stronge & firme under water; and for the buckling of ye maine beame, ther was a great iron scrue ye passengers brought out of Holland, which would raise ye beame into his place; ye which being done, the carpenter
& mr. affirmed that with a post put under it, set firme in ye lower deck, & otherways bounde, he would make it sufficienete. And as for ye decks & uper workes they would calke them as well as they could, and though with ye workeing of ye ship they would not longe keepe stanch, yet ther would otherwise be no great danger, if they did not overpress her with sails. So they comited them selves to ye will of God, & resolved to proseede. In sundrie of these stormes the winds were so feirce, & ye seas so high, as they could not beare a knote of saile, but were forced to hull, for diverse days togither. And in one of them, as they thus lay at hull, in a mighty storme, a lustie yonge man (called John How¬land) coming upon some occasion above ye grattings, was, with a seele* of ye shipe throwne into [ye] sea; but it pleased God yt he caught hould of ye tope-saile halliards, which hunge over board, & rane out at length; yet he held his hould (though he was sundrie fadomes under water) till he was hald up by ye same rope to ye brime of ye water, and then with a boat hooke & other means got into ye shipe againe, & his life saved; and though he was something ill with it, yet he lived many years after, and became a profitable member both in church & comone wealth. In all this viage ther died but one of ye passengers, which was William Butten, a youth, servant to Samuel Fuller, when they drew near ye coast. But to omite other things, (that I may be breefe,) after longe beating at sea they fell with that land which is called Cape Cod;† the which being made & certainly knowne to be it, they were not a little joyfull. After some deliberation had amongst them selves & with ye mr. of ye ship, they tacked aboute and resolved to stande for ye southward (ye wind & weather being faire) to finde some place aboute Hudsons river for their habitation. But after they had sailed yt course aboute halfe ye day, they fell amongst deangerous shoulds and roring breakers, and they were so farr intangled ther with as they conceived them selves in great danger; & ye wind shrinking upon them withall, they resolved to bear up againe for the Cape, and thought them selves happy to gett out of those dangers before night overtooke them, as by Gods providence they did. And ye next day they gott into ye

* See (with the sailors) is when a ship rolls or is tossed about suddenly and violently by the force of the waves.

† "Upon the 9th of November, by break of day, we espied land, which we deemed to be Cape Cod, and so afterward it proved." See Mourt's Relation. There is good reason for believing that Bradford wrote the earlier portion of this tract, many passages in it being almost identical with passages in his History.
Cape-harbor wher they ridd in safety.* A word or too by ye way of this cape; it was thus first named by Capten Gosnole & his company,† Ano: 1602, and after by Capten Smith was caled Cape James; but it retains ye former name amongst sea-men. Also ye pointe which first shewed those dangerous shoulds unto them, they called Pointe Care, & Tuckers Terrou̍;‡ but ye French & Dutch to this day call it Malabarr, by reason of those perilous shoulds, and ye losses they have suffered their.

Being thus arived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees & blessed ye God of heaven, who had brought them over ye vast & furious ocean, and delivered them from all ye periles & miseries thereof, againe to set their feete on ye firme and stable earth, their proper elemente. And no marvell if they were thus joyful, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on ye coast of his owne Italy; as he affirmed, that he had rather remaine twentie years on his way by land, then pass by sea to any place in a short time; so tedious & dreadfull was ye same unto him.

But hear I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amased at this poore peoples presente condition; and so I thinkie will the reader too, when he well considers ye same. Being thus passed ye vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembred by ye which wente before), they had now no freinds to wellcome them, nor inns to entertaine or refresh their weatherbeaten bodys, no houses or much less townes to repaire too, to seeke for succoure. It is recorded in scripture as a mercie to ye apostle & his shipwraked company, ye the barbarians shewed them no smale kindnes in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they mette with them (as after will appeare) were reader to fill their

* "Upon the 11th of November we came to an anchor in the bay," &c. "The same day so soon as we could, we set ashore fifteen or sixteen men." Mourt. It appears, therefore, that the Mayflower was sixty-five days on the passage from Plymouth (England) to Cape Cod, leaving the former place on the 6th of September. By reference to Governor Bradford's list of passengers, it will be seen that one hundred and two passengers, including servants and all those who came over in the employ of the colonists, sailed from Plymouth in the Mayflower, at the final embarkation; and that the same number arrived at Cape Cod. William Butten, a servant of Samuel Fuller, died on the passage, but the integrity of the number was preserved by the birth of Oceanus Hopkins. There were four deaths and one birth after the arrival at Cape Cod, and before the landing of the exploring party in the shallop, at Plymouth, on the 11th of December.

† "Because ye took much of ye fishe ther."—Bradford.

‡ "Twelve leagues from Cape Cod, we descried a point with some breach, a good distance off, and keeping our luff to double it, we came on the sudden into shoal water, yet well quitted ourselves thereof. This breach we call Tucker's Terror, upon his expressing fear. The point we named Point Care."—Archer's Relation of Gosnold's Voyage, Old South Leaflet, 120.
sids full of arrows then otherwise. And for ye season it was winter, and they that know ye winters of yt cuntrie know them to be sharp & violent, & subjecte to cruell & feirce stormes, deangerous to travill to known places, much more to serch an unknown coast. Besids, what could they see but a hidious & desolate wildernes, full of wild beasts & willd men? and what multituds ther might be of them they knew not. Nether could they, as it were, goe up to ye tope of Pisgah, to vew from this willdernes a more goodly cuntrie to feed their hops; for which way soever they turnd their eys (save upward to ye heavens) they could have little solace or content in respecte of any outward objects. For sumer being done, all things stand upon them with a wetherbeaten face; and ye whole countrie, full of woods & thickets, represented a wild & savage heiw. If they looked behind them, ther was ye mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a maine barr & goulfe to seperate them from all ye civill parts of ye world. If it be said they had a ship to succour them, it is trew; but what heard they daly from ye mr. & company? but yt with speede they should looke out a place with their shallop, wher they would be at some near distance; for ye season was shuch as he would not stirr from thence till a safe harbor was discovered by them wher they would be, and he might goe without danger; and that victells consumed apace, but he must & would keepe sufficient for them selves & their returne. Yea, it was muttered by some, that if they gott not a place in time, they would turne them & their goods ashore & leave them. Let it also be considred what weake hopes of supply & succoure they left behinde them, yt might bear up their minds in this sade condition and trialls they were under; and they could not but be very smale. It is true, indeed, ye affections & love of their brethren at Leyden was cordiall & entire towards them, but they had litle power to help them, or them selves; and how ye case stode betweene them & ye marchants at their coming away, hath allready been declared. What could now sustaine them but ye spirite of God & his grace? May not & ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: Our faithers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wildernes; but they cried unto ye Lord, and he heard their voyce, and looked on their adversitie, &c. Let them therefore praise ye Lord, because he is good, & his mercies endure for ever. Yea, let them which have been redeemed of ye Lord, shew how he hath delivered them from ye hand of ye oppressour. When they wa-
dred in ye deserte willdernes out of ye way, and found no citie to dwell in, both hungerie, & thirstie, their sowle was overwhelmed in them. Let them confess before ye Lord his loving kindnes, and his wonderfull works before ye sons of men.

Showing how they sought out a place of habitation, and what befell them therabout.

Being thus arrived at Cap-Codd ye n. of November, and necessitie calling them to looke out a place for habitation, (as well as the maisters & mariners importunitie,) they having brought a large shalop with them out of England, stowed in quarters in ye ship, they now gott her out & sett their carpenters to worke to trime her up; but being much brused & shatered in ye shipe wth foule weather, they saw she would be longe in mending. Wherupon a few of them tendered them selves to goe by land and discouere those nearest places, whilst ye shallop was in mending; and ye rather because as they wente into ye harbor ther seemed to be an opening some 2. or 3. leagues of, which ye maister judged to be a river. It was conceived ther might be some danger in ye attempte, yet seeing them resolute, they were permited to goe, being 16. of them well armed, under ye conduct of Captain Standish,* having shuch instructions given them as was thought meete. They sett forth ye 15. of Novebr: and when they had marched aboute ye space of a mile by ye sea side, they espied 5. or 6. persons with a dogg coming towards them, who were salvages; but they fled from them, & rane up into ye woods, and ye English followed them, partly to see if they could speake with them, and partly to discover if ther might not be more of them lying in ambush. But ye Indeans seeing them selves thus followed, they againe forsooke the woods, & rane away on ye sands as hard as they could, so as they could not come near them, but followed them by ye tracte of their feet sundrie miles, and saw that they had come the same way. So, night coming on, they made their randevous & set out ther sentinels, and rested in quiete ye night, and the next morning followed their tracte till they had headed a great creake, & so left the sands, & turned an other way into ye woods. But they still followed them by guess, hopinge to find their dwellings; but they soone lost both them & them selves, falling into shuch thickets as were ready to tear their cloaths

* "Unto whom was adjoined, for counsel and advise, William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley."—Mourt.
& armore in piecees, but were most distrest for wante of drinke. But at length they found water & refreshed them selves, being ye first New-England water they drunke of, and was now in thir great thirste as pleasanthe unto them as wine or bear had been in for-times. Afterwards they directed their course to come to ye other shore, for they knew it was a necke of land they were to crosse over, and so at length gott to ye sea-side, and marched to this supposed river, & by ye way found a pond of clear fresh water, and shortly after a good quantitie of clear ground wher ye Indeans had formerly set corne, and some of their graves. And proceeding furder they saw new-stuble wher corne had been set ye same year, also they found wher latly a house had been, wher some planks and a great ketle was remaining, and heaps of sand newly padled with their hands, which they, digging up, found in them diverse faire Indian baskets filled with corne, and some in eares, faire and good, of diverse collours, which seemed to them a very goodly sight, (haveing never seen any shuch before). This was near ye place of that supposed river they came to seeck; unto which they wente and found it to open it selfe into 2. armes with a high cliffe of sand in ye enterance, but more like to be crikes of salte water then any fresh, for ought they saw; and that ther was good harborige for their shalope; leaving it further to be discovered by their shalop when she was ready. So their time limeted them being expired, they returned to ye ship, least they should be in fear of their saftie; and tooke with them parte of ye corne, and buried up ye rest, and so like ye men from Eshcoll carried with them of ye fruits of ye land, & showed their breethren; of which, & their returne, they were marvelusly glad, and their harts incouraged.

After this, ye shalop being got ready, they set out againe for ye better discovery of this place, & ye m. of ye ship desired to goe him selfe, so ther went some 30. men, but found it to be no harbor for ships but only for boats; ther was allso found 2. of their houses covered with matts, & sundrie of their implements in them, but ye people were rune away & could not be seen; also ther was found more of their corne, & of their beans of various collours. The corne & beans they brought away, purposing to give them full satisfaction when they should meete with any of them (as about some 6. months afterward they did, to their good contente). And here is to be noted a spetiall providence of God, and a great mercie to this poore people, that hear they gott seed to plant them corne ye next year, or els they might have starved, for they
had none, nor any liklyhood to get any till ye season had beene past (as ye sequell did manyfest). Neither is it lickly they had had this, if ye first viage had not been made, for the ground was now all covered with snow, & hard frozen. But the Lord is never wanting unto his in their greatest needs; let his holy name have all ye praise.

The month of November being spente in these affairs, & much foule weather falling in, the 6. of Desemr: they sente out their shallop againe with ro. of their principall men, & some sea men,* upon further discovery, intending to circulate that deepe bay of Cap-codd. The weather was very could, & it frose so hard as ye sprea of ye sea lighting on their coats, they were as if they had been glased; yet that night betimes they gott downe into ye botome of ye bay, and as they drue nere ye shore they saw some ro. or 12. Indeans very busie aboute some thing. They landed aboute a league or 2. from them, and had much a doe to put a shore any wher, it lay so full of flats. Being landed, it grew late, and they made them selves a barricade with loggs & bowes as well as they could in ye time, & set out their sentenill & betooke them to rest, and saw ye smoake of ye savages made ye night. When morning was come they devided their company, some to coast alonge ye shore in ye boate, and the rest marched throw ye woods to see ye land, if any fit place might be for their dwelling. They came allso to ye place wher they saw the Indans ye night before, & found they had been cuting up a great fish like a grampus, being some 2. inches thike of fate like a hogg, some peeces wher of they had left by ye way; and ye shallop found 2. more of these fishes dead on ye sands, a thing usuall after storms in ye place, by reason of ye great flats of sand that lye of. So they ranged up and doune all ye day, but found no people, nor any place they liked. When ye sune grue low, they hasted out of ye woods to meete with their shallop, to whom they made signes to come to them into a creeke hardby, the which they did at high-water; of which they were very glad, for they had not seen each other all ye day, since ye morning. So they made them a barricado (as usually they did every night) with loggs, staks, & thike pine bowes, ye height of a man, leaving it open to leeward, partly to shelter them from ye could & wind (making their fire in ye

* "To wit, Captain Standish, Master Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, John Tilley, Edward Tilley, John Houland, and three of London, Richard Warren, Steeven Hopkins, and Edward Dotte, and two of our seamen, John Alderton and Thomas English. Of the ship's company there went two of the master's mates, Master Clarke and Master Coppin, the master gunner, and three sailors."—Mourt.
midle, & lying round aboute it), and partly to defend them from any sudden assaults of ye savags, if they should surround them. So being very weary, they betooke them to rest. But aboute midnight, they heard a hideous & great crie, and their sentinall caled, “Arme, arme”; so they bestired them & stood to their armes, & shote of a cupple of moskets, and then the noys seased. They concluded it was a companie of wolves, or such like wild beasts; for one of ye sea men tould them he had often heard shuch a noyse in New-found land. So they rested till about 5. of ye clock in the morning; for ye tide, & ther purpos to goe from thence, made them be stirring betimes. So after praier they prepared for breakfast, and it being day dawning, it was thought best to be carring things downe to ye boate. But some said it was not best to carrie ye armes downe, others said they would be the readier, for they had laped them up in their coats from ye dew. But some 3. or 4. would not cary theirs till they wente them selves, yet as it fell out, ye water being not high enough, they layed them downe on ye banke side, & came up to breakfast. But presently, all on ye sudain, they heard a great & strange crie, which they knew to be the same voyces they heard in ye night, though they varied their notes, & one of their company being abroad came runing in, & cried, “Men, Indeans, Indeans”; and with all, their arowes came flying amongst them. Their men rane with all speed to recover their armes, as by ye good providence of God they did. In ye mean time, of those that were ther ready, tow muskets were discharged at them, & 2. more stood ready in ye enterance of ther randevoue, but were comanded not to shoote till they could take full aime at them; & ye other 2. charged againe with all speed, for ther were only 4. had armes ther, & defended ye baricado which was first assalded. The crie of ye Indeans was dreadfull, especially when they saw ther men rune out of ye randevoue towours ye shallop, to recover their armes, the Indeans wheeling aboute upon them. But some runing out with coats of malle on, & cutlasses in their hands, they soone got their armes, & let flye amongst them, and quickly stopped their violence. Yet ther was a lustie man, and no less valiante, stood behind a tree within halfe a musket shot, and let his arrows flie at them. He was seen shoot 3. arrowes, which were all avoyded. He stood 3. shot of a musket, till one taking full aime at him, and made ye barke or splinters of ye tree fly about his ears, after which he gave an extraordinary shrike, and away they wente all of them. They left some to keep ye shallop, and followed them aboute a
quarter of a mille, and shouted once or twise, and shot of 2. or 3. peces, & so returned. This they did, that they might conceive
that they were not affrade of them or any way discouraged. Thus
it pleased God to vanquish their enimies, and give them deliver-
ance; and by his spetiall providence so to dispose that not any one
of them were either hurte, or hitt, though their arrows came close
by them, & on every side them, and sundry of their coats, which
hunge up in ye barricado, were shot throw & throw. Aterwards
they gave God sollamne thanks & praise for their deliverance,
& gathered up a bundle of their arrows, & sente them into Eng-
land afterward by ye m'. of ye ship, and called that place ye first
encounter. From hence they departed, & costed all along, but
discerned no place likly for harbor; & therfore hasted to a place
that their pilloe, (one Mr. Coppin who had bine in ye cuntie
before) did assure them was a good harbor, which he had been
in, and they might fetch it before night; of which they were glad,
for it begane to be foule weather. After some houres sailing,
it begane to snow & raine, & about ye midle of ye afternoone,
ye wind increased, & ye sea became very rough, and they broake
their rudder, & it was as much as 2. men could doe to steere her
with a cupple of oares. But their pilott bad them be of good
cheere, for he saw ye harbor; but ye storme increasing, & night
drawing on, they bore what saile they could to gett in, while they
could see. But herwith they broake their mast in 3. pcees,
& their saill fell over bord, in a very grown sea, so as they had
like to have been cast away; yet by Gods mercie they recovered
them selves, & having ye floud with them, struck into ye harbore.
But when it came too, ye pilott was deceived in ye place, and said,
ye Lord be mercifull unto them, for his eys never saw ye place
before; & he & the m'. mate would have rune her ashore, in a
cove full of breakers, before ye winde. But a lusty seaman which
steered, bad those which rowed, if they were men, about with her,
or ells they were all cast away; the which they did with speed.
So he bid them be of good cheere & row lustly, for ther was a
faire sound before them, & he doubted not but they should find
one place or other wher they might ride in saftie. And though it
was very darke, and rained sore, yet in ye end they gott under ye
t. lee of a smalle iland, and remained ther all ye night in saftie.
But they knew not this to be an iland till morning, but were de-
vided in their minds; some would keepe ye boate for fear they
might be amongst ye Indians; others were so weake and could,
they could not endure, but got ashore, & with much adoe got
fire, (all things being so wett,) and ye rest were glad to come to
them; for after midnight ye wind shifted to the north-west, &
it froze hard. But though this had been a day & night of much
trouble & danger unto them, yet God gave them a morning
of comforte & refreshing (as usually he doth to his children),
for ye next day was a faire sunshinig day, and they found them
sellvs to be on an iland * secure from ye Indeans, wher they might
drie their stufe, fixe their peeces, & rest them selves, and gave
God thanks for his mercies, in their manifould deliverances.
And this being the last day of ye weeke, they prepared ther to
keepe ye Sabath. On Munday they sounded ye harbor, and founde
it fitt for shipping; and marched into ye land,† & found diverse
cornfeilds, & litle runing brooks, a place (as they supposed) fitt
for situation; at least it was ye best they could find, and ye season,
& their presente necessitie, made them glad to accepte of it. So
they returned to their shipp againe with this news to ye rest of
their people, which did much comforte their harts.‡

On ye 15. of Desem: they wayed anchor to goe to ye place they
had discovered, & came within 2. leagues of it, but were faine
to bear up againe; but ye 16. day ye winde came faire, and they
arrived safe in this harbor. And after wards tooke better view
of ye place, and resolved wher to pitch their dwelling; and ye
25. day begane to erecte ye first house for comone use § to receive
them and their goods. . . .

I shall a little returne backe and begine with a combination
made by them before they came ashore, being ye first foundation
of their governmente in this place; occasioned partly by ye discon¬
tented & mutine speeches that some of the strangers amongst
them had let fall from them in ye ship—That when they came

* "This was afterwards called Clark's island, because Mr. Clark, the master's mate, first
stepped on shore thereon."—Morton's Memorial.
† December 11th, celebrated as the day of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. It
corresponds to December 21st, new style.
‡ This exploring party of eighteen persons, six of whom were of the crew of the May¬
flower, were absent from their companions about a week. They found, on their return, that
on the day after their leaving the ship, December 7th, Dorothy, the wife of Bradford, who
was with the absent party, fell overboard, and was drowned.
§ The common house was about twenty feet square: tradition locates it on the south
side of Leyden Street, near the declivity of the hill. From the minute journal of their daily
proceedings, in Mourt's Relation, we learn that on the 28th of December as many as could
went to work on the hill (Burial Hill), where they proposed to build a platform for their ord¬
nance; and on the same day they proceeded to measure out the grounds for their habitations,
having first reduced all the inhabitants to nineteen families. On the 9th of January they
went to labor in the building of their town, in two rows of houses. The houses were built
on each side of what is now Leyden Street.
ashore they would use their owne libertie; for none had power to comand them, the patente they had being for Virginia, and not for New-england, which belonged to an other Government, with which ye Virginia Company had nothing to doe. And partly that shuch an acte by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firme as any patent, and in some respects more sure. The forme was as followeth.

In ye name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwriten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of Great Britaine, Franc, & Ireland king, defender of ye faith, &c., haveing undertaken, for ye glorie of God, and advancemente of ye Christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly & mutualy in ye presence of God, and one of another, covenant & combine our selves togethers into a civill body politick, for our better ordering & preservation & furtherance of ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes wherof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd ye 11. of November, in ye year of ye raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France, & Ireland ye eighteenth, and of Scotland ye fiftie fourth. An°: Dom. 1620.

William Bradford was born at Austerfield, near Scrooby, in 1588; and he had become a leading member of Brewster's little congregation at the time, 1608, when the congregation fled from Scrooby to Holland. No man was more familiar with the Pilgrim history from the beginning. Upon Carver's death, in 1621, he was elected to succeed him as governor at Plymouth; and he continued to hold this office, with two slight breaks, to the time of his death, in 1657. His "History of Plymouth Plantation," from which the passage given in the present leaflet is taken, is the chief book in our New England Old Testament. The romantic story of the loss of the manuscript from the Old South Meeting-house at the time of the British evacuation of Boston, and its discovery in 1835 in the Bishop of London's palace at Fulham, has been told by Charles Deane in his introduction to the volume as published by the Massachusetts Historical Society [Mr. Deane's notes are largely used in the preceding pages], and by Justin Winsor in a special paper. The manuscript was returned to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts by the Consistorial Court of the Diocese of London in 1897, mainly through the efforts of Hon. George F. Hoar, and is preserved in the State Library. A complete fac-simile of it has been published, and an excellent popular edition of the work has also been Published by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Dr. Azel Ames's "The Mayflower and her Log" is a mine of information concerning everything relating to the famous ship and her voyage. See Old South Leaflets, No. 48, Bradford's Memoir of Elder Brewster; 49, Bradford's First Dialogue; 77, Cotton Mather's Lives of Bradford and Winthrop; 100, Robert Browne's "Reformation without Tarrying for Any;" and, 142, The Words of John Robinson.
The Planting of Colonies in New England.

FROM JOHN WHITE'S "THE PLANTERS' PLEA."

What Ends may be Proposed in Planting Colonies.

The ends that men have proposed to themselves in issuing out colonies have been divers. Some, and the worst and least warrantable, are such as are only swayed by private respects, as when men shift themselves and draw others with them out of their countries, out of undutiful affections to governors to exempt themselves from subjection to lawful power, or aim at a great name to themselves and to raise their own glory. As for the enlargement of trade, which drew on the Spanish and Dutch colonies in the East Indies, or securing of conquered countries, which occasioned many colonies of the Romans in Italy and other lands, they may be so far warranted as the grounds of the conquests or trades were warrantable (if they were carried without injury or wrong to the natives), seeing natural commerce between nations and conquests upon just wars have been always approved by the laws of God and man.

As for those colonies that have been undertaken upon the desire either of disburthening of full states of unnecessary multitudes, or of replenishing waste and void countries, they have a clear and sufficient warrant from the mouth of God as immediately concurring with one special end that God aimed at in the first institution thereof.

But, seeing God's honor and glory, and next men's salvation,
is His own principal scope in this and all His ways, it must withal be necessarily acknowledged that the desire and respect unto the publishing of His name where it is not known, and reducing men that live without God in this present world, unto a form of piety and godliness, by how much the more immediately it suits with the mind of God, and is furthest carried from private respects, by so much the more it advanceth this work of planting colonies above all civil and humane ends, and deserves honor and approbation above the most glorious conquests or successful enterprises that ever were undertaken by the most renowned men that the sun hath seen, and that by how much the subduing of Satan is a more glorious act than a victory over men, and the enlargement of Christ's kingdom than the adding unto men's dominions, and the saving of men's souls than the provision for their lives and bodies.

It seems this end in plantations hath been specially reserved for this latter end of the world, seeing before Christ the decree of God that suffered all nations to walk in their own ways (Acts xiv. 16) shut up the church within the narrow bounds of the promised land, and so excluded men from the propagation of religion to other countries. And in the apostles' time God afforded an easier and more speedy course of converting men to the truth by the gift of tongues, seconded by the power of miracles to win the greater credit to their doctrine, which most especially and first prevailed upon countries civilized, as the history of the apostles' acts makes manifest. As for the rest I make no question but God used the same way to other barbarous nations which He held with us, whom He first civilized by the Roman conquests, and mixture of their colonies with us, that He might bring in religion afterwards, seeing no man can imagine how religion should prevail upon those who are not subdued to the rule of nature and reason.

Nay, I conceive God especially directs this work of erecting colonies unto the planting and propagating of religion in the West Indies (although I will not confine it to those alone), and that for divers reasons, which ought to be taken into serious consideration, as affording the strongest motives that can be proposed to draw on the hearts and affections of men to this work now in hand, for this purpose, which gives occasion unto the publishing of this treatise.

There are, and those men of note both for place and learning in the church, that conceive the course held by God from the
beginning in the propagation of religion falls in this last age upon the western parts of the world.

It is true that from the first planting of religion among men it hath always held a constant way from East to West, and hath, in that line, proceeded so far that it hath extended to the uttermost western bounds of the formerly known world, so that if it make any further passage upon that point of the compass it must necessarily light upon the West Indies. And they conceive withal that our Saviour's prophecy (Matthew xxiv. 27) points out such a progress of the gospel. It is true that the comparison there used, taken from the lightning, aims at the sudden dispersing of the knowledge of Christ by the apostle's ministry; but whereas we know the lightning shines from divers parts of the heaven, showing itself indifferently, sometimes in the west, sometimes in the north or south, why doth our Saviour in that similitude choose to name the lightning that shines out of the east into the west, unless it be to express not only the sudden shining out of the gospel, but withal the way and passage by which it proceeds from one end of the world to the other, that is, from east to west?

But, passing by that only as a probable argument, this which follows seems to carry greater weight.

The knowledge of Christ must certainly be manifested unto all the quarters of the world, according to divers predictions of prophets, ratified and renewed by Christ and His apostles. But that the knowledge of Christ hath never been discovered unto these western nations may be almost demonstrated, seeing no history for five hundred years before Christ ever mentioned any such inhabitants of the earth, much less left any record of any passage unto them, or commerce with them. So that unless we should conceive a miraculous work of conceiving knowledge, without means, we cannot imagine how these nations should once hear of the name of Christ, which seems the more evident by this, that we find among them not so much as any relics of any of those principles which belong to that mystery, although in some place may be discovered some footsteps of the knowledge of God, of the creation, and of some legal observations.

As in New England the nations believe the creation of the world by God, the creation of one man and woman, their happy condition at the first and seduction by the envy (as they say) of the cony, which moves them to abhor that creature unto this day more than any serpent. It is also reported that they separate their women in the times appointed by the law of Moses, counting
them and all they touch unclean during that time appointed by
the law, whether upon any other ground or by a tradition received
from the Jew, it is uncertain. Some conceive their predecessors
might have had some commerce with the Jews in times past, by
what means I know not. Howsoever it be, it falls out that the
name of the place which our late colony hath chosen for their
seat proves to be perfect Hebrew, being called Nahum Keike, by
interpretation the bosom of consolation, which it were a pity
that those which observed it not should change into the name
of Salem, though upon a fair ground, in remembrance of a peace
settled upon a conference at a general meeting between them
and their neighbors, after expectance of some dangerous jar.
Now then, if all nations must have Christ tendered unto them,
and the Indies have never yet heard of His name, it must follow
that work of conveying that knowledge to them remains to be
undertaken and performed by this last age.

Again, what shall we conceive of that almost miraculous open¬
ing the passage unto and discovery of these formerly unknown
nations which must needs have proved impossible unto former
ages for want of the knowledge of the use of the loadstone, as
wonderfully found out as these unknown countries by it. It were
little less than impiety to conceive that God (whose will concurs
with the lighting of a sparrow upon the ground) had no hand in
directing one of the most difficult and observable works of this
age, and as great folly to imagine that He who made all things,
and consequently orders and directs them to His own glory, had
no other scope but the satisfying of men’s greedy appetites that
thirsted after the riches of that new-found world, and to tender
unto them the objects of such barbarous cruelties as the world
never heard of. We cannot then probably conceive that God,
in that strange discovery, aimed at any other thing but this, that
after He had punished the atheism and idolatry of those heathen
and brutish nations by the conqueror’s cruelty, and acquainted
them by mixture of some other people, with civility, to cause at
length the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ to shine out unto them
as it did to our forefathers after those sharp times of the bitter
desolations of our nation between the Romans and the Picts.

A fourth reason to prove that God hath left this great and
glorious work to this age of the world is the nearness of the Jews’
conversion, before which it is conceived by the most that the ful¬
ness of the Gentiles must come in according to the apostle’s
prophecy (Romans xi. 25). That this day cannot be far off
appears by the fulfilling of the prophecies precedent to that great and glorious work and the general expectation thereof by all men, such as was found among the Jews both in Judea and in some other parts of the world before the coming of Christ in the flesh, now then let it be granted that the Jews' conversion is near, and that the Gentiles, and consequently the Indians, must needs be gathered in before that day, and any man may make the conclusion that this is the hour for the work, and consequently of our duty to endeavor the effecting that which God hath determined, the opening of the eyes of those poor ignorant souls and discovering unto them the glorious mystery of Jesus Christ.

The English Nation is fit to undertake this Task.

That this nation is able and fit to send out colonies into foreign parts will evidently appear by the consideration of our overflowing multitudes. This being admitted for a received principle, that countries superabound in people when they have more than they can well nourish or well employ, seeing we know men are not ordained to live only, but withal and especially to serve one another through love in some profitable and useful calling. Granting, therefore, that this land, by God's ordinary blessing, yields sufficiency of corn and cattle for more than the present inhabitants, yet that we have more people than we do or can profitably employ will, I conceive, appear to any man of understanding, willing to acknowledge the truth and to consider these four particulars:

1. Many among us live without employment either wholly or in the greatest part (especially if there happen any interruption of trade, as of late was manifested not only in Essex, but in most parts of the land), and that do not only such as delight in idleness, but even folk willing to labor who either live without exercise in their callings or are fain to thrust into other men's to the evident prejudice of both.

2. The labors of many others might well be spared and to the state's advantage, as serving to little else than luxury and wantonness, to the impoverishing and corrupting of the most, of which there needs no better evidence than this, that when we tax pride and excess in apparel, buildings, etc., the evils are justified, and our mouths stopped with this answer: without this how should many men live and be maintained? No man is so uncivil as to deny supernecessaries for distinction of degrees, or
supercilious as to think it necessary to reduce a wealthy and abound¬
ing state to the plainness and homeliness of the primitive ages. But let our excess be limited to those bounds of decency, modesty, and sobriety that may answer the proportion of men’s callings and degrees, and it will be demonstrated the tenth persons of such as are busied about superfluities will hardly find sufficient employment to yield themselves and their families necessary maintenance.

3. That warrantable and useful callings are overcharged, all men’s complaints sufficiently witness, not only innholders and shopkeepers, of both which we need not the third person, but even handy craftsmen, as shoemakers, tailors, nay, masons, carpenters, and the like, many of whom with their families live in such a low condition as is little better than beggary, by reason of the multitudes that are bred up and exercised in those employments. And yet through the excessive numbers of persons in those and other callings, necessity enforceth them to require so large a price and recompense of their labors that a man of good estate is not able to afford himself conveniences for his condition (every calling he hath use of exhausting so much for the commodities it puts off onto him), whereas, if the number of those persons in their several callings were abated, the rest, having full employment, might be able to abate of their excessive prices, whereby both they and their chapmen might live more comfortably and plentifully, and the commonwealth by this help would be eased of many burthens it groans under, in making supply to the scanty means of many thousands in these callings so much overlaid with multitudes.

4. Yea, of such as are employed, a great part of their labor were needless, if their works were faithful and loyal. The deceitfulness of our works (of which all men complain, but few discern the cause) occasioneth the often renewing of those things which are made, which otherwise would endure for far longer continuance.

Now what a disease this must needs be in a state where men’s necessities enforce them to inventions of all ways and means of expense upon the instruments of pride and wantonness, and of as many subtleties and frauds in deceitful handling all works that pass through their fingers, that by the speedy wasting of what is made they may be the sooner called upon for new, I leave it to any wise man to judge. It is a fearful condition, whereby men are in a sort enforced to perish or to become means and instru¬
ments of evil. So that the conclusion must stand firm, we have more men than we can employ to any profitable or useful labor.

OBJECTION.

But the idleness or unprofitable labors of our people arise not from our numbers, but from our ill government, inferior magistrates being too remiss in their offices, and therefore may more easily be reformed by establishing better order, or executing those good laws already made at home, than by transporting some of them into foreign countries.

ANSWER.

Good government, though it do reform many, yet it cannot reform all the evils of this kind, because it will be a great difficulty to find out profitable employments for all that will want, which way we should help ourselves by tillage I know not; we can hardly depasture fewer rother-beasts than we do, seeing we spend already their flesh and hides, and as for sheep, the ground depastured with them doth, or might, set on work as many hands as tillage can do. If we adventure the making of linen cloth, other soils are so much fitter to produce the materials for that work, their labor is so much cheaper, the hindering of commerce in trade likely to be so great, that the undertakers of this work would in all probability be soon discouraged. Nay, the multiplying of new draperies, which perhaps might effect more than all the rest, yet were in no proportion sufficient to employ the supernumeraries which this land would yield if we could be confined within the bounds of sobriety and modesty, seeing it may be demonstrated that near a third part of those that inhabit our towns and cities (besides such spare men as the country yields) would, by good order established, be left to take up new employments.

We have as much opportunity as any nation to transport our men and provisions by sea into those countries without which advantage they cannot possibly be peopled from any part of the world, not from this Christian part at least, as all men know. And how useful a neighbor the sea is to the furthering of such a work the examples of the Grecians and the Phoenicians, who filled all the bordering coasts with their colonies, do sufficiently prove unto all the world. Neither can it be doubted but the first planters wanting this help (as Abraham in his removing to Charran
first, and to Canaan afterwards) must needs spend much time and endure much labor in passing their families and provisions by land over rivers and through woods and thickets by unbeaten paths.

But what need arguments to us that have already determined this truth? How many several colonies have we drawn out and passed over into several parts of the West Indies? And this we have done with the allowance, encouragement, and high commendation of state, perhaps not always with the best success, who knows whether by erring from the right scope? Questionless for the want of fit men for that employment, and experience to direct a work, which, being carried in an untrodden path, must needs be subject to miscarryment into many errors.

Now, whereas it hath been manifested that the most eminent and desirable end of planting colonies is the propagation of religion, it may be conceived this nation is in a sort singled out unto that work, being of all the states that enjoy the liberty of the religion reformed, and are able to spare people for such an employment, the most orthodox in our profession, and behind none in sincerity in embracing it, as will appear to any indifferent man that shall duly weigh and recount the number and condition of those few states of Europe that continue in the profession of that truth which we embrace.

That New England is a Fit Country for the Seating of an English Colony for the Propagation of Religion.

Not only our acquaintance with the soil and natives there, but more especially our opportunity of trading thither for furs and fish, persuade this truth, if other things be answerable. It is well known, before our breach with Spain, we usually sent out to New England yearly forty or fifty sail of ships of reasonable good burthen, for fishing only. And howsoever it falls out that our Newfoundland voyages prove more beneficial to the merchants, yet it is as true these to New England are found far more profitable to poor fishermen, so that by that time all reckonings are cast up these voyages come not far behind the other in advantage to the state.

