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THE

HISTORY

OF

CHARLESTOWN,

MASSACHUSETTS.

BY RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, JR.

"The History of a Town is united with that of the Country to which it belongs, and with that of the ages through which it has stood."



CHARLESTOWN;
CHARLES P. EMMONS.

BOSTON:
CHARLES C. LITTLE AND JAMES BROWN.
1845.

TO THE CITIZENS OF CHARLESTOWN.

THE undersigned, a few years ago, prepared a series of communications upon the history of Charlestown, intending them for the Bunker Hill Aurora; the advice of friends induced him to keep them, and add to them, until they will now appear in the more presumptive form of a volume. This work will be continued, so far as type and paper are concerned, as it has been commenced, as expeditiously as business engagements will permit, until the history is brought down to the present time; but the number of engravings that will be given must depend upon the encouragement it meets with.

One great reason for choosing the mode of publication so much in favor with the public, — viz., in numbers, — is the hope that the early ones may fall into the hands of some who may have ancient family manuscripts, and be willing to loan them for the purpose of making this work more complete. Communications of this nature will be gladly received. The undersigned is indebted to several for interesting papers and valuable assistance. Obligations like these will hereafter be specially acknowledged.

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, JR.

November, 1815.

N. B. An Engraving, representing a view of the Town, intended for the present number, will appear in a future one; for the beautiful representation of the McLEAN ASYLUM, the author is indebted to the liberality of the Trustees of that Institution.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1815,

BY RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, JR.

in the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the District of Massachusetts.

NUMBER TWO.

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1846.

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NUMBER THREE.

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ERRATA.

Page 145, fifth line from bottom, for "*Whitney*," read "*Whiting*."

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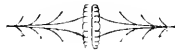
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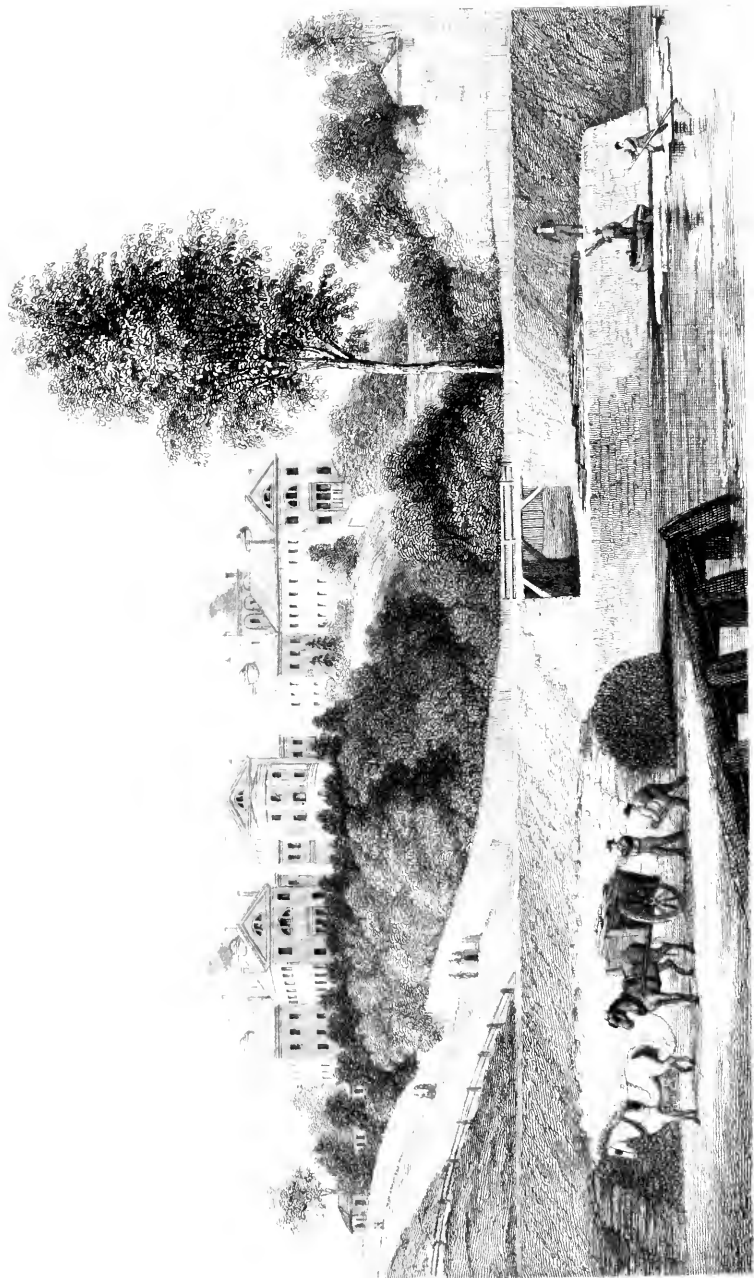
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HISTORY OF CHARLESTOWN.¹

CHAPTER I.

Introduction.—Sources of this History.—Character of the Town.—Value of Town Histories.

SOME account may be expected of the sources from which this History has been derived. These are :

I. The Town Records. These are minute in relation to the local, municipal affairs, from the settlement of the town. But with the exception of a few pages at the beginning of the first volume, and the period of the Revolution, they are singularly barren of matters of general or political interest. With the exception of a plan of a small portion of the town, presented to the Legislature

¹ "A Historical Sketch of Charlestown," by Josiah Bartlett, M. D., was, in 1814, published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (2d Series, vol. ii. pp. 163 — 184) and in pamphlet form. It was an Address delivered Nov. 16, 1813, at the dedication of Washington Hall, prepared with notes for publication. Though filling but twenty-one pages, it contains, especially in the notes, much interesting matter relative to the town. It gives, however, but slight notices of the town from 1634 to 1781.

In 1830, Hon. Edward Everett delivered a valuable Historical Discourse before the Charlestown Lyceum, commemorative of the arrival of Gov. Winthrop. It is chiefly a view of the general causes of the settlement of Massachusetts, with a short account of the settlement of the town.

In 1838 copious extracts from the Town Records were printed in the Bunker Hill Aurora, understood to have been furnished by William Sawyer, Esq.

These are the only accounts of the Town, of much length, that have been printed.

in 1781, when the latter authorized an important alteration of the streets, there is no map of the town previous to 1818. This renders it exceedingly difficult to locate, precisely, the residences of the first settlers. A plan was probably taken in 1794, which cannot be found.

The original records, prior to 1662, may be found in a volume made up of manuscript, some of it bearing date as early as 1593,¹ and some of it as late as 1767, and bound without regard to matter or date. Here may be found memorandums, on loose sheets, of selectmen, and town meetings, records of deeds, and of the possessions of the inhabitants in 1638. The latter is valuable so far as it goes. It does not give the value of the property, and is exceedingly loose in description. The original records commence with the year 1662, and with few exceptions, are perfect to the present day.

In 1664 the first volume of the records was prepared, perhaps mostly from a large volume, frequently referred to but not now extant. This volume contains the history of the settlement of this town and the neighboring towns, that is quoted by Prince and others as a contemporary authority. It was written by John Greene, son of the ruling elder of the Church. He collected the facts from "known gentlemen that lived and were actors" in the events it relates, and read the relation to the selectmen, who consented that it should "remain" a part of the records. It occupies seven pages of the volume. Its traditionary character appears upon its face. It certainly cannot be relied upon as to dates. Nor can the remainder of this volume be depended upon as an exact transcript of the original. The selectmen ordered grants of land to be transcribed verbatim, but in "other things," the copyist was allowed to use his discretion and skill in reducing them "to the most brief and clear language."

The first volume of the Registry of births, marriages and deaths, is not unlike, in character, to the volume of miscellaneous matter

¹ This MS. appears to be a part of a Leger, in which the accounts of one of the Guilds, or Trade Corporations of England, were kept. Each name, generally, has a debit and credit. The following is on the credit side of the book :

"Stephen Woodgate of Caufoulde in the County of Suffolk Clothier is dewe to same this laste of November by Suffolke Clothes fifty and seaven poundes for his as journal 2, 57 00 00."

already described. Its earliest date is 1658 — its latest 1797. The leaf at one end of the volume is dated 1663, that at the other 1720. The middle of the volume contains the following record:—

“A record of all births, deaths and marriages, that hath been in Charlestown since the death of Mr. Thomas Starr who departed this life the twentieth day of the eighteenth mo. 1658, herein recorded. — pr me EDWARD BURTT Clerk.”

One side of the sheet on which this is written, contains a description of the horses shipped from this town in 1664. It was the Town Clerk's “Toll Book,” wherein he recorded all the ages, colors, and make, of the horses presented for export. He filled up a few pages with these, and then went on with the births, marriages and deaths. This volume was bound in 1797. Some of the leaves of it are imperfect.