No country yields a more propitious air for our temper than New England, as experience hath made manifest, by all relations. Many of our people that have found themselves alway weak and sickly at home have become strong and healthy there, perhaps
by the dryness of the air and constant temper of it, which seldom varies suddenly from cold to heat, as it doth with us, so that rheums are very rare among our English there, neither are the natives at any time troubled with pain of teeth, soreness of eyes, or ache in their limbs. It may be the nature of the water conduceth somewhat this way, which all affirm to keep the body always temperately soluble, and consequently helps much to the preventing and curing of the gout and stone, as some have found by experience. As for provisions for life, the corn of the country (which it produceth in good proportion, with reasonable labor) is apt for nourishment, and agrees, although not so well with our taste at first, yet very well with our health, nay, is held by some physicians to be restorative. If we like not that, we may make use of our own grains, which agree well with that soil, and so do our cattle; nay, they grow unto a greater bulk of body there than with us in England. Unto which if we add the fish, fowl, and venison which that country yields in great abundance, it cannot be questioned but that soil may assure sufficient provision for food; and, being naturally apt for hemp and flax especially, may promise us linen sufficient, with our labor, and woollen, too, if it may be thought fit to store it with sheep.

The land affords void ground enough to receive more people than this state can spare, and that not only wood grounds, and others which are unfit for present use, but in many places much cleared ground for tillage, and large marshes for hay and feeding of cattle, which comes to pass by the desolation happening through a three years' plague, about twelve or sixteen years past, which swept away most of the inhabitants all along the seacoast, and in some places utterly consumed man, woman, and child, so that there is no person left to lay claim to the soil which they possessed. In most of the rest the contagion hath scarce left alive one person of an hundred. And which is remarkable, such a plague hath not been known or remembered in any age past, nor then raged above twenty or thirty miles up into the land, nor seized upon any other but the natives, the English in the heat of the sickness commencing with them without hurt or danger. Besides, the natives invite us to sit down by them and offer us what ground we will, so that either want of possession by others or the possessor's gift and sale may assure our right, we need not fear a clear title to the soil.

In all colonies it is to be desired that the daughter may answer something back by way of retribution to the mother that gave
her being. Nature hath as much force, and founds as strong a relation between people and people as between person and person, so that a colony denying due respect to the state from whose bowels it issued is as great a monster as an unnatural child. Now a colony planted in New England may be many ways useful to this state.

As first in furthering our fishing voyages (one of the most honest and every way profitable employments that the nation undertakes), it must needs be a great advantage unto our men, after so long a voyage, to be furnished with fresh victuals there, and that supplied out of that land without spending the provisions of our own country. But there is hope besides that the colony shall not only furnish our fishermen with victuals, but with salt, too, unless men’s expectation and conjectures much deceive them, and so quit unto them a great part of the charge of their voyage, beside the hazard of adventure.

Next, how serviceable this country must needs be for provisions for shipping is sufficiently known already. At present it may yield planks, masts, oars, pitch, tar, and iron, and hereafter (by the aptness of the soil for hemp), if the colony increase, sails and cordage. What other commodities it may afford besides for trade, time will discover. Of wines, among the rest, there can be no doubt, the ground yielding natural vines in great abundance and variety, and, of these, some as good as any are found in France, by human culture. But in the possibility of the serviceableness of the colony to this state the judgment of the Dutch may somewhat confirm us, who have planted in the same soil and make great account of their colony there.

But the greatest advantage must needs come unto the natives themselves, whom we shall teach providence and industry, for want whereof they perish oft-times, while they make short provisions for the present by reason of their idleness, and that they have they spend and waste unnecessarily, without having respect to times to come. Withal, commerce and example of our course of living cannot but, in time, breed civility among them, and that, by God’s blessing, may make way for religion consequently, and for the saving of their souls. Unto all which may be added the safety and protection of the persons of the natives, which are secured by our colonies. In times past the Tarentines (who dwell from those of Massachusetts bay, near which our men are seated, about fifty or sixty leagues to the north-east), inhabiting a soil unfit to produce that country grain, being the more hardy people,
were accustomed yearly at harvest to come down in their canoes and reap their fields and carry away their corn, and destroy their people, which wonderfully weakened and kept them low in times past. From this evil our neighborhood hath wholly freed them, and consequently secured their persons and estates, which makes the natives there so glad of our company.

**OBJECTION I.**

But if we have any spare people, Ireland is a fitter place to receive them than New England. Being, 1, nearer; 2, our own; 3, void in some parts; 4, fruitful; 5, of importance for the securing of our own land; 6, needing our help for their recovery out of blindness and superstition.

**ANSWER.**

Ireland is well-nigh sufficiently peopled already, or will be in the next age. Besides, this work need not hinder that, no more than the plantation in Virginia, Bermudas, S. Christopher’s, Barbadoes, etc., which are all of them approved and encouraged as this is. As for religion, it hath reasonable footing in Ireland already, and may easily be propagated further, if we be not wanting to ourselves. This country of New England is destitute of all helps and means by which the people might come out of the snare of Satan. Now, although it be true that I should regard my son more than my servant, yet I must rather provide a coat for my servant that goes naked than give my son another, who hath reasonable clothing already.

**OBJECTION II.**

But New England hath divers discommodities, the snow and coldness of the winter, which our English bodies can hardly brook, and the annoyance of men by musquitoes and serpents, and of cattle and corn by wild beasts.

**ANSWER.**

The cold of winter is tolerable, as experience hath and doth manifest, and is remedied by the abundance of fuel. The snow lies indeed about a foot thick for ten weeks or thereabout, but
where it lies thicker and a month longer, as in many parts of Germany, men find a very comfortable dwelling. As for the serpents, it is true there are some, and these larger than our adders, but in ten years’ experience no man was ever endangered by them, and, as the country is better stored with people, they will be found fewer and as rare as among us here. As for the wild beasts, they are no more nor so much dangerous or hurtful here as in Germany and other parts of the world. The musquitoes indeed infest the planters about four months in the heat of summer, but after one year’s acquaintance men make light account of them; some slight defence for the hands and face, smoke and a close house, may keep them off. Neither are they much more noisome than in Spain, Germany, and other parts, nay, than the fennish parts of Essex and Lincolnshire. Besides, it is credibly reported that twenty miles inward into the country they are not found; but this is certain, and tried by experience, after four or five years’ habitation they wax very thin. It may be the hollowness of the ground breeds them, which the treading of the earth by men and cattle doth remedy in time.

OBJECTION III.

But if the propagation of religion be the scope of the plantation, New England, which is so naked of inhabitants, is the unfittest of any place for a colony; it would more further that work to set down in some well-peopled country that might afford many subjects to work upon and win to the knowledge of the truth.

ANSWER.

1. But how shall we get footing there? The Virginian colony may be our precedent, where our men have been entertained with continual broils by the natives, and by that means shut out from all hope of working any reformation upon them, from which their hearts must needs be utterly averse by reason of the hatred which they bear unto our persons; whereas New England yields this advantage, that it affords us a clear title to our possessions there, and good correspondence with the natives, whether out of their peaceable disposition or out of their inability to make resistance, or out of the safety which they find by our neighborhood, it skills not much. This is certain, it yields
a fair way to work them to that tractableness which will never be found in the Virginians. Neither have we any cause to complain for want of men to work upon. The inland parts are indifferently populous, and Narragansett bay and river, which border upon us, are full of inhabitants who are quiet with us, and trade with us willingly, while we are their neighbors, but are very jealous of receiving either us or the Dutch into the bowels of their country, for fear we should become their lords.

2. Besides, in probability, it will be more advantageous to this work to begin with a place not so populous, for, as the resistance will be less, so by them having once received the gospel, it may be more easily and successfully spread to the places better peopled, who will more easily receive it from the commendation of their own countrymen than from strangers, and flock to it as doves to the windows.

3. Though in the place where they plant there are not many natives, yet they have an opportunity by way of traffic and commerce (which at least is generally once a year), with the natives in a large compass, though far distant from them, by which means they grow into acquaintance with them, and may take many advantages of conveying to them the knowledge of Christ, though they live not with them.

OBJECTION IV.

But the country wants means of wealth that might invite men to desire it, for there is nothing to be expected in New England but competency to live on at the best, and that must be purchased with hard labor, whereas divers other parts of the West Indies offer a richer soil, which easily allures inhabitants by the tender of a better condition than they live in at present.

ANSWER.

An unanswerable argument to such as make the advancement of their estates the scope of their undertaking, but no way a discouragement to such as aim at the propagation of the gospel, which can never be advanced but by the preservation of piety in those that carry it to strangers. Now we know nothing sorts better with piety than competency, a truth which Agur hath determined long ago (Proverbs xxx. 8). Nay, heathen men, by the light of nature, were directed so far as to discover the over-
flowing of riches to be enemy to labor, sobriety, justice, love, and
magnanimity, and the nurse of pride, wantonness, and contention,
and therefore labored by all means to keep out the love and de-
sire of them from their well-ordered states, and observed and
professed the coming in and admiration of them to have been
the foundation of their ruin. If men desire to have a people
degenerate speedily, and to corrupt their minds and bodies, too,
and besides to tolerate thieves and spoilers from abroad, let them
seek a rich soil that brings in much with little labor; but, if they
desire that piety and godliness should prosper, accompanied with
sobriety, justice, and love, let them choose a country such as this
is, even like France or England, which may yield sufficiency
with hard labor and industry. The truth is, there is more cause
to fear wealth than poverty in that soil.

What Persons may be fit to be Employed in this Work of
Planting a Colony.

It seems to be a common and gross error that colonies ought
to be emunctories or sinks of state, to drain away their filth,
whence arise often murmurings at the removal of any men of
state or worth, with some wonder and admiration that men of
sufficiency and discretion should prefer anything before a quiet
life at home,—an opinion that savors strongly of self-love, always
opposite and enemy to any public good. This fundamental error
hath been the occasion of the miscarriage of most of our colonies,
and the chargeable destruction of many of our countrymen,
whom, when we have once issued out from us, we cast off, as
we say, to the wide world, leaving them to themselves either to
sink or swim.

Contrary to this common custom, a state that intends to draw
out a colony for the inhabiting of another country must look at
the mother and the daughter with an equal and indifferent eye,
remembering that a colony is a part and member of her own
body, and such in whose good herself hath a peculiar interest,
which, therefore, she should labor to further and cherish by all
fit and convenient means, and consequently must allow to her
such a proportion of able men as may be sufficient to make the
frame of that new-formed body, as good governors, able ministers,
physicians, soldiers, schoolmasters, mariners, and mechanics of
all sorts, who had therefore need to be of the more sufficiency,
because the first fashioning of a politic body is a harder task than
the ordering of that which is already framed, as the first erecting of a house is ever more difficult than the future keeping of it in repair, or as the breaking of a colt requires more skill than the riding of a managed horse. When the frame of the body is thus formed and furnished with vital parts, and knit together with firm bands and sinews, the bulk may be filled up with flesh, that is, with persons of less use and activity, so they be pliable and apt to be kept in life.

The disposition of these persons must be respected as much or more than their abilities. Men nourished up in idleness, unconstant, and affecting novelties, unwilling, stubborn, inclined to faction, covetous, luxurious, prodigal, and generally men habituated to any gross evil, are no fit members of a colony. Ill-humors soon overthrow a weak body, and false stones in a foundation ruin the whole building. The persons, therefore, chosen out for this employment ought to be willing, constant, industrious, obedient, frugal, lovers of the common good, or at least such as may be easily wrought to this temper, considering that works of this nature try the undertakers with many difficulties, and easily discourage minds of base and weak temper. It cannot, I confess, be hoped that all should be such. Care must be had that the principals be so inclined, and as many of the vulgar as may be, at least that they be willing to submit to authority; mutinies which many times are kindled by one person, are well-nigh as dangerous in a colony as in an army.

These are rules concerning electing of fit persons for colonies in general, unto which must be adjoined the consideration of the principal scope whereat the colony aims, which must be religion; whether it be directed to the good of others for their conversion or of the planters themselves for their preservation and continuance in a good condition, in which they cannot long subsist without religion. To this purpose must be allotted to every colony, for governors and ministers especially, men of piety and blameless life, especially in such a plantation as this in New England, where their lives must be the patterns to the heathen, and the special, effectual means of winning them to the love of the truth. Nay, it would be endeavored that all governors of families either may be men truly godly or at least such as consent and agree to a form of moral honesty and sobriety. As for other ends less principal, which are especially merchandise and defense, common sense teacheth every man that the colony must be furnished with the greatest store of such persons as are most serviceable to the man end at which it aims.
OBJECTION.

But able and godly persons being in some degree supporters of the state that sends them out, by sparing them, she seems to pluck away her own props, and so to weaken her own standing, which is against the rule of charity, that allows and persuades every man to have the first care of his own good and preservation.

ANSWER.

The first, indeed, but not the only care; so I must provide for mine own family, but not for that alone. But to answer this objection more fully, which troubles many, and distracts their thoughts, and strikes indeed at the foundation of this work (for either we must allow some able men for civil and ecclesiastical affairs for peace and war or no colonies at all): First, I deny that such as are gone out from the state are cut off from the state; the roots that issue out from the trunk of the tree, though they be dispersed, yet they are not severed, but do good offices, by drawing nourishment to the main body, and the tree is not weakened, but strengthened the more they spread, of which we have a clear instance in the Roman state. That city by the second Punick war had erected thirty colonies in several parts of Italy, and by their strength especially supported herself against her most potent enemies. I confess that in places so far distant as New England from this land the case is somewhat different; the intercourse is not so speedy, but it must needs be granted yet that even those so far remote may be of use and service to this state still, as hath been showed.

Secondly, if some useful men be spared, to whom do we spare them? Is it not to a part of our own body? Those whom we send out, are they not our own flesh and bones? and, if we send them out for their greater good, that they may prosper better in a larger room, and in part, too, for our own ease, that their absence may give us the more scope at home, shall it seem much unto us to allow them (without any great loss to ourselves) a few persons whom, though we would not willingly spare to strangers, yet upon good consideration we may, according to the principle of nature, bestow upon our own?

Thirdly, are we altogether our own and for ourselves? or God's and for His glory? We spare them to God and to religion and to the church's service. We are owners of our own estates, it is true, but, when the service of God or the church requires a
share of them, shall any man answer with Nabal (1 Samuel xxv. 11), “Shall I take my bread,” etc.? The primitive churches, planted by the apostles, were content to spare some of their own pastors sometimes for the public service of the church and good of their brethren. If it be objected, those were brethren and neighbors, these are pagans and beasts rather than men, let us be entreated to reflect upon ourselves, and set before us the face of our progenitors 1500 or 1600 years since, that we may answer to our own hearts, such were some of us, or our progenitors before us. They are beasts, we say; and can we, without compassion, behold men transformed into beasts? We have the light of grace, they have scarce the dim light of nature; we have fellowship with God, they have scarce heard of Him; we are translated into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, they are bonded slaves of Satan. Who hath made us to differ? How long shall we scorn what we should commiserate? What if God should show mercy unto them, erect a church among them, recover them out of the power of the Devil; could any conquest be so glorious? Would we not glorify God and rejoice with all our souls, as the believing Jews did in the Gentiles’ conversion? How can we refuse to further the prosecuting of that which would be our glory and joy if it were effected?

Fourthly, no man desireth to do as Samson, to pluck away the pillars on which the house leaneth. This work craves no counsellor of state, no peer of the land; nay, perhaps, no person employed at present in any place of government, private men whom the state we conceive needs not, because it employs not, may serve the turn. Suppose it should borrow some men of more special use, and return them home, as men from their travels, improved not so much by sights as experience, after the affairs of the colony were settled, what loss were it, in lieu of so great a gain?

Lastly, if we spare men for the advancing of God’s honor, men that do us service that they may attend God’s service, we have as much reason to expect the supply of our loss as the repairing of our estates, out of which we spare a portion for our brethren’s necessities, or the advancing of God’s worship, by the blessing of God according to His promise.
The portion of "The Planters' Plea" printed in the preceding pages constitutes chapters 2-5 of that pamphlet. In chapter 7 occurs the following statement of the purposes of the planters. This statement is followed in the pamphlet by the brief outline of the history of the early colonizing efforts in Massachusetts which is reprinted in Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts.

I should be very unwilling to hide anything I think might be fit to discover the uttermost of the intentions of our planters in their voyage to New England, and therefore shall make bold to manifest not only what I know, but what I guess concerning their purpose. As it were absurd to conceive they have all one mind, so were it more ridiculous to imagine they have all one scope. Necessity may press some; novelty draw on others; hopes of gain in time to come may prevail with a third sort; but that the most, and most sincere and godly part, have the advancement of the gospel for their main scope, I am confident. That of them, some may entertain hope and expectation of enjoying greater liberty there than here in the use of some orders and ceremonies of our church, it seems very probable. Nay, more than that, it is not improbable that, partly for their sakes, and partly for respect to some Germans that are gone over with them, and more that intend to follow after, even those which otherwise would not much desire innovation of themselves, yet for the maintaining of peace and unity (the only solder of a weak, unsettled body) will be won to consent to some variation from the forms and customs of our church. Nay, I see not how we can expect from them a correspondence in all things to our state, civil or ecclesiastical. Wants and necessities cannot but cause many changes. The churches in the apostles' and in the settled times of peace afterwards were much different in many outward forms. In the main, of their carriage two things may move them to vary much from us: respect to the heathen, before whom it concerns them to show much piety, sobriety, and austerity, and the consideration of their own necessities, will certainly enforce them to take away many things that we admit, and to introduce many things that we reject, which, perhaps, will minister much matter of sport and scorn unto such as have relations of these things, and that represented unto them with such additions as fame usually weaves into all reports at the second and third hands. The like, by this their varying in civil conversation, we may expect of the alteration of some things in church affairs. It were
bootless to expect that all things will or can be at the first forming of a rude and incoherent body, as they may be found in time to come; and it were strange and a thing that never yet happened, if we should hear a true report of all things as they are. But that men are far enough from projecting the erecting of this colony for a nursery of schismatics will appear by the ensuing faithful and unpartial narration of the first occasions, beginning, and progress of the whole work, laid before the eyes of all that desire to receive satisfaction, by such as have been privy to the very first conceiving and contriving of this project of planting this colony; and to the several passages that have happened since, who also, in that they relate, consider they have the searcher of all hearts and observer of all men's ways witness of the truth and falsehood that they deliver.

John White, the author of "The Planters' Plea," was born at Stanton, St. John, Oxfordshire, in 1575 (baptized January 6). He was a kinsman of Bishop John White, whom Queen Elizabeth deprived of the see of Winchester on account of his Romanizing tendencies. His elder brother, Josias, rector of Hornchurch in Essex, was father of James White, who became a wealthy merchant of Boston, Mass. John White was educated at Winchester and at New College, Oxford; and in 1606 he was appointed rector of Holy Trinity, at Dorchester, in Dorset, remaining identified with that place for the rest of his long life, and becoming known as "the Patriarch of Dorchester." His influence upon the moral life of the town was profound. Fuller says that the inhabitants were much enriched by him, "for knowledge caused piety, and piety bred industry, so that a beggar was not to be seen in the town. All the able poor were set on work, and the impotent maintained by the profit of a public brew-house and other collections." "He had," says Fuller, "perfect control of two things, his own passions and his parishioners' purses," which latter he devoted upon his philanthropic ends.

White belonged to the Puritan party in the Church of England; and he became deeply interested in American colonization. As early as 1624 he interested himself in sending out a colony of Dorset men to Massachusetts; but this enterprise, which led to the settlement at Cape Ann, joined by Roger Conant, miscarried. But White was not discouraged. No man was more influential in forming the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He has been properly called "the father of the Massachusetts Colony." John Endicott, the governor of the company coming to Salem in 1629, was a Dorchester man; and Higginson and Skelton were selected and approved by White as the colony's ministers. There is good reason for believing that he wrote the farewell letter of Winthrop's company to their brethren of the Church of England as they sailed for New England. "The Planters' Plea" was printed in London in 1630, just after the sailing of Winthrop's fleet. "The ensuing faithful and impartial narrative of the first occasions, beginning and progress of the whole work is laid before the eyes of all that desire to receive satisfaction, by such as have been privy to the very first conceiving and contriving of this project of planting this colony." The pamphlet contains the earliest trustworthy information on the planting of the colony. It was published anonymously, but White's authorship is undoubted. "Mr. White, of Dorchester, author," Increase Mather wrote on the title-page of his copy; and his father was Richard Mather, who came over in 1635, and became minister of the church in Dorchester, Mass., in whose organization in England John White had been so deeply interested. White went to Plymouth, England, to bid farewell to the congregation sailing thence for Dorchester, Mass., in the "Mary and John," in 1630, and preached to them on their solemn day of fasting and prayer, when they chose Mr. Warham and Mr. Maverick to be their ministers. He corresponded with Winthrop after the founding of Boston. Winthrop urging him to visit the colony. In a letter from him to Winthrop in 1636 occurs the following passage, reminding us of the passage on liberty in Winthrop's famous "Little Speech" in 1645: "I know it will be pretended that all manner of restraint is prejudicial to liberty, and I grant the name of liberty is precious, so it be liberty to do good,—but no farther."
Anthony Wood says of White: “He was for the most part of his time a moderate Puritan, and conformed to the ceremonies of the Church of England before and when Archbishop Laud sat at the stem.” When the Civil War broke out, he sided with Parliament; and his house and library were plundered by the Royalists under Prince Rupert. He came to London, ministered at the Savoy, and then was made rector of Lambeth. He was a member of the Westminster Assembly of divines, and at their opening service in St. Margaret’s (Sept. 25, 1643) prayed a full hour, to prepare them for taking the covenant. In 1647 he was offered the position of warden of New College, but declined to go to Oxford, being “sick and infirm, a dying man.” He died July 21, 1648, probably at Dorchester, and was buried in the porch of St. Peter’s Chapel (belonging to Holy Trinity), where a tablet has recently been placed in his memory.

Besides “The Planters’ Plea” and a few sermons and short treatises, White was the author of “A Way to the Tree of Life: Sundry Directions for the Profitable Reading of the Scriptures”; “David’s Psalms in Metre, agreeable to the Hebrew. To be sung in usual Tunes to the benefit of the churches of Christ;” and “A Commentary upon the Three First Chapters of the First Book of Moses called Genesis.” See the article on John White, in the Dictionary of National Biography, with list of books containing references to him. See sections relating to White in the various histories of New England, Massachusetts, and Dorchester; Everett’s oration on “Dorchester in 1630, 1776, and 1855” (Orations, iii.); and Rev. Samuel J. Barrows’s historical discourse at the celebration in 1880 of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Dorchester church. John White’s “Instructions for the Plantation of New England” is printed in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1865. “The Planters’ Plea” was reprinted in Force’s Collection of Tracts. The portion near the end giving the history of the planting of the Massachusetts Colony was reprinted in Young’s Chronicles of Massachusetts, with useful notes; and the whole was reprinted in 1898 among the American Colonial Tracts. The work is in ten chapters, of which chapters 2–5 are given in the present leaflet.
A True Narrative of the Lord's Providences in various dispensations towards Captain Edward Hutchinson of Boston and my self, and those that went with us into the Nipmuck Country, and also to Quabaug, alias Brookfield: The said Captain Hutchinson having a Commission from the Honoured Council of this Colony to treat with several Sachems in those parts in order to the publick peace, and my self being also ordered by the said Council to accompany him with part of my troop for security from any danger that might be from the Indians: and to assist him in the transaction of matters committed to him.

The said Captain Hutchinson, and myself, with about twenty men or more marched from Cambridge to Sudbury, July 28, 1675; and from thence into the Nipmuck Country, and finding that the Indians had deserted their towns, and we having gone until we came within two miles of New Norwitch, on July 31, (only we saw two Indians having an horse with them, whom we would have spoke with, but they fled from us and left their horse, which we took), we then thought it not expedient to march any further that way, but set our march for Brookfield, whither we came on the Lord's day about noon. From thence the same day, (being August 1,) we understanding that the Indians were about ten miles north west from us, we sent out four men to acquaint the Indians that we were not come to harm them, but our business was only to deliver a Message from our Honoured Governour and Council to them, and to receive their answer, we desiring to come to a Treaty of Peace with them, (though they had for
several dayes fled from us,) they having before professed friendship, and promised fidelity to the English. When the messengers came to them they made an alarm, and gathered together about an hundred and fifty fighting men as near as they could judge. The young men amongst them were stout in their speeches, and surly in their carriage. But at length some of the chief Sachems promised to meet us on the next morning about 8 of the clock upon a plain within three miles of Brookfield, with which answer the messengers returned to us. Whereupon, though their speeches and carriage did much discourage divers of our company, yet we conceived that we had a clear call to go to meet them at the place whither they had promised to come. Accordingly we with our men accompanied with three of the principal inhabitants of that town marched to the plain appointed; but the treacherous heathen intending mischief, (if they could have opportunity), came not to the said place, and so failed our hopes of speaking with them there. Whereupon the said Captain Hutchinson* and my self, with the rest of our company, considered what was best to be done, whether we should go any further towards them or return, divers of us apprehending much danger in case we did proceed, because the Indians kept not promise there with us. But the three men who belonged to Brookfield were so strongly persuaded of their freedom from any ill intentions towards us, (as upon other bounds, so especially because the greatest part of those Indians belonged to David, one of their chief Sachems, who was taken to be a great friend to the English:) that the said Captain Hutchinson who was principally intrusted with the matter of Treaty with them, was thereby encouraged to proceed and march forward towards a Swamp

*Capt. Hutchinson had a very considerable farm in the Nipmug country, and had occasion to employ several of the Nipmug sachem's men in tilling and ploughing the ground, and thereby was known to the face of many of them. The sachems sent word that they would speak with none but Capt. Hutchinson himself, and appointed a meeting at such a tree and such a time. The guide that conducted him and those that were with him through the woods brought them to a swamp [as stated in the Narrative] not far off the appointed place, out of which those Indians ran all at once and killed sixteen [but 8, as in Narrative] men, and wounded several others, of which wounds Capt. Hutchinson afterwards died, whose death is the more lamented in that his mother and several others of his relations died by the hands of the Indians, now above 30 years since. Ms. Letter sent to London, dated Nov. 10, 1675, as quoted by Gov. Hutchinson, I. 266.

Capt. Hutchinson belonged to Boston and had been one of its representatives, and considerably in publick life. He was son of William and the celebrated Ann Hutchinson, and was brother-in-law to Major Thomas Savage, of Boston, who married Faith, the sister of Capt. H. He was the father of the Hon. Elisha Hutchinson, one of the Counsellors of Massachusetts, who died 10 December, 1717, aged 77. The last was father of Hon. Thomas Hutchinson, born 30 January, 1642; died 3 December, 1736, whose son, Gov. Thomas Hutchinson, born 9 September, 1711, was the celebrated historian of Massachusetts. 'Sawyer's Winthrop, 246. It is a little singular that the Gov. should not have met with a Narrative so particular respecting the fate of his great ancestor.]
where the Indians then were. When we came near the said swampe, the way was so very bad that we could march only in a single file, there being a very rocky hill on the right hand, and a thick swampe on the left. In which there were many of those cruel blood-thirsty heathen, who there way laid us, waiting an opportunity to cut us off; there being also much brush on the side of the said hill, where they lay in ambush to surprize us.* When we had marched there about sixty or seventy rods, the said perfidious Indians sent out their shot upon us as a showre of haile, they being, (as was supposed,) about two hundred men or more. We seeing our selves so beset, and not having room to fight, endeavoured to fly for the safety of our lives. In which flight we were in no small danger to be all cut off, there being a very miry swamp before us, into which we could not enter with our horses to go forwards, and there being no safety in retreating the way we came, because many of our company, who lay behind the bushes, and had let us pass by them quietly; when others had shot, they came out, and stopt our way back, so that we were forced as we could to get up the steep and rocky hill; but the greater our danger was, the greater was God's mercy in the preservation of so many of us from sudden destruction. My self being gone up part of the hill without any hurt, and perceiving some of my men to be fallen by the enemies' shot, I wheeled about upon the Indians, not calling on my men who were left to accompany me, which they in all probability would have done had they known of my return upon the enemy. They firing violently out of the swamp, and from behind the bushes on the hill side wounded me sorely, and shot my horse under me, so that he faultiring and falling, I was forced to leave him, divers of the Indians being then but a few rods distant from me. My son Thomas Wheeler flying with the rest of the company, missed me amongst them, and fearing that I was either slain or much endangered, returned towards the swampe again, though he had then received a dangerous wound in the reins, where he saw in me the danger afore-said. Whereupon, he endeavoured to rescue me, shewing himself therein a loving and dutiful son, he adventuring himself

*It seems from a note in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, that the Indians took a prisoner of the name of George, a christian Indian, who afterwards reported that Philip and his company of about 40 men, besides women and children, joined the Nipmuck Indians in a swampe, ten or twelve miles from Brookfield on the 9th of August. "The Indians told Philip, at his first coming, what they had done to the English at Quabaog: Then he presented and gave to three sagamores, viz. John alias Apequinash, Quansin, and Mawtamps, to each of them about a peck of unstrung wampum, which they accepted." Philip was conducted to the swamp by two Indians, one of whom was Caleb of Tatumasket, beyond Mendon.]
into great peril of his life to help me in that distress, there being many of the enemies about me, my son set me on his own horse, and so escaped a while on foot himself, until he caught an horse whose rider was slain, on which he mounted, and so through God's great mercy we both escaped. But in this attempt for my deliverance he received another dangerous wound by their shot in his left arm. There were then slain to our great grief eight men, viz.—Zechariah Philips of Boston, Timothy Farlow,* of Billericay, Edward Coleborn, of Chelmsford, Samuel Smedly, of Concord, Sydrach Hopgood, of Sudbury, Serjeant Eyres,† Serjeant Prichard,‡ and Corporal Coy,§ the inhabitants of Brookfield aforesaid. It being the good pleasure of God, that they should all there fall by their hands, of whose good intentions they were so confident, and whom they so little mistrusted. There were also then five persons wounded, viz.—Captain Hutchinson, my self, and my son Thomas, as aforesaid, Corporal French,|| of Billericay, who having killed an Indian, was (as he was taking up his gun) shot, and part of one of his thumbs taken off, and also dangerously wounded through the body near the shoulder; the fifth was John Waldoe, of Chelmsford, who was not so dangerously wounded as the rest. They also then killed five of our horses, and wounded some more, which soon died after they came to Brookfield. Upon this sudden and unexpected blow given us, (wherein we desire to look higher than man the instrument,) we returned to the town as fast as the badness of the way, and the weakness of our wounded men would permit, we being then ten miles from it. All the while we were going, we durst not stay to stanch the bleeding of our wounded men, for fear the enemy should have surprized us again, which they attempted to do, and had in probability done, but that we perceiving which way they went, wheeled off to the other hand, and so by God's good providence towards us, they missed us, and we all came readily upon, and safely to the town, though none of us knew the way to it, those of the place being slain, as aforesaid, and we avoiding any thick woods and riding in open places to prevent danger by them. Being got to the town, we speedily betook our selves to one of the largest and strongest houses therein, where

* [Timothy Farley was son of George Farley, one of the first settlers of Billerica.]
† [John Ayres.
‡ Joseph Pritchard.
§ John Coye.]
|| [Corporal John French was son of Lieut. William French of Billerica. He went from Cambridge with his father to Billerica, about 1654, and lived there until his death in October, 1712, aged about 78.]
we fortified our selves in the best manner we could in such straits of time, and there resolved to keep garrison, though we were but few, and meanly fitted to make resistance against so furious enemies. The news of the Indians' treacherous dealing with us, and the loss of so many of our company thereby, did so amaze the inhabitants of the town, that they being informed thereof by us, presently left their houses, divers of them carrying very little away with them, they being afraid of the Indians sudden coming upon them; and so came to the house we were entered into, very meanly provided of clothing, or furnished with provisions.

I perceiving my self to be disenabled for the discharge of the duties of my place by reason of the wound I had received, and apprehending that the enemy would soon come to spoyle the town, and assault us in the house, I appointed Simon Davis, of Concord, James Richardson,* and John Fiske,† of Chelmsford, to manage affairs for our safety with those few men whom God hath left us, and were fit for any service, and the inhabitants of the said town; who did well and commendably perform the duties of the trust committed to them with much courage and resolution through the assistance of our gracious God, who did not leave us in our low and distressed state, but did mercifully appear for us in our greatest need, as in the sequel will clearly be manifested. Within two hours after our coming to the said house, or less, the said Captain Hutchinson and myself posted away Ephraim Curtis, of Sudbury, and Henry Young, of Concord, to go to the Honoured Council at Boston, to give them an account of the Lord's dealing with us, and our present condition. When they came to the further end of the town they saw the enemy rifling of houses which the inhabitants had forsaken. The post fired upon them, and immediately returned to us again, they discerning no safety in going forward and being desirous to inform us of the enemies' actings, that we might the more prepare for a sudden assault by them. Which indeed presently followed, for as soon as the said post was come back to us, the barbarous heathen pressed upon us in the house with great violence, sending in their shot amongst us like hail through the

* [James Richardson is supposed to have been brother to Capt. Josiah Richardson, of Chelmsford, who died 22 July, 1605, the ancestor of the Hon. Judge Richardson, of Chester. He went from Woburn, the hive from which issued most of the Richarsons, to Chelmsford, in 166-. The first Richardson who came to the Massachusetts colony was Ezekiel Richardson, who was made a freeman, in May, 1631, and was afterwards a deputy of the General Court. Samuel and Thomas were made freemen, 2 May, 1638, and they settled in Woburn, as did also, it is believed, Ezekiel, though not upon his first coming here.]

† [John Fiske was son of the Rev. John Fiske, first minister of Chelmsford.]
walls, and shouting as if they would have swallowed us up alive; but our good God wrought wonderfully for us, so that there was but one man wounded within the house, viz.—the said Henry Young, who, looking out of the garret window that evening, was mortally wounded by a shot, of which wound he died within two days after. There was the same day another man slain, but not in the house; a son of Serjeant Prichard's adventuring out of the house wherein we were, to his Father's house not far from it, to fetch more goods out of it, was caught by those cruel enemies as they were coming towards us, who cut off his head, kicking it about like a foot-ball, and then putting it upon a pole, they set it up before the door of his Father's house in our sight.

The night following the said blow, they did roar against us like so many wild bulls, sending in their shot amongst us till towards the moon rising, which was about three of the clock; at which time they attempted to fire our house by hay and other combustible matter which they brought to one corner of the house, and set it on fire. Whereupon some of our company were necessitated to expose themselves to very great danger to put it out. Simon Davis, one of the three appointed by my self as Captain, to supply my place by reason of my wounds, as aforesaid, he being of a lively spirit, encouraged the soldiers within the house to fire upon the Indians; and also those that adventured out to put out the fire, (which began to rage and kindle upon the house side,) with these and the like words, that God is with us, and fights for us, and will deliver us out of the hands of these heathen; which expressions of his the Indians hearing, they shouted and scoffed, saying: now see how your God delivers you, or will deliver you, sending in many shots whilst our men were putting out the fire. But the Lord of hosts wrought very graciously for us, in preserving our bodies both within and without the house from their shot, and our house from being consumed by fire, we had but two men wounded in that attempt of theirs, but we apprehended that we killed divers of our enemies. I being desirous to hasten intelligence to the Honoured Council of our present great distress, we being so remote from any succour, (it being between sixty and seventy miles from us to Boston, where the Council useth to sit) and fearing our ammunition would not last long to withstand them, if they continued so to assault us, I spake to Ephraim Curtis to adventure forth again on that service, and to attempt it on foot, as the way wherein there was most hope of getting away undiscovered; he readily assented, and accordingly
went out, but there were so many Indians everywhere that he could not pass, without apparent hazard of life, so he came back again, but towards morning the said Ephraim ventured forth the third time, and was fain to creep on his hands and knees for some space of ground, that he might not be discerned by the enemy, who waited to prevent our sending if they could have hindered it. But through God’s mercy he escaped their hands, and got safely to Marlborough, though very much spent, and ready to faint by reason of want of sleep before he went from us, and his sore travel night and day in that hot season till he got thither, from whence he went to Boston; yet before the said Ephraim got to Marlborough, there was intelligence brought thither of the burning of some houses, and killing some cattle at Quabag, by some who were going to Connecticut, but they seeing what was done at the end of the town, and hearing several guns shot off further within the town, they durst proceed no further, but immediately returned to Marlborough, though they then knew not what had befallen Captain Hutchinson and myself, and company, nor of our being there, but that timely intelligence they gave before Ephraim Curtis his coming to Marlborough, occasioned the Honoured Major Willards turning his march towards Quabag, for their relief, who were in no small danger every hour of being destroyed; the said Major being, when he had that intelligence, upon his march another way as he was ordered by the honoured council, as is afterwards more fully expressed.