II. Records of the first Church of this Town. These are original records, and commence with the gathering of the Church in 1632. The first volume, a quarto of three hundred and eighty-six pages, is an interesting and valuable relic of the past. The entries in it were made by the ruling elder, John Greene, and the successive ministers. It commences as follows: “The Book that belongs unto the church of God in Charltowne : which church was gathered, and did enter into Church Covenant the 2d day of the 9th month 1632.” It contains records of baptisms, admissions into the Church, marriages, Church votes, proceedings against delinquents, and ordinations of pastors and deacons. This volume is very minute in detail respecting the proceedings against the Baptists.¹

III. The Colony Records, the Probate and Registry Records, files of newspapers, the various public libraries, and the collection of manuscripts at the State House, recently arranged into volumes. The latter has supplied many documents of interest and importance. These “Massachusetts Archives” constitute an invaluable magazine of materials for Town Histories.

¹ A full and accurate description of this curious volume, with copious extracts from its contents, may be found in the American Quarterly Register, vol. xii. pp. 247, 250. Rev. S. Sewall, the author of this account, says:—“The records of this Church are, it is believed, the only records in existence of any Church in the county of Middlesex formed as early as the seventeenth century, which have been kept in regular, and (in the main) unbroken series from the beginning, except the records of the Church of Lexington, gathered 1696.”

IV. Private collections of papers. Wherever these exist and have been called for, they have been most liberally supplied. But they are not very numerous. From many descendants of old inhabitants the same reply has been made, in answer to inquiries, viz : That the family memorials were probably destroyed when the Town was burnt in 1775. Two documents, both by two of its most prominent citizens, once in the possession of Prince, would have been of great value in making this compilation ; viz : "Two original books of Deputy Governor Willoughby and Captain Hammond, giving historical hints from 1651 to 1678 inclusive : And "An original journal of the late Capt. Lawrence Hammond of Charlestown and Boston, from 1677 to 1694 inclusive." It is supposed that these were destroyed with other papers in Prince's Library, in the tower of the old South Church, Boston, at the commencement of the Revolution. Belknap cites a journal supposed to have been written by Capt. Hammond.

The author, from such sources, has compiled a History of Charlestown. This place when first visited by Europeans, was known by the name of Mishawum, and was full of stately timber and hospitable Indians. Here a colony, composed of men of moderate fortunes and of high character, founded a town. Many of its inhabitants were men of capacity and enterprise, and were called to fill important situations in the colonial government. Even while discharging these duties they took an active share in the municipal concerns of the town. The board of selectmen shows, for a century and a half, an uninterrupted succession of such men :¹

¹ Increase Nowell, a leading character in Church and State, was at the head of the board of selectmen nineteen years, until his death in 1655, and during this period he had as associates, Francis Willoughby, Deputy Governor ; Robert Sedgwick, Major General ; Francis Norton, a prominent military character ; Abraham Palmer, the Spragues and others. After Mr. Nowell's decease, Richard Russell, for twenty years the Treasurer of the colony, was at the head of the board : he served on it twenty-six years in succession. After 1676, Lawrence Hammond, another prominent military and civil character was selectman twelve years ; Richard Sprague, son of Ralph, fourteen years ; Joseph Lynde, fifteen years ; and James Russell, son of the Treasurer, fourteen years. From 1700 to 1765, the following, among others — John Phillips, Jonathan Dowse, Nathaniel Carey, Daniel Russell, Charles Chambers, Isaac Royal, Thomas Graves, Ezekiel Cheever, Chambers Russell, Edward Sheafe, James Russell (1760), and Nathaniel Gorham — all holding high civil offices, as Councillors and Judges and leading men in the colony — appear for

while the corporate action of the town affords evidence of a public spirit, that was acknowledged valuable on important and trying occasions. This is seen especially in the Revolutions of 1689 and 1775. It is not less decidedly seen in the support of religion and education. The Church and the School House stood side by side, quietly diffusing their beneficent influences, until the great day of sacrifice. The burning of their homes rather quickened, than cast down, the public spirit of the citizens. In May, 1776, they gathered in legal meeting, amid the yet smouldering ruins, to respond to a call to sustain a Declaration of Independence; and then pledged their lives to the support of this great measure.

And it is not too much to say, that, at the present day, Charlestown is doing faithfully its part in maintaining republican institutions. Its appearance indicates a prosperous community. It has handsome streets and creditable public buildings. Its religious institutions and common schools are liberally supported. Numerous benevolent associations are constantly distributing their charities. It has a thoroughly furnished and efficient fire-department, and makes ample provision for its poor. Its police is vigilant. Its military corps patriotic. It bears the impress of the commercial enterprise of the day, and is rapidly increasing in population, wealth and consequence. Nor have its inhabitants lost that public spirit that is so conspicuous in the early history of the town.

A town history must necessarily consist mainly of local details, small in themselves, and chiefly interesting to the descendants of the actors of them, or to those who occupy their places. Yet this detail, these little things, if judiciously selected, "illustrate classes of men and ages of time;" and as they show the feelings, opinions, and action of a period, constitute its life. Such, indeed, was the unity of spirit that prevailed in the towns, those of New England especially, and so similar was their internal management, that a history of one will illustrate the history of all. And hence a work

many years in succession, members of the board. The town clerks were generally particular to prefix their titles in full. As a sample take the record of the board for 1695, — at this time, "The most worshipful James Russell" was commonly moderator of the Town Meetings. James Russell, Esq., Col. Jno. Phillips, Esq., Lieut. Col. Joseph Lynde, Esq., Capt. Samuel Hayman, Esq., Mr. Jacob Greene, Jr., Capt. Jonathan Call, Ensign Timothy Phillips."

of this kind, if accurate, will be a useful contribution to general history.

But there is, or ought to be, a peculiar interest attaching to each town, for each has its peculiar history and traditions. Each has some noted spot, where the Indian may have fought for his burial places, or the colonists for their freedom; that may have sheltered a hermit or a regicide; that superstition may have invested with a fairy legend, or nature have robed with more than fairy magnificence. Each has had its Liberty Tree, its Green Dragon, its Faneuil Hall, where its patriots may have counselled or acted. And each town has had citizens who laid its foundations, perhaps in hardship and danger; who labored for its prosperity, or who went out to suffer in a common cause. Each has had its Man of Ross and village Hampdens. They acted as worthily in their sphere, and deserve as grateful remembrance, as those whose fame is on every tongue. It is for the local annalist to gather up these traditions and histories, for they are to a town, what common recollections are to the country.

But besides such local details, the memorable events that have occurred within its limits, may render a history of Charlestown of much general interest. Salem excepted, it is the oldest town of the Massachusetts Colony. Here the founders of the latter wrestled fearfully with famine and mortality. Yet, when enduring the keenest anguish that can rive the human heart, they persevered in their work in the highest faith that can mark the christian life. The dead "were buried about the Town Hill."¹ They were "the first victims to the cause of liberty."² The other heights are redolent with Revolutionary associations. "All are the altars of precious sacrifice,"² where patriots, to maintain liberty, acted with a heroism kindred to that which their ancestors displayed in planting it. In consequence of this, how wide has become their fame! Under the rule of the Red Man, Bunker Hill may have been noted as a favorite spot on which to light his council fires. But, in the order of Providence, the council fires are to die away, and, under a new dominion, a new fire is to be kindled, that is to go onward and upward, until it culminates upon its summit. The deeds which the good and the brave here performed for their

¹ Town Records.

² Edward Everett.

country and their race, have made Bunker Hill to America what Marathon was to Greece.

These events will be traced, as much as possible, from contemporary authorities. Although, where so many have gleaned before, but little may be presented that will be new, in relation to the military transactions, yet the nature of this work will justify a narrative more minute, than, perhaps, can be elsewhere found.

Still, it must be borne in mind, that these pages purport to be, not a history of the Country, or of Massachusetts, but simply a memorial of Charlestown. They will contain but little that is not considered necessary to exhibit the condition of its inhabitants, or the events that have transpired within its limits. It will be compiled, mostly, from manuscripts, and it will be the author's aim to set down no fact without an authority for it. Still, errors are almost unavoidable. He will cheerfully correct, in the best manner he is able, those that friends will have the kindness to point out.

CHAPTER II.

1614 to 1628. — Early Boundaries of the Town. — Discovery by Smith. — Visit of Plymouth Settlers. — The Fishermen. — Grant to Robert Gorges. — His Colony.

CHARLESTOWN is a peninsula, formed by the Mystic and Charles rivers and a small tract on the main land, with which it is connected by a narrow isthmus. So far as it regards territory, it is the smallest town in the State.

But, originally, Charlestown was far more extensive. It included Malden, Woburn, Stoneham, Burlington, and Somerville, a large part of Medford, and a small part of Cambridge, West Cambridge and Reading.

Woburn, comprising Burlington, was incorporated in 1642 ;

¹ The dates in this work are altered, so far as it respects the months and years, to correspond with the new style. Up to 1752 the year began March 25. It was altered that year to January 1. To bring the days into

Malden, in 1649; Stoneham, in 1725; Somerville, in 1842. In 1724 and 1725, a large tract called "North Charlestown," was set off, part to Malden and part to Reading. In 1754, another tract, including several large farms, was set off to Medford, and now forms the eastern part of that town. A tract was set off to Cambridge in 1802, and to West Cambridge in 1842. The only one of these towns whose history, to the present day, is connected with Charlestown, is Somerville.