The next day being August 3d, they continued shooting and shouting, and proceeded in their former wickedness, blaspheming the name of the Lord, and reproaching us, his afflicted servants, scoffing at our prayers as they were sending in their shot upon all quarters of the house and many of them went to the town’s meeting house, (which was within twenty rods of the house in which we were) who mocked saying, come and pray, and sing psalms, and in contempt made an hideous noise somewhat resembling singing. But we, to our power, did endeavour our own defence, sending our shot amongst them, the Lord giving us courage to resist them, and preserving us from the destruction they sought to bring upon us. On the evening following, we saw our enemies carrying several of their dead or wounded men on their backs, who proceeded that night to send in their shot, as they had done the night before, and also still shouted as if the day had been certainly theirs, and they should without fail, have
prevailed against us, which they might have the more hopes of in regard that we discerned the coming of new companies to them to assist and strengthen them, and the unlikelihood of any coming to our help. They also used several stratagems to fire us, namely, by wild fire in cotton and linnen rags with brimstone in them, which rags they tyed to the piles of their arrows, sharp for the purpose, and shot them to the roof of our house, after they had set them on fire, which would have much endangered the burning thereof, had we not used means by cutting holes through the roof, and otherwise, to beat the said arrows down, and God being pleased to prosper our endeavours therein.—They carried more combustible matter, as flax and hay, to the sides of the house, and set it on fire, and then flocked apace towards the door of the house, either to prevent our going forth to quench the fire, as we had done before, or to kill our men in their attempt to go forth, or else to break into the house by the door; whereupon we were forced to break down the wall of the house against the fire to put it out. They also shot a ball of wild fire into the garret of the house, which fell amongst a great heap of flax or tow therein, which one of our soldiery, through God’s good Providence soon espied, and having water ready presently quenched it; and so we were preserved by the keeper of Israel, both our bodies from their shot, which they sent thick against us, and the house from being consumed to ashes, although we were but weak to defend our selves, we being not above twenty and six men with those of that small town, who were able for any service, and our enemies, as I judged them about, (if not above,) three hundred, I speak of the least, for many there present did guess them to be four or five hundred. It is the more to be observed, that so little hurt should be done by the enemies’ shot, it commonly piercing the walls of the house, and flying amongst the people, and there being in the house fifty women and children besides the men before mentioned. But abroad in the yard, one Thomas Wilson of that town, being sent to fetch water for our help in further need, (that which we had being spent in putting out the fire,) was shot by the enemy in the upper jaw and in the neck, the anguish of which wound was such at the first that he cried out with a great noise, by reason whereof the Indians hearing him rejoiced and triumphed at it; but his wound was healed in a short time, praised be God.

On Wednesday, August the 4th, the Indians fortified themselves at the meeting house, and the barne, belonging to our
house, which they fortified both at the great doors, and at both ends, with posts, rails, boards, and hay, to save themselves from our shot. They also devised other stratagems, to fire our house, on the night following, namely, they took a cart, and filled it with flax, hay and candle-wood, and other combustible matter, and set up planks, fastened to the cart, to save themselves from the danger of our shot. Another invention they had to make the more sure work in burning the house. They got many poles of a considerable length and bigness, and spliced them together at the ends one of another, and made a carriage of them about fourteen rods long, setting the poles in two rows with peils laid cross over them at the front end, and dividing them said poles about three foot asunder, and in the said front of this their carriage they set a barrel, having made an hole through both heads, and put an axle-tree through them, to which they fastened the said poles, and under every joynt of the poles where they were spliced, they set up a pair of truckle wheeles to bear up the said carriages, and they loaded the front or fore-end thereof with matter fit for firing, as hay, and flaxe, and chips, &c. Two of these instruments they prepared, that they might convey fire to the house, with the more safety to themselves, they standing at such a distance from our shot, whilst they wheeled them to the house: great store of arrows they had also prepared to shoot fire upon the house that night; which we found after they were gone, they having left them there. But the Lord who is a present help in times of trouble, and is pleased to make his people’s extremity his opportunity, did graciously prevent them of effecting what they hoped they should have done by the aforesaid devices, partly by sending a shoure of rain in season, whereby the matter prepared being wett would not so easily take fire as it otherwise would have done, and partly by aide coming to our help. For our danger would have been very great that night, had not the only wise God (blessed for ever) been pleased to send to us about an hour within night the worshipful Major Willard with Captain Parker of Groaton, and forty-six men more with five Indians to relieve us in the low estate into which we were brought; our eyes were unto him the holy one of Israel; in him we desired to place our trust, hoping that he would in the time of our great need appear for our deliverance, and confound all their plots by which they thought themselves most sure to prevail against us; and God who comforteth the afflicted, as he comforted the holy apostle Paul by the coming of Titus to him, so
he greatly comforted us his distressed servants both soldiers
and town inhabitants, by the coming of the said honoured Major,
and those with him. In whose so soon coming to us the good
providence of God did marvellously appear; for the help that
came to us by the honoured council's order (after the tydings
they received by our post sent to them) came not to us till Satur-
day, August 7, in the afternoon, nor sooner could it well come
in regard of their distance from us, i.e. if we had not had help
before that time, we see not how we could have held out, the num-
ber of the Indians so encreasing, and they making so many as-
aults upon us, that our ammunition before that time would
have been spent, and ourselves disenabled for any resistance,
we being but few, and alwaies fain to stand upon our defence;
that we had little time for refreshment of our selves either by food
or sleep; the said honoured Major's coming to us so soon was
thus occasioned; he had a commission from the honoured council
(of which himself was one) to look after some Indians to the west-
ward of Lancaster and Groaton, (where he himself lived) and
to secure them, and was upon his march towards them on the
foresaid Wednesday in the morning, August 4th, when tydings
coming to Marlborough by those that returned thither as they
were going to Connecticut, concerning what they saw at Brookfield
as aforesaid, some of Marlborough knowing of the said Major's
march from Lancaster that morning presently sent a post to ac-
quaint him with the information they had received; the Major
was gone before the post came to Lancaster; but there was one
speedily sent after him, who overtook him about five or six miles
from the said town; he being acquainted, that it was feared,
that Brookfield (a small town of about fifteen or sixteen families)
was either destroyed, or in great danger thereof, and conceiving it
to require more speed to succour them (if they were not past help)
than to proceed at present, as he before intended, and being also
very desirous (if it were possible) to afford relief to them, (he
being then not above thirty miles from them) he immediately
altered his course and marched with his company towards us;
and came to us about an hour after it was dark as aforesaid;
though he knew not then, either of our being there nor of what
had befallen us at the swamp and in the house those two days
before.

The merciful providence of God also appeared in preventing
the danger that the honoured Major and his company might
have been in, when they came near us, for those beastly men, our.
enemies skilful to destroy, indeavoured to prevent any help from coming to our relief, and therefore sent down sentinels, (some nearer and some further off) the furthest about two miles from us, who if they saw any coming from the bay they might give notice by an alarm. And there were about an hundred of them who for the most part kept at an house some little distance from us, by which if any help came from the said bay, they must pass, and so they intended (as we conceive) having notice by their sentinels of their approach to way-lay them, and if they could, to cut them off before they came to the house where we kept.

But as we probably guess, they were so intent and buisy in preparing their instruments (as above-said) for our destruction by fire, that they were not at the house where they used to keep for the purpose aforesaid, and that they heard not their sentinels when they shot; and so the Major's way was clear from danger till he came to our house. And that it was their purpose so to have fallen upon him, or any other coming to us at that house, is the more probable in that (as we have since had intelligence from some of the Indians themselves) there were a party of them at another place who let him pass by them without the least hurt or opposition, waiting for a blow to be given him at the said house, and then they themselves to fall upon them in the reare, as they intended to have done with us at the swamp, in case we had fled back as before expressed. The Major and company were no sooner come to the house, and understood (though at first they knew not they were English who were in the house, but thought that they might be Indians, and therefore were ready to have shot at us, till we discerning they were English by the Major's speaking, I caused the trumpet to be sounded) that the said Captain Hutchinson, myself, and company with the town's inhabitants were there, but the Indians also discerned that there were some come to our assistance, whereupon they spared not their shot, but poured it out on them; but through the Lords goodness, though they stood not farr asunder one from another, they killed not one man, wounded only two of his company; and killed the Major's son's* horse; after that, we within the house perceived

*It does not appear which of the Major's nine sons is referred to. Of a family which has afforded so many descendants, and some of them highly distinguished, it may be proper to give their names and the times of their births, so far as they have been ascertained after most patient and diligent research.
1. Josiah Willard (no record of his birth has been found). He married Hanna Hosmer in 1657.
3. Samuel Willard (the time of his birth has not been ascertained). He married Abigail Sherman, and after her death, Eunice Tyn3.
the Indians shooting so at them, we hastened the Major and all his company into the house as fast as we could, and their horses into a little yard before the house, where they wounded five other horses that night; after they were come into the house to us, the enemies continued their shooting some considerable time, so that we may well say, had not the Lord been on our side when these cruel heathens rose up against us, they had then swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us. But wherein they dealt proudly, the Lord was above them.

When they saw their divers designs unsuccessful, and their hopes therein disappointed, they then fired the house and barne (wherein they had before kept to lye in wait to surprise any coming to us) that by the light thereof they might the better direct their shot at us, but no hurt was done thereby, praised be the Lord. And not long after they burnt the meeting house wherein their fortifications were, as also the barne, which belonged to our house, and so perceiving more strength come to our assistance, they did, as we suppose, despair of effecting any more mischief against us. And therefore the greatest part of them, towards the breaking of the day, August the fifth, went away and left us, and we were quiet from any further molestations by them; and on that morning we went forth of the house without danger, and so daily afterwards, only one man was wounded about two dayes after, as he went out to look after horses, by some few of them sculking thereabouts. We cannot tell how many of them we killed, in all that time, but one, that afterwards was taken, confessed that there were killed and wounded about eighty men or more.—Blessed be the Lord God of our salvation who kept us from being all a prey to their teeth. But before they went away they burnt all the town except the house we kept in, and another that was not then finished. They also made great spoyle of the cattel belonging to the inhabitants; and after our entrance into the house, and during the time of our confinement there, they either killed or drove away almost all the horses of our company.

We continued there, both well and wounded, towards a fortnight, and August the thirteenth Captain Hutchinson and my

8. Benjamin Willard, born (time not ascertained).

The first six were probably born in Concord, Mass. The 7th and 9th and perhaps the 8th were born in Lancaster. Further notices of this family may be found in Farmer & Moore's Collections, Vol. 1.
self, with the most of those that had escaped without hurt, and also some of the wounded, came from thence; my son Thomas and some other wounded men, came not from thence, being not then able to endure travel so far as we were from the next town, till about a fortnight after. We came to Marlborough on August the fourteenth, where Captain Hutchinson being not recovered of his wound before his coming from Brookfield and overburdened with his long journey, by reason of his weakness, quickly after grew worse, and more dangerously ill, and on the nineteenth day of the said month dyed, and was there the day after buried, the Lord being pleased to deny him a return to his own habitation, and his near relations at Boston, though he was come the greatest part of his journey thitherward. The inhabitants of the town also, not long after, men, women, and children, removed safely with what they had left, to several places, either where they had lived before their planting or sitting down there; or where they had relations to receive and entertain them. The honoured Major Willard stayed at Brookfield some weeks after our coming away, there being several companies of soldiers sent up thither and to Hadly and the towns thereabouts, which are about thirty miles from Brookfield, whither also the Major went for a time upon the service of the country in the present war, and from whence there being need of his presence for the ordering of matters concerning his own regiment, and the safety of the towns belonging to it, he through God's goodness and mercy, returned in safety and health to his house, and dear relations at Groton.

Thus I have endeavored to set down and declare both what the Lord did against us in the loss of several person's lives, and the wounding of others, some of which wounds were very painful in dressing, and long ere they were healed, besides many dangers that we were in, and fears that we were exercised with; and also what great things he was pleased to do for us in frustrating their many attempts, and vouchsafing such a deliverance to us. The Lord avenge the blood that hath been shed by these heathen, who hate us without a cause, though he be most righteous in all that hath befallen there, and in all other parts of the country; he help us to humble ourselves before him, and with our whole hearts, to return to him, and also to improve all his mercies, which we still enjoy, that so his anger may cease towards us and he may be pleased either to make our enemies at peace with us, or more, destroy them before us. I tarried at Marlborough with Captain Hutchinson until his death, and came home to
Concord, August the 21, (though not thoroughly recovered of my wound) and so did others that went with me. But since I am reasonable well, though I have not the use of my hand and arm as before: my son Thomas, though in great hazard of life for some time after his return to Concord, yet is now very well cured, and his strength well restored! Oh that we could praise the Lord for his great goodness towards us. Praised be his name, that though he took away some of us, yet was pleased to spare so many of us, and add unto our dayes; he help us whose souls he hath delivered from death, and eyes from tears, and feet from falling, to walk before him in the land of the living, till our great change come, and to sanctifie his name in all his ways about us, that both our afflictions, and our mercies may quicken us to live more to his glory all our dayes.*

Passage from Rev. Nathan Fiske's Historical Discourse on Brookfield, December 31, 1775.

As this town is of ancient date, and, compared with most of the towns in this county, even with the shire-town itself, is like an elder matron amidst a group of youngerly females; and as it has been famous for Indian inhabitants, Indian wars, and Indian barbarities, I have for a considerable time felt a strong inclination and desire to search into its history, to find out its origin, the difficulties and hardships of its first English inhabitants, its gradual increase and progressive improvements. In short, I wished to be acquainted with whatever was curious, entertaining, or instructive in the circumstances of the town, and the transactions or sufferings of its early settlers. With this view I have searched all the histories of the country I could meet with—inquired for manuscripts that might have preserved a circumstantial account of some occurrences which the printed histories are wholly silent about, or give but a general sketch of. I have consulted many of the descendants of the first settlers, and those that have been most acquainted with the affairs of the town. I have perused records, &c. But the result of my inquiries does not wholly satisfy my curiosity or answer my wish. No intelligence is to be obtained concerning some things that have happened; and many circumstances relative to divers events that might have been entertaining at this day, have not been handed down by tradition. Our ancestors were under great disadvantages as to making extensive observations, or keeping exact records, or preserving them for the perusal of posterity. However, I have gleaned a few things relative to the settling and subsequent improvements of this town, which may serve as a clue to trace the conduct of divine Providence, to point out many instances of the divine goodness, to lead our minds to some religious reflections, to excite gratitude in our hearts for the wonderful works which God

*[The 21st October, 1675, was kept by Capt. Wheeler and those who returned with him as a day of praise and thanksgiving to God for their remarkable deliverance and safe return, when Rev. Edward Bulkley, of Concord, preached a sermon to them, from "What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me?" Psalm cxvi. 12.]
hath done for us and our fathers, to encourage our hope and trust in the same power and goodness to protect and bless us and our posterity, and to engage us to keep his commandments.

I cannot find exactly at how early a period the first English settlements began in this town, nor who the persons were that began them. A tribe of Indians were the original inhabitants; nor did they move off before or at the coming of the white people, but both English and Indians lived together in friendship for some time.

These Indians were commonly called Quaboag Indians. Governor Hutchinson in his history says, the Nipnet or Nipmuck Indians ambushed the party that went to treat with them at Meminimisset. I suppose it was in conjunction with the Indians of Quaboag. For these, partaking in the uneasiness and commotion that Philip was endeavoring to excite among all the tribes through the country, and growing somewhat shy of their English neighbors, and taking offence at some damages they had sustained from their cattle, they quitted their lands here just before the war broke out, and went up to Meminimisset, and assisted in the ambuscade and in burning Brookfield. After which they returned no more, unless for mischief, but scattered among other Indians till they were no more distinguished or known. From a similarity in divers words in their language, it is probable they intermixed with the Stockbridge Indians.

It is certain there were English inhabitants here many years before there were any between this place and Marlborough on the east, Connecticut River on the west, and Canada on the north.

In the year 1660, i.e., forty years after the first settlement of Plymouth, several of the inhabitants of Ipswich petitioned the Great and General Court for a grant of land in these parts. The Court granted them six miles square, or so much land as should be contained in such a compass, near Quaboag Pond, upon certain conditions, "provided they have twenty families there resident within three years, and that they have an able minister settled there within the said term, such as this court shall approve; and that they make due provision in some way or other for the future, either by setting apart of lands or what else shall be thought meet for the continuance of the ministry among them." I insert this, principally as a specimen of the pious principles that actuated our ancestors, and the care which the legislative body took that new settlements should have the gospel and the administration of the ordinances among them, as early, as statedly, and as regularly as possible. And no doubt it is owing to this care, under Providence, that the country flourished so greatly both in spirituals and temporals; for it hath been often observed that no people was ever the poorer, but on the contrary flourished the faster, for maintaining the gospel ministry among them. And it is undoubtedly owing to the wise and pious provision of our laws and civil establishment, obliging parishes to settle and support evangelical and learned ministers, that the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Hampshire are so much better instructed in the things of religion, and are so much more remarkable for the strict observation of the Sabbath, and for good morals than those of most of the other colonies.

This was the legal origin of the town. These men, that they might have a just and equitable as well as a legal right to the land, purchased it of the natives, who claimed and possessed it, and it was conveyed to them by deed. It is somewhat probable there were small beginnings made here by the English before this grant. But this is not material. It is certain that from
small and early beginnings the settlement increased, even under the dis-
advantages and discouragements of that day, so that upon application made
to the General Court in the year 1673 the inhabitants were incorporated
into a township by the name of Brookfield. And in the year 1675, when
the town was burnt, they had at least twenty families, a meeting-house, and
preaching, though no settled minister.

Captain Wheeler's Narrative is here reprinted from the Collections of the New Hamp-
shire Historical Society, II., 1827; and the notes there added are given at the foot of the pre-
ceding pages. The preliminary note is as follows: "The following Narrative is very scarce,
and must have been so when Governor Hutchinson wrote his History of Massachusetts, as
does not appear, in giving an account of the expedition (History of Massachusetts, Vol. I. 265)
in which his ancestor sustained such an important part and lost his life, that the historian
has made any reference whatever to Captain Wheeler's Narrative, which he would most
likely have done, had he known of its existence. The following is printed from a copy which
appears to have belonged to Deputy Governor Danforth of Cambridge, and which has been
obligingly furnished the Publishing Committee by a Gentleman of Salem, Mass., who is known
for his very minute and thorough researches in the early history of our country. A few notes
have been handed the Committee by a member of the Society."

Captain Wheeler's Narrative is a valuable record of one of the most tragical episodes
in King Philip's War, and well illustrates the hardships and dangers under which the settle-
ment of Massachusetts was pushed from Boston and the coast back to the Connecticut. On
the last day of the year 1775 the Rev. Nathan Fiske, D.D., pastor of the Third Church in
Brookfield, delivered an historical discourse, in which he gave an account of the settlement of
the town and its distresses during the Indian wars. The principal portions of this address—
which was published by Thomas and John Fleet, Boston, 1776—were printed in the Col-
lections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, I., 1792. The opening pages of this, covering
the early history of the town up to the time of the events described in Captain Wheeler's
Narrative, are printed above. Dr. Fiske's account of these latter events is taken chiefly from
Governor Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts. There is printed in the same volume of
the Historical Society's Collections a description of the town of Brookfield, by Dr. Fiske.

In 1828, Rev. Joseph I. Foot gave an historical discourse covering the early history of
Brookfield; and in the second edition of this, 1843, Wheeler's Narrative and other interest-
ing material were included. The oration by Rev. Lyman Whiting, D.D., at the celebration
in 1860 of the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Brookfield, is an important
address. In the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, October, 1887, are two
papers of special value: one by Rev. Grindall Reynolds, on "King Philip's War, with special
reference to the Attack on Brookfield in August, 1675"; the other by Lucius R. Page, on
"Wheeler's Defeat, 1675: Where?" There now exists a flourishing Quaboag Historical
Society, drawing its members from the several towns made up from the ancient Brookfield;
and the studies which it has prompted have high worth.

PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.
The bloody contest with the French and Indians was over. Canada was conquered, and the domain of North America was secured to England. The stern Puritans, who had served so heroically—and we may add prayerfully—in the cause, and who had given success to the arms of Great Britain, were filled with rejoicing. They had proved their devotion to the crown, and had contributed largely to the extension of His Majesty's possessions in North America, and, by so doing, had secured to themselves the great blessing of enjoying undisturbed the freedom of Congregational worship. They also flattered themselves that the king they had served, the country whose interest they had promoted, and the ministry whose administration they had contributed to make illustrious would gratefully remember the services rendered, and treat their faithful colonists, not only with justice, but with generosity.

In this general expectation the good people of Lexington participated. They had experienced the dangers, encountered the hardships, and felt the exhaustion of the war; and they needed repose. Lexington, according to her population, had furnished a large number of men. Her citizens who had rendered distinguished service to their king and country had returned to their homes and families, to engage in their industrial pursuits, to render their families more comfortable, and to retrieve their
ruined fortunes, and by their manly exertion and strict frugality to bear their share of the taxes incident to the war, and at the same time contribute to the maintenance of civil and religious institutions in their native town. Industry revived in the place, and the people were exerting themselves to improve their highways, and increase the facilities for the education of their children, and thus promote the prosperity of the town. But these dreams of peace and prosperity were disturbed by intimations that the ministry they had served with so much fidelity, and in whose cause they had cheerfully made such sacrifices, instead of requiting these favors with kindness, were meditating a system of unjust exaction and servitude, greater than anything to which the colonists had ever before been subjected.

In fact, while the colonists were freely pouring out their blood and treasure in support of the crown and His Majesty's possessions in America, the ministry were meditating a plan by which the colonists should not only support their own government, but contribute to the maintenance of that power which had oppressed them. This was to be done by enlarging the prerogatives of the home government at the expense of the colonial charters. These contemplated encroachments were looked upon by the people of Massachusetts with peculiar jealousy, and by none more than by the people of Lexington. . . . Their proximity to the town of Boston, against which British tyranny seemed, from the first, to be mainly directed, made them alive to everything which tended to impair the prosperity of their principal market. . . . The men who had fought as faithful English subjects in defence of English institutions, and also to acquire a larger domain for the crown, felt that they were entitled to the rights of English subjects. They had paid too dearly for their homes and firesides to be willing to have them invaded by the nation they had served. The military experience they had had, and the knowledge of arms they had acquired, gave them confidence in their own strength, so that they were not to be intimidated by any threat of enforcing oppressive laws at the point of the bayonet.

There was another general cause in operation in the colonies to make the people jealous of their rights, and awake to the spirit of liberty. The clergy in those days exercised a controlling influence in their respective parishes. In most of the country towns the minister was the only educated man in the place, and consequently was consulted on all great questions more frequently than any other individual. And, as the great theme of that day
was that of religious freedom, the clergy were almost uniformly found on the side of liberty. They knew that religious and civil rights were so nearly allied, that they must stand or fall together. They had taught the necessity of resisting oppression during the French war. The voice of the clergy at that period was on the side of defending our rights at every hazard. "An injured and oppressed people, whose destruction and overthrow is aimed at by unreasonable men, ought, surely, to stand upon their defence, and not tamely submit to their incursions and violence."* Such was the feeling of that day. It pervaded the whole community in a greater or less degree. But in no town was this doctrine inculcated with more force or fidelity than in Lexington. Their clergyman, the Rev. Jonas Clarke, was a man of decided ability, who was capable of comprehending the whole subject in all its bearings, of showing the intimate connection between civil and religious liberty, and of enforcing the high and important duty of fidelity to God, by maintaining the liberties of the people. He not only sympathized with his brethren generally on these subjects, and acted in harmony with them in inculcating the duty of patriotism, but in everything pertaining to human rights, and the sacred obligation to maintain them, he was one who took the lead. . . .

In March, 1765, the first of a series of measures for taxing the colonies passed the British Parliament, and soon after received the sanction of the crown. This roused the just indignation of the American people.

On the 21st of October, 1765, a town meeting was held in Lexington, to see what Instructions the town would give in relation to the Stamp Act. The subject was referred to the selectmen, consisting of James Stone, Thaddeus Bowman, Robert Harrington, Benjamin Brown, and Samuel Stone, Jr., for their consideration, who, being duly prepared, submitted at once a draft of Instructions. It is but justice to the memory of Mr. Clarke to say that this paper, as well as several other able papers recorded in our town book, were from his pen. The committee who reported them, though undoubtedly sensible and patriotic men, laid no claim to that finished scholarship which characterizes this and the other papers to which reference is made. There is internal evidence of their authorship, and it has ever been conceded that they were written by Mr. Clarke; and, as further evidence of the fact, I have now before me the original draft of

* Fast Sermon of Mr. Maccarty, of Worcester, 1759.
one of these papers in Mr. Clarke's own handwriting. The
instructions are so fraught with wisdom, so patriotic in their
doctrines, and reflect so fully the sentiments of the people of the
town who adopted them unanimously, that I will give them in
full.

To William Reed, Esq., the present Representative of Lexington:

Sir,—We have looked upon men as beings naturally free. And it
is a truth which the history of ages and the common experience of
mankind have fully confirmed that a people can never be divested
of these invaluable rights and liberties, which are necessary to the hap¬
piness of individuals, to the well-being of communities, or to a well-
regulated state, but by their own negligence, imprudence, timidity,
or rashness. They are seldom lost but when foolishly forfeited or
tamely resigned.

And therefore, when we consider the invaluable rights and liberties
we now possess, the firmness and resolution of our fathers for the
support and preservation of them for us, and how much we owe to
ourselves and to posterity, we cannot but look upon it as an unpardon¬
able neglect any longer to delay expressing how deeply we are con¬
cerned in some measures adopted by the late ministry, and how much
we fear from some acts lately passed in the British Parliament, which
appear to us not only distressing to the trade and commerce of this
Province, but subversive of several of our most invaluable internal
rights, as well as privileges, and from which we apprehend the most
fatal consequences.

What of all most alarms us is an Act commonly called the Stamp
Act, the full execution of which we apprehend would divest us of our
most inestimable charter rights and privileges, rob us of our character
as free and natural subjects, and of almost everything we ought, as
a people, to hold dear.

Admitting there was no dispute as to the right of Parliament to im¬
pose such an Act upon us, yet we cannot forbear complaining of it
in itself considered, as unequal and unjust, and a yoke too heavy for
us to bear, and that not only as it falls heaviest upon the poor, the
widow, and the fatherless and the orphan, not only as it will embarrass
the trade and business of this infant country, and so prevent remit¬
tances to England, but more especially as the duties and penalties
imposed by it are numerous, and so high that it will quickly drain the
country of the little cash remaining in it, strip multitudes of their prop¬
erty, and reduce them to poverty, and in a short time render it utterly
impossible for the people to subsist under it; and what will be the con¬
sequences of this to our friends in Great Britain, as well as to ourselves,
is easily seen.*

* By this Act, a ream of bail bonds, stamped, cost £100; a ream of common printed ones
before had been sold for £15. A ream of stamped policies of insurance cost £190; a ream
of common ones without stamps, £20. Other papers were taxed in the same proportion.
But we humbly conceive this Act to be directly repugnant to those rights and privileges granted us in our charter, which we always hold sacred, as confirmed to us by the royal word and seal, and as frequently recognized by our Sovereign and the Parliament of Great Britain, wherein it is expressly granted to us and to our children, that we shall have and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects, within any of his Majesty’s Dominions, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, as if we were every one of us born in his Majesty’s realm of England; and, further, that the full power and authority to impose and levy proportionable and reasonable taxes, upon the estates and persons of all the inhabitants within the Province, for the support and defence of His Majesty’s Government, are granted to the General Court or Assembly thereof.

But by this Act a tax, yea, a heavy tax, is imposed, not only without and beside the authority of said General Court, in which this power, which has never been forfeited nor given up, is said to be fully and exclusively lodged, but also in direct opposition to an essential right or privilege of free and natural subjects of Great Britain, who look upon it as their darling and constitutional right never to be taxed but by their own consent, in person or by their Representatives.

It is vain to pretend (as has been pretended) that we are virtually or in any just sense, represented in Parliament, when it is well known that, so far from this, our humble petitions and decent remonstrances, prepared and sent home by the representative body of this people, were not admitted a hearing in Parliament, even at the time when those measures and acts from which we apprehend so much, were depending in the Hon. House of Commons,—a hardship which greatly adds to the grievance, and seems to intimate that we have but too little to hope in consequence of the most humble and dutiful steps.

However, this is not all. By this Act we are most deeply affected, as hereby we are debarred of being tried by juries in case of any breach or supposed breach of it,—a right which, until now, we have held in common with our brethren in England; a right which under Providence has been the great barrier of justice, the support of liberty and property in Great Britain and America; a right which is the glory of the British government.

The Great Charter of England, commonly called Magna Charter, happily provided for all free and natural subjects of the realm of England, that no amercement shall be assessed but by the oath of honest and lawful men of the vicinage, and that no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned or disseised of his freehold or liberties, or free customs, nor passed upon, nor condemned, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land; but instead of this most important right, such is the extension of power given by this Act to Courts of Admiralty, that all offences against it may be heard and tried and determined in said courts, to the entire subversion of this important right, confirmed to us by the Great Charter and our own.
This we apprehend will open a door to numberless evils which time only can discover. At least it will oftentimes oblige us to risk our fortunes, our liberties, and characters, upon the judgment of one, and perhaps a stranger, or perhaps that which is worse. This will subject us entirely to the mercy of avaricious informers, who may at pleasure summon us from one part of the Province to the other upon suspicion of the least offence, and thus bring upon innocent persons a sort of necessity of pleading guilty by paying the penalty, to avoid a greater expense. And this being the state of things, what will then be necessary but a weak or wicked person for a judge; and from natural and free-born subjects we shall quickly become the most abject slaves, wholly cut off from our last resource,—hope of redress!

These, sir, being the real sentiments of us, the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town, of this Act, as in its nature and effects considered, you cannot be surprised to find us greatly alarmed and deeply affected. And, therefore, at the same time that we are firmly resolved in all possible ways to express our filial duty and loyalty to our Sovereign, and a due veneration to both Houses of Parliament, we do also, as concerned for ourselves, our posterity and country, entreat and enjoin it upon you, that so far from encouraging, aiding, or assenting in the execution of this Act, you do rather endeavor, as far as consistent with allegiance and duty to our rightful Sovereign, to promote such measures as, on the contrary, may tend to preserve us in the enjoyment of the invaluable rights and liberties we at present possess, at least till we hear the result of the measures already taken for general redress.

In the mean time we earnestly recommend to you the most calm, decent, and dispassionate measures for our open, explicit, and resolute assertion and vindication of our charter rights and liberties, and that the same be so entered upon record that the world may see, and future generations know, that the present both knew and valued the rights they enjoyed, and did not tamely resign them for chains and slavery. We shall only add that the best economy of the public money is at all times necessary, and never more so than at present, when public debts are heavy, and the people's burdens great and likely to increase.

We take it for granted, therefore, that you will carefully avoid all unaccustomed and unconstitutional grants, which will not only add to the present burden, but make such precedents as will be attended with consequences which may prove greatly to the disadvantage of the public.

Instructions such as these, read in open town meeting, and discussed and adopted by a unanimous vote of the inhabitants, would do much towards creating a just appreciation of their rights as subjects, and of the duties they owed, not only to their Sovereign, but to themselves. A people thus instructed and
trained in the school of stern religious principles would be found ready for almost any emergency. Consequently, when the town of Boston, to manifest their opposition to the oppressive acts of the ministry, resolved that they would not import or use certain articles on which these duties were laid, the inhabitants of Lexington, at a meeting held Dec. 28, 1767, “Voted unanimously, To concur with the town of Boston respecting importing and using foreign commodities, as mentioned in their votes, passed at their meeting on the twenty-eighth day of October, 1767.”

Nothing of moment occurred in the municipal affairs of the town during the period under review. Roads were repaired, schools were supported, the poor were provided for, and the paramount subject, the maintenance of public worship, received its due share of attention. But the subject which pressed upon them most heavily during this period was the oppression of the mother country. Not, however, that the measures of the British ministry did bear directly and immediately upon them with any distressing hardship at that time. But our patriotic forefathers looked at the principle involved in the measures, and they knew full well that a trifling tax upon stamped paper or upon tea would serve as an entering wedge to a system of taxation which must reduce the colonies to a state of absolute dependence, if not complete vassalage; and patriotism prompted, nay, religion required, that they should oppose the first attempt to trample upon their rights. . . .

On the twenty-first day of September, 1768, the inhabitants of Lexington assembled in town meeting legally warned, “To take into their serious consideration the distressed state of the Province at the present day, and to pass any vote relative thereto.” After due consideration they made choice of Isaac Bowman, Esq., William Reed, Esq., and Dea. James Stone “to prepare reasons for our present conduct,” who subsequently reported the following Declarations and Resolves:—

Whereas it is the principle in civil society, founded in nature and reason, that no law of the society can be binding on any individual without his consent, given by himself in person, or by his Representative of his own free election; and whereas, in and by an Act of the British Parliament, passed in the first year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary of glorious and blessed memory, entitled an Act declaring the rights and liberties of the subjects, and settling the succession of the crown,—the Preamble of which Act is in these words, namely,—
"Whereas the late King James the Second, by the assistance of diverse evil Councillors, Judges, and Ministers employed by him, did endeavor to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of the kingdom, it is expressly, among other things, declared that the levying of money for the use of the crown by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament for a longer time, or in other manner than the same is granted, is illegal."

And whereas, in the third year of the same King William and Queen Mary, their Majesties were graciously pleased, by their Royal Charter, to give and grant to the inhabitants of this his Majesty's Province all the territory therein described, to be holden in free and common socage, and also to ordain and grant to the said inhabitants certain rights, liberties, and privileges therein expressly mentioned, among which it is granted, established, and ordained that all and every the subjects of them, their heirs and successors, which shall go to inhabit within said Province and territory, and every of their children which shall happen to be born there, and on the seas in going thither or returning from thence, shall have and enjoy all the liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects, within any of the dominions of them, their heirs and successors, to all intents, purposes, and constructions whatever, as if they and every of them were born within the realm of England.