The first Englishman who is known to have visited its shores, was the celebrated navigator, John Smith. In 1614, he sailed on a voyage from London, and while his men were engaged in fishing, he spent three months exploring the coasts. He entered Charles River and named it.¹ On his return, he wrote a glowing description of the places he had discovered, and pronounced "the country of the Massachusetts the paradise of all those parts, for here are many isles, all planted with corn, groves, mulberries, salvage gardens, and good harbors." He found the natives "very kind, but in their fury no less valiant."

In 1621, Sept. 20, ten of the infant colony of Plymouth were sent on an expedition, partly to trade, and partly to conclude peace with the Massachusetts Indians. They landed under a cliff, supposed to be Copp's Hill, where they met with a kind reception from the natives. Though they touched at several places in the harbor, they do not appear to have landed here. Having been absent four days from Plymouth, and collected a considerable quantity of beaver, they returned home with so good an opinion of the country, as to wish it had fallen to their lot to have occupied it.

At this early period, fishermen were frequent visitors to the harbor. In 1622, thirty-five of their vessels were on the coasts of New England. Though they may have run up the Bay, yet there is no account existing of their having landed at this place.

new style, add for the seventeenth century ten days to the date, and for the eighteenth, up to 1752, eleven days. A full and interesting account of old and new style, double dating, &c., may be found in the American Quarterly Register, vol. xiv.

¹Smith, in Mass. Hist. Collections. "I took the fairest reach in this bay for a river, whereupon I called it Charles River." Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 410, says that Prince Charles "gave the name of Charles River to what had been before called Massachusetts River." Wood, N. E. Prospect, mentions "Mishaum" River among the Indian names of rivers.

In 1620, King James granted to the Council of Plymouth the territory lying between forty and forty-eight degrees north latitude, and in length by all this breadth throughout the main land, from sea to sea. This was the foundation of all the grants in New England.

In 1622, Dec. 30, this Company granted to Robert Gorges, all that part of the main land "commonly called or known by the name of the Messachusiac,"¹ situate "upon the north-east side of the Bay, called or known by the name of the Massachusetts." This included the shores and coast, "for ten English miles towards the north-east," and "thirty English miles unto the main land, through all the breadth aforesaid," with all the rivers, islands, minerals, &c. This grant included the limits of Charlestown.

In 1623, the Plymouth Council appointed Robert Gorges, Lieutenant-General of New England. He came over that year to establish a colony, and thus secure his patent. With him came William Morrill, an Episcopal clergyman, who had a commission to superintend the Ecclesiastical affairs. Gorges arrived in the Massachusetts Bay about the middle of September, with "passengers and families," and selected the place that Weston had abandoned.

Morton, in the N. E. Memorial, relates a difficulty Gorges had at Plymouth, after which he took his leave, gratified with the hospitality of the colonists, and "went to the Massachusetts by land."² Gorges, for about a year, endeavored to promote the success of his colony. No supplies however reached him from England, and his friends "advised him to return home until better occasion should offer itself unto him." He left his rights to the care of his agents.³

Hutchinson, writing of 1626, says: "I find mention made of planters at Winnissemitt about the same time, who probably removed there from some other plantation." It is not improbable

¹ The territory known as Massachusetts was, in the early days of the Colony, confined to the region about Boston harbor, from Nahant to Point Alderton. Thus, Governor Winthrop writes that, June 17, 1630, he went from Salem to "Massachusetts, to find out a place for our sitting down."—Savage's Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 27.

² N. E. Memorial, p. 106.

³ Gorges, chap 27; Hazard, vol. i. p. 91; Hubbard, p. 86.

that these were a part of the colony of Gorges. William Blackstone, the first settler of Boston, is named three years later, as being in the agency of John Gorges; so also is Jeffries, afterwards one of the first settlers of Ipswich. These individuals may have held their lands under the authority of this patent; and this may have been the case, also, with Thomas Walford, the smith, — the European found here by the first settlers.

Hutchinson remarks, that the patent of Robert Gorges was loose and uncertain, and no use was ever made of it.¹ It covered a part of the territory afterwards granted to the Massachusetts Company. The conflicting claim thence arising, was the immediate cause of the settlement of Charlestown.

CHAPTER III.

1628. — John Oldham's Lease. — Grant to Massachusetts Company. — Controversy respecting Claims. — Arrival of Endicott. — The Spragues.

ROBERT GORGES died soon after his attempt to occupy his patent. His right descended to his eldest brother, John Gorges. The latter probably in 1628, leased a portion of the territory that fell to him to John Oldham and John Dorrill. The former appears to have managed the negotiations. He was an intelligent and enterprising planter, who had acquired an intimate knowledge of the natives, and had a high opinion of the country. He is the same person whose murder, by the Indians, in 1636, was the immediate cause of the Pequot war. He had been entrusted by the Governor of Plymouth with the charge of Morton, the Merry Mount rioter, and went to England in the summer of 1628. This lease included the limits of Charlestown, and reads as follows:—

“ All the lands within the Massachusetts Bay, between Charles River and Abousett² River, containing in length; by straight line, five miles up the Charles River into the main land, north-west from

¹ Hist. Mass., vol. i. p. 14.

² Saugus River.

the border of said Bay, including all creeks and points by the way; and three miles in length from the mouth of the foresaid river Abousett, up into the main land, upon a straight line southwest, including all creeks and points: and all the land in breadth and length between the foresaid rivers, with all prerogatives, royal mines excepted."

And on the sight of this grant, "Mr. Blackstone, clergyman, and William Jeffryes, gentleman," were authorized to put Oldham in possession of this territory.¹

The Plymouth Council, whose only source of revenue was the sale of patents, on the 19th of March, 1628, sold this same territory over again to the Massachusetts Company, bounding their grant to a territory three miles north of the river Merrimack, and three miles south of the river Charles, and extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea.² This was the Company that colonized Massachusetts. It took immediate steps to occupy its grant.

On his arrival in England, 1628, Oldham first endeavored to obtain from this Company an important agency in its concerns, holding out as the inducement, the prospect of large profits from his management. Having failed in this, he next appears engaged in a controversy with the Company respecting his lease,—the question being the validity of his title; he contending that it was good,—the Company, by the advice of counsel, that it was "voyd in law." Oldham is characterized in the records as obstinate and violent—"so affected to his own opinion, as not to be removed from it neither by reason, nor by any persuasion." They state that, "unless he could have his own way, there would be but little hope of quiet or comfortable subsistence, where he should make his abode."³

About the time this controversy commenced, John Endicott, in the ship *Abigail*, Henry Gauden, master, arrived at Salem. This was September 6, 1628. After this arrival, three brothers, Ralph

¹ Hazard, vol. i. p. 68.

² This sale Sir Ferdinando Gorges says, had his approbation only "so far forth as it might not be prejudicial to his son's interests, whercof he had a patent under the seal of the charter."—Gorges, chap. 26, Mass. Col.

³ Hazard, vol. i. p. 268.

Sprague, Richard Sprague, and William Sprague, with three or four others, with Endicott's permission, "travelled through the woods" to this peninsula. The Town Records give the following relation of this event, preceded by a history of the discovery and settlement of the country. It forms the beginning of the first volume, and was written by John Greene, in 1664.

"Captain John Smith having (in the reign of our sovereign Lord James, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith,) made a discovery of some parts of America, lighted, amongst other places, upon the opening betwixt Cape Cod and Cape Ann, situate and lying in 315 degrees of longitude, and 42 degrees 20 min. of north latitude, where by sounding and making up, he fell in amongst the islands, and advanced up into the Massachusetts Bay, till he came up into the river, between Mishaum, (afterwards called Charlestown,) and Shawmutt, (afterwards called Boston,) and having made discovery of the land, rivers, coves, and creeks in the said bay, and also taken some observations of the natures, dispositions, and sundry customs of the numerous Indians, or natives, inhabiting the same; he returned to England, where (it was reported that) upon his arrival, he presented a map of the Massachusetts Bay to the king, and that the prince (afterwards King Charles the First,) upon inquiry and perusal of the aforesaid river, and the situation thereof upon the map, appointed it to be called Charles River.

"Now, upon the fame that then went abroad of the place, both in England and Holland, several persons of quality sent over several at their own cost, who planted this country in several places, but for want of judgment, care, and orderly living, divers died, others meeting with many hazards, hardships, and wants, at length being reduced to great penury and extremity, were so tired out, that they took all opportunities of returning to England, upon which several places were altogether deserted, and by only some few that upon a better principle, transported themselves from England and Holland, came and settled their plantation a little within Cape Cod, and called the same Plymouth: these, notwithstanding all their wants, hazards, and sufferings, continued several years in a manner alone, at which time this country was generally called by the name of New England.