And whereas, by the aforesaid Act of Parliament, made in the first year of the said King William and Queen Mary, all and singular, the premises contained therein, are claimed, demanded, and insisted on as he undoubted rights and liberties born within the realm; And whereas the freeholders and other inhabitants of this town in said charter mentioned do hold all the rights and liberties therein contained to be sacred and inviolable, at the same time publicly and solemnly acknowledging their firm and unshaken allegiance to their alone rightful Sovereign King George the Third, the lawful successor of the said King William and Queen Mary to the British throne:

Therefore, Resolved, That the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Lexington will, at the utmost peril of their lives and fortunes, take all legal and constitutional measures to defend and maintain the person, family, crown, and dignity of our said Sovereign Lord, George the Third, and all and singular the rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities granted in said royal charter, as well as those which are declared to be belonging to us as British subjects, by birthright, as all others therein specially mentioned.

And whereas, by the said Royal Charter, it is specially granted to the Great and General Court or Assembly therein constituted to impose and levy proportionable and reasonable assessments, rates, and taxes upon the estates and persons of all and every the proprietors and inhabitants of the said Province or territory, for the service of the king in the necessary defence and support of his government of the Province, and the protection and preservation of his subjects therein:
Therefore, Voted, As the opinion of this town, that levying money within this Province for the use and service of the crown in any other manner than the same is granted by the Great and General Court or Assembly of this Province is in violation of the said Royal Charter; and the same is in violation of the undoubted, natural rights of subjects, declared in the aforesaid Act of Parliament, freely to give and grant their own money for the service of the crown, with their own consent in person, or by Representatives of their own free election.

And whereas, in the aforesaid Act of Parliament, it is declared that the raising and keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of Parliament, is against law, it is the opinion of this town that the said Declaration is founded in the indefeasible rights of the subjects to be consulted, and to give their free consent in person or by Representative, of their own free election, to the raising and keeping a standing army among them. And the inhabitants of this town, being free subjects, have the same rights derived from nature, and confirmed by the British Constitution, as well as by the Royal Charter; and, therefore, the raising or keeping a standing army without their consent in person or by representatives of their own free election would be an infringement of their natural, constitutional, and charter rights. And the employment of such an army for the enforcing of laws made without the consent of the people in person or by their representatives would be a grievance.

The foregoing Report being several times distinctly read and considered by the town, the question was put whether the same shall be accepted and recorded, and passed unanimously in the affirmative.

The following vote was also unanimously passed:—

Whereas, by an Act of Parliament of the first of King William and Queen Mary, it is declared, that for the redress of all grievances and for amending, strengthening, and preserving the laws, Parliament ought to be held frequently; and inasmuch, as it is the opinion of this town that the people of this Province labor under many grievances, which, unless speedily redressed, threaten the total destruction of our invaluable, natural, constitutional, and charter rights; and, furthermore, as his Excellency the Governor, at the request of the town of Boston, has declared himself unable to call a General Court, which is the Assembly of the States of this Province for the redress of grievances,—

Voted, That this town will now make choice of some suitable person to join with such as are or may be appointed and sent from the several other towns in this Province, to consult and advise what may be best for the public good at this critical juncture.

Then made choice of William Reed, Esq.
Also Voted, To keep a day of prayer on the occasion, and left it to
the Rev. Mr. Clarke to appoint the time.

These sentiments published in open town meeting, and sancti-
fied by a day of fasting and prayer, would, of course, govern
the conduct of a sincere and conscientious people. No wonder
therefore, we find them, in 1769, ready to make what at the pre-
sent day would in some families be considered a great sacrifice,
by voting "not to use any tea or snuff, nor keep them, nor suffer
them to be used in our families, till the duties are taken off."

In 1772 a measure was on foot to make the Supreme Judges
independent of the people, by granting them a salary directly
by Parliament, thus taking from the people the only hold they
had upon those officers,—that of withholding supplies. This
measure was no sooner talked of than the alarm was given.

At a meeting of the inhabitants of Lexington, held Dec. 31, 1772,
the following resolves were passed:—

1. That it is the natural right and indisputable duty of every man,
and consequently of every society or body of men, to consult their
own safety, and to take measures for the preservation of their own
liberty and property, without which life itself can scarcely be deemed
worth possessing.

2. That the security of life, liberty, and property to a people is, and
ought always to be considered, as the great end of all government,
and is acknowledged to be the professed end of the happy constitution
of the British Government in particular.

3. That when through imperfections, necessarily attendant upon
the wisest systems of which fallible men are capable, or through the
designs of wicked or crafty men in places of power and trust, any laws
or acts of government are found to be obnoxious or oppressive to the
subject, it is wisely provided and established by Magna Charta, the
Petition of Rights, and other statutes of England, that not only coun-
ties, cities, and corporations, but also towns and individuals, may
consult and adopt measures for redress by petition, remonstrance,
or other ways, as occasion and the emergency of affairs may require.

4. That the inhabitants of this town and Province by the Royal
Charter (a sacred compact between them and the crown) being vested
with all the rights and privileges of Englishmen, and British subjects
have the indisputable right, both as a people and as individuals, to
judge for themselves when laws or measures of government are ob-
noxious or oppressive, and to consult upon, and adopt the best meas-
ures in their power for redress when oppressed.

5. And, therefore, That as the inhabitants of this town look upon
themselves, in common with their brethren and fellow-subjects through
the Province, to be greatly injured and oppressed in various instances
by measures of Government lately adopted, especially by the proposed measure of making the judges dependent upon the crown alone for their support, they cannot but judge it their inalienable right and a duty they owe to themselves and posterity, as a town as well as individuals, to take these matters into serious consideration, freely to express their sentiments concerning them, and consult measures for redress.

Then voted that a committee of seven be chosen to report to the town at an adjournment of this meeting, a draft of Instructions for their Representative, also of such further Votes and Resolves, as they may think best to recommend to the town.—Then made choice of William Reed, Esq., Isaac Bowman, Esq., Capt. Thaddeus Bowman, Dea. Benjamin Brown, Mr. Samuel Bridge, Dea. Joseph Loring, and Mr. Joseph Simonds.

At an adjourned meeting held Jan. 5, 1772, this committee submitted the following document, fraught with the wisdom and patriotism of their pious and devoted pastor, which was unanimously adopted:—

To Mr. Jonas Stone, Representative of the Town of Lexington:

Sir,—It is not to call in question your capacity, disposition, or fidelity, of which we have given the fullest evidence in the choice we have made of you to represent us in the General Court of this Province, but in exercising our right of instructing our Representatives, to open our minds freely to you upon matters which appear to us interesting to ourselves, to the Province, and to posterity, and to strengthen and confirm you in measures which, we trust, your own judgment would have suggested, as necessary and important to our common safety and prosperity, though we had been silent.

Our worthy ancestors, after many struggles with their enemies in the face of every danger and at the expense of much treasure and blood, secured to themselves and transmitted to us their posterity a fair and rich inheritance, not only of a pleasant and fertile land, but also of invaluable rights and privileges, both as men and Christians, as stated in the Royal Charter of the Province, and secured to us by the faith of the British Crown and Kingdom. As we hold due allegiance to our rightful Sovereign, King George III., and are ready with our lives and fortunes to support his just and constitutional government, so we look upon ourselves as bound by the most sacred ties, to the utmost of our power, to maintain and defend ourselves in our charter rights and privileges, and, as a sacred trust committed to us, to transmit them inviolate to succeeding generations.

It is the general voice, at least of the more thinking and judicious among us, that our charter rights and liberties are in danger, are infringed, and upon the most careful, mature, and serious consideration of them, as stated in our Charter, and comparing them with Acts of the British Parliament, and measures adopted by the British Court,
Ministry, and Government, relating to this and other American Colonies, some of which have been carried into execution among us, we are clearly of opinion that they have been for some time past, and are at present, greatly infringed and violated hereby in various instances, and these measures have been gone into from time to time by the Honorable Council and House of Representatives of the Province for relief and redress; yet, so far from being successful, our grievances seem to increase and be more and more intolerable every day.

The unhappy and distressing effects of the measures referred to are too many to admit, and too well known and felt to require a particular mention. But we cannot forbear observing the glowing contrast which, in some instances, is to be seen, between our Charter and the Resolves and Acts of the British Parliament, and measures of administration, adopted by the British Court, respecting the people of this, as well as other Colonies.

The Charter grants to our General Court full power and authority from time to time to make, ordain, and establish all manner of reasonable laws, &c., and that such laws, &c., not being disallowed by the King within three years, shall continue in full force until the expiration thereof, or until repealed by the same authority. But the British Parliament have resolved that they have a right to make laws, binding upon the Colonies in all cases whatsoever, so that, whenever they please to carry this resolve into execution, they may by another resolve, passed into an Act, by one powerful stroke vacate our Charter, and in a moment dash all our laws out of existence or bury them together in one common ruin. By the Charter the right of taxing the people is lodged in the General Court of the Province, and we think exclusively. But by the late revenue Acts, which have been, with so many ensigns of power and terror, in open violations of the laws and liberties of this people, put into execution by the Commissioners of the Customs, this right is clearly infringed, and the power put into and exercised by other hands.

By the Charter we are vested with all the rights and liberties of British subjects, one of which we know is in Magna Charta declared to be that of trial by jury, and that no freeman shall be disseised of his freehold, liberties, &c., but by the lawful judgment of his peers, &c. But such is the provision made in the revenue Act, and such the exercise of the power of courts of admiralty, that men may be disseised of their liberty, and carried from one part of the country to the other, and be tried and sentenced by one judge, for any, even the smallest breach of this Act, whether real or supposed. Though the Charter provides for the erecting of judicatories for the hearing and trying all manner of offences, as well criminal and capital as civil, yet, if we are rightly informed, a late Act of Parliament provides, and directs in some cases, that persons may be seized and carried to England for trial, and that for life. Should this be the truth, where is the right of freemen,—where the boasted liberty of English subjects?
The Charter represents the Governor of this Province as Captain General, and as having full power and authority in all military and warlike affairs, and of himself to appoint all military officers, to erect forts and commit them to the custody of such person or persons as to him shall seem meet. But can it be said that this is the truth in fact, when the Governor himself declares that he has no authority over those who have custody of the most important fortress, and where garrisons are changed and officers appointed, not only not by the Governor, but without his knowledge or consent. Whether this is the state of Castle William, the principal fortress of this Province, appears to us to be a question not unworthy the serious attention and most critical inquiry of the Great and General Court.

The Charter not only vests the General Court with the right of imposing taxes, but also points out the ends for which taxes are to be raised, one of which is the support of the government, justly supposing that necessary connection between the governing and governed, and that mutual dependence which preserves a due balance between them, which in all well-regulated States has been found to have the happiest tendency to promote good government on the one hand and cheerful obedience on the other. But not enough that the right of taxation is violated, but the right of determining the merit and services of those that are employed in government must be yielded too. Thus, with respect to the first officers among us, the only remaining interest whereby persons in the service of the public were induced to be faithful in their trust to the people is dissolved; and, being entirely dependent upon the crown for both place and support, it becomes their interest, at least in many cases, to be unfaithful and partial in their administration with regard to the people. And, considering the imperfections of human nature, it is scarcely possible it should be otherwise, even though the best of men were in authority. For interest will have its influence to blind the eyes and pervert the judgment of the wisest and most upright.

We have been certified in form that this is the case with the gentlemen in the chief seat of Government, and at the head of the Province, and, from the best information we are able to obtain, we have but too much reason to fear that the same has taken place with respect to a number of others in places of trust and power, of no small importance to the well-being of this people. Particularly we have reason to think this to be the fact with respect to the Judges of the Supreme Court, the highest court of justice in the Province,—the court upon the decisions and determinations of which all our interests respecting property, liberty, or life, do chiefly and ultimately depend; and what adds to the indignity of this measure is that it is to be carried into effect, as we have just reason to suppose, at our expense, at the same time that it is against our consent. Thus the plan of oppression is begun, and so far carried on that, if our enemies are still successful, and no means can be found to put a stop to their career, no measures contrived for
a restoration of our affairs to a constitutional course, as pointed out in our Charter, we have just reason to fear that the eyes of the Government being blinded, the sources of justice poisoned, and hands of the administration bribed with interest, the system of slavery will soon be complete. These things are of so interesting a nature, so deeply affecting, and so big with the ruin of all our rights and liberties, both civil and religious, that we readily acknowledge that we cannot so much as transiently view them without a mixture of horror, indignation, and grief.

But this is not all. Our Charter knows no such thing as instructions to Government; and yet what have not instructions done to distress this people? And if, in addition to these, it should be found upon the inquiry of the guardians of the Province in General Court assembled (and they have a right to inquire) that the law has not in all instances had its course, or that at any time measures have been successful to stay justice from offenders, it seems as if it was time to be alarmed, and provide for our own safety, or else tamely to bow to the yoke, and forever hereafter be silent. Whether this representation be just is submitted, and must be left to time and facts to discover. But that these, among other things, are worthy our most serious attention, as subjects of inquiry and deep interest, cannot be disputed.

And therefore to you, Sir, whom we have chosen to represent us in the Great and General Court of Inquest for this Province, we do most earnestly recommend it, that you use your utmost influence that these, as well as all other matters in which the rights and liberties of this people are concerned, are impartially inquired into and dispassionately considered by the General Assembly, and that measures be pursued by Petition to the throne or otherwise, as the Court in their great wisdom shall see meet, for a radical and lasting redress. That thus, whether successful or not, succeeding generations might know that we understood our rights and liberties, and were neither afraid nor ashamed to assert and maintain them, and that we ourselves may have at least this consolation in our chains, that it was not through our neglect that this people were enslaved.

William Reed, Per Order.

At the same meeting the town took into consideration a communication from the town of Boston on the same general subject, and

Voted, That this town entirely concur with them in their sentiments, both as to the nature of our rights and the high infraction of them by the late measures of Government, and with pleasure embrace this opportunity to express the great sense they have of the vigilance and patriotic spirit they and our brethren in many other towns have discovered upon this and various occasions, for the preservation of our rights.
Voted, also, That this town has a right to correspond with other towns upon matters of common concern, and that a Committee be accordingly chosen to transmit the proceeding of this meeting to the Gentlemen of the Committee of Correspondence in Boston; and, further, to correspond with them, as well as the Committee of other towns, upon matters of common concern, as occasion may require.

The town then proceeded and chose the following-named gentlemen as their Committee of Correspondence: Capt. Thaddeus Bowman, Dea. Jonas Stone, Ensign Robert Harrington, Dea. Benjamin Brown, and Dea. Joseph Loring.

The opposition to the Stamp Act was such that Parliament was induced to repeal it, which they did in 1766. But this was a change rather than an abandonment of their policy. They repealed an act which they saw that they could not enforce, for the purpose of adopting other measures which they deemed more likely to bring the colonists to their feet.

In December, 1773, the inhabitants were called together to consider the state of public affairs, and especially the subject of the Tea, sent over by the East India Company, when the whole subject was referred to the Committee of Correspondence, who subsequently submitted the following Report, which was unanimously adopted:

That from intelligence transmitted by the Committee of Correspondence in the Town of Boston to the Committee of Correspondence for this place, and by them communicated to the town, it appears that the enemies of the rights and liberties of America, greatly disappointed in the success of the Revenue Act, are seeking to avail themselves of a new, and, if possible, yet more detestable measure to distress, enslave, and destroy us. Not enough that a tax was laid upon teas, which should be imported by us, for the sole purpose of raising a revenue to support taskmasters, pensioners, &c., in idleness and luxury, but by a late Act of Parliament, to appease the wrath of the East India Company, whose trade to America had been greatly clogged by the operation of the Revenue Acts, provision is made for said Company to export their Teas to America free, and discharged from the payment of all duties and customs in England, but liable to all the same rules, regulations, penalties, and forfeitures in America, as much as if the above-mentioned Act had never been passed.

Not to say anything of the gross partiality herein discovered in favor of the East India Company, and to the injury and oppression of Americans, we are alarmed at the masterly effort of iniquitous policy, as it has the most gloomy effect upon the trade of these colonies and gives an opening to the East India Company, or others under the covert
of an Act of Parliament, for the unrighteous purpose of raising and securing a revenue to the crown out of the purses of industrious Americans, to monopolize one branch after another, until in the process of time the whole trade will be in their hands, and by their consignees, factors, &c., they will be the sole merchants of America.

And, further, we are more especially alarmed, as by these crafty measures the Revenue Act is to be established, and the rights and liberties of Americans forever sapped and destroyed. These appear to us to be sacrifices we must make, and these are the costly pledges that must be given into the hands of the oppressor. The moment we receive this detested article, the tribute will be established upon us. For nothing short of this will ever fill the mouth of the oppressor, or gorge the insatiate appetite of lust and ambition. Once admit this subtle, wicked ministerial plan to take place, once permit this tea, thus imposed upon us by the East India Company, to be landed, received, and vended by their consignees, factors, &c., the badge of our slavery is fixed, the foundation of ruin is surely laid; and unless a wise and powerful God, by some unforeseen revolution in Providence, shall prevent, we shall soon be obliged to bid farewell to the once flourishing trade of America, and an everlasting adieu to those glorious rights and liberties for which our worthy ancestors so earnestly prayed, so bravely fought, so freely bled!

This being the light in which we view these measures of administration in their nature and tendency, we cannot but be alarmed, especially when we see our danger so great, our ruin so nearly effected, the ship with the detested tribute Tea in the harbor, and the persons appointed to receive and sell the same unnaturally refusing to resign their appointment, though by carrying it into effect, they should procure their country’s ruin. As therefore we should be wanting to ourselves, to our country and posterity, to be silent upon such an occasion as this, and as we have no reason to expect that God, the Supreme Disposer of all things, will work miracles for us, while we neglect ourselves, we do with the greatest seriousness and sincerity come into the following

Resolves.

1. That as the Revenue Act, and the Act allowing the East India Company to export Teas into the Colonies subject to duties, with all the measures of the Ministry and Administration, whether by secret craft or open violence to carry said Acts into effect, appear to us to be a direct violation of our charter rights and liberties, we are determined to the utmost of our power in every rational way, upon this and all proper occasions, to oppose them, and use our most vigilant and resolute endeavors to prevent their taking place among us.

2. That we will not be concerned either directly or indirectly in landing, receiving, buying, or selling, or even using any of the Teas sent out by the East India Company, or that shall be imported subject
to a duty imposed by Act of Parliament, for the purpose of raising a
revenue in America.

3. That all such persons as shall directly or indirectly aid and assist
in landing, receiving, buying, selling, or using the Teas sent by the East
India Company, or imported by others subject to a duty, for the pur-
pose of a revenue, shall be deemed and treated by us as enemies of their
country.

4. That the conduct of Richard Clarke and son, the Governor’s two
sons, Thomas and Elisha Hutchinson, and other consignees, in refusing
to resign their appointment as factors, or vendue masters for the
East India Company, when repeatedly requested by the town of Boston,
has justly rendered them obnoxious to their fellow-citizens, to the in-
habitants of this town, and to the people of the Province, and Amer-
ica in general; and, as upon this occasion they have discovered, not
only want of due affection for their native country, but also from self-
lish views (as we think), a strange disposition to accelerate its ruin,
we cannot but consider them as objects of our just resentment, indig-
nation, and contempt.

5. That, as it has been basely insinuated that the measures taken to
prevent the reception of the East India Company’s Teas are the effect
of a scheme of the merchants to advance their own interest, it is the
opinion of this town that the suggestion is false and malicious, and
designed at the same time to deceive and delude the people into a com-
pliance with measures of their enemies, and to prevent the good effect
of the honest and patriotic endeavors of so valuable and powerful
part of the community to rescue the trade and liberties of their country
from impending destruction.

6. That, as with gratitude to our brethren in Boston and other towns
we do express our satisfaction in the measures they have taken, and the
struggles they have made upon this, as well as many other occasions,
for the liberties of their country and America, we are ready and re-
solved to concur with them in every rational measure that may be
necessary for the preservation or recovery of our rights and liberties
as Englishmen and Christians; and we trust in God that, should the
state of our affairs require it, we shall be ready to sacrifice our estates
and everything dear in life, yea, and life itself, in support of the
common cause.

The above Resolves being passed, a motion was made that to
them another should be added. Accordingly, it was resolved
without a dissenting voice,—

That if any head of a family in this town, or any person, shall from
this time forward, and until the duty be taken off, purchase any Tea,
or sell or consume any Tea in their families, such person shall be looked
upon as an enemy to this town, and to this country, and shall by this
town be treated with neglect and contempt.
At a meeting of the inhabitants of Lexington, duly warned, on the 26th of September, 1774, Dea. Stone was chosen to represent the town in the General Court. A committee, consisting of Capt. Bowman, Dea. Brown, and Lieut. Edmund Munroe, was chosen to prepare Instructions, who reported the following draft, which was adopted:—

The alarming situation of our public affairs being so distressing as at present, and our Council being chosen by a mandamus from the King, whose authority as a Council we cannot own, nor consent to,—

We, therefore, the inhabitants of the town of Lexington, being assembled at the Meeting-house in said town, on Monday, the twenty-sixth day of September instant, to make choice of a Representative, and having made choice of Dea. Stone as our Representative, we, putting the fullest confidence in your integrity and ability, do instruct you, Sir, in the following manner, to use your utmost influence at the Great and General Court, that nothing there be transacted as a Court, under the new Council, or in conformity with any of the late Acts of Parliament.

At the same meeting they chose Dea Stone a delegate to the Provincial Congress. Having repeatedly denounced the acts of the Ministry and Parliament, as acts of oppression, designed to rob the people of the Colonies of every right which they held dear, and having pledged their fortunes and their lives, should the occasion require, in defence of the great principles of liberty, like men who knew what they said, and said what they meant, the inhabitants of the town made preparation for the last resort of oppressed subjects. Consequently, at meetings held in November and December, they voted "to provide a suitable quantity of flints," "to bring two pieces of cannon from Watertown and mount them," "to provide a pair of drums for the use of the military company in town," "to provide bayonets at the town's cost for one-third of the training soldiers," "to have the militia and alarm list meet for a view of their arms," &c.; and, that these votes should not prove a mere dead letter, committees were chosen to carry them into effect.

Besides, as the Provincial Congress had recommended to the people to put themselves in a state of defence by organizing military companies, to be armed and equipped, and to be ready to march at the shortest notice, it was voted by the inhabitants of Lexington that they would carry out these recommendations; and committees were appointed for that purpose. As the Congress had also chosen Henry Gardner, Esq., of Stow, to be Re-
ceiver General of all province taxes which should be collected, and requested the several towns to pay their respective portions of the taxes, when collected, over to him, instead of paying them over to Harrison Gray, Esq., His Majesty's Receiver General, the people directed their collectors to pay the province tax, when collected, over to Henry Gardner, Esq., and assured them by solemn vote that the town would see them harmless for so doing. These "awful notes of preparation" showed that the people were prepared for any emergency, and firmly resolved to maintain their rights by the sword, if remonstrance and entreaty should prove ineffectual. We do not claim for the town of Lexington any exclusive honor in this respect. But we do say that no town, under all the circumstances, is deserving of more praise.

I have been thus particular in presenting the acts and doings of the inhabitants of Lexington preparatory to the opening of hostilities; for, after all, we are to contemplate the American Revolution not so much in the strife upon the ensanguined field as in the cool deliberation and the firm resolve which characterized our people at the period immediately preceding the open rupture. I have been thus particular in order to present to the public those valuable state papers, written by the Rev. Jonas Clarke, which prepared our people, not only for the contest, but for the just appreciations of rational and constitutional liberty. It is an easy thing in times of excitement to arouse the passions of men, and nerve their arms for battle,—"to teach their hands to war and their fingers to fight." But to instil into their minds the great principles of civil and religious liberty, and make them realize their duty as citizens, is a more difficult task. But this has been done in a clear and able manner in the documents above cited. So fully and so clearly are the grievances under which our fathers labored and the causes which gave rise to the American Revolution set forth that, if all other records were destroyed, and all recollections blotted from the memory, the faithful historian could, from the Instructions given to the Representatives of Lexington, and the other papers found in our Records, emanating from the pen of Mr. Clarke, trace the developments of oppression from year to year, and state the true causes of that mighty struggle.

Those, therefore, who contemplate the Revolution as commencing on the 19th of April, 1775, must look at effects rather than at causes, and suffer their minds to rest upon the outward and visible rather than penetrate the great moral causes operat-
ing by fixed and certain laws, which had been developing themselves for more than a century. The rash act of Pitcairn at Lexington Common was by no means the cause of the Revolution. It was merely the accidental occurrence which opened the drama at that time and place. The tragedy had been written, the great parts assigned, and the grand result penned by the recording angel; and, if the first act had not been opened at Lexington and Concord, it must have transpired on some other field. Otis and Adams opened the battle of the Revolution long before the bayonet was fixed or the sword drawn. Clarke's Instructions to our Representatives did as much to make the patriots stand firm on the Common in the very face of a superior force as did the stern command of the gallant Parker.

The town meeting is the most characteristic and most potent political institution evolved and contributed to the world by New England. "Those wards called townships in New England," said Jefferson, "are the vital principle of their governments, and have proved themselves the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government, and for its preservation." "Nations which are accustomed to township institutions and municipal government," said De Tocqueville, "are better able than any other to found prosperous colonies. The habit of thinking and governing for one's self is indispensable in a new country," Lecky expresses the opinion that it was to the vigor of the town governments and local institutions more than to anything else that was due the supremacy of England in America, the successful colonization out of which grew at last the United States, and that France failed precisely for want of this. Parkman repeatedly emphasizes this contrast in his volumes. Mill, Freeman, Emerson, Richard Henry Lee, and many others have treated this subject. See their testimony referred to in the last chapter of Hosmer's Life of Samuel Adams. Samuel Adams, "the last of the Puritans," "the father of the American Revolution," is also well called pre-eminently "the man of the town meeting." Bancroft speaks of him as "the truest representative of the home rule of Massachusetts in its town meetings and General Court."

Never did the town meeting show itself so powerful or impressive as in New England during the dozen years preceding the outbreak of the Revolution. The Boston town meeting, under the lead of Samuel Adams and his great associates, showed itself, in the dignity and strength of its public declarations, its speeches and its acts, more than a match for the British Parliament; and the seriousness and nobility of the meetings in a score of the larger towns which supported Boston are unparalleled in simple local annals. The resolutions and instructions framed in many of them would do honor to the world's historic parliaments. The Lexington records given in the present leaflet are matched by the records of many of our historic towns. See references in Barry's History of Massachusetts, ii. 453-458. See the accounts of the proceedings in New England during the decade preceding the Revolution in Bancroft, Fiske, Palfrey, Trevelyan, and other histories of the period. See chapter on the Town Meeting in Fiske's "American Political Ideas," the chapters on Local Government in Bryce's "American Commonwealth," the paper on the Colonial Town Meeting in Hart's "Practical Essays in American Government," sections in Woodrow Wilson's "The State," and references in Channing and Hart's "Guide to American History," pp. 271, 313, etc.
A WEEK IN THE MILL.

Much has been said of the factory girl and her employment. By some she has been represented as dwelling in a sort of brick-and-mortar paradise, having little to occupy thought save the weaving of gay and romantic fancies, while the spindle or the wheel flies obediently beneath her glance. Others have deemed her a mere servile drudge, chained to her labor by almost as strong a power as that which holds a bondman in his fetters; and, indeed, some have already given her the title of "the white slave of the North." Her real situation approaches neither one nor the other of these extremes. Her occupation is as laborious as that of almost any female who earns her own living, while it has also its sunny spots and its cheerful intervals, which make her hard labor seem comparatively pleasant and easy.

Look at her as she commences her weekly task. The rest of the Sabbath has made her heart and her step light, and she is early at her accustomed place, awaiting the starting of the machinery. Everything having been cleaned and neatly arranged on the Saturday night, she has less to occupy her on Monday than on other days; and you may see her leaning from the window to watch the glitter of the sunrise on the water, or looking away at the distant forests and fields, while memory wanders to her beloved country home; or it may be that she is conversing with a sister-laborer near, returning at regular intervals to see that her work is in order.

Soon the breakfast bell rings. In a moment the whirling wheels are stopped, and she hastens to join the throng which is pouring through the open gate. At the table she mingles with a various group. Each despatches the meal hurriedly, though not often in silence; and, if, as is sometimes the case, the rules of politeness are not punctiliously observed by all, the excuse of some lively country girl would be, "They don't give us time for manners."
The short half-hour is soon over. The bell rings again, and now our factory girl feels that she has commenced her day’s work in earnest. The time is often apt to drag heavily till the dinner hour arrives. Perhaps some part of the work becomes deranged and stops. The constant friction causes a belt of leather to burst into a flame; a stranger visits the room, and scans the features and dress of its inmates inquiringly; and there is little else to break the monotony. The afternoon passes in much the same manner. Now and then she minglest with a knot of busy talkers who have collected to discuss some new occurrence, or holds pleasant converse with some intelligent and agreeable friend, whose acquaintance she has formed since her factory life commenced; but much of the time she is left to her own thoughts. While at her work the clattering and rumbling around her prevent any other noise from attracting her attention, and she must think, or her life would be dull indeed.

Thus the day passes on, and evening comes, the time which she feels to be exclusively her own. How much is done in the three short hours from seven to ten o’clock. She has a new dress to finish, a call to make on some distant corporation, a meeting to attend. There is a lecture or a concert at some one of the public halls, and the attendance will be thin if she and her associates are not present; or, if nothing more imperative demands her time, she takes a stroll through the street or to the river with some of her mates or sits down at home to peruse a new book. At ten o’clock all is still for the night.

The clang of the early bell awakes her to another day, very nearly the counterpart of the one which preceded it. And so the week rolls on, in the same routine, till Saturday comes. Saturday! the welcome sound! She busies herself to remove every particle of cotton and dust from her frame or looms, cheering herself meanwhile with sweet thoughts of the coming Sabbath; and when, at an earlier hour than usual, the mill is stopped, it looks almost beautiful in its neatness.

Then approaches the Sabbath—the day of rest! If the factory girl keeps it well, it must be at church; for there are some in every boarding-house who find an excuse for staying at home half the day at least. One of her room-mates is indisposed, another says she must write a letter to her friends, another has to work so hard during the week that she thinks she ought to make this literally a “day of rest,” so that retirement and meditation are out of the question. But in the Sabbath school and sanctuary her time is well spent. No one is more constant at church or earlier in her seat than the operative who has been trained to know the value of the institution of the gospel. The instructions which she receives sink deep into her heart, giving her a fund of thought for the coming week. Her pastor and her Sabbath-school teacher are felt to be her best friends; and their kindness is a strong allurement to her spirit, often keeping her long from her less-favored home. If it is said that many a one has here found a grave, shall it not also be said that many a one has here found the path to heaven?
The writer is aware that this sketch is an imperfect one. Yet there is very little variety in an operative's life, and little difference between it and any other life of labor. It lies

"half in sunlight—half in shade."

Few would wish to spend a whole life in a factory, and few are discontented who do thus seek a subsistence for a term of months or years.

**WANDERINGS WITH THE PAST.**

Alas! when assailed by sickness, how often do we thoughtlessly murmur without stopping a moment to reflect on the querulousness of our complainings. Not unfrequently may sickness be traced to some violation of the laws of our physical natures; but instead of attributing it to its true source, we are apt to regard it as a direct visitation from God, and in our selfishness secretly accuse Him of injustice. I say secretly, for I believe few have the hardihood openly to arraign their Creator; but the guilty feeling is not the less reprehensible even though it be hidden in the deep recesses of the heart. A few days' prostration by sickness, although many miles from the home of my youth and childhood's sunny haunts, have been passed by me not unpleasantly. While suffering, through bodily pain, my mind wandered back, and in imagination I lived over bygone days of pure unadulterated happiness. Again in the thoughtlessness of happy childhood I chased the gaudy butterfly as it sported from flower to flower, ever eluding my grasp. Once more I rambled over flowery meadows without any definite object in view, heedlessly plucking buttercups as I ran, admiring them merely for their bright colors, without ever thinking how they came to be scattered over the meadows so profusely, giving them a rich and glittering appearance, resembling the brilliant star-lit canopy over my head; and then at nightfall, when wearied Nature could exert herself no more, I eagerly sought my mother's side, and, placing my head in her lap, the low-murmured tones of a mother's unselfish love soon brought sweet and refreshing sleep, a welcome visitor, to my weary eyelids.

Again, I ran hand in hand with my youthful school companions, over hill and dale, and in greenwood shade, plucking forest flowers to crown the head of some little favorite, to whom we gave the romantic name of the wood-nymph. Among our number was one who was not undeserving this title. Anne N—— was truly beautiful. Her skin was of a pure white, and so transparent that the blood could be seen coursing through the blue veins of her temples; her cheek was tinged with that roseate hue which lends such an irresistible charm to the fashionable belle, but is still sweeter seen on the happy innocent face of the young school-girl; her auburn hair fell in natural ringlets over her neck and
shoulders; and her deep blue eyes sparkled with feeling and intelligence. Such was the outward form of Anne N——, and, when crowned with a wreath of simple wild flowers, she did indeed appear unlike one of earth’s children. But not long was our wood-nymph permitted to remain with us. She was too pure and beautiful for earth, and, ere she had numbered fourteen summers, the Angel of Death transplanted her to a more congenial clime, where her pure spirit rests on the bosom of its God, and forever enjoys the fulness of His love. For a time the spirit of sadness seemed to reign over the before happy group. The woods no longer rang with merry laughter, the very flowers which had been so eagerly sought for wore a sickly hue, and no hand rudely snapped them from their parent stems. The brilliant rays of the sun appeared less dazzlingly beautiful, and finally all Nature seemed to mourn with us the loss of our favorite wood-nymph. Sadness cannot long sit enthroned in youthful hearts, and many suns had not risen and set before Anne was apparently forgotten by the light-hearted group; but there were some few of the number who could not forget, and they often breathe a sigh and drop a tear to her memory.

Fancy carried me still on until I entered an academy some miles distant from my father’s, where I found another gay group of laughter-loving girls, who were ready to be my companions in hours of merriment and study; but, oh, how slowly sped time! ’Twere an age in fancy before I was recalled to make one of the happy group that gathered round my father’s fireside; and here I would, but cannot, picture my enjoyment,—’twas happiness,—a happiness which can be felt, but not uttered. Again, in fancy I enjoyed the society of parents, loved brothers and sisters, once more we read and worshipped together, and then came those delightful moonlight rides on Otsego’s lovely lake, whose pure waters reflected the happy faces that filled our frail barque. And when, at length, imagination became wearied with roaming ’mid past scenes, and returned to take cognizance of what passed in present time, I mentally thanked my God that, though suffering through bodily pain, my mind was untramelled, and free to review not only past and present, but also to speculate on future scenes of happiness.

E. D. P.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY. NO. II.

RECOLLECTIONS OF L. L.

(A concluded.)

A DREAM, OR THE PALACE OF HAPPINESS. One evening young Anna wandered to the side of a brook, and, seating herself on the soft moss which covered its banks, she fell asleep. She thought she saw something upon the water that looked like an eggshell. As it approached, she perceived that it was a small boat, containing a fairy, who was not much larger than a grasshopper. Anna sat gazing with surprise, when the fairy got out of the boat, and said, “Follow me!” Anna obeyed; and the fairy led the way to a rock which was near. She knocked three times, and then the rock opened, and a train of fairies, dressed in sky-blue, appeared. “We are now at the gate of my palace,” said the fairy: “you must follow me
still.” Anna followed her into a room hung with curtains of every color of the rainbow around which stood fairies, who bowed as they passed. They proceeded through a long passage into a garden, at the end of which was a bower. Here they sat down; and the fairy said, “My name is the Queen Innocenta, and this palace is called the palace of Happiness; those fairies whom you saw are my subjects. I have long known you, and have wished to give you something as a mark of my love.” She rang a little bell, and two of the fairies appeared. She whispered something to one of them, and they both disappeared. Anna did not know what this meant, and was about to ask the queen, when they came again, and with them three of the most lovely creatures she ever saw. “My love,” said the queen, “I give you these three maidens to watch over you, and protect you. Their names are Modesty, Piety, and Humility;” — She was about to add more when Anna awoke; and the crickets were chirping, and the nightingale singing, so she traced her path home. L.

But the predominant taste was for rhyming. Out of the “acres” of poetry we select a few.

SUNSET.

Sunset! when the bee to his home wings his way.
Sunset! when children love dearly to play
’Mid the flowers and the trees, on the soft tender grass;
And chase the gay hours till thy red light is past.

At sunset the reaper returns from his toil.
Sunset with dew-drops refreshes the soil.
Sunset sheds richness and glory around
Which through the long day but rarely are found.

Sunset! we love thee! we love thy cool hours,
When the sun’s parting ray gilds our garden of flowers!
And often, oh! often at sunset may we
Be thankful to God, and low bend the knee.

TO AN EARLY FRIEND.

Full many a year has passed away
Since we were wont to range
O’er hill and dale, so blithe and gay,—
But with the years we change.

Our childhood’s happy days are gone.
Then we were never sad;
In flowery paths we tripped along,
And all around seemed glad.

And we’ve been thoughtless, giddy girls,
Fluttering in each gay scene;
Round pleasure’s vortex lightly whirled,—
’Twas like a witching dream.

The dream has fled; and we have found
Earth’s joys unreal are;
They’re but a name, a hollow sound,
And false as they are fair.
Though life's bright morn has not declined,
   We oft have tasted grief;
And pleasures of the world, we find,
   Afford us no relief.

We know for every wounded one
   A sovereign balm there is:
Then we will leave earth's joys alone
   And seek this heavenly bliss.

- LIFE.

Childhood's like a tender bud
   That's scarce been formed an hour,
But which, ere long, will doubtless be
   A bright and lovely flower.

And youth is like a full-blown rose
   Which has not known decay,
But which must soon—alas! too soon—
   Wither, and fade away.

Old age is like a withered rose,
   That bends beneath the blast;
But though its beauty all is gone,
   Its fragrance yet may last.

- THE FAIRY'S INVITATION.

Oh, come with me, maiden! oh, come with me!
Far over the hills, far over the sea,
Where the eagle his eyry has built in the cliff,
Or glide with me in my light little skiff.

We'll fly to the clouds! we'll down to the sea!
We'll go where the dolphins are sporting in glee;
We'll dive through the waves to the coral halls
Where the sea-fairies hold their midnight balls!

Come! visit our palace at dead of the night!
Come! visit our fairy-land, merry and bright!
Where riches and splendor and happiness dwell;—
Oh, come!—if you do not, I'll bid you farewell!

- FAR AWAY.

Far away, o'er the blue hills far away,
   'Mid the mountains and vales of my own dear home,
My weary soul wanders through darkness and day,
   And longs for the time of returning to come,
   Far away! far away!
Far away! oh, my hope soars far away
To a happier home, beyond the blue skies!
Then may I, when done with this temple of clay,
Reach that home where the pure in heart will rise,
Far away! far away!

THE VOICE OF PEACE.

I heard a voice come from a leafy bower,
I stood, enchanted by its magic power;
'Twas in the birds' sweet warbling, soft and clear;
'Twas in the murmuring of the summer breeze;
'Twas in the rustling foliage of the trees;
In those sweet sounds it whispered, "Peace is here!"

I heard a voice come from a cottage hearth,
Where sate a peasant group, in happy mirth,
Singing their rustic song, devoid of fear.
And, as I slowly trod my thoughtful way,
It rose, and with the cotter's evening lay
It loudly, gladly warbled, "Peace is here!"

I heard a voice come from the churchyard's gloom;
From the dread calmness of the silent tomb;
It wandered through the foliage dry and sere;
'Twas where the willow's weeping branches wave
Above the lonely stillness of the grave;
And mournfully it echoed, "Peace is here!"

After a while some of those pieces were inserted in a paper which was formerly published in the city. This was the first time the writer had appeared in print, and she had, of course, a due appreciation of the honor, to which she had looked as something quite unattainable.

A little article of hers, entitled the "Voice of Peace," received in the same paper an elegant puff, or one which would have been elegant, had it not been spoiled by a ludicrous typographical error. It was mentioned as being written by "a young lady of thirteen," who was beyond a doubt "inspired by the nurses" instead of "muses."

The Diving-Bell was discontinued on account of the family again breaking up. Several of its contributors wrote for the Offering after its commencement, although none of them yet have become, and probably do not expect to be "great characters among the folks."

The writer became a member of the first Improvement Circle in Lowell, after it was established. She well remembers the first evening she met with them. She had a deep sense of her inferiority, for they were all young ladies, while she was but a child; and when, after they had read their sensible and well-written articles, she was called upon to read her poor little piece, commencing so loftily, "What a noble and
beautiful thing is mind!” it really seemed as though she would have an ague fit. But she soon got over that, and became as bold as almost any of them.

When the Offering was started, she was living in her native town, but returned a few weeks afterwards. One article of hers, entitled “My Burial Place,” was inserted in the first series. When the “Operatives’ Magazine” was commenced, being well acquainted with its writers and publishers, she lent it the aid of her effusions. Since the Magazine and Offering were united, she has been a constant contributor. She has written because she loved to write, because it pleased her friends, and because she thought the object a good one. And, in conclusion, she craves the reader’s pardon (if she has one) for the foolish things she may have said of herself, and claims the printer’s thanks for sparing his “I’s.”

L. L.

LINES ADDRESSED TO MY MOTHER DURING ABSENCE.

Mother, thy child is lonely now,  
And fain would she recall  
The moments when her childish brow  
Was free from sorrow’s pall.

I’m weary of this loneliness,  
This solitude of heart,  
My spirit finds a wilderness  
Whence it would fain depart.

I care not for the festive hall,  
The brilliant and the fair;  
Their mirth is but a mockery all,  
’Twill never bind me there.

Give me one hour within my home,  
Beside my mother’s knee;  
’Tis better far than sleepless nights  
In halls of revelry.

It seems but yesterday since I  
Clung closely to thy side,  
In infant glee, nor dreamed of care  
And its dark heaving tide.

Oft hast thou watched, nor tho’t of rest,  
Beside my weary bed,  
And pillowed on thy tender breast  
My aching drooping head.

Oft ’neath the mantle of thy love,  
At eve, I’ve sunk to rest,  
While innocence, like that above,  
Was cradled in my breast.

Pure as the robe that winter wears  
Was my young spirit then,  
Nor trace was found, where troubling Care’s  
Dull step had ever been.

Mother, I feel a change hath come  
Upon my spirit now,  
Hope over life’s blue arch hath flung  
Wide her resplendent bow.

This earth appears all beautiful  
Clad in her radiant smile,  
Tis the bright gleam that Heaven hath given,  
Our pathway to beguile.

And in this heart are yearnings deep  
For all that’s pure and high,  
A void which all the mists of time  
Can never satisfy.

And thou, too, mother! thou art changed,  
Time’s withering hand hath strewn  
Sere leaves of age about thy path;  
And that sweet kindly tone,  
That voice so full of tenderness,  
I seem to hear it now,  
Mingles a sad and mournful strain  
That tells of hopes laid low.

Thy silvered hair, thy bended form,  
And faltering step proclaim  
That darkening change hath passed o’er thee,  
For thou art not the same  
As in the days of early youth,  
When from thy soul-lit eye  
Beamed joy and hope; and sunny hours  
On golden wings flew by.

But art thou changed? Changed! No: to me  
Thou art the very same  
As when in hours of infant glee  
I learned to lisp thy name,  
And on the altar of my heart  
Thy love-fires glow as bright  
As when they first were kindled there  
In childhood’s golden light.

No; tell me not that change can come  
Upon the faithful heart;  
A mother’s deep and ardent love  
Is of herself a part;  
It slumbers not in the cold grave,  
It may not heed Death’s chains.  
And, till her sun of being sets,  
A mother’s love remains.
THE SPIDER AND THE FLIES.

A cunning spider, having one day spread his fly-trap at the entrance of his dwelling, seated himself in his easy chair, to doze away the time until he should hear the welcome sounds of his victims. He had not long to wait, however, before he heard the merry tones of the flies, and well he knew that the alluring temptation which he had spread for them would beguile them from their path. So he arose and stretched his lazy limbs, and walked to the door, and there he beheld a number of them sipping the delicious juices. Then the old fellow rubbed his hands in ecstasies of delight, as he saw them getting more and more entangled in the silken meshes of his web; for he knew he should reap a rich harvest. And what cared he for the suffering of the poor creatures, so long as he stripped them of all they possessed?

But, Mr. Spider, beware! A day will come with you when you may not be able to settle the accounts against you.

ELIZABETH.

LETTER FROM VERMONT.

Burlington, Vt., May —, 1845.

Dear H.,—As I have a few leisure moments this beautiful May morning, I will tell about my visit to Plattsburg. But first let me tell about something nearer home. How I wish you were here with me this minute, to drink in the grandeur of Champlain scenery! From the window at which I am scribbling, you can see up the lake, down the lake, and across the lake. Brother’s house is very pleasantly situated on College Street, one mile from the University, which is at the head of the street, and twenty rods from the shore of Champlain. The street is so straight that you can see its extreme points with their respective terminations from any part of it. Yesterday I went to church, and listened to an indifferent sermon. The singing was good. One female sang exquisitely. I have never heard a better singer, excepting my own dear sis, Mrs. L. My statistical knowledge of Burlington is very limited. I should judge there were about as many inhabitants as there are in Haverhill, Mass. (four thousand), though the village occupies much more ground, being less compact. I believe there are about half as many shepherds of Israel here as there were apostles of the primitive faith. This is a small number in a place where there are thirty lawyers to dog the flock, and half a score of physicians to butcher. That there are thirty-two limbs of the law seems most too much to believe, but I have been told so. Burlington is a very eligible place in a commercial point of view, and the docks present a scene of activity and enterprise, as there are steamboats, sloops, or some kind of water craft coming and going the most of the time.
But methinks it is time to dismiss these digressive preliminaries, and hasten to tell you about my visit to Plattsburg. I went there with a young friend, a girl about eleven years of age. Mr. L. would have been my companion, but he had just returned from Montreal so fatigued that I could not insist upon his going, therefore contented myself with the company of his daughter, which proved to be very good. The morning was unusually fine, and we went aboard of the Winooski (a steamboat which makes daily trips between Burlington and Plattsburg) about seven o'clock A.M., with hearts as light as the down of a thistle. (Some ladies squirm most dreadfully at the idea of going anywhere without a gentleman's arm to hook up to. For one I am no stickler for the etiquette of society; and as for feeling any repugnance on the account of danger, why it is absurd. I could willingly go from Tallahassee to Quebec "all alone," if occasion called. We may become custom-hardened to almost everything but eating clamshell soup. It is a serious fact that I seldom have a gentleman to go and come with, or, if I do, it is a sister's husband or a spouse-to-be of some friend. Now who will dissent from the point I have tried to elucidate in view of this self-evident position? Lest my long parenthesis should too much retard the progress of my story, I'll make my mark here.)

The sun had risen in unclouded splendor, and was now pouring down a flood of golden light on the woody and wild scenery which environed us. No breeze crept over the "guardian mountains" of Champlain strong enough to rock the "patriot's cradle and the soldier's grave"; but all was calm as the hush of contentment, or the Sea of Galilee after the great Captain had spoken, "Peace, be still," to the turbulent waves. You may readily imagine what my sensations were, as this was the first time I had ever been in a steamboat, and this, too, on Lake Champlain, the scene of glorious warfare, and also hallowed by the memory of Lucretia and Margaret Davidson. Well might the younger write, when away from home:—

"Thy verdant banks, thy lucid stream,
Lit by the sun's resplendent beam,
Reflect each bending tree so light
Upon thy bounding bosom bright;
Could I but see thee once again,
My own, my beautiful Champlain."

The beautiful islands that peep up from amidst the shining waters reposed upon the tremulous breast of the lake, like diamonds on the bosom of a queen, while the forest-crowned mountains on the Vermont side cast their shadows in the mirror below, in picturesque beauty and distinctness. It was too early in the season for the shores to be adorned with dense shrubbery and flowers of every perfume and hue, yet there was a newness of beauty, a harmony of coloring, which made amends for these, and perhaps imparted more elasticity of spirit than could be enjoyed in a trip in July or August.
We made one landing-place, and this was at Port Kent, a small village of minor importance and of small attractions. The distance from Burlington to Plattsburg is twenty-five miles, and Port Kent half-way between. Arrived at Plattsburg before ten, where we found much going on in the shape of loading and unloading. However, amidst all this precious bustle, we were soon furnished with a carriage, which carried us to the Mansion House, I believe, while the beautiful Winooski wheeled eastward, and puffed, pawed, and snorted away in the direction of Grand Isle.

The first thing that took my attention when we commenced our search for the lions of the place was the ancient look which scowled upon us wherever we turned our eyes. There are some massy granite buildings, but they indicate more wealth than good taste. Flower gardens and ornamental trees are few and far between. Nevertheless Plattsburg is a place well worth visiting, if for nothing but the valuable associations interwoven with its history. The place where Sir George Provost led up his formidable forces against the American works, and was so valiantly repulsed by an inconsiderable body of militia under the command of General Macomb, cannot fail to excite our interest. Possessing, as it does, superior advantages for commerce, with a fine country stretching back of it, why does its appearance represent so little public spirit and thrift? It is pleasantly situated on each side of the Saranac, which pours its waters into Cumberland Bay, where the fleet of MacDonough was moored when the British squadron was seen approaching them in battle array. All readers are familiar with this naval engagement, or ought to be. MacDonough's victory on Lake Champlain, Sept. 11, 1814.

We walked by the house formerly owned and occupied by Dr. Oliver Davidson, and noted for being the birth-place and home of Lucretia and Margaret Davidson. Alas! for that beautiful fabric of fancy I had reared up from the description given by Margaret, of her "darling home," "the old mansion so dear," "the dear old home," etc. And is this all that remains of the "neat cottage which peeped forth from the surrounding foliage the image of rural quiet and contentment"? Where is the "old-fashioned piazza which extended along the front, shaded with vines and honeysuckles, and the wild rose and sweetbriar that twined over the neat enclosure"? I had thought to contemplate a venerable-looking cottage, romantically nestled down amidst rich old shrubbery that was trained by hands now mouldering with the dust of the valley; but instead of this I saw an unsightly house, perched upon the high bank of the Saranac, which looked as though the winds of seventy winters had whistled through its perforated walls. The window glass was broken in many places, and recourse was had to old hats, pants, and jackets for substitution. One window at the end of the house was gone,—sash, frame, pane, and putty. There, at that window, thought I, perhaps Lucretia composed some of her sweetest poems, though it did not look as though it could ever have been a favorite re-
treat of the muse immortal. Oh, if the departed are permitted to take
cognizance of earthly scenes, how must the spirits of Lucretia and Marg-
garet weep "such tears as angels weep," when hovering over the once
beautiful, but now forlorn, mansion. In a poem which Margaret wrote
in 1838, she gives us some intimation of decay in these lines:---

"Oh, my loved home, how gladly would I rove
Amid thy soft retreats, and from decay
Protect thy mouldering mansion, tend thy flowers,
Prune the wild boughs, and there, in solitude,
Listless remain, unknowing and unknown."

In the same poem she says,—

"Before the threshold
Tower the lofty trees."

There are still four poplars before the house, "rocking to the murmur
breeze," but they look old and forsaken.

From this place I proceeded to the village burying-ground. I was
told by a resident that none of the family were buried there; but Marg-
garet, in one of her poems addressed to her native village, wrote,—

"There a sister reposes unconscious in death";

and from this I inferred that Lucretia's grave must be there. It is
situated in a retired spot, a little out of the village. As we approached
it, we saw a funeral procession, the largest I ever beheld, winding down
the hill, with solemn tread and slow, to deposit the remains of a beloved
friend in the grave. We followed the men, women, and children of
sable weeds to the newly made grave, and saw the coffin let down, there
to remain

"When granite moulders, and when records fail."

Some very appropriate remarks were made by the minister, and then
all turned and went away.

I had no trouble about finding the resting-place of Lucretia, but went
directly to it as if by instinct. The grave is enclosed by a wooden
paling, and has a cone monument of unobtrusive dimensions. On the
west side you read, "Lucretia M. Davidson was born Sep. 27, 1808,
and died Aug. 27, 1825, aged 16 years and 11 months." Upon the
south side is,—

"Beauty and innocence lie here, whose breath
Was snatched by early not untimely death."

and

"We laid her in the cold damp earth
When autumn cast the leaf,
And we wept that one so lovely
Should have a lot so brief.
"Yet not unmeet it was that one,
Like this young friend of ours,
So gentle and so beautiful,
Should perish with the flowers."

Below are these words, few and unassuming, yet how pathetic, "This monument was raised as a testimony of affection, by her mourning father." At the foot of the grave stands a rose-bush and a sweetbriar, which have attained considerable maturity and height, yet were budding out fresh and fair. Within the enclosure are many "wee flowers of the heather," looking up with their innocent blue eyes from amidst the grass; and scattered about are their pale-faced sisters, the strawberry blossoms. I plucked some of them, which I will enclose to you in this letter. It was a quiet, meet, and sacred spot. "Put off thy shoes from thy feet, for the place on which thou standest is holy ground." I felt it to be so. A sacredness seemed to be infused into the air I breathed, and I almost feared that I should profane so consecrated a spot.

A few paces from this stand two pine-trees, sentinel like, sighing a mournful requiem over the ashes of those who fell in Plattsburg on the memorable day, Sept. 11, 1814. I believe I counted near twenty graves. Here are friend and foe sleeping as peaceably, side by side, as members of one household. No thirst for military distinction will ever animate their breasts, and urge them on to deeds of valor, or feelings of revenge quicken those who are gathered to the harvest of death. Long will their swords and muskets hang up in the halls of their children, sad memorials of their tragical exit.

While I was standing by the graves, a passage in Byron's "Age of Bronze" forcibly struck my mind. Do you remember it?

"But where are they—the rivals?—a few feet
Of sullen earth divide each winding sheet.
How peaceful and how powerful is the grave
Which hushes all,—a calm unstormy wave
Which oversweeps the world! The theme is old,
Of 'dust to dust,' but half its tale untold.
Time tempers not its terrors; still the worm
Winds its cold folds, the tomb preserves its form,
Varied above, but still alike below,
The urn may shine, the ashes will not glow."

Between the pine-trees and equidistant from each is the grave of George Dounie, who was a post-captain in the Royal British Navy, and fell on board one of his Britannic Majesty's ships in attacking the American flotilla at Cumberland Bay, Sept. 11, 1814. His monument is a plain marble slab, raised horizontally on a granite base. Near his tomb are two monuments for American officers, which are similar. I have forgotten their names. It was a thick cluster of gravestones, but
some of them were of the most humble size. I should think this was a scene of more pilgrimage than the grave of Lucretia Davidson, by the looks of the grass and the battered corners of the monuments. I regret that I had no pencil with me on the spot so as to take down the names of those whose memory should be perpetuated. There was one inscribed Jackson and another Hale. The others I have forgotten.

As my letter is getting to be long, I will leave the rest to tell some other time. Till then I subscribe myself,

Yours with much esteem,

M. R. G.

P.S.—Monday evening. We have just returned from a drive to Burlington Falls, or Winooski Village, as it is called. It is a little romantic-looking place, cuddled down within a circlot of hills; and what do you suppose I saw there? A cotton mill, so I guess there are factory girls in these regions. Wonder if they have any "Lowell Offering," We passed by a graveyard, where, I was told, Ethan Allen is buried. I wanted to go in and see the grave of the hero of Ticonderoga, but could not stop.

"CHANGE IS WRITTEN UPON ALL THINGS."

In our lightest or happiest moments we cannot forget that everything of earth is changing or "passing away." This ruthless law is imprinted upon all the varying forms of nature; and we see it indelibly impressed, also, on all the works of man. We look on the earth, clothed in the green verdur and beauty of summer. The waving forest, the rich fruit-trees, and the fanciful garden, all glisten before us; but, while we are gazing, the change comes, the brilliancy fades, the but now beauteous scene lies hid and withering beneath the snow-clad robes of winter.

If we look abroad or muse upon the works of man, how forcibly are we reminded of their changing and fleeting nature! Although the labor of thousands of human beings have been expended upon the works of art, yet decay has stamped her signet upon them, and they are fast passing away.

Vicissitude, which comes upon all things else, comes also upon society. Do we rely upon the ties of friendship and love? Alas, how frail is the support! We see our friends and acquaintances busily pursuing the career of life, some of them in the strength and vigor of youth, full of hope and activity; but they are gone! No ties could retain, nor love save them; for the Power that changed is omnipotent. There are changes from which no money can purchase our exemption, which no wisdom can avert. Death! the consummation of all earthly mutability,—what a change is this! "The wheel at the cistern is broken," and the once animated being becomes cold and insensible. The heart
no longer glows with affection, the voice is hushed, and the counte¬
nance, that but lately beamed with expression, is naught but a marble
image; but the spirit which gave to the frail form its life is not dead,
but has only changed the place of its abode.

Thus are we taught not to place our affections too fondly upon
things that perish, but to cherish those feelings which will fit us for that
world where no change comes except in constant improvement, and
where the bright ages of eternity will cast no shadow, but roll on in
unceasing happiness.

J. S. W.

LIVE LIKE THE FLOWERS.

Cheerfully wave they o'er valley and mountain,
Cheer the lone desert, and smile by the fountain;
Pale discontent in no young blossom lowers,—
Live like the flowers.

Meekly their buds in the heavy rain bending;
Softly their hues with the mellow light blending;
Gratefully welcoming sunlight and showers,—
Live like the flowers.

Freely their sweets on the wild breezes flinging,
While in their depths are new odors upspringing,
Twofold their wealth, ev'n as Love's holy dowers,—
Live like the flowers.

Gladly they heed who their brightness hath given;
Blooming on earth, look they up to heaven;
Humbly look up from their loveliest bowers,—
Live like the flowers.

Peacefully droop they when Autumn is sighing,
Spreading mild fragrance around them when dying;
Sleep they in hope of Spring's freshening hours,—
Die like the flowers.

L. L.

LETTER FROM NEW YORK.

Miss Farley,—Having just returned from New York, I hasten to
fulfil my promise, and give you my first impressions of that far-famed
city. I left Cambridge in company with Miss B., on the 16th instant,
but in no very good humor, I assure you, being sadly afflicted with the
toothache. However, determined to put the best foot forward, as the
old saying is, we commenced our journey, fully resolved to make the
best of everything, and be happy, if possible. And we were happy.
Though nothing occurred worthy of notice, we had a very pleasant
journey. There were but few passengers on board the boat, and those so still and orderly I almost fancied myself at home in my own little sanctum. Many thanks are due to Mr. Macy, the gentleman who superintended the affairs of the boat during the absence of the captain (who, I understood, had gone to be married). He was so kind and polite to the ladies, and so gentlemanly in his deportment to all, that he commanded my respect from the first moment I saw him. And for the benefit of those who may chance to travel in that direction, I would cheerfully recommend that they patronize the Neptune, as they will find good accommodations and save their coppers into the bargain.

But to return. We were somewhat disappointed in not having the kindly influences of the moon to cheer us on our way; for, as Mrs. Child says, music and moonlight on the water almost make me crazy. But I suppose it was not right that we should have all the good things at once, or we should undoubtedly have been favored with this very essential requisite to a pleasant ride on the water. However, being somewhat indisposed, and finding that the clouds looked ominous of rain, I left the deck at an early hour, determined, if possible, to resume my station betimes in the morning, and view a sunrise on the water. Nor was I disappointed. Friend Morpheus took me into his care and keeping, until he thought me sufficiently refreshed to take care of my own self, when he took wings and flew away. I accordingly arose, dressed myself, and repaired to the deck. The sun had not risen; but I saw his chariot in the east, and I knew he was near. Nor did I wait long.

For he soon came forth,
Clad in garments of red,
And tinged the blue waves
Of his watery bed.

And what added much to the interest of the scene was the remembrance that it was Sabbath morning. Nor was its solemn stillness disturbed till we reached the pier, when a number of officious gentlemen jumped on board, and politely poked their heads into the face of every passenger, with “Have a cab,” “Have a coach,” “Better take a cab, ma’am.” For the benefit of nervous persons, allow me to suggest the propriety of beginning to say no, no, no, the moment you reach the pier, and keeping it up without intermission till a man of the reins to your liking presents himself, when you can easily say yes, and away you will go, helter-skelter, over the rocky pavements and through the long streets of Gotham, which serve as dining-halls for the four-footed gentry about town.

But I am digressing, and will proceed forthwith to give you my first impressions of New York, which I must say were favorable; for, although I think there is much room for improvement, still I would prefer this city to Boston. Its streets are much wider, and the facilities for travelling far better than in Boston. Fare is so cheap that you can
go three miles for sixpence, York money, and that, too, at any time in the day, while in Boston you must pay twice that amount. But another reason why I like New York is that the people are so free and social, so that, go where you will, you are sure to find a hearty welcome. I think they are anything but selfish. Indeed, I would not ask or expect to be more kindly treated, even by my own friends, than I was while I stayed there, especially by Mr. W. and his family, who kindly welcomed us to their house during our stay in the city. But the greatest thing that I dislike here is that they keep their streets so dirty, arranging them more for the accommodation of the New York porkers than for any other circle of aristocrats. I think the city must be blind to its own interest, or it would not allow such a state of things.

And now I must give you a brief sketch of the few places we saw while there, time not permitting us to visit as much as we would like to have done. I think the first place we went to was the Tombs, where humanity was degraded quite as low as I, for one, could wish to see it. The narrow damp cells looked so gloomy and cheerless that I thought it would be sufficient punishment to know I must sleep there when dead, without being confined within its dreary walls while yet a tenant of earth. The prisoners, for the most part, looked degraded and unhappy. Most of their foreheads were very low, and even what little they had was so covered with hair that it seemed as though they were more akin to the brute creation than to noble, thinking man. But there was one exception, that of Babe, the pirate, whose open, intelligent countenance arrested my attention. He looked so much neater than the rest that I thought he did not belong there, but supposed that he had taken a seat in one of the cells just to see how it would seem as the door was open; but I soon found out my mistake. There is a sadness in his countenance which would at once elicit your sympathy, even though you should deem him guilty; but I understand he has many friends—many who think him innocent.

From the Tombs we proceeded to the arsenal, where we were kindly shown through the different rooms; but I must confess that it very much detracted from my own pleasure to see so many instruments of death and destruction. There were, if I was rightly informed, thirty thousand stands of arms, all ready for our country's service; and one gentleman remarked that he would like an opportunity to use them. Think you there are many who would respond to that wish? Last of all, though not least, we were shown into the trophy-room, where were deposited many relics of military prowess, among which I noticed a piece of the ruins of Ticonderoga, on which I found the following inscription, similar to that in Goodrich's History of the United States. It reads thus: “This fort was taken by Col. Ethan Allen from the British, on the third of May, 1775, in the name of the GREAT JEHovah, and the Continental Congress.” In another place we saw this inscription: “Surrender of General Burgoyne, Oct. 17, 1777, with 5,790 men and 35 pieces of artillery.” We saw many field-pieces taken
from the British in that battle, all of which were marked with the English crown. We also saw several Indian snow-shoes. But time would fail me to tell you all, so I will not attempt it.

Our next trip was to Brooklyn; and here we anticipated great pleasure in the prospect of seeing Miss C.; but we were greatly disappointed, as she had gone to Troy to spend two or three weeks. However, we found her residence, and I thought that some consolation for it is certainly a very pretty place. We ascended the heights, directly in front of the house, where we had a delightful view of the harbor, and from which Governor’s Island is seen to good advantage, as also many other pretty places. And here I must not forget to tell you how often we have thought of you this summer, and wished for your company, especially while visiting in this vicinity. May we not hope that you will favor us with it, should we come again? But I fear I shall tire your patience, and I will briefly allude to the other places we visited while here, among which were the different parks and parade ground. They are all very pretty, especially Union Park, to which I think I must give the preference. The Battery is also a very interesting place, as you there have a fine view of the harbor and its dense forests of shipping; but it is not so tastefully laid out as other public grounds in the city. I think the fountains are very pretty, and wish we might have some in Lowell.

We have seen the steamer Great Britain several times, but have not been on board. I understand that some two or three thousand visit it every day. It is, I believe, over three hundred feet long, has six masts, and is painted black from stem to stern, which gives it quite a gloomy appearance. Its figure-head, however, is very pretty, representing the lion and the unicorn fighting for the crown. But the last place we visited, and the prettiest of all, was Hoboken. It is truly an enchanting place. No wonder they call it Elysium: it seemed to me like a fairyland, so beautiful and still, I would like to live there alway. I was somewhat disappointed in Sybil’s cave: it is not nearly as large as I expected, but it has an excellent well of water in the centre, of which you may partake by paying a penny a glass. So much for the monopoly of this place. The scenery on the Hudson is very beautiful, and much did I regret my inability to sketch landscape as I stood upon its banks. But now the impression is on my own heart only. Would that I could daguerreotype it for you.

Thus much for New York. And now I would like to say a word about the natives before I close. I find they manifest great respect for the Yankees, and can tell one the moment they see him. One morning Miss B. and myself took a walk down town, and, while there, went into a shop kept by a German, I should judge from his dialect. Well, having made a few purchases, we turned to go out, when he accosted us with, “Are you from Connecticut?” “No,” replied Miss B., “but we are Yankees.” “So I thought,” returned the shopkeeper, “and I like Yankees. They know how to take care of the coppers.” We
thought he knew how to do the same, the way he tried to pocket the half cent. They also speak very highly of the operatives. One gentleman said he gloried in the factory girls. I suppose he meant their spunk, don’t you?

I forgot to tell you how near I came losing Miss B. She made quite a bargain with a certain— Oh, but I must not tell anymore. If I do, she will pull my ears. I will save the rest till I see you. I would like to say many other things, but it will not do. I fear I have already trespassed on your patience.

We had a delightful journey home, and, what was better than all the rest, we had a thunder-storm on the water. Oh, it was sublime! But I cannot describe it. I very much regret that we did not learn the names of the different places that we passed, as I should like to speak of them here; but the passengers did not know any more about it than I did. As for me I forgot, for the time being, what my good mother used to say, that little children should be seen and not heard. So I asked a great many questions; but I suppose they took it from whence it came—at least I hope so.

Yours affectionately,

E. W. J.

AN ALLEGORY.

One beautiful morning I arose early to take a walk through the fields which Nature had clothed with her green carpet. As I passed by the trees of the forest, I heard the warbling of the birds, which filled my heart with delight. Their sweet songs seemed to invite me to take a seat at the foot of the tree where they had built their nest. I complied with their request. While in this state I heard thunder above, and I felt the rain descending upon my face. And all the while I was considerably heated. By this extreme heat I was awakened, and to my great surprise I learned that the thunder which I before heard was nothing but the buzzing of a bee around my head, and that which I thought before was rain proved to be a perspiration caused by the hot rays of the sun, which shone directly upon me.

D.

SOLITUDE.

What’s solitude? Has earth a spot Of mount or desert, glen or grot, Unknown by man, by Heaven forgot, Where one may flee, And there, alone, unloved, unsought, Forever be?
'Tis solitude amid the throng,
In courts or halls, 'mid mirth and song,
Where fairy figures glide along,
And perfumes roll,
To find in all that crowd not one
Congenial soul.

'Tis solitude to dwell alone,
When friends prove false, and one by one
Those whom we loved in youth have gone
Down to the tomb,
And flowers we reared and loved so long
Have ceased to bloom.

To sit alone at close of day,
And watch the sun's last parting ray,
And hear the night bird's plaintive lay
From some lone wood,
And think of loved ones far away,
Is solitude.

MARA.

EDITORIAL.

The "Factory Girls" and their Magazine. But one number of the Offering intervenes between this and the last; and, as there are always so many last words to say, we have concluded to "take Time by the forelock," and commence in this number something like a summary of what has been done, and add the commencement of the conclusion, if that is not a paradox.

We have at this moment upon our table one of the first numbers of the Offering,—a large, thin, awkward-looking object, with a yellow cover and double-columned pages. Upon the first page of the cover we read the following:—

"The Lowell Offering. A repository of original articles on various subjects, written by Factory Operatives. "Full many a gem," etc. No. 1. Price 6½ cents. This number wholly written by females employed in the mills."

We have particularly emphasized this because we consider it worthy of particular attention. "This number," intimating a doubt whether a continuation of the magazine could be expected from the females, unassisted by their brethren in the mills, or indeed whether even one more number would be issued from them, but containing the assurance, at that time astonishing to almost every one, that this number is indeed wholly written by "females employed in the mills."

And under the circumstances it was a reasonable doubt. We shared it with the editor, and doubtless many of the other contributors shared it with us. We saw what we had done; but we had not learned confidence in ourselves, and felt no assurance that we could go on.

The public were taken by surprise. "There is mind among the spindles," was the dawning thought of many, who had never thought before of "the wheel within the wheels"; of the soul, active, ardent, expansive as their own, which was the tenant of some imprisoned body in those mills. The caste of the factory girl had been lowest among female laborers. To overcome the prejudice against mill labor high wages had been given. Necessity and cupidity proved too strong for pride and prejudice. The manufactories of New England filled with the young, blooming, energetic, and intelligent of its country maidens; the inhabitants of these places saw and recognized the worth of these girls; they associated with them, they publicly noticed them, they married with them. If they returned to their secluded homes, they were perhaps, thought more of, rather than looked down upon; and yet it seems that even then there was not due credit given to the intellectual gifts and attainments of this class, and that they might aspire, as factory girls, to a place with the refined and literary. They might "drop the operative": they might enter into some other employment, and, discarding all their former associates with that employment, force themselves into a place which would be conceded to them with more or less reluctance, according to circumstances and the peculiar character of that circle in which they would wish to gain entrance.
But abroad there was still gross injustice done to the character of the factory girl. Intellectually and morally she was degraded. She was represented as constantly and unavoidably subjected to influences which must destroy her purity and self-respect. The contamination of the vicious was at her side and before her eyes: in the eyes of her overseer she was but a brute or a slave, to be beaten or pinched or pushed about. Such were the opinions and prejudices of those who could not see for themselves. Widows and orphans heard of the high wages regularly paid, and "given in cash," by the manufacturers, and they were tempted; but they heard, also, of other things which made their veins chill, and they sat shivering at their cold hearths, and patched again their torn garments, with an abhorrence for "the prosperity of the wicked," which was worthy of all respect. Was it not meet that something should be done to enlighten the public with regard to this thing?

Brothers, at the West and South of this Union, blushed to say that their sisters were factory girls, and dared not attempt a vindication of their innocence, happiness, and intelligence. And many then—many now—who would willingly submit to the toil, confinement, and weariness of a factory life were deterred from it, and kept in some even more irksome and less lucrative employment, on account of the prejudices of their friends—either near or remote. We have known instances of our own, and we now know of the wife of a professor, not far from our own city, who does not confess that she was once a factory girl. We know of many who try to forget it, and, to make others believe that they have, will look at a factory girl as though she was to them a *lusus naturae*.