"At length divers gentlemen and merchants of London obtained

a patent and charter for the Massachusetts Bay, (from our sovereign Lord King Charles the First,) gave invitation to such as would (transport themselves from Old England to New England) to go and possess the same : and for their encouragement, the said patentees, at their own cost, sent over a company of servants, under the government of Mr. John Endicott, who, arriving within this bay, settled the first plantation of this jurisdiction, called Salem : under whose wing there were a few also that settle and plant up and down, scattering in several places of the bay : where, though they met with the dangers, difficulties, and ——— attending new plantations in a solitary wilderness, so far remote from their native country, yet were they not left without company : for in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and twenty-eight, came over from England several people at their own charge, and arrived at Salem, after which, people came over yearly in great numbers; in ——— years many hundreds arrived, and settled not only in Massachusetts Bay, but did suddenly spread themselves into other colonies also.”

“ Amongst others that arrived at Salem at their own cost,¹ were Ralph Sprague, with his brethren Richard and William, who with three or four more, by joint consent and approbation of Mr. John Endicott, Governor, did the same summer of Anno 1628, undertake a journey from Salem, and travelled the woods above twelve miles to the westward, and lighted of a place situate and lying on the north side of Charles River, full of Indians called Aberginians.² their old Sachem being dead, his eldest son, by the English called

¹ In a letter of the Company to Governor Endicott, dated May 28, 1629, this description of settlers is alluded to as follows: “ We desire that Thomas Beard may have fifty acres of land allotted to him, as one that transports himself at his own charge, but as well for him as all others that shall have land allotted to them in that kind, and are no adventurers in the common stock, which is to support the charge of fortifications, as also for the ministry, and divers other affairs, we hold it fit, that these kind of men, as also such as shall come to inherit lands by their service, should, by way of acknowledgment to such from whom they receive these lands, become liable to the performance of some service certain days in the year, and by that service they, and their posterity after them, to hold and inherit these lands, which will be a good means to enjoy their lands from being held in capite, and to support the plantation in general and particular.”—Hazard, vol. i. p. 283.

² Aberginians was not the name of a tribe, but a general name for Indians.

John Sagamore, was their chief, and a man naturally of a gentle and good disposition, by whose free consent they settled about the hill of the same place, by the said natives called Mishawum, where they found but one English pallisadoed and thatched house, wherein lived Thomas Walford, a smith, situate on the south end of the westernmost hill of the East Field, a little way up from Charles River side, and upon survey, they found it was a neck of land generally full of stately timber, as was the main, and the land lying on the east side of the river, called Mystick River, from the farm Mr. Craddock's servants had planted called Mystick, which this river led up unto; and indeed generally all the country round about, was an uncouth wilderness, full of timber."

This interesting relation is immediately succeeded by a record of the names of the inhabitants that "first settled in this place, and brought it into the denomination of an English town." The record places this also in 1628. But it includes among these names Mr. Graves, who "this year built the Great House," and Mr. Bright, "minister to the Company's servants." Now it is certain that neither Graves nor Bright sailed from England until 1629. Hence there is evidently an error at this point in the date of the records. This error continues for two years, making the arrival of Winthrop to be 1629, when it ought to be 1639. Does the error begin with the account of the journey of the Spragues? They, with their companions, may have arrived here in the summer or fall of 1628, and encouraged by the friendly reception they met with from the Indians, and a desire of the Company, (that may have been already known to them,) to take immediate possession of the country, have here built their huts, and remained through the winter of 1628-9.¹ Yet it appears probable that the Company that came with Endicott would have kept together the first winter. If the Spragues came over after Endicott, unless they came in a private vessel, it would bring it to 1629, as no other ship came over in 1628. The same authority states that it was not until Mr. Graves had laid out the town, that the lots of these pioneers were located, or that they began to build. To understand why so many of the

¹ Felt (*Annals of Salem*) says the Spragues came with Endicott. E. Everett (*Orations*) concludes, from the records, they were not of his company.

Company occupied this place the succeeding year, it is necessary to glance briefly at some of its proceedings in England.

CHAPTER IV.

1629. — John Oldham. — Sir William Brereton. — Thomas Graves. — Emigration with Higginson. — Instructions to Endicott. — Arrival at Charlestown.

IN 1629, the controversy between Oldham and the Massachusetts Company was concluded by the following vote of the latter, May, 11: "Mr. Oldham propounded unto Mr. White that he would have his patent, &c., and it is agreed by the Court, not to have any treaty with him about it, by reason, it is thought, he doth it not out of love, but out of some sinister respect."¹

But the Company, by this time, were engaged with another claimant to the land about Massachusetts Bay, who is, throughout, treated with marked respect, — Sir William Brereton. John Gorges, by a deed dated January 10, 1629, conveyed to Sir William Brereton of Handforth, in the county of Chester, Bart. and his heirs, "all the land in breadth lyeinge from y^e East side of Charles River to the easterly parte off the cape called Nahannte and all the lands lyeinge in length 20 miles north east into y^e maine land from the mouth the said Charles River lyeinge also in length 20 miles into the maine land north east from y^e said cape Nahannte : also two Islands lyeinge next unto the shoare betweene Nahannte and Charles River the bigger called Brereton and the lesser Susanna."²

Negotiations with Sir William Brereton were continued for a year. His object was to make such an arrangement with the Company, in relation to the settlement of a contemplated colony, as would preserve the title he acquired of Gorges. In this he was

¹ Colony Records.