There was another wrong in allowing these prejudices to exist, and that was their depressing influence upon the operatives themselves. It is a fact that we are stimulated to worthy actions when we know they are expected of us: we are discouraged when we know that we are considered incapable. Perhaps the majority of females assume that character, as they enter womanhood, which seems to be imposed by the tone of society about them. And, viewed in this light, was there not, a few years since, much that was unfavorable in the situation of the factory girl? After she had become habituated to her employment, what was there to develop her powers? If she had friends dependent upon her exertions, her affections were preserved strong and pure by their constant action. The religious emotions developed by the class of preachers who came to minister unto them. But there were few outward influences favorable to the intellect, or tending directly to awaken those latent powers of the mind. We have sometimes looked upon the new-comers in Lowell, when we have met them in the mill or in the street,—those whose physiognomies were expressive of everything lovely in character,—and, fancying that we could see the dormant mental power which slept beneath the fires of the brilliant eye or on the arch of the polished brow, have felt that we could willingly labor, or, if need be, sacrifice ourself, that these, and such as these, should be preserved amidst the snares and pitfalls that might be in their path—from the temptations within and the temptations without; that every aspiration should be cherished, every disposition of their higher natures; that they should feel that they must not become wicked, nor must they become weak—not intellectually sluggish, nor indifferent.

But we will now again recur to the commencement of the Offering; and, in doing so, we shall repeat some things stated in former volumes, which old subscribers will excuse, in consideration of the large proportion of recent patrons.

The first publisher of the Offering came from a distant city. He had there heard of factory girls, and listened to their opinion of them. He came, saw, and questioned for himself. The result of this investigation was surprise and pleasure. "I saw," said he, "intelligence in their countenances," and he heard it in their conversation. To bring it forth in a more tangible manner, he established The Improvement Circle. It was then a meeting in a vestry, to which anybody and everybody was invited, and for which any one might write unknown, and drop their communications into a "sort o' post-office box, outside the door." This method was happily adapted to the desired result. Much was written, and much that was very good. Some articles evinced cultivated taste and careful education; others, native but uncultured talent and genius. The most interesting writers were sought out, and almost invariably found to be *factory girls*. The females wrote more readily than the males, and the factory operatives were in advance of those engaged in other employments. It was ascertained that mill labor was favorable, rather than otherwise, to reflection and composition. We do not state this as an argument *per se* in favor of factory life, nor would we induce girls to go into a factory to reflect and write, any more than we would suggest to men to go to prison for the same purpose, though "Pilgrim's Progress" and "Don Quixote" are proofs that imprisonment is not always unfavorable to the intellect.

Some of the contributions to the Circle interested its originator so much that he wished all to see them, and banish whatever of prejudice they might have against the factory girl. He thought first of some established paper, then of a little book, and, lastly, the plan was matured to a magazine. The number alluded to, in the commencement of this, was a specimen and an experiment. It might not be supported by the public, it might not be sustained by the writers. In truth, some who knew that they would be regarded as regular contributors shrank from the responsibility, and trembled within themselves for the result.

Four numbers were issued, and then it was looked upon as "a successful experiment."
The form was changed to one more neat and tasteful, and better adapted for preservation by binding: subscriptions were taken for the ensuing year, agents were appointed, the gentleman himself edited and published, and the factory girls of Lowell found themselves writing for a regular monthly periodical, which was exciting the wonder of their own and other countries.

And now, when we hear rejoicing over its expected discontinuance, malignant expressions of satisfaction as though it were a failure, how should we heed them?

The Offering has done its work. It has accomplished all that it ever proposed. It has more than realized the expectations of its first friends. It has been regularly issued for five years. It has gone from the supervision of a professional gentleman into that of "factory girls," without losing the confidence or good opinion of the public. The doubts of its good faith, which were at first openly expressed, have almost entirely ceased. The exclamation is now not so often heard, "The girls do not write it," and never in our own vicinity. The knowledge of it has been gradually extending to the remote and secluded parts of our own country, and the interest in those distant regions has been very gratifying to its friends. Its exterior has been improved, its permanent list has been upon the constant increase, and its yearly patrons have never numbered so many as they do now. Its writers have never shown so active an interest, and we might say that we leave the Offering "at high tide," but that would imply an expected decrease of prosperity with another year. We have no reason to think but that, with a large list of our old friends, we should have, with another volume, the usual increasing proportion of new subscribers, if we exerted ourselves as actively and cheerfully.

But then "Why do you stop?" is the question continually asked of us; and this is a question that we cannot fully answer to the public. We have various reasons; but it is a pleasant thought to us that it has done all that was primarily expected of it, and even more.

In a pecuniary point of view we cannot complain of it. True, we cannot speak of it as "a fortunate speculation," but we did not speculate, or intend to make a fortune from it. Had good fortune come, we should have welcomed it; and, with the habits and experience of business men, we might have done much better in this respect, as matters have been. But we do not complain. It has supported itself, and has supported us, and very likely better than we should have supported ourselves in any other way.

H. F.

"THE LOWELL OFFERING."

From Mrs. Harriet H. Robinson’s "Loom and Spindle."

The Lowell Offering was a small, thin magazine of about thirty pages, with one column to the page. The price of the first number was six and a quarter cents. Its title-page was plain, with a motto from Gray, the verse beginning,—

"Full many a gem of purest ray serene."

This motto was used for two years, when another was adopted,—

"Is Saul also among the prophets?"

In January, 1845, the magazine had on its outside cover a vignette, a young girl simply dressed, with feet visible and sleeves rolled up. She had a book in one hand, and her shawl and bonnet were thrown over her arm. She was represented as standing in a very sentimental attitude, contemplating a beehive at her right hand. This vignette was adopted, as the editor said, "To represent the New England school girl, of which our factories are made up, standing near a beehive, emblem of industry and intelligence, and in the background the Yankee school-house, church, and factory." The motto was,—

"The worm on the earth
May look up to the star."

This rather abject sentiment was not suited to the independent spirit of most of the contributors, who did not feel a bit like worms; and in the February number it was changed to one from Bunyan:—

"And do you think the words of your book are certainly true?
"Yea, verily."
The magazine finally died, however, under its favorite motto,—

"Is Saul also among the prophets?"

The title-page, or outside cover, was copyrighted in 1845.

The Lowell Offering was welcomed with pleased surprise. It found subscribers all over the country. The North American Review, whose literary dictum was more autocratic than it is to-day, indorsed it, and expressed a fair opinion of its literary merit.

The editor, John G. Palfrey, said:—

Many of the articles are such as to satisfy the reader at once that, if he has only taken up The Offering as a phenomenon, and not as what may bear criticism and reward perusal, he has but to own his error, and dismiss his condescension as soon as may be.

Charles Dickens, in his "American Notes," says:—

They have got up among themselves a periodical, called The Lowell Offering, whereof I brought away from Lowell four hundred good solid pages, which I have read from beginning to end. Of the merits of The Lowell Offering, as a literary production, I will only observe—putting out of sight the fact of the articles having been written by these girls after the arduous hours of the day—that it will compare advantageously with a great many English annuals.

Harriet Martineau prompted a fine review of it in the London Athenæum, and a selection from Volumes I. and II. was published under her direction, called "Mind Among the Spindles."

This book was issued first in London, in 1844, and republished in Boston in 1845, with an introduction by the English editor, Mr. Knight. In a letter to this gentleman, Miss Martineau said, "I had the opportunity of observing the invigorating effect of "Mind among the Spindles" in a life of labor. Twice the wages and half the toil would not have made the girls I saw happy and healthy without that cultivation of mind which afforded them perpetual support, entertainment, and motive for activity. They were not highly educated; but they had pleasure in books and lectures, in correspondence with home, and had their minds so open to fresh ideas as to be drawn off from thoughts of themselves and their own concerns."

English friends were particularly kind in their expressions of approval. One said: "The Lowell Offering is probably exciting more attention in England than any other American publication. It is talked of in the political as well as in the literary world. It has given rise to a new idea, that there may be mind among the spindles. The book is a stubborn fact."

President Felton of Harvard University, while in Paris attending a course of lectures on English literature by Philarète Chastles, heard an entire lecture on the history and literary merits of The Lowell Offering.

Thiers, the French historian, carried a volume into the Chamber of Deputies, to show what working-women in a republic could do.

George Sand (Madame Dudevant) thought it a great and wonderful thing that the American mill girls should write and edit a magazine of their own.

"Whenever the history of economic conditions in this country shall be written," says Hon. Carroll D. Wright, in his introduction to Mrs. Harriet H. Robinson's "Loom and Spindle," "the author will express his gratitude for all works giving the details of especial epochs and phases of industrial life. Among them he will find no more interesting experience than that attending the entrance of women to the industrial field. The attractions of good wages and comfortable environment were the inducements held out by American manufacturers at Lowell to secure a class of operatives which should bring success to their experiment. The
prejudice against mill operatives, as shown by investigations in England, would otherwise have delayed the establishment of the factory in America,—that is, the factory as controlled by a central power. With the attractions offered, it was natural that the women of New England should accept situations as weavers, spinners, etc., in the great textile works; but they brought with them their educational and religious training, and, as they were grouped together, it was natural, also, that they should continue the cultivation of their minds, especially under the broadening influences of mental contact.

It was under such conditions and among such New England factory girls that The Lowell Offering, written entirely by "female operatives employed in the mills," had its origin in 1830. Dickens's reference to it in his "American Notes," and other conspicuous notices, gave it for a time a unique fame; and, although its life was short, ending in 1845, it was certainly a noteworthy phenomenon while it lasted. The idea of organizing the young women of the Lowell mills for literary and educational purposes was first proposed in 1837 by Miss Harriot F. Curtis, "perhaps the most progressive of all the mill girls." Her account of the first "Improvement Circle" is given in The Lowell Offering, January, 1845. One of the best of these circles was that composed of the young people of the First Universalist Church, of which the pastor was Rev. Abel C. Thomas; and Mr. Thomas published a selection from the articles prepared by the young ladies for the meetings of this circle, under the title of "The Lowell Offering." The first series, of four numbers, was issued from October, 1840, to March, 1841; then a new series, The Lowell Offering proper, began, a monthly magazine of thirty-two pages, issued regularly by its projector until October, 1842, when it passed into the hands of Miss Curtis and Miss Harriet Farley, both operatives in the mills. There was a similar publication in Lowell called The Operatives' Magazine, which was finally merged in The Lowell Offering, and this was followed for two or three years by The New England Offering, also edited by Miss Farley.

The best account of The Lowell Offering is that given by Mrs. Harriet H. Robinson in her "Loom and Spindle," where two chapters are devoted to it, including notices of the various writers, some of whom afterwards acquired literary distinction. Best known among these writers was Lucy Larcom, who devotes a charming chapter to this episode of her life, under the title of "Mill Girls' Magazines," in her "A New England Girlhood." See also the account in the first chapter of the "Life and Letters of Lucy Larcom," by Daniel D. Addison. The number of The Lowell Offering chosen for reproduction in the present leaflet—October, 1845—contains the second part of an autobiographical sketch by Lucy Larcom, including several of her poems. The editorial by Miss Farley in this number, on "The Factory Girls and their Magazine," has distinct historical value. The whole of the number is here reprinted, save a lugubrious sketch entitled "The Maniac Mother" and the concluding chapter of a sentimental story entitled "First Love, Alas!" In the November, 1842, number of the Offering, is an admirable editorial on the history of The Lowell Offering. In the January, 1843, number, is a review of Dickens's "American Notes," which had then just appeared, containing his well-known reference to the little magazine, which gave the mill girls great delight.
Gov. Andrew's Address to the Massachusetts Legislature.

May 14, 1861.

Gentlemen of the Senate and the House of Representatives:

The occasion demands action, and it shall not be delayed by speech. Nor do either the people or their representatives need or require to be stimulated by appeals or convinced by arguments. A grand era has dawned, inaugurated by the present great and critical exigency of the nation, through which it will providentially and triumphantly pass, and, soon emerging from apparent gloom, will breathe a freer inspiration in the assured consciousness of vitality and power. Confident of our ultimate future, confident in the principles and ideas of democratic republican government, in the capacity, conviction, and manly purpose of the American people, wherever liberty exists and republican government is administered under the purifying and instructing power of free opinion and free debate, I perceive nothing now about us which ought to discourage the good or to alarm the brave.

But the occurrence of public events universally known and needing no repetition here has compelled the constitutional government of our Federal Union to assert its rightful powers for the protection of its own integrity, and the maintenance of the honor, rights, and liberties of the whole people, by an appeal to the stout hearts and the strong right arms of all loyal States and patriotic men.

Massachusetts, by the unanimous acclaim of her million and a quarter of people, has already inspired every department of her
own public service with her traditional sentiment of perfect devotion to the cause of that common country which her successive generations have helped either to create or to support. And it is now only with a view to securing the aid and co-operation of the legislative branch, and in order to carry out more perfectly and more consistently with the system of our constitutional distribution of powers the measures requisite to a full performance of our duty as a State of the Union, that I have ventured to recall the members of the General Court from their private duties so speedily after the close of a laborious session.

Gentlemen, this is no war of sections,—no war of North on South. It is waged to avenge no former wrongs, nor to perpetuate ancient griefs or memories of conflict. It is the struggle of the people to vindicate their own rights, to retain and invigorate the institutions of their fathers,—the majestic effort of a National Government to vindicate its power and execute its functions for the welfare and happiness of the whole; and therefore, while I do not forget, I will not name to-day that "subtle poison" which has lurked always in our national system. And I remember, also, at this moment, that, even in the midst of rank and towering rebellion, under the very shadow of its torch and axe, there are silent but loyal multitudes of citizens of the South who wait for the national power to be revealed and its protecting flag unfurled for their own deliverance.

The guns pointed at Fort Sumter on the twelfth day of April, while they reduced the material edifice and made prisoners of its garrison, announced to Anderson and his men their introduction into the noble army of heroes of American history; and the cannon of the fort, as they saluted the American flag, when the vanquished garrison—unconquerable in heart—retired from the scene, saluted the immortal Stripes and Stars, flaming out in ten times ten thousand resurrections of the flag of Sumter, on hilltop, staff, and spire, hailed by the shouts and the joyful tears of twenty millions of freemen.

The proclamation of the President, summoning the rebels to disperse and the loyal militia to rally to the support of the National Capitol, menaced by Secessionists, was immediately followed in this State by a movement of four regimental commands of infantry, a battalion of rifles, and another of light artillery (all from the "Active Volunteer Militia" of Massachusetts), which, under all its circumstances of celerity of motion, promptness of obedience, and brilliancy of results, is unexampled.
in anything I remember elsewhere of the conduct of citizen sol-
diery. The telegraphic call from the Department at Washing-
ton for two regiments reached the Executive of Massachusetts
on the morning of Monday, the 15th of April, and was soon ex-
panded into a call for four regiments. Availing ourselves of
the organization happily existing in this Commonwealth par-
tially prepared for active duty, and of the flexibility of our militia
system, and with the aid of the legislation of this year permit-
ting its indefinite numerical enlargement and the expansion of
its companies to the full army size of sixty-four privates, to-
gether with the steps already taken to anticipate possible exi-
gencies of the sort, and with the advantages of previous drill, dis-
cipline, and moral preparation induced by means of a General
Order, promulgated to the militia in the month of January, the
patriotic ardor and generous devotion of the people found means
of efficient and prompt response. The telegraphic messages from
Washington convinced me that no small reliance was placed
on this Commonwealth to be early in the field, and, moreover,
that no delay whatever would be consistent with the urgent de-
mands of the public safety. Nor was any delay permitted. Every officer, civil and military, according to his position and
means of usefulness, and many private citizens, with various
aid, co-operated with the Commander-in-Chief; and by nine
o'clock, on the Sabbath morning following the Monday on which
the first telegram was received, the whole number of regiments
demanded from Massachusetts were already either in Washing-
ton or in Fortress Monroe, or on their way to the defence of the
National Capitol. Colonel Jones, at the head of the regimental
command, of which the Sixth Regiment of the Massachusetts
line was the nucleus, had already cut his way through a hostile
and assailing force. His men, shedding their blood in the streets
of Baltimore, and illustrating the quality of our arms by a move-
ment as skilful as it was brave, had extricated themselves from
their sudden and strange peril, and were already steadying the
government, and actually garrisoned in the Senate Chamber
of the Union. General Butler, gallantly following as rapidly
as possible in company with the regiment under Munroe, to as-
sume command in his capacity of brigadier over the Massachu-
setts men, had reached Philadelphia, where he heard of the at-
tack upon the 6th, while it was yet in progress. Interrupted in
his march by this new turn of affairs and the breach in the modes
of travel and communication, it became necessary for the mo-
ment that our troops should seek another route to Washington, and also to endeavor to prevent the important post and position of Annapolis from seizure and its inhabitants from demoralization. These new necessities created a demand for other arms, to accompany the infantry which alone had been ordered from Washington; and a battalion of rifles, under the command of Major Devens, of Worcester (reinforced by the rifle corps of Captain Briggs from Pittsfield), and the Boston battalion of Light Artillery under Major Cook, were put into immediate requisition, and accompanied the infantry command under Colonel Lawrence, of which the Fifth Regiment of our line is the nucleus. The urgency of the occasion and the telegram of General Butler from Philadelphia, requesting artillery, and the military reasons palpably establishing the necessity of aiming at the substantial right, to the postponement of ceremonies or forms, convinced me that I ought to take the responsibility of putting these additional arms in motion, and of providing the requisite means for their equipment and transportation. This force arrived at New York on Sunday night, and sailed in two steamers on Monday, the 22d, for Annapolis, whither they had been preceded by Butler with Munroe’s command from Philadelphia. On the preceding Saturday the Old Colony command, made up in part of Colonel Packard’s and in part of Colonel Wardrop’s regiments, had arrived at Fortress Monroe, Packard in the “State of Maine” steamer, by way of Fall River, and Wardrop in the steamer “Spaulding,” directly from Boston. On the very day of their arrival, Wardrop’s command had been put on board the United States steamer, the “Pawnee,” and had left the fortress to assist in a brilliant movement, both of danger and success, in the destruction of United States vessels and military stores at Gosport Navy Yard, then menaced, and in immediate danger of falling into the hands of the public enemies. The saving of the venerable ship-of-war “Constitution,” the “Old Ironsides” of our familiar speech and affectionate memories; is one of the happy omens and one of the first illustrations of that series of actions and events which characterized the conduct and enterprise of our soldiers after the landing at Annapolis, holding the post, saving another ship-of-war endangered from Baltimore, rebuilding a railroad, reconstructing locomotives, opening up the communication between Washington and Philadelphia, at the same time that they were enduring the hitherto untried deprivations of a camp, and the hardships
incident to a soldier's career, for which the suddenness of their call had permitted no adequate preparation.

The contracts and expenditures incidental to this movement of troops, to obtaining and arranging their final equipment, whether of arms or clothing, to their subsistence, and general comfort and protection, have been unhesitatingly incurred, in firm reliance upon the support and sympathy of the people and the approval of the legislature. Nor—in view of the known inadequacy of the national stores—have the Governor and Council hesitated to anticipate coming wants and to provide for military stores, clothing, and equipments as rapidly as possible, not only to supply current needs and to repair existing deficiencies, but to meet the certain demands of the approaching summer.

I cannot doubt that, to some extent, the suddenness of our necessary action, the novelty of our situation, and the fact of the inexperience of our whole people in the arts of war and the wants of camp life have exposed us all to some mistakes, to some loss of material, to some misadaptation of means to ends, and some oversight of economies possible to better opportunities or to greater experience. But I am confident that the service has been conducted by all its agents and departments with zealous care and honest effort to command success in the work of economy, not less than in the more brilliant and attractive spheres of gallant enterprise. The disbursements in the military service, which had been made up to the close of business yesterday, were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For subsistence</td>
<td>$40,222.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>90,823.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equipments</td>
<td>30,565.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation of troops</td>
<td>43,260.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-half of steamer &quot;Cambridge&quot;</td>
<td>45,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-half of steamer &quot;Pembroke&quot;</td>
<td>17,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telegraphing</td>
<td>272.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$267,645.18</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To these expenditures may be added (besides the amount of the contemplated purchase of arms in Europe) about $100,000 more, to cover contracts for clothing and equipments now in progress, to meet present and future wants. Of all these contracts and disbursements more detailed statements are ready for exhibition.
Nearly all these expenditures (aside from the purchase of the steamers) constitute valid claims upon the Federal government, since its lack of such outfits and provisions as are required by soldiers on the march and in the camp imposed upon us the necessity of procuring supplies for immediate use and of preparation for future demands. The contracts described as in progress are in part for fatigue suits, and also for full uniforms for summer campaign service, adequate to the wants of 6,000 men.

I ought not, in this connection, to omit to allude to the unremitting care that has been cast upon the whole Executive Council, which has held daily sessions during the past month, and whose committees on contracts and accounts have been constantly and laboriously occupied.

In truth and courtesy I must add that, whatever success has thus far been achieved in our military operations is largely due to the incessant exertions and chivalrous devotion of my military aides-de-camp, to whom the Commonwealth is indebted for invaluable services far beyond the immediate duties of their official stations, and for which I gladly confess my personal obligation. I am also under special and peculiar obligation to some gentlemen, whose time, withdrawn from the important cares of their private business, was generously offered to the Commonwealth and accepted in the same spirit in which it was tendered, and whom I would gladly designate by name, were I permitted to do so by the proprieties of this occasion.

Very soon after the commencement of our preparations, the increase of business rendered the appointment of a Quartermaster-general, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and the General Statutes, an obvious necessity; and I nominated to that office a gentleman who has generously and faithfully performed its duties, for which no compensation has been provided by law. This withdrawal of certain duties, not properly pertaining to the office of the Adjutant-general, has enabled the crowded business of his bureau to be conducted with an efficiency and despatch otherwise impossible.

But, even with all this zealous and faithful co-operation, it is obvious that a broader and more comprehensive organization of the staff of the Commander-in-Chief is required by the condition of affairs. It is my opinion that an officer with substantially the functions of commissary-general is needed to accompany the Massachusetts troops in the field, and that the institution, at least temporarily, of a regular medical bureau is particularly
desirable, its duties having thus far been generously performed by a commission of medical gentlemen in Boston informally appointed. With this view, I suggest that it may be advisable to authorize the Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, to institute and commission such additional Staff Officers as the public business may, in his judgment, from time to time require, and in the same manner to fix their compensation, and to remove them, or to discontinue their offices; and, further, to define and prescribe the respective duties of the various departments of the staff.

I respectfully recommend that an appropriation be made to cover these expenses and contracts already incurred, as well as such others as may hereafter be indicated, and of such additional public service as the legislature may direct.

In view of the great lack of arms existing in this Commonwealth, certain to become apparent in the event of a continued struggle,—a want shared by the States in common with each other,—under the advice and consent of the Council, I commissioned a citizen of Massachusetts on the twenty-seventh day of April (who sailed almost immediately in the steamer "Persia") to proceed to England, charged with the duty of purchasing Minie rifles, or other arms of corresponding efficiency, in England or on the Continent, as he might find it needful or desirable. To this end he was furnished with a letter of credit to the amount of fifty thousand pounds sterling, and he was attended by an accomplished and experienced armorer, familiar with the workshops of the Old World. The production of fire-arms at home will of necessity remain for a considerable period inadequate to the home demand, and I await with much interest the arrival from abroad of our expected importation; and I have no doubt that Congress, at its approaching special session, will relieve this Commonwealth from the payment of the duties chargeable thereon.

In addition to its other military defences the Nautical School ship has been fitted up to aid in guarding the coast of the Commonwealth. She has been armed with four six-pound cannon and fifty-two muskets. The collector of the district of Boston and Charlestown has commissioned and placed on board the ship an "aid-to-the-revenue," with instructions to overhaul all suspicious vessels, warning him to use that authority with caution and moderation. Each afternoon, at the expiration of business hours, the collector telegraphs to the station at Hull the names of all vessels having permission to pass out of the harbor of Boston,
and, the list being immediately forwarded to the ship, the "aid" is authorized to order all vessels not so reported, and attempting to leave the harbor between sunset and sunrise, to wait till the next day, and until he is satisfied of their right to pass.

The commander of the ship is instructed to assist the aid-to-the-revenue, to see that thorough discipline is at all times maintained, that the rules of the ship are strictly obeyed, that all due economy be practised, that the exercises of the school are daily continued, and to see that the boys receive kind treatment, and their habits, morals, and education, are carefully and constantly regarded. On the seventh of this month the ship left the harbor of Boston, and is now cruising in the bay in the performance of the duties assigned her.

A sense of insecurity along our coast under the late piratical proclamation of Jefferson Davis, as well as our constant wants for transportation service, have induced a purchase for the Commonwealth, as a part owner with the underwriters of Boston, of the steamer "Cambridge," of about 860 tons' burden, and of the steamer "Pembroke," of 240 tons, both of which, equipped with competent naval armament, and ready to fight their way over the seas, are engaged in service. The "Cambridge" has carried a full cargo of arms, men, and supplies in ample quantities, not only to Fortress Monroe, but up the Potomac itself. And, in spite of the danger supposed to menace her from its banks, she has safely carried tents, stores, provisions, and clothing to our troops at Washington.

Besides making the requisite appropriations to meet these and other expenses, and adopting measures to establish the power of the Executive to meet the emergencies of the occasion on a distinctly legal foundation, my other principal purpose in convening the General Court was to ask its attention to the subject of a State Encampment for Military Instruction.

Wise statesmanship requires an adequate anticipation of all future wants of the controversy, whether as to the number or quality of the military force, its discipline, instruction, arms, or equipment. At this moment there exist one hundred and twenty-nine companies newly enlisted into the active militia, all of whom were induced to enroll themselves by the possibility of active duty in the field. Many of these are anxious to receive orders for service; and, withdrawing themselves from other avocations, they are now endeavoring to perfect themselves in the details of a soldier's routine of duty. It seemed equally an
injustice toward those who are disposed to arms, and to all other citizens on whom future exigencies might cast the inconvenient necessity of taking the field, to discourage these efforts and struggles of patriotic ambition. It is important to secure a reasonable number of soldiers, to have them ascertained, within reach, and in a proper condition for service; and it is scarcely less important that other citizens should be left as free as may be from the distractions of a divided duty, so as to pursue with heart and hope the business enterprises of private life. The best public economy is found in the forethought of considered plans, disposing the means, pursuits, and people of the whole community, so as to meet all exigencies without confusion, and with the least possible derangement of productive industry; and I have, therefore, to these ends, earnestly considered the suggestions of various eminent citizens, the written requests or memorials, numerously signed, which have reached me, and the advice of the highest officers in our own militia, all uniting in the recommendation of a State Encampment.

I recommend the subject to the wise and careful judgment of the legislature, venturing to suggest that, in order to secure success proportioned to its importance, any such encampment should be confined to those enlisting themselves for an extended term of actual service, and should not include the ordinary militia, who are only liable to three months’ duty in a year; that it should be an encampment for thorough military instruction in drill, discipline, and camp duty; that all who enter it should, while there, come under the rules and laws of active military service; that for the principal commander or instructor there should be obtained, if possible, an officer of the army, of rank, experience, culture, and high character, who, with a proper staff, should be specially appointed for this service, subject to control and removal, as circumstances may require, by the Commander-in-Chief. The number of soldiers or regiments to be at any one time placed in camp should be fixed by the legislature, and also the rate of compensation and the terms of enlistment. The encampment may be at one place, or several encampments may be established under a single military commander, or otherwise, at convenience, and the power to put an end to the encampment at any time, when desirable, should be reserved to the Executive; nor should any persons be retained in camp longer than the public service may clearly seem to demand. I offer this subject to your consideration, gentlemen, with a consciousness
of the heavy care and difficult responsibilities which the adoption of any scheme of the sort indicated will impose upon the Commander-in-Chief, and with great personal diffidence, but with a hearty willingness to attempt any task which the cause of the country and the good of the people may impose, and with entire confidence in the support to be found in the aid of those who will surround me, and in the reasonable certainty of the success of any good work, honestly undertaken.

Many military organizations are now receiving aid, more or less ample, from cities and towns. The companies thus assisted are under many disadvantages, and are trying in a desultory way to fit themselves for duty. But, pursuing their efforts without uniformity of system or method, the number of soldiers, the expense they incur, and the proficiency they make are all unknown, while the benefit of their exertions is but partially realized, and the burdens are unequally borne. I venture to suggest that the practice begun in some towns of offering bounties on enlistment is attended with many inconveniences, not the least of which is the evil of different rates of compensation for soldiers of equal rank and merit in the same regiment; and, while no necessity exists for this course, it is liable to the objection of weakening the capacity of the people to afford special aid and relief to the families of soldiers which may want while husbands and fathers are in the field.

Any relief needed by our troops, whether by reason of delays of payment by the general government or otherwise, should be provided for under authority of the State and according to a uniform system.

At present the troops willing to march under the orders of the President exceed many times in number the utmost limit which can now be received at Washington or its neighborhood, although, unless some unforeseen and sudden end shall be put to the conflict, even more will ultimately be needed. Yet I cannot too strongly urge the unspeakable importance of husbanding the time and industry of all the people of the Commonwealth. I exhort them, therefore, to cultivate their resources, to devote themselves with increased assiduity to all the useful pursuits and arts of peaceful skill and labor, and especially to devote the utmost effort to increase the agricultural products of the year. Let every man not set apart for present military duty devote himself, as not less a patriot than his more martial neighbors, to the patient and quiet
pursuits which increase the wealth and security of all, remem-
bering that a noble purpose

"Makes drudgery divine;
Who sweeps a room as for God's law
Makes that and th' action fine."

I trust that the present experience will inaugurate a return
to the only system capable of guarding a State against surprise,
and preserving it from ultimate disaster,—I mean the arming and
training of the whole militia. Devoted in heart to the interests
of peace, painfully alive to the calamities and sorrows of war, I
cannot fail to see how plainly the rights and liberties of a peo-
ple repose upon their own capacity to maintain them.

I recommend the authorization of a permanent loan for the
payment of the expenses of this new emergency, to be effected
by instalments as the Executive Department may find it expedi-
ent. I suggest, also, that the scrip may be partly issuable in
pieces of fifty or one hundred dollars each, so that small capi-
talists may share in the benefits of the opportunity for safe in-
vestment which the occasion will afford. The offers from the
banking institutions of the Commonwealth, of loans to the Treas-
ury, communicated to the Executive since the 15th of April,
reach the aggregate amount of six millions four hundred thou-
sand dollars, and whatever moneys have been needed by the
Treasurer have been promptly advanced, pursuant to these
offers. Their confidence in the good faith of the State, in view
of the fact that our contracts have been made in the absence of
previous legislation, is not less apparent than their reliance upon
its pecuniary condition; and, in truth, a recurrence to the last
annual report of the State Auditor renders it clear that the in-
debtedness of the Commonwealth (exclusive of liabilities assumed
to promote public works, and assured by ample mortgages) is
so trifling, while its wealth and resources are so vast, that the
scrip of Massachusetts must be regarded as second to no security
in the world. The tendency to hoard, in times of commotion,
is a circumstance aggravating the natural perturbations of so-
ciety; and it offers a strong motive of public policy for extending
to all classes the opportunity of investments.

I desire to cultivate a spirit of confidence in the Federal gov-
ernment, its capacity, its resources, and its administration. The
States and the people owe it to themselves and to justice that
they shall cautiously abstain from needless, careless, or in any way uneconomical disbursements, into which inconsiderate officials may be tempted by the expectation of ultimate repayment from the Treasury of the United States. We ought to husband every resource, to serve every interest of our parent government, to watch over and protect its pecuniary credit, and to assist its loans, in a spirit of patriotic sympathy free from any sordid taint of personal selfishness; and I respectfully ask you to consider whether power may not properly be vested in some department of the Commonwealth to intervene with the aid of our own credit as a State, in any possible future contingency of pecuniary weakness at Washington.

In this grave national experience it becomes us not only to acquit ourselves as men, by courage and enterprise, but also to remember that every virtue, civil as well as military, calls on us with more commanding voice. Patient endurance, unflinching perseverance in every duty, whether of action or passion, at such a moment becomes grand and heroic. Nor can I urge too strongly the duty of faithful and filial union of heart with those to whom are committed the responsibilities of the central power. Whether they who have to guide the current of national action seem fast or slow, narrow or broad, I trust that Massachusetts men will, with equal devotedness, enact their part in this warfare, as good soldiers of a great cause.

It is impossible that such an uprising of the people as we have witnessed—so volcanic in its energy—should not manifest itself here and there in jets of unreasonable passion, and even of violence, against individuals who are suspected of treasonable sympathies. But I am glad to believe that respect for every personal right is so general and so profound throughout Massachusetts that few such demonstrations have occurred in our community. Let us never—under any conceivable circumstances of provocation or indignation—forget that the right of free discussion of all public questions is guaranteed to every individual on Massachusetts soil, by the settled conviction of her people, by the habits of her successive generations, and by express provisions of her constitution. And let us therefore never seek to repress the criticisms of a minority, however small, upon the character and conduct of any administration, whether State or National.

For myself I entertain a most cordial trust in the wisdom and patriotism of the President of the United States and his Cabinet, and of the venerable head of the American army, whose long and
eminent career has given him a place second to no living captain of our time. True to his allegiance to his country and to himself, may he long be spared to serve his countrymen, and to enjoy their gratitude; and, though white the marble and tall the aspiring shaft which posterity will rear to record his fame, his proudest monument will be their affectionate memory of a life grand in the service of peace not less than of war, preserving in their hearts forever the name of Winfield Scott.

Surrounded by universal sympathy and aid, it is beyond my power to bear separate testimony to the value and merits of the various gifts and services offered and performed in behalf of the State and in amelioration of the hardships of those who bear the immediate brunt of war. From every department of social, business, and religious life, from every age, sex, and condition of our community, by gifts, by toil, by skill and handiwork, out of the basket and the store and out of the full hearts of the community, they have poured through countless channels of benevolence and patriotism.

But how shall I record the grand and sublime uprising of the people, devoting themselves, their lives, their all! No creative art has ever woven into song a story more tender in its pathos or more stirring to the martial blood than the scenes just enacted, passing before our eyes in the villages and towns of our own dear old Commonwealth. Henceforth be silent, ye shallow cavillers at New England thrift, economy, and peaceful toil! Henceforth let no one dare accuse our northern sky, our icy winters, or our granite hills!

"Oh, what a glorious morning!" was the exulting cry of Samuel Adams, as he, excluded from royal grace, heard the sharp musketry which on the dawn of the 19th of April, 1775, announced the beginning of the war of independence. The yeomanry who in 1775, on Lexington Common and on the banks of Concord River, first made that day immortal in our annals, have found their lineal representatives in the historic regiment which on the 19th of April, 1861, in the streets of Baltimore, baptized our flag anew in heroic blood,—when Massachusetts marched once more "in the sacred cause of liberty and the rights of mankind."

Senators and Representatives:

Grave responsibilities have fallen, in the Providence of God, upon the government and the people; and they are welcome. They could not have been safely postponed. They have not
arrived too soon. They will sift and try this people, all who lead and all who follow. But this trial, giving us a heroic present to revive our past, will breathe the inspiration of a new life into our national character and reassure the destiny of the Republic.

That such a man should be made governor of Massachusetts was, of course, an inevitable incident in the logic of events. He could not have prevented it had he tried. But the exact time at which he was elected had in it something providential. Never did the Ship of State more need such firmness, wisdom, forecast, and energy at the helm.

"Each petty hand
Can steer a ship becalmed; but he that will
Govern and carry her to her ends, must know
His tides, his currents; how to shift his sails;
What she will bear in foul, what in fair weathers;
What her springs are, her leaks, and how to stop them;
What strands, what shelves, what rocks do threaten her;
The forces and the natures of all winds,
Gusts, storms, and tempests; when her keel ploughs hell,
And deck knocks heaven: then to manage her
Becomes the name and office of a pilot."

And such a pilot Governor Andrew proved himself to be. Knowing, as he did, the philosophy of the slave system, and knowing, also, the purposes of its champions, the Slaveholders' Rebellion could not take him by surprise. As early as the middle of December, 1860, he had visited Washington, conversed familiarly with the leading public men of the South, and clearly perceived that all the movements relating to compromise were but scenes in a clumsily acted political farce. He looked straight through all the plausibilities to the realities of the situation, and returned to Boston as much convinced that the South meant war as he was on the day when the first gun fired on Sumter woke everybody to the fact. From his insight sprang his foresight. It was mainly through his exertions that the active militia of Massachusetts were placed on a war footing, ready to march at the first word of command. You all remember with what sagacity this was done, and you all remember, too, with what sneers and gibes his forecast was then rewarded. His general order to the militia was promulgated in January, 1861, and the memorable 12th of April, which opened the costliest and bloodiest of civil wars, found him all prepared. He received his telegram from Washington, for troops, on Monday, April 15. He was able to say that by nine o'clock on the next Sunday morning, "the whole number of regiments demanded from Massachusetts were already either in Washington or in Fortress Monroe or on their way to the defence of the capital. It was at midnight on the 19th of April, after the exhausting labors of the day, that he wrote, at his own house, the despatch to the mayor of Baltimore, which has so endeared him to the popular heart. "I pray you," he wrote, "to cause the bodies of our Massachusetts soldiers, dead in Baltimore, to be immediately laid out, preserved with ice, and tenderly sent forward by express to me." His activity during the first month of the war was not more marked than his mental self-possession. The rush and whirl of events did not hurry him from his balance. Overwhelmed with all sorts of propositions, recommendations, proposals, pertinent and impertinent,
such as might be expected in an emergency when the confusion of men's minds was as great as the warmth of their sentiments, the governor stood firm and calm, listening, analyzing, deciding, quick to detect what was judicious, proof against all the generosities of unreason. No one was more impassioned than he: no one was more serene and self-centred. He was all alive, soul and body, heart and brain, and, being all alive, his intellect showed its clearness and grasp, as well as his sensibility its fire and impulse. "There is nothing," we are told, "more terrible than activity without insight"; and the governor's activity was identical with his insight. He decided swiftly, and he decided surely. The rarest quality of comprehensive statesmanship, the readiness to assume responsibility, seemed native to his intrepid intelligence. "Immediately," he writes to President Lincoln on the 3d of May, "on receiving your Proclamation, we took up the war, and have carried on our part of it, in the spirit in which we believe the administration and the American people intend to act; namely, as if there was not an inch of red tape in the world." So thoroughly kindled was his whole nature that, when, a few days later, he addressed the legislature in its extra session, his rapid recital of the powers he had assumed, and the work he had done, combined the explicitness of a business document with something of the lyric rush of an ode of triumph.

This unwearied fire of soul burned steadily within him during the whole five years of heroic effort and heroic toil, which made his administration such an epoch in the history of the State. He knew that the disease of which he eventually died might strike him at any moment. Three months before he entered on his glorious career as governor he was warned by his physician that any over-exertion of brain would endanger his health, and probably his life. He was notoriously as regardless of the warning as a brave soldier, going to battle, would be regardless of the admonition that he might be hit by a bullet. The care that a man takes of his health should, of course, be subordinate to his sense of duty. Considerations of hygiene did not enter into the soul of William of Orange, doing that which he knew would reduce him to an "asthmatic skeleton"; into the soul of Milton, doing that which he knew would deprive him of his sight; into the soul of Latimer, doing that which he knew would lead him to the stake. On the same principle Governor Andrew felt that he was at his post, not to take care of himself, but to look after the rights and interests of others; and, indeed, any man who evades the duty of the hour in order to save himself for some future great occasion is a man to whom no great occasion will ever come.

Taking thus his life in his hand, he, in the most emphatic sense of the phrase, "enlisted for the war." To perform every duty as it rose or as it was anticipated was both his labor and his delight. "The only question," he said, "which I can entertain is what to do; and, when that question is answered, the other is, what next to do." The record of that heroic activity is too long to be recited here. There is no time even to allude to more than a few of its shining results. The mere statement of the fact that Massachusetts, during the war, contributed nearly a hundred and sixty thousand men to the army and navy, and expended nearly twenty-eight millions of dollars from her own treasury, shows how laborious and how sagacious must have been the exertions of her executive head. But the details of all this work, the wear and tear of heart and brain they involved, the minute supervision they required, the audacity and the tact demanded for their
skillful management, the fret, anxiety, perplexity, disappointment, which were their too common accompaniments,—who shall estimate them? The governor drudged in the service of a clear-seeing, far-seeing statesmanship; but the drudgery was still exhausting to body and mind. And then the prejudices he had to overcome! He saw from the first that the war must destroy slavery, and he urged the issuing of the Presidential Proclamation of Emancipation before it came. What cries from prudent patriots that he was perilling the cause by his wish to give it a new moral stimulant! He saw from the first that the negroes should have a part in the war which was sure to emancipate them, and he was the first Northern governor to organize black regiments. What gibes from fathers of families whose sons his policy saved from the draft! In the fourteen or fifteen thousand military appointments he made, how often must he have wounded the self-esteem of disappointed applicants, and how bitter was often their resentment! And, in addition to his labors in the State itself, it is to be remembered that his duties called him frequently to Washington to press the settlement of State claims on the national government, to enforce his views of public policy on the national administration, and especially to insist that no just complaints of his Massachusetts regiments should be left unrelieved.—From Edwin P. Whipple's Eulogy on Andrew.

John Albion Andrew, the great war governor of Massachusetts (1861-65), was born at Windham, Me., a small town near Sebago Lake, May 31, 1818, two years before the organization of Maine as a separate State. His first American ancestor on his father's side was Robert Andrew, who, coming from England, settled in Rowley, Mass., and died there in 1668. Another of his ancestors was Francis Higginson, the first minister of Salem. A portrait of this old clergyman hung over the mantel in the Council Chamber during the whole of Andrew's administration as governor. Andrew's grandfather, whose name he bore, was a successful Salem merchant, who removed to Windham after the birth of his son Jonathan, the governor's father. The latter, who became a prosperous merchant at Windham, married Nancy G. Pierce, a teacher in Fryeburg Academy, where Daniel Webster also was once a teacher; and John A. Andrew was their oldest son. He was a school-boy in Windham and Salem, and then a student in Bowdoin College, where he graduated in 1837. He came to Boston to study law in the office of Henry H. Fuller, an uncle of Margaret Fuller, and was admitted to the bar in 1840. In 1849 he joined the Anti-slavery party. In 1854 he defended the parties indicted in Boston for attempting the rescue of the fugitive slave Burns. He was elected to the Massachusetts legislature in 1858. In 1859 he initiated and directed the measures for the legal defence of John Brown in Virginia. In 1860 he was at the head of the Massachusetts delegation to the Republican Convention in Chicago, which nominated Lincoln for the Presidency; and in the same year he was elected governor of Massachusetts, receiving the largest popular vote that had ever been cast for a candidate for that office. He was governor for five years, finally in 1865 declining re-election, and was the most eminent of the many eminent governors of the Civil War period. He died Oct. 30, 1867. His home was for many years in Hingham. There is a statue of him by his grave in the Hingham cemetery, and another in the State House in Boston.

Governor Andrew waited long for an adequate biography, the thorough and admirable work in two volumes by Professor Henry G. Pearson being published in 1904. There were earlier biographical sketches by Albert G. Browne, Jr., his secretary, and Peleg W. Chandler; the eulogy delivered by Edwin P. Whipple before the City Council of Boston in 1867, printed in Mr. Whipple's volume is entitled "Success and its Conditions"; and there are valuable memorial sketches by James Freeman Clarke, F. P. Stearns, F. Moore, E. F. Stone, Mrs. Stowe, and others. A volume of his political and general addresses is a desideratum. His Valedictory Address to the Massachusetts legislature, Jan. 4, 1866, and two literary addresses are included in the appendix to Mr. Chandler's biography.
A Dialogue between Old England and New

And other poems, by Mrs. Anne Dudley Bradstreet.

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN OLD ENGLAND AND NEW CONCERNING THEIR PRESENT TROUBLES, ANNO 1642.

NEW ENGLAND.

Alas, dear mother, fairest queen and best,
With honor, wealth, and peace happy and blest,
What ails thee hang thy head, and cross thine arms,
And sit in the dust to sigh these sad alarms?
What deluge of new woes thus overwhelms
The glories of thy ever famous realm?
What means this wailing tone, this mournful guise?
Ah, tell thy daughter, she may sympathize.

OLD ENGLAND.

Art ignorant indeed of these my woes,
Or must my forced tongue these griefs disclose,
And must myself dissect my tattered state,
Which amazed Christendom stands wondering at?
And thou a child, a limb, and dost not feel
My fainting, weakened body now to reel?
This physic purging potion I have taken
Will bring consumption or an ague-quaking
Unless some cordial thou fetch from high,
Which present help may ease my malady.
If I decease, dost think thou shalt survive?
Or by my wasting state dost think to thrive?
Then weigh our case if it be not justly sad.
Let me lament alone, while thou art glad.

NEW ENGLAND.

And thus, alas, your state you much deplore
In general terms, but will not say wherefore.
What medicine shall I seek to cure this woe
If the wound so dangerous I may not know.
But you, perhaps, would have me guess it out.
What, hath some Hengist like that Saxon stout
By fraud or force usurped thy flowering crown,
Or by tempestuous wars thy fields trod down?
Or hath Canutus, that brave valiant Dane,
The regal peaceful sceptre from thee ta’en?
Or is it a Norman whose victorious hand
With English blood bedews thy conquered land?
Or is it intestine wars that thus offend?
Do Maud and Stephen for the crown contend?
Do barons rise and side against their king,
And call in foreign aid to help the thing?
Must Edward be deposed? Or is it the hour
That second Richard must be clapped in the tower?
Or is it the fatal jar, again begun,
That from the red-white pricking roses sprung?
Must Richmond’s aid the nobles now implore
To come and break the tushes of the boar?
If none of these, dear mother, what’s your woe?
Pray, do you fear Spain’s bragging Armado?
Doth your ally, fair France, conspire your wreck,
Or do the Scots play false behind your back?
Doth Holland quit you ill for all your love?
Whence is the storm, from earth or heaven above?
Is it drought, is it famine, or is it pestilence?
Dost feel the smart, or fear the consequence?
Your humble child entreats you show your grief.
Though arms nor purse she hath for your relief,—
Such is her poverty,—yet shall be found
A suppliant for your help, as she is bound.
I must confess some of those sores you name
My beauteous body at this present maim;
But foreign foe nor feigned friend I fear,
For they have work enough, thou knowest, elsewhere.
Nor is it Alcie's son or Henry's daughter
Whose proud contentions cause this slaughter;
Nor nobles siding to make John no king,
French Louis unjustly to the crown to bring;
No Edward, Richard, to lose rule and life,
Nor no Lancastrians to renew old strife;
No Duke of York nor Earl of March to soil
Their hands in kindred's blood whom they did foil.
No crafty tyrant now usurps the seat
Who nephews slew that so he might be great.
No need of Tudor roses to unite;
None knows which is the red or which the white.
Spain's braving fleet a second time is sunk.
France knows how oft my fury she hath drunk
By Edward Third and Henry Fifth of fame;
Her lilies in my arms avouch the same.
My sister Scotland hurts me now no more,
Though she hath been injurious heretofore.
What Holland is I am in some suspense,
But trust not much unto his excellence.
For wants, sure some I feel, but more I fear;
And for the pestilence, who knows how near?
Famine and plague, two sisters of the sword,
Destruction to a land doth soon afford.
They're for my punishment ordained on high,
Unless our tears prevent it speedily.
But yet I answer not what you demand
To show the grievance of my troubled land.
Before I tell the effect I'll show the cause,
Which is my sins—the breach of sacred laws:
Idolatry, supplanter of a nation,
With foolish superstitious adoration,
Are liked and countenanced by men of might;
The gospel trodden down and hath no right;
Church offices were sold and bought for gain,
That Pope had hope to find Rome here again;
For oaths and blasphemies did ever ear
From Beelzebub himself such language hear?
What scorning of the saints of the most high!
What injuries did daily on them lie!
What false reports, what nicknames did they take,
Not for their own, but for their Master's sake!
And thou, poor soul, wert jeered among the rest;
Thy flying for the truth was made a jest.
For Sabbath-breaking and for drunkenness
Did ever land profaneness more express?
From crying blood yet cleanséd am not I,
Martyrs and others dying causelessly.
How many princely heads on blocks laid down
For naught but title to a fading crown!
'Mongst all the cruelties by great ones done,
O Edward's youths, and Clarence' hapless son,
O Jane, why didst thou die in flowering prime?—
Because of royal stem, that was by crime.
For bribery, adultery, and lies
Where is the nation I can't paralyze?
With usury, extortion, and oppression,
These be the hydoras of my stout transgression;
These be the bitter fountains, heads, and roots
Whence flowed the source, the sprigs, the boughs, and fruits.
Of more than thou canst hear or I relate,
That with high hand I still did perpetrate.
For these were threatened the woful day.
I mocked the preachers, put it far away;
The sermons yet upon record do stand
That cried destruction to my wicked land.
I then believed not, now I feel and see
The plague of stubborn incredulity.
Some lost their livings, some in prison pent,
Some, fined, from house and friends to exile went.
Their silent tongues to heaven did vengeance cry,
Who saw their wrongs, and hath judged righteously,
And will repay it sevenfold in my lap.
This is forerunner of my afterclap.
Nor took I warning by my neighbors' falls:
I saw sad Germany's dismantled walls,
I saw her people famished, nobles slain,
Her fruitful land a barren heath remain;
I saw, unmoved, her armies foiled and fled,
Wives forced, babes tossed, her houses calcinéd.
I saw strong Rochelle yielded to her foe,
Thousands of starvéd Christians there also.
I saw poor Ireland bleeding out her last,
Such cruelties as all reports have passed;
Mine heart obdurate stood not yet aghast.
Now sip I of that cup, and just it may be
The bottom dregs reservéd are for me.

NEW ENGLAND.

To all you’ve said, sad mother, I assent.
Your fearful sins great cause there is to lament.
My guilty hands in part hold up with you,
A sharer in your punishment’s my due.
But all you say amounts to this effect,
Not what you feel, but what you do expect.
Pray, in plain terms, what is your present grief?
Then let’s join heads and hearts for your relief.

OLD ENGLAND.

Well, to the matter, then. There’s grown of late
‘Twixt king and peers a question of state:
Which is the chief—the law, or else the king?
One said, it’s he; the other, no such thing.
’Tis said my better part in Parliament
To ease my groaning land showed their intent,
To crush the proud, and right to each man deal,
To help the church, and stay the commonweal.
So many obstacles came in their way
As puts me to a stand what I should say.
Old customs new prerogatives stood on;
Had they not held law fast, all had been gone,
Which by their prudence stood them in such stead
They took high Strafford lower by the head,
And to their Laud be it spoke they held in the tower
All England’s metropolitan that hour.
This done, an act they would have passed fain
No prelate should his bishopric retain;
Here tugged they hard indeed, for all men saw
This must be done by gospel, not by law.
Next the militia they urged sore;
This was denied, I need not say wherefore.
The king, displeased, at York himself absents.
They humbly beg his return, show their intents;
The writing, printing, posting to and fro,
Show all was done; I'll therefore let it go.
But now I come to speak of my disaster.
Contention grown 'twixt subjects and their master,
They worded it so long they fell to blows,
That thousands lay on heaps. Here bleed my woes.
I that no wars so many years have known
Am now destroyed and slaughtered by my own.
But could the field alone this strife decide,
One battle, two, or three I might abide.
But these may be beginnings of more woe—
Who knows but this may be my overthrow!
Oh, pity me in this sad perturbation,
My plundered towns, my houses' devastation,
My weeping virgins, and my young men slain,
My wealthy trading fallen, my dearth of grain.
The seed-times come, but ploughman hath no hope
Because he knows not who shall in his crop.
The poor they want their pay, their children bread,
Their woeful mothers' tears unpitied.
If any pity in thy heart remain,
Or any child-like love thou dost retain,
For my relief do what there lies in thee,
And recompense that good I've done to thee.

NEW ENGLAND.

Dear mother, cease complaints, and wipe your eyes,
Shake off your dust, cheer up, and now arise.
You are my mother nurse, and I, your flesh,
Your sunken bowels gladly would refresh.
Your griefs I pity, but soon hope to see
Out of your troubles much good fruit to be;
To see those latter days of hoped-for good,
Though now beclouded all with tears and blood.
After dark popery the day did clear;
But now the sun in his brightness shall appear.
Blest be the nobles of thy noble land
With ventured lives for truth's defence that stand.
Blest be thy Commons, who for common good
And thy infringéd laws have boldly stood.
Blest be thy counties, who did aid thee still
With hearts and states to testify their will.
Blest be thy preachers, who do cheer thee on;
Oh, cry the sword of God and Gideon!
And shall I not on them wish Meroz' curse
That help thee not with prayers, with alms, and purse?
And for myself let miseries abound
If mindless of thy state I e'er be found.
These are the days the church's foes to crush,
To root out popeling's head, tail, branch, and rush.
Let's bring Baal's vestments forth to make a fire,
Their mitres, surplices, and all their attire,
Copes, rochet, croziers, and such empty trash,
And let their names consume, but let the flash
Light Christendom, and all the world to see
We hate Rome's whore, with all her trumpery.
Go on, brave Essex, with a loyal heart,
Not false to king, nor to the better part;
But those that hurt his people and his crown,
As duty binds expel and tread them down.
And ye brave nobles, chase away all fear,
And to this hopeful cause closely adhere.
O mother, can you weep and have such peers?
When they are gone, then drown yourself in tears,
If now you weep so much, that then no more
The briny ocean will o'erflow your shore.
These, these are they, I trust, with Charles our king,
Out of all mists such glorious days shall bring
That dazzled eyes, beholding, much shall wonder
At that thy settled peace, thy wealth, and splendor;
Thy church and weal established in such manner
That all shall joy that thou displayedst thy banner;
And discipline erected so, I trust,
That nursing kings shall come and lick thy dust.
Then justice shall in all thy courts take place
Without respect of person or of case;
Then bribes shall cease, and suits shall not stick long,
Patience and purse of clients oft to wrong;
Then high commissions shall fall to decay,
And pursuivants and catchpoles want their pay.
So shall thy happy nation ever flourish,
When truth and righteousness they thus shall nourish.
When thus in peace, thine armies brave send out
To sack proud Rome, and all her vassals rout;
There let thy name, thy fame, and glory shine,
As did thine ancestors' in Palestine,
And let her spoils full pay with interest be
Of what unjustly once she polled from thee.
Of all the woes thou canst let her be sped,
And on her pour the vengeance threatened.
Bring forth the beast that ruled the world with his beck,
And tear his flesh, and set your feet on his neck,
And make his filthy den so desolate
To the astonishment of all that knew his state.
This done, with brandished swords to Turkey go,—
For then what is it but English blades dare do?—
And lay her waste,—for so's the sacred doom,—
And do to Gog as thou hast done to Rome.
O Abraham's seed, lift up your heads on high,
For sure the day of your redemption's nigh.
The scales shall fall from your long blinded eyes,
And him you shall adore who now despise.
Then fulness of the nations in shall flow,
And Jew and Gentile to one worship go;
Then follow days of happiness and rest.
Whose lot doth fall to live therein is blest.
No Canaanite shall then be found in the land,
And holiness on horses' bells shall stand.
If this make way thereto, then sigh no more,
But if at all thou didst not see it before.
Farewell, dear mother; rightest cause prevail,
And in a while you'll tell another tale.
In Honor of that High and Mighty Princess Queen Elizabeth of Happy Memory.

The Proem.

Although, great queen, thou now in silence lie,
Yet thy loud herald, fame, doth to the sky
Thy wondrous worth proclaim in every clime,
And so hath vowed while there is world or time.
So great is thy glory and thine excellence
The sound thereof raps every human sense,
That men account it no impiety
To say thou wert a fleshly deity.
Thousands bring offerings, though out of date,
Thy world of honors to accumulate;
'Mongst hundred hecatombs of roaring verse,
Mine bleating stands before thy royal hearse.
Thou never didst nor canst thou now disdain
To accept the tribute of a loyal brain;
Thy clemency did erst esteem as much
The acclamations of the poor as rich,
Which makes me deem my rudeness is no wrong,
Though I resound thy praises 'mongst the throng.

The Poem.

No phoenix pen, nor Spenser's poetry,
Nor Speed's nor Camden's learned history,
Eliza's works, wars, praise, can e'er compact.
The world's the theatre where she did act.
No memories nor volumes can contain
The eleven olympiads of her happy reign,
Who was so good, so just, so learned, wise,
From all the kings on earth she won the prize.
Nor say I more than duly is her due;
Millions will testify that this is true.
She hath wiped off the aspersion of her sex
That women wisdom lack to play the rex.
Spain's monarch says not so, nor yet his host;
She taught them better manners to their cost.
The Salic law in force now had not been
If France had ever hoped for such a queen.
But can you, doctors, now this point dispute,
She's argument enough to make you mute.
Since first the sun did run his near-run race,
And earth had, once a year, a new-old face,
Since time was time, and man unmanly man,
Come show me such a phoenix if you can?
Was ever people better ruled than hers?
Was ever land more happy, freed from stirs?
Did ever wealth in England more abound?
Her victories in foreign coasts resound.
Ships more invincible than Spain's, her foe
She wrecked, she sacked, she sunk his Armado;
Her stately troops advanced to Lisbon's wall
Don Anthony in his right there to install;
She frankly helped Franks' brave distresséd king;
The states united now her fame do sing,
She their protectrix was—they well do know
Unto our dread virago what they owe.
Her nobles sacrificed their noble blood,
Nor men nor coin she spared to do them good.
The rude untamed Irish she did quell;
Before her picture the proud Tyrone fell.
Had ever prince such counsellors as she?
Herself, Minerva, caused them so to be.
Such captains and such soldiers never seen
As were the subjects of our Pallas queen.
Her seamen through all straits the world did round,
Terra incognita might know the sound.
Her Drake came laden home with Spanish gold;
Her Essex took Cadiz, their herculean hold.
But time would fail me, so my tongue would, too,
To tell of half she did or she could do.
Semiramis to her is but obscure—
More infamy than fame she did procure;
She built her glory but on Babel's wails,
World's wonder for a while, but yet it falls.
Fierce Tomyris (Cyrus' headsman), Scythians' queen,
Had put her harness off had she but seen
Our amazon in the camp of Tilbury,
Judging all valor and all majesty
Within that princess to have residence,
And prostrate yielded to her excellence.
Dido, first foundress of proud Carthage' walls,—
Who living consummates her funerals?—
A great Elisa; but compared with ours
How vanisheth her glory, wealth, and powers!
Profuse, proud Cleopatra, whose wrong name,
Instead of glory, proved her country's shame,
Of her what worth in stories to be seen
But that she was a rich Egyptian queen?
Zenobia, potent empress of the East,
And of all these without compare the best,
Whom none but great Aurelian could quell,
Yet for our queen is no fit parallel.
She was a phœnix queen; so shall she be,
Her ashes not revived, more phœnix she.
Her personal perfections who would tell
Must dip his pen in the Heliconian well,
Which I may not; my pride doth but aspire
To read what others write, and so admire.
Now say, have women worth, or have they none?
Or had they some, but with our queen is it gone?
Nay, masculines, you have thus taxed us long,
But she, though dead, will vindicate our wrong.
Let such as say our sex is void of reason
Know 'tis a slander now, but once was treason.
But happy England, which had such a queen!
Yea, happy, happy, had those days still been!
But happiness lies in a higher sphere;
Then wonder not Eliza moves not here.
Full fraught with honor, riches, and with days,
She set, she set, like Titan in his rays.
No more shall rise or set so glorious sun
Until the heavens' great revolution.
If then new things their old forms shall retain,
Eliza shall rule Albion once again.

Her Epitaph.

Here sleeps the queen; this is the royal bed
Of the damask rose sprung from the white and red,
Whose sweet perfume fills the all-filling air.
This rose is withered, once so lovely fair.
On neither tree did grow such rose before;—
The greater was our gain, our loss the more.
To the Memory of my Dear and Ever Honored Father
Thomas Dudley, Esq., who deceased July 31, 1653, and of his Age 77.

By duty bound, and not by custom led
To celebrate the praises of the dead,
My mournful mind, sore pressed, in trembling verse
Presents my lamentations at his hearse
Who was my father, guide, instructor, too,
To whom I ought whatever I could do.
Nor is it relation near my hand shall tie;
For who more cause to boast his worth than I?
Who heard, or saw, observed, or knew him better,
Or who alive than I a greater debtor?
Let malice bite, and envy gnaw its fill,
He was my father, and I'll praise him still.
Nor was his name or life led so obscure
That pity might some trumpeters procure,
Who after death might make him falsely seen
Such as in life no man could justly deem.
Well known and loved, where'er he lived, by most,
Both in his native and in foreign coast,
These to the world his merits could make known
So need no testimonial from his own.
But now or never I must pay my sum;
While others tell his worth, I'll not be dumb.
One of thy founders him, New England, know,
Who stayed thy feeble sides when thou wast low,
Who spent his state, his strength, and years with care
That aftercomers in them might have share.
True patriot of this little commonweal,
Who is it can tax thee aught but for thy zeal?
Truth's friend thou werest, to errors still a foe,
Which caused apostates to malign thee so.
Thy love to true religion e'er shall shine—
My father's God be God of me and mine!
Upon the earth he did not build his nest,
But as a pilgrim what he had possessed.
High thoughts he gave no harbor in his heart,
Nor honors puffed him up, when he had part;
Those titles loathed which some too much do love,
For truly his ambition lay above.
His humble mind so loved humility
He left it to his race for legacy,
And oft and oft, with speeches mild and wise,
Gave his in charge that jewel rich to prize.
No ostentation seen in all his ways,
As in the mean ones of our foolish days,
Which all they have, and more, still set to view
Their greatness may be judged by what they show.
His thoughts were more sublime, his actions wise;
Such vanities he justly did despise.
Nor wonder 'twas low things ne'er much did move,
For he a mansion had prepared above,
For which he sighed and prayed and longed full sore
He might be clothed upon for evermore;
Oft spake of death, and with a smiling cheer
He did exult his end was drawing near.
Now fully ripe, as shock of wheat that's grown,
Death as a sickle hath him timely mown,
And in celestial barn hath housed him high,
Where storms, nor showers, nor aught can damnify.
His generation served, his labors cease,
And to his' fathers gathered is in peace.
Ah happy soul, 'mongst saints and angels blest,
Who after all his toil is now at rest!
His hoary head in righteousness was found;
As joy in heaven, on earth let praise resound.
Forgotten never be his memory!
His blessing rest on his posterity!
His pious footsteps followed by his race
At last will bring us to that happy place
Where we with joy each other's face shall see,
And parted more by death shall never be.
His Epitaph.

Within this tomb a patriot lies
That was both pious, just, and wise,
To truth a shield, to right a wall,
To sectaries a whip and maul.
A magazine of history,
A prizer of good company,
In manners pleasant and severe,
The good him loved, the bad did fear;
And when his time with years was spent,
If some rejoiced, more did lament.

An Epitaph on my Dear and Ever Honored Mother Mrs. Dorothy Dudley, who deceased December 27, 1643, and of her Age 61.

Here lies
A worthy matron of unspotted life,
A loving mother, and obedient wife,
A friendly neighbor, pitiful to poor,
Whom oft she fed and clothed with her store;
To servants wisely awful, but yet kind,
And as they did so they reward did find;
A true instructor of her family,
The which she ordered with dexterity;
The public meetings ever did frequent,
And in her closet constant hours she spent;
Religious in all her words and ways,
Preparing still for death till end of days;
Of all her children children lived to see,
Then, dying, left a blessed memory.

The Author to her Book.

Thou ill-formed offspring of my feeble brain,
Who after birth didst by my side remain
Till snatched from thence by friends less wiese than true
Who thee abroad exposed to public view,
Made thee, in rags, halting, to the press to trudge,
Where errors were not lessened, all may judge,
At thy return my blushing was not small
My rambling brat—in print—should mother call.
I cast thee by as one unfit for light,
Thy visage was so irksome in my sight;
Yet being mine own, at length affection would
Thy blemishes amend, if so I could.
I washed thy face, but more defects I saw,
And rubbing off a spot still made a flaw.
I stretched thy joints to make thee even feet,
Yet still thou runnest more hobbling than is meet.
In better dress to trim thee was my mind,
But naught save homespun cloth in the house I find.
In this array 'mongst vulgars mayst thou roam,
In critics' hands beware thou dost not come,
And take thy way where yet thou art not known.
If for thy father asked, say thou hadst none;
And for thy mother, she, alas, is poor,
Which caused her thus to send thee out of door.

TO MY DEAR AND LOVING HUSBAND.

If ever two were one, then surely we;
If ever man were loved by wife, then thee;
If ever wife was happy in a man,
Compare with me, ye women, if you can.
I prize thy love more than whole mines of gold,
Or all the riches that the East doth hold.
My love is such that rivers cannot quench,
Nor aught but love from thee give recompense.
Thy love is such I can no way repay;
The heavens reward thee manifold, I pray.
Then while we live in love let's so persevere
That when we live no more we may live ever.

IN REFERENCE TO HER CHILDREN,
23 JUNE, 1659.

I had eight birds hatched in one nest;
Four cocks there were, and hens the rest.
I nursed them up with pain and care,  
Nor cost nor labor did I spare,  
Till at the last they felt their wing,  
Mounted the trees, and learned to sing.  
Chief of the brood then took his flight  
To regions far, and left me quite;  
My mournful chirps I after send  
Till he return or I do end:  
Leave not thy nest, thy dam, and sire;  
Fly back and sing amidst this choir.  
My second bird did take her flight,  
And with her mate flew out of sight;  
Southward they both their course did bend,  
And seasons twain they there did spend,  
Till after, blown by southern gales,  
They northward steered with filled sails.  
A prettier bird was nowhere seen  
Along the beach, among the treen.  
I have a third, of color white,  
On whom I placed no small delight;  
Coupled with mate loving and true,  
Hath also bid her dam adieu,  
And where Aurora first appears  
She now hath perched to spend her years.  
One to the academy flew  
To chat among that learned crew;  
Ambition moves still in his breast  
That he might chant above the rest,  
Striving for more than to do well—  
That nightingales he might excel.  
My fifth, whose down is yet scarce gone,  
Is 'mongst the shrubs and bushes flown,  
And as his wings increase in strength  
On higher boughs he'll perch at length.  
My other three still with me nest  
Until they're grown; then, as the rest,  
Or here or there they'll take their flight;  
As is ordained, so shall they light.  
If birds could weep, then would my tears  
Let others know what are my fears  
Lest this my brood some harm should catch  
And be surprised for want of watch:
Whilst pecking corn, and void of care,  
They fall unawares in fowler's snare;  
Or whilst on trees they sit and sing,  
Some untoward boy at them do fling;  
Or whilst allured with bell and glass,  
The net be spread, and caught, alas!  
Or lest by lime-twigs they be foiled,  
Or by some greedy hawks be spoiled.  
Oh, would, my young, ye saw my breast,  
And knew what thoughts there sadly rest.  
Great was my pain when I you bred,  
Great was my care when I you fed;  
Long did I keep you soft and warm,  
And with my wings kept off all harm.  
My cares are more, and fears, than ever,  
My throbs such now as 'fore were never.  
Alas, my birds, you wisdom want;  
Of perils you are ignorant—  
Oft times in grass, on trees, in flight,  
Sore accidents on you may light.  
Oh, to your safety have an eye;  
So happy may you live and die.  
Meanwhile my days in tunes I'll spend  
Till my weak lays with me shall end;  
In shady woods I'll sit and sing,  
Things that are past to mind I'll bring—  
Once young and pleasant, as are you.  
But former toys,—not joys,—adieu!  
My age I will not once lament,  
But sing my time so near is spent,  
And from the top bough take my flight  
Into a country beyond sight,  
Where old ones instantly grow young,  
And there with seraphims set song.  
No seasons cold nor storms they see,  
But spring lasts to eternity.  
When each of you shall in your nest  
Among your young ones take your rest,  
In chirping language oft them tell  
You had a dam that loved you well,  
That did what could be done for young,  
And nursed you up till you were strong;
And 'fore she once would let you fly
She showed you joy and misery,
Taught what was good, and what was ill,
What would save life, and what would kill.
Thus gone, amongst you I may live,
And dead, yet speak, and counsel give.
Farewell, my birds, farewell, adieu!
I happy am if well with you.

IN THANKFUL REMEMBRANCE FOR MY DEAR HUSBAND'S SAFE ARRIVAL, SEPTEMBER 3, 1662.

What shall I render to thy name,
Or how thy praises speak;
My thanks how shall I testify?
O Lord, thou knowest I'm weak.

I owe so much, so little can
Return unto thy name,
Confusion seizes on my soul,
And I am filled with shame.

Oh, thou that hearest prayers, Lord,
To thee shall come all flesh;
Thou hast me heard and answered,
My plaints have had access.

What did I ask for but thou gavest?
What could I more desire
But thankfulness e'en all my days?
I humbly this require.

Thy mercies, Lord, have been so great,
In number numberless,
Impossible for to recount
Or any way express.

Oh, help thy saints that sought thy face
To return unto thee praise,
And walk before thee as they ought
In strict and upright ways.

["This was the last thing written in that book by my dear and honored mother."—Note by Simon Bradstreet, Jr.]
It is difficult for us to reconstruct in imagination the days of the New England woman of the first generation transplanted from the Old World. Our lives are too remote from theirs in all external conditions to enable us to picture, save in outline, the interests and the occupations with which they were most concerned. But it is not difficult to form the image of a character like Mrs. Bradstreet's, as it is shown in her own writing, under the conditions of life which we know must have existed for her. It is the image of a sweet, devout, serene, and affectionate nature, of a woman faithfully discharging the multiplicity of duties which fell upon the mother of many children in those days when little help from outside could be had; when the mother must provide for all their wants with scanty means of supply, and must watch over their health with the consciousness that little help from without was to be had in case of even serious need. I fancy her occupying herself in the intervals of household cares with the books which her own small library and her father's afforded, and writing, with pains and modest satisfaction, the verses which were so highly esteemed at the time, but which for us have so little intrinsic interest. She cherished in herself and in her children the things of the mind and of the spirit; and, if such memory as her verses have secured for her depend rather on the rare circumstance of a woman's writing them at the time when she did, and in the place where she lived, than upon their poetic worth, it is a memory honorable to her, and it happily preserves the name of a good woman, among whose descendants has been more than one poet whose verses reflect lustre on her own.*—Charles Eliot Norton.

Anne Dudley Bradstreet, the earliest New England poet, was born in Northampton, England, about 1612. She was a daughter of Thomas Dudley, one of the founders of Boston and a governor of the Massachusetts colony. For ten years before his removal to New England, Thomas Dudley was steward of the estate of the Earl of Lincoln. His first child was a son, Samuel, born in 1610. The daughter was a delicate and precocious child. "In my young years, about six or seven, as I take it, I began to make conscience of my ways, and what I knew was sinful, as lying, disobedience to Parents, etc., I avoided it. . . . I also found much comfort in reading the Scriptures." The family removed to Boston in Lincolnshire, remaining there for some years, and came under the powerful and permanent influence of Rev. John Cotton. In 1628, at the age of sixteen, Anne Dudley was married to Simon Bradstreet, a graduate of Emanuel College, Cambridge, whom circumstances had placed under the same roof with her for years before their marriage. The first two years of married life were spent in England, and it was now that the girl's mind came under the influence of Du Bartas and other poets. Both her husband and her father joined Winthrop's colony, both being made assistants to the governor; and she sailed with them from Southampton for Massachusetts in 1630. "After a short time," are her words in her account of her religious experience, "I changed my condition, and was married, and came into this country, where I found a new world and new manners, at which my heart rose. But after I was convinced it was the way of God, I submitted to it and joined the church at Boston." Their homes were first at Cambridge and then at Ipswich, where Rev. Nathaniel Ward, who afterward wrote "The Simple Cobbler of Agawam," became their strong personal friend. In 1644 the Bradstreets removed to Andover, where, in the present North Andover, their house still stands. Mrs. Bradstreet died in 1672. Her husband, the "Nestor of New England," lived until 1697, dying in Salem at the age of ninety-four. He had held high office in the colony for upwards of sixty years, having served as governor for seven years before the

*Through one of her children she is the ancestress of Richard Henry Dana, through another of Oliver Wendell Holmes.
taking away of the charter in 1686, his wife’s brother, Joseph Dudley, being appointed
president of New England, and being elected to the office again upon the imprisonment of
Andros three years later.

The first edition of Mrs. Bradstreet’s poems was printed in London in 1650. Rev. John
Woodbridge, who had come to New England in 1634, and had married Mrs. Bradstreet’s
younger sister, upon his return to England in 1647 took with him a number of Mrs. Brad-
street’s poems in manuscript, and had them printed in London without her knowledge, with
a number of commendatory epistles in verse from friends and admirers of the author follow-
ing his own preface. “The ‘Tenth Muse’ could not have been a woman if, when she re-
ceived a copy of the book, she did not seize upon it, in spite of her protestations, with a flut-
tering, pleased excitement. But a perusal of her writings in type revealed to her mortified
gaze the extent of her own shortcomings and the inevitable blunders of the printer.” She
undertook a revision; but the second edition, revised and enlarged, was not published (by
John Foster, Boston) until 1678, six years after her death. A third edition was printed at
Boston in 1758. In 1867 a superb edition of all her works in prose and verse, edited with
a scholarly introduction by John Harvard Ellis, was published in Charlestown, Mass., by
Abram E. Cutter; and in 1897 another beautiful and fully illustrated edition, with an intro-
duction by Charles Eliot Norton, by “The Duodecimos.”

Quite half of the bulk of Mrs. Bradstreet’s volume is taken up by the dull and ponderous
poems on “The Four Elements,” “The Four Humours,” “The Four Ages,” “The Four
Seasons,” and “The Four Monarchies.” Much besides is not intrinsically interesting;
but some of the poems, like “Contemplations” and the little poems revealing her personal
life, have distinct charm. Others, like most of those selected for the present leaflet, are in-
teresting for the lights they throw on early New England history and feeling. The “Dia-
logue between Old England and New,” which stands first in the present leaflet, was written
in the year of the outbreak of the Civil War in England.

See Helen Campbell’s “Anne Bradstreet and Her Time,” a sympathetic and careful
study, made doubly valuable by the large number of Mrs. Bradstreet’s poems embodied at
the appropriate places in the text. See also the chapter on Mrs. Bradstreet in Anderson’s
“Memorable Women,” and especially the admirable critical chapter by Moses Coit Tyler
in his “History of American Literature during the Colonial Time.”
First Graduates of Harvard College.
Class of 1642.


1. Benjamin Woodbridge, D.D., whom Dr. Calamy calls "the lasting glory, as well as the first fruits of the college in New England, as Bishop Usher was at that of Dublin," was son of Rev. John Woodbridge, minister of the parish of Stanton in Wiltshire, and was born in the year 1622. His paternal ancestors for several generations were clergymen. His mother was daughter of Rev. Robert Parker, a learned puritan divine, and author of De Signo Crucis, De descensu Christi ad Inferos, and De Politeia Ecclesiastica,—works much esteemed by the dissenting clergymen of his time. His brother, Rev. John Woodbridge, was partly educated at Oxford, and came to this country in 1634, with his uncle Rev. Thomas Parker, and afterwards became the first minister of Andover, Mass. Benjamin Woodbridge had been a member of Magdalen College, in Oxford, but did not complete his education there, although he was afterwards admitted to the degree of Master of Arts at that university. For some reason he left his native country, and joined his friends in New England. Here his brother had married into one of the first families; here was his uncle Parker, one of the first scholars of the time, and Rev. James Noyes, who had married his mother's sister, and several other friends, by whom he was cordially received. The college at Cambridge had commenced anew under the auspices of
President Dunster. New students had entered, a milder government was instituted, and all its concerns assumed a more favorable aspect than they had done under his predecessor. Mr. Woodbridge became a member of this seminary soon after his arrival, and, when he was graduated, was placed at the head of the class,—a rank to which he seems to have been entitled on account of his family connections, and his literary acquisitions, which were probably surpassed by none of his colleagues.

He returned to England soon after completing his studies, and within a few years was known as a popular and highly accomplished preacher. He is first represented as being “an eminent herald of heaven” at Salisbury, situated in a broad, pleasant vale, on the river Avon, in his own native county. He had remained here but a few years when he visited Newbury, in Berkshire, where his eloquence and talents attracted the attention of several distinguished persons, and he was invited to succeed Rev. William Twiss, D.D., who was long the minister of that place, and whose name was familiar to the clergy of New England, by his being the president of the Westminster assembly of divines, and by his works on theology, some of which are read at the present day by American students. In this station Mr. Woodbridge shone as a scholar, a preacher, a casuist, and a Christian. His influence is said to have been so great that he brought the whole town, which had been much divided into religious parties, to a state of harmony in opinion and unity of worship, which produced a great and highly favorable change in the general aspect of society. This he effected by great labor and unceasing devotion to his parochial and ministerial duties. It was his custom for several years to preach three times a week, and to give an exposition of some portion of Scripture an hour every morning. His success was so remarkable that before he left Newbury there was scarcely a family in town “where there was not repeating, praying, reading, and singing of psalms in it.” This is stated on the authority of Dr. Calamy.

After the restoration of King Charles II. he was one of his chaplains in ordinary, and on one occasion while in that capacity preached before his majesty. He was one of the commissioners of the conference at the Savoy in London, and was desirous of an accommodation, and regretted the failure of the efforts made to effect it. His chance for preferment in the church was perhaps superior to that of any of the early sons of Harvard who returned to England, but his conscientious scruples were an insuperable
bar to his advancement in ecclesiastical dignity. The canonry of Windsor was offered to him, but his determination not to conform to the ceremonies of the church led him to decline its acceptance. In 1662 he was silenced by the act of uniformity, which went into operation in August of that year, and which deprived more than two thousand ministers, lecturers, masters, and fellows of colleges, and schoolmasters of their livings. As he could not after this preach publicly, he maintained a private meeting at Newbury, whither he had returned after an absence of a year or two. In 1671, upon some relaxation of the rigorous measures against the non-conformists, he resumed his public labors, and continued them until about the time of his death, which occurred at Inglefield, in Berkshire, November 1, 1684, in the sixty-third year of his age. He had been the minister of Newbury, in public and private, nearly forty years. Though he suffered less perhaps than most of his dissenting brethren, yet he did not purchase any mitigation of ecclesiastical severity by bending his principles to suit the times in which he lived. He lived and died a non-conformist. He generally received, notwithstanding his non-conformity, the respect of good judges of true and real worth, however much his religious sentiments differed from theirs. Dr. Calamy says of him that “he was a universally accomplished person, one of a clear and strong reason and of an exact and profound judgment. His learning was very considerable, and he was a charming preacher, having a most commanding voice and air. His temper was staid and cheerful, and his behavior very gentlemanly and obliging. He was a man of great generosity and of an exemplary moderation,—one addicted to no faction, but of a catholic spirit. In short, so eminent was his usefulness as to cast no small reflection on those who had a hand in silencing and confining him.” Anthony Wood acknowledges that “he was accounted among his brethren a learned and a mighty man.”

His publications were: 1. A Sermon on Justification by Faith, 1653; 2. The Method of Grace in the Justification of Sinners, being a defence of the preceding against Mr. Eyre, 4to, 1656. Of this work Calamy says it “deserves the perusal of all such as would see the point of justification nervously and exactly handled.” 3. Church Members set in Joint, 4to, 1656. He also published in 1661 a work written by his uncle-in-law, Rev. James Noyes, entitled Moses and Aaron, or The Rights of the Church and State, containing two disputations. His name is subscribed to the lines “upon the tomb of the most Reverend Mr. John Cot-

2. George Downing was born in the city of London in 1624, and accompanied his parents to this country when about thirteen years of age. His father, Emanuel Downing, was a great friend to New England, and was brother-in-law to John Winthrop, one of the principal founders of the colony of Massachusetts and its first governor. On his arrival here as early as 1638 he settled at Salem, where he was soon chosen representative to the general court, and continued in office five years. His son George was placed under the tuition of Rev. John Fiske, who resided at Salem as a teacher several years, and by him was fitted for college. When he entered the new institution at Cambridge, it was under the instruction of Nathaniel Eaton, a man found to be not well tempered for his station, and who was therefore removed from it; but, on his entering his junior year, it was placed under the presidency of Henry Dunster. He remained in this country after he received his Bachelor's degree until 1645, when he went in a ship by way of Newfoundland to the West Indies, his business being to instruct the seamen. He visited the Islands of St. Christopher's, Barbadoes, and Nevis, and in each of these places preached to such acceptance that he received very considerable offers to remain there. But he proceeded to England, where he was soon brought into notice, being, as Governor Winthrop says, "a very able scholar and of ready wit and fluent utterance." He was appointed chaplain in the regiment of Colonel John Okey, in the army of Lord Thomas Fairfax, who had the chief command of the parliament forces in the north, on the resignation of Lord Essex. In 1653 he was commissary general, and about the same time scout-master general of the English army in Scotland. In the same year he was employed in negotiations with the Duke of Savoy, and at home served in the army, with which, however, he was not long connected.

Having great talents for the speedy discharge of any trusts committed to him, he soon attracted the notice of Oliver Cromwell. He seems to have been fitted by nature for scenes of political manoeuvring, and his principles were of such flexible character that he could easily accommodate them to any service which
the times required. It was his aptness for State affairs and his great assiduity in business that gained for him the distinctions of rank and office which he enjoyed. In 1655, being secretary to John Thurloe, who was secretary of Cromwell, he visited the French king on public business and communicated his instructions in Latin. In 1656 he was chosen member of parliament from the Scotch borough of Haddington in Scotland, under General Monk's instructions. In 1657 he was appointed minister to Holland by Cromwell, who, in assigning him this station in a letter of credence, says, "George Downing is a person of eminent quality, and after a long trial of his fidelity, probity, and diligence in several and various negotiations well approved and valued by us, him we have thought fitting to send to your Lordships, dignified with the character of our agent," etc. He had the same employment under Richard Cromwell in 1660, and his services in this station appear to have been great, of which abundant evidence is afforded in Thurloe's State Papers.

While in the Netherlands he seems to have had considerable acquaintance with De Thou, minister from France, who had much respect for his diplomatic abilities. In July, 1658, he wrote to his government that De Thou was anxious to obtain the picture of Cromwell as a special favor. By attempting to prevent the English at the Hague from praying for Charles Stuart he displeased the queen of Bohemia so much that she said she would no more worship with them. This attempt moreover nearly cost him his life; for three of his own countrymen watched for him one evening with the intention of assassinating him, but were unsuccessful. He wrote on the 9th of August that he had warm debates with De Witt concerning the English ships captured by the Dutch in the India seas. He was active in watching the plans of the royalists on the continent, and prompt in communicating them to his government. In the last year of his mission he was employed in bringing about a peace between Denmark and Sweden and in ascertaining the designs and proceedings of the friends to the exiled Charles.

When he had become convinced that there was a prospect that this monarch would be restored to the throne of his ancestors, he changed sides, and took every opportunity to show his loyalty to the king. He was soon elected burgess for Morpeth, in Northumberland, to serve in the parliament, which convened at Westminster May 8, 1661. Previous to this the order of knighthood had been conferred on him. He was appointed about the same
time by Charles to the same station in Holland, which he had held under the Cromwells. In March, 1662, while in that country, in order to show his zeal and love for his majesty, he procured the arrest of John Okey, Miles Corbet, and John Barkstead, three of the judges who had condemned to death Charles I., and sent them to England for trial. Okey had been the friend of Downing, who served in his regiment as chaplain. With the other two he had co-operated in the cause of parliament. His conduct, therefore, in this transaction was justly reprobated. It is thus spoken of by his contemporary Pepys, who had been a clerk in Downing's office: “This morning [March 12, 1662] we had news that Sir G. Downing (like a perfidious rogue, though the action is good and of service to the king, yet he cannot with a good conscience do it) hath taken Okey, Corbet, and Barkstead at Delft, in Holland, and sent them home in the Blackmore. Sir W. Penn talking to me this afternoon of what a strange thing it is for Downing to do this, he told me of a speech he made to the Lord's States of Holland, telling them to their faces that he observed that he was not received with the respect and observ¬ance that he was when he came from the traitor and rebel Crom¬well, by whom I am sure he hath got all he hath in the world, and they know it, too.” Under date of the 17th, mentioning the arrival of the judges, Pepys adds: “The captain tells me that the Dutch were a good while before they could be persuaded to let them go, they being taken prisoners in their land. But Sir George Downing would not be answered so, though all the world takes notice of him for a most ungrateful villain for his pains.”

In 1663 he was created a baronet, and is styled of East-Hatley in Cambridgeshire. In 1667 his majesty's commissioners of the treasury chose him for their secretary. The writer already quoted states under 1668 that Mr. Downing discoursed with him about having given advice to his majesty for prosecuting the Dutch war, but that the king had hearkened to other counsellors, and thus subjected the nation to loss. He also informed Pepys at this time that when in Holland “he had so good spies that he hath had the keys taken out of De Witt's pocket when he was abed, and his closet opened and papers brought to him and left in his hands for an hour, and carried back and laid in the place again, and the keys put into his pocket again. He says he hath had their most private debates that have been but between two or three of the chief of them brought to him—in an hour after that hath sent word thereof to the king.”
In 1671 he was again sent to Holland to adjust some difficulties which had arisen between the English and the Dutch, but returning home, through fear or some other cause before he had executed the business of his mission to the satisfaction of the king, he was imprisoned in the tower of London. An article of news from England received in this country in 1672 says, "Sir George Downing is in the tower, it is said, because he returned from Holland, where he was sent ambassador, before his time. As it is reported he had no small share of abuse offered him there. They printed the sermons he preached in Oliver's time, and drew three pictures of him. 1. Preaching in a tub. Over it was written, This I was. 2. A treacherous courtier. Over it, This I am. 3. Hanging in a gibbet, and over it, This I shall be." He seems to have been afterwards released from confinement, and restored to royal favor. In the difficulties which the New England colonies had with Charles II., from 1679, Mr. Downing is represented as having been very friendly to Massachusetts. He died in 1684, the same year in which that colony was deprived of its charter, being about sixty years of age.

Governor Hutchinson says that Downing's character runs low with the best historians of England. It was much lower with his countrymen in New England; and it became a proverbial expression to say of a false man who betrayed his trust that he was an arrant George Downing.

Rev. Mr. Felt, in his Annals of Salem, thus speaks of him: "He was evidently a person of respectable talents. The responsible trusts committed to him under different administrations show that he was no ordinary statesman. Whatever government he served, whether of parliament, the Cromwells, or Charles II., he did it with faithfulness. The deed of his apprehending those who had fought for the same cause with him is a dark spot on his reputation. Could his own defence of this affair be read, he would probably state that it was a command of his majesty, and he must obey him, though at the cost of ruin to his friends. But still it would have been far more for his fame had he said: Sire, spare me in this thing, though at the expense of all my honors and treasures, yea, my life itself. In reference to his serving diligently the several governments under which he fell, there is no conclusive proof that he was a greater friend to tyranny than to freedom."

Sir George left a family, and his descendants have enjoyed stations of honor and wealth. His wife, whom he married in
1654, was a sister of the Right Hon. Charles Howard, of Naworth, in the county of Cumberland. His son George, who married Catharine, eldest daughter of James, earl of Salisbury, was one of the tellers in the exchequer in 1683. Charles, another son, was living in London in 1700, and sold the farm in Salem, which formerly belonged to his grandfather, Emanuel Downing. George, son of George and Catharine Downing, and grandson to Sir George, was in three different parliaments,—1712, 1713, and 1727. He died in 1747, without issue, and left a splendid bequest for the foundation of a college at Cambridge, England, incorporated in 1800, on a more liberal foundation than any other in that renowned university. This bequest exceeds £150,000. The assertion made in the Magna Britannia and by several English writers that Sir George was son of Calibute Downing, LL.D., is satisfactorily refuted by Mr. Savage in a copious note in his edition of Winthrop. Winthrop Hist. N.E., ii. 242, 243. Savage, Note in do., ii. 240, 242. Felt, Annals of Salem, 156, 168-170, 531. Hutchinson, Hist. Mass., i. 107, ii. 10. Wood, Athenæ Oxoniensis, ii. 27. Memoirs of Pepys, i. 134, 135; ii. 58, 291. Dyer, Hist. Univ. Cambridge, ii. 440-447. Johnson, Hist. N.E., 165. Ibid. in 2 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., vii. 29. Lempriere, Univ. Biog. (Lord's Edit.), ii. 552. Marvell, Seasonable Argument, cited by Mr. Savage. Mather, Magnalia, ii. 20. Magna Britannia, ii. 19.

3. JOHN BULKLEY, son of Rev. Peter Bulkley, by his first wife, was born in England in 1619. His father came to this country in 1635, and was one of the first settlers of Concord, Mass., and was esteemed as one of the ablest writers and divines of New England. He died March 9, 1659, aged seventy-six, leaving three sons who were educated for the ministry. Another son not thus educated was graduated at Harvard in 1660, and was distinguished in civil life. John was probably prepared for college by his father, who was regarded as an excellent classical scholar. At the age of twenty-three he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The next year after he was graduated he joined the expedition which was sent out by the government of Massachusetts to arrest Samuel Gorton, a fanatic, who gave much disturbance to the rigid puritans of New England. After receiving his second degree in 1645, and prior to 1651, he embarked for England, where he had relations of wealth and distinction. He was settled in the ministry in the town of Fordham, in the county of Essex, and continued to exercise his clerical
functions with good acceptance and success. He might have re¬
mained here during life but for the act of uniformity, which si¬
lenced his friend and classmate Woodbridge. He refused to con¬
form to the ceremonies, and thereby lost his living, and was pre¬
vented from exercising his ministry in any part of England. He
now turned his attention to medicine, and was soon qualified to
practise as a physician, which he did with good success; and, as
Dr. Calamy observes, administered "natural and spiritual physic
together." He is said to have had a high reputation for his learn¬
ing among those capable of estimating his talents. He was dis¬
tinguished for his piety, and it is remarked that "his whole life
was a continual sermon." After he became a physician his resi-
dence was at Wapping, in the suburbs of London, and he con-
tinued there or in the vicinity until his death. He occasionally
appeared in the pulpit after the severity against the non-conform¬
ists had in some degree abated. But yet, says Dr. Calamy, "he
might truly be said to preach every day in the week, and seldom
did he visit his patients without reading a lecture of divinity to
them and praying with them." He died near the tower of Lon¬
don in 1689, aged seventy years. His brother Peter died at Con-
cord, Mass., the preceding year, in his forty-fifth year. Calamy,
Account of Ejected Ministers, ii. 311, 312.

4. WILLIAM HUBBARD was son of William Hubbard who came
to New England as early as 1630, and after a few years established
himself at Ipswich, Mass., which town he represented in the gen-
eral court six years, between 1638 and 1643. He removed to Bos-
ton, and died about 1670, leaving three sons,—William, Richard,
and Nathaniel. William, the eldest, was born in England in
1621, and received his Bachelor's degree at the age of twenty-
one. It does not appear where he spent the time from this period
until he had passed the age of thirty-five years. But he had
within that time studied theology, and assisted Rev. Thomas
Cobbet in the ministry at Ipswich. About the year 1657 he was
ordained as the colleague of Mr. Cobbet, who, though in the prime
of his usefulness, required an assistant on account of the extent
and arduousness of his ministerial labors. Ipswich was at that
time a desirable situation for a young clergyman. There was
hardly any place in New England at the time of Mr. Hubbard's
settlement which had so large a proportion among its population
of gifted, intelligent minds. It had been settled "by men of good
rank and quality, many of them having the yearly revenue of
large lands in England before they came to this wilderness." As
Mr. Cobbet continued active in his ministerial duties until old age, Mr. Hubbard must have enjoyed considerable leisure, which appears to have been employed in historical investigations. But his success was not equal to the wishes of the present generation, although his labors procured for him much favor and respect from his contemporaries. His first historical work was "A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in 1676 and 1677, with a Supplement concerning the War with the Pequods in 1637." 4to, pp. 132. To which is annexed a Table and Postscript in 12 pages, and also "A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England, from Piscataqua to Pemmaquid," 4to, pp. 88. The whole was published at Boston in 1677. The same work was printed in London in 1677 under the title of "The Present State of New England." He was in England in 1678, and might have gone thither for the purpose of having the work published there.

His history of New England was completed in 1680, to which period the narrative of events is continued. In that year it was submitted to the examination of the general court of Massachusetts, who appointed a committee consisting of William Stoughton, Captain Daniel Fisher, Lieutenant William Johnson, and Captain William Johnson, "to peruse it and give their opinion." The chirography of Mr. Hubbard was not easy to read, and this probably was one reason why the committee did not complete the service assigned them for nearly two years afterwards. On the 11th of October, 1682, the general court granted fifty pounds to the author "as a manifestation of thankfulness" for this history, "he transcribing it fairly, that it may be more easily perused." It appears that he procured some person to copy his work, as the MS. which now exists in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and fairly written in upwards of 300 pages, is not in his handwriting, but has his emendations. It was published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, encouraged by a very liberal subscription of the legislature to it for the use of the Commonwealth, and it makes the fifth and sixth volumes of the second series of the Society's Collections. It was thought at the time of its publication that it would bring a considerable accession of facts to New England history, but its value was much lessened by the publication of Governor Winthrop's MSS. by Mr. Savage, in 1825 and 1826. From this work Mr. Hubbard derived most of his facts and sometimes the very language down to 1649.

In 1685 he lost his venerable colleague, Mr. Cobbet, who died on the 5th of November, aged seventy-seven. For two years after-
wards he was alone in the ministry; but in 1687 he received as his colleague Rev. John Denison, grandson of his early friend and parishioner, Major-General Daniel Denison. The connection was short, as Mr. Denison died in September, 1689. Three years afterwards Rev. John Rogers, son of President Rogers, was ordained as colleague to Mr. Hubbard, whom he survived many years. The connection was probably the more agreeable to him, as Mr. Rogers was nephew of the first wife of Mr. Hubbard.

In 1688 Mr. Hubbard was invited to officiate at the commencement that year, and received from Sir Edmund Andros the following notice of his appointment:

_Sir Edmund Andros, Knight, etc._

The Rev. Mr. William Hubbard, Greeting:

"Whereas the Presidency or Rectorship of Harvard College, in Cambridge, within this his Majesty's territory and dominion of New England, is now vacant, I do, therefore, with the advice of council, by these presents, constitute, authorize, and appoint you, the said William Hubbard, to exercise and officiate as President of the said college at the next commencement, to be had for the same in as full and ample a manner as any former President or Rector hath or ought to have enjoyed.

"Given under my hand and seal at Boston the 2d day of June, in the fourth year of his Majesty's reign, Annoque Domini 1688."

If Mr. Hubbard officiated at the ensuing commencement, when it appears no degrees were conferred, we can readily account for the reason that Increase Mather was not invited (see Dr. Eliot's Biog. Dict., Art. Hubbard), as he was at that time in England as agent of the colony. If he officiated in 1684, the year President Rogers died, as seems to be intimated by Dr. Eliot, there was a propriety in his being selected, although "Increase Mather was in the neighborhood," as Mr. Hubbard was the oldest clergyman then living in New England, of the alumni of the college, and his character and talents entitled him to the distinction. Dr. Eliot, whose characters have been considered as drawn with considerable discrimination, bestows a full share of praise on Mr. Hubbard, saying, "He was certainly for many years the most eminent minister in the county of Essex, equal to any in the province for learning and candor, and superior to all his contemporaries as a writer." Governor Hutchinson gives him the character of "a
man of learning and of a candid, benevolent mind, accompanied with a good degree of catholicism."

The publications of Mr. Hubbard, besides those already named, were: the Election Sermon, 1676, entitled The Happiness of a People in the Wisdom of their Rulers directing, and in obedience of their brethren attending, unto what Israel ought to do, 4to, 1676; A Fast Sermon, 1682; A Funeral Discourse on Major-General Daniel Denison, 1684; and A Testimony to the Order of the Gospel in the Churches of New England, in connection with Rev. John Higginson, of Salem.

Mr. Hubbard married Margaret Rogers, daughter of his predecessor, Rev. Nathaniel Rogers. A second wife, whom he married in his seventy-third year, was Mary, widow of Samuel Pearce. This marriage, according to Rev. Mr. Frisbie, excited the displeasure of his parish, "for, though she was a serious, worthy woman, she was rather in the lower scenes of life, and not sufficiently fitted, as they thought, for the station." Mr. Hubbard had as many as three children, born before the death of their grandfather Rogers, in 1655. Their names were: John, Nathaniel, and Margaret. John and his wife Ann were living in Boston in 1680. John Hubbard, who was graduated in 1695, is supposed to have been a son of John or Nathaniel, as was Nathaniel Hubbard, who was graduated in 1698. Margaret married John Pynchon, Esq., of Springfield, where she died November 11, 1716. Her children were: John, born at Ipswich, who had a large family, and died July 12, 1742; Margaret, who married Captain Nathaniel Downing; and William, born at Ipswich 1689, married Catharine, daughter of Rev. Daniel Brewer, and died January 1, 1741, leaving a number of children, of whom William was graduated in 1743. Allen, Biog. Dict., Art. Hubbard. Eliot, do. Holmes, Annals of America, i. 490. Hutchinson, Hist. Mass., ii. 147. Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., vii. 253, x. 32-35. Ibid, 2d Series, ii. Editors' Preface to Hist. N.E. Rev. Joseph B. Felt, MS. Letter.

5. Samuel Bellingham, M.D., son of Richard Bellingham, governor of Massachusetts colony, was born in England, and probably accompanied his father to this country in 1634. Having completed his academical studies and taken his first degree, he commenced the study of medicine, and repaired to Europe to enjoy those advantages in completing his professional studies, which New England did not at that time afford. He appears to have been in England in 1660, about which time he met with
Increase Mather, then on a tour in that country, and they entered into an arrangement to travel in company on the continent. But he was soon after obliged to go to Holland on some sudden emergency, and Mr. Mather considered himself as released from the engagement. Mr. Bellingham, however, afterwards travelled on the continent, was some time at Leyden, and obtained from that university the degree of Doctor of Medicine. It is believed that he visited his friends in New England once or twice after he first left it. He finally settled in London, where he married the widow Savage, and lived until he was between seventy and eighty years of age. He was the only son of Governor Bellingham, who survived his father. M.S. documents. Remarkables of Dr. Increase Mather, 22. Mather, Magnalia, ii. 23.

6. John Wilson was son of Rev. John Wilson, the first minister of the First Church in Boston, and grandson of Rev. William Wilson, D.D., prebendary of St. Paul's in London, whose wife was niece of Edmund Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury. He was born in London in September, 1621, came with his father to New England on his second voyage hither. Dr. Cotton Mather gives the following account of an accident which happened to him in his early years: "When a child he fell upon his head from a loft four stories high into the street, from whence he was taken up for dead, and so battered and bruised and bloody with his fall that it struck horror into the beholders; but Mr. Wilson [the father] had a wonderful return of his prayers in the recovery of the child, both unto life and unto sense, insomuch that he continued unto old age a faithful, painful, useful minister of the Gospel." After preaching several years he was invited to assist Rev. Richard Mather, of Dorchester, Mass., and was ordained as his "coadjutor" in 1649. Johnson calls him pastor to the church at Dorchester. He continued at this place two years after his settlement, and then removed to the neighboring town of Medfield, where he was minister forty years. He died August 23, 1691, at the age of seventy. He preached the Artillery Election Sermon in 1668, but it was not printed, and it does not appear that he ever published anything.

Mr. Wilson married Sarah Hooker, daughter of Rev. Thomas Hooker, of Hartford, Conn. His son John was baptized in his grandfather Wilson's church at Boston, July 8, 1649. His children born in Medfield were: Thomas, 1652; Elizabeth, in 1653; Elizabeth, 2d, in 1656, who married Rev. Thomas Weld, of Dun-
stable; Increase; John, 2d, in 1660, who resided in Braintree, and was probably the same who was one of his majesty's justices there in 1705; and Thomas, 2d, in 1662. Another daughter is said to have been Susan, the wife of Rev. Grindal Rawson, who was graduated in 1678.


7. Henry Saltonstall, M.D., son of Sir Richard Saltonstall, one of the patentees and first settlers of Massachusetts, was born in England, and accompanied his father to New England in 1630. In 1639 he was admitted a member of the Artillery Company in Boston, and was probably one of the youngest of the company at that time. Three years after he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts at Harvard, and soon left the country. He went to England, studied medicine, and in 1644 visited Holland. He was in Italy in 1649, and received from the University of Padua the degree of Doctor of Medicine. In June, 1652, he received a similar honor from the University of Oxford. He did not return to this country to reside, although some of his relations remained here, and the family have continued here with much reputation to the present time. Samuel Saltonstall, one of his brothers, lived in New England more than fifty years, and died at Watertown, where his father resided while he remained in this country, January 21, 1696. MS. Papers. W. Winthrop, MS. Catalogue.

8. Tobias Barnard, after he graduated, returned to England. To what family he belonged I have not ascertained. Mr. Prince in his Annals mentions a Mr. Barnard as the first minister of Weymouth. A volume of records in the clerk's office in Boston, which gives the births in Weymouth for several years, contains the name of Massachel Barnard of the latter place, as early as 1637, in which year and in 1639 two of his children were born; but nowhere is he described as the minister of Weymouth. The graduate may have belonged to the Weymouth family, but there appears no evidence that he did. In the Theses of the first class, published by Governor Hutchinson, his name is placed last. Johnson, Hist. N.E., 165. Prince, Annals of N.E., i. 151.

9. Nathaniel Brewster, B.D., supposed to have been
grandson of Elder William Brewster, one of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, and one who received his education at the University of Cambridge, in England, was, if born at Plymouth, the first native in all North America who received a collegiate degree in this country. After leaving college he followed the example of several of his classmates, and sought in England that sphere of usefulness and that preferment which could not be enjoyed here. Governor Hutchinson says he settled in the ministry in the county of Norfolk. From his having received the degree of Bachelor of Divinity from the University of Dublin it may be inferred that he was some time in that city, and possibly associated with Rev. Samuel Mather, or, if not, that he obtained his degree through the influence of this early friend and companion. He might have continued in England during his life had not the general ejectment of ministers under Charles II. taken place. When that event occurred he left the country, and arrived at Boston in 1662 with several others who had been or were afterwards in the ministry. After preaching at different places and probably having visited his friends at Plymouth and at Norwich, in Connecticut, he went to Long Island, and was settled over the church in Brook Haven in 1665, and there continued until his death in 1690. He must have been nearly seventy years of age. It is a tradition in the family that he married Sarah, daughter of Roger Ludlow, deputy governor of Connecticut. He left three sons,—John, Timothy, and Daniel, whose descendants continue, and are respectable on the Island. His son Daniel was a magistrate in Brook Haven many years. Some of his descendants have received the honors of Yale College. Wood, Hist. of Towns on Long Island, 48. Hutchinson, Hist. Mass., i. 107. Roxbury Church Records.

Mr. Farmer prefixed his Memorials of the graduates of Harvard University in the classes of 1642-46, from which the biographies of the graduates in the first class are here reprinted, with this note:—

Dr. Belknap, the accomplished historian of New Hampshire, in 1793, a few years after he left New Hampshire, issued proposals for publishing a work to be continued in volumes, entitled American Biography, in which, among various kinds of persons distinguished in America, he proposed to give an historical account of "The Deceased Graduates of Harvard College." One volume was published during the life of the author, and another soon after his death; but neither of these brought the work down to so late a period as to include any account of the Graduates of Harvard, and from that time to the present no publication has appeared, proposing to give an account of the deceased sons of the oldest university in the country. The beginning of so desirable an object is here attempted, and should the attempt be sufficiently encouraged, it may be continued in a separate form, for which proposals have already been issued.
In the autumn of 1636, only six years from the first settlement of Boston, the General Court of Massachusetts voted £400, equal to a year's rate of the whole colony, towards the erection of a public "school or college." An order was passed the year following that the college should be at Newtown. In May, 1638, the name of Newtown was changed to Cambridge, in honor of the English university where many of the leading men of the colony had received their education; and in March, 1639, it was ordered that the college should be called Harvard College, in honor of Rev. John Harvard, who, dying in September, 1638, had bequeathed to it £779 17s. 2d., one-half of his estate, together with his library of 320 volumes. The first person placed in charge of the institution—in 1637—was Nathaniel Eaton; but he proved most unfit, and was dismissed and left the colony. He was called simply Master or Professor. On the 27th of August, 1640, Rev. Henry Dunster was placed over the institution, with the title of President.

"The first Commencement took place on the second Tuesday of August, 1642. Upon this novel and auspicious occasion, the venerable fathers of the land, the governor, magistrates, and ministers from all parts, with others in great numbers, repaired to Cambridge and attended with delight to refined displays of European learning, on a spot which but just before was the abode of savages. It was a day which, on many accounts, must have been singularly interesting. The degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on nine young gentlemen, who were the first to receive the honors of a college in British America, and who proved themselves not unworthy of that distinction by the respectability and eminence which they afterwards attained, both in this country and in Europe."—Peirce.

The eldest printed document which clearly recognizes the existence of Harvard College is the pamphlet entitled "New England's First Fruits in respect to the Progress of Learning in the College at Cambridge, in Massachusetts Bay, etc." It is a letter dated Boston, Sept. 26, 1642,—the very year of the graduation of Harvard's first class of nine members. It was published in London the next year as part of a larger pamphlet. It gives an account of the first Commencement, with a list of the graduates and the subjects of the Latin theses, also the rules of the college and the order of studies." The second part of "New England's First Fruits," containing this account of Harvard College and a hopeful account of the prospects in Massachusetts in 1642, is reprinted in Old South Leaflet No. 51. In Mather's Magnalia, under the title of Sal Gentium, we find a completer account of the founding and first years of Harvard College than in any other work of equally early date, and with it biographies of eminent persons educated at the college. See also Johnson's "Wonder-working Providence," Winthrop's Journal, Hubbard's History of New England, Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts. See the histories of Harvard by Quincy, Peirce, and others, the chapter on the early history of the college by Samuel Eliot in the "Harvard Book," and George E. Ellis's address at the dedication of the Harvard statue in 1884.

John Farmer, the compiler of the biographies of the members of the first graduating class at Harvard, reprinted in the present leaflet, was born at Chelmsford, Mass., 1789, and died at Concord, N.H., 1838. He devoted his life largely to genealogical and antiquarian labors, was one of the founders of the New Hampshire Historical Society, and at the time of his death its corresponding secretary. Among his more important works are his edition of Belknap's History of New Hampshire, and the "Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of New England."