² Massachusetts Archives.— Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 14. The two islands were, East Boston and Belle Isle. — Lewis's Lynn.

not successful. Nor would the Company, by purchase, acknowledge the validity of his claim. On the 10th of February, 1630, it voted a respectful invitation to him to join it "according to the Charter," and that such servants as he might send over should "receive all courteous respect, and be accommodated with land, and what else shall be necessary as other servants of the Company." At the same time that this decision was formally communicated to him, a committee of two were appointed to "signify the Company's affection and respect unto him."¹

While these negotiations were pending, the Company were taking efficient steps to further improve their patent. On the 4th of March, 1629, a Royal Charter constituted the "Associates" a body politic. This charter, cherished with so much care for half a century, was regarded as a confirmation of their grant from the Plymouth Council. On the 10th of March, the Company signed a contract with an engineer of high reputation, — Thomas Graves, — who laid out Charlestown. This commenced as follows:—

"This 10th March 1628-9, I, Thomas Graves of Gravesend, in the County of Kent, gent. and by my profession skillful and experienced in the discovery and fynding out of Iron mynes, as also of lead, copper, mineral : salt, and in fortifications of all sorts according to the nature of the place, in surveying of buildings and of lands and in measuring of lands, in describing a country by mappe; in leading of water to pp (proper) uses for millers or other uses; in fynding out * * * sorts of Lyme stone and materials for building; in manufacturing, have this present day agreed to serve the New England * * * and in their employment to take my passage for newe England in such shippe as they shall appoynt me, and during my stay there according to the conditions heere-after expressed to doe my true and uttermost indeavour in all or any the particulars above mentioned for the most good and benefit of said companie."

The compensation of Mr. Graves was to be, his passage out and back, five pounds a month while in New England, in case he remained but eight months. If he remained three years, the passage of his family, their support until the harvest after their arrival, a house, one hundred acres of land, fifty pounds a year,

¹ Colony Records.

and the same proportion of land as those who have families. After this time, Mr. Graves was often consulted in relation to the operations of the Company.

In April, the preparations for a large emigration were completed. Rev. Francis Higginson and about two hundred persons, embarked in April and May, 1629. At this time, the Company sent a long letter to Gov. Endicott, which shows how solicitous they were to have the territory claimed by Oldham and Brereton immediately improved. This letter is dated April 17, 1629. It says, in reference to Oldham :—

“ We fear that as he hath been obstinate and violent in his proceedings here, so he will persist and be ready to draw a party to himself there, to the great hindrance of the common quiet: we have therefore thought fit to give you notice of his disposition, to the end, you may beware how you meddle with him, as also you may use the best means you can to settle an agreement with the old planters so as they may not hearken to Mr. Oldham’s dangerous though vaine propositions.”

This letter also gives Governor Endicott the following positive instructions to occupy Massachusetts Bay :—

“ We pray you and the council there, to advise seriously together for the maintenance of our privileges and peaceable government, which, if it may be done by a temperate course, we much desire it, though with some inconvenience so as our government and privileges be not brought in contempt, wishing rather there might be such an union as might draw the heathen by our good example to the embracing of Christ and his Gospel, than that offence should be given to the heathen, and a scandal to our Religion through our disagreement amongst ourselves. But if necessity require a more severe course, when fair means will not prevail; we pray you to deal, as in your discretions you shall think fittest for the general good and safety of the plantation and preservation of our privileges. And because we would not omit to do any thing which might strengthen our right, we would have you (as soon as these ships, or any of them arrive with you, whereby you may have men to do it) send forty or fifty persons to Massachusetts Bay to inhabit there, which we pray you not to protract, but to do it with all speed; and if any of our Company in particular shall desire to settle themselves there, or to send servants thither,

we desire all accommodation and encouragement may be given them thereunto, whereby the better to strengthen our possession there against all or any that shall intrude upon us, which we would not have you by any means give way unto; with this caution notwithstanding — That for such of our countrymen as you find there planted, so as they be willing to live under government, you endeavor to give them all fitting and due accommodation as to any of ourselves; yea, if you see cause for it, though it be with more than ordinary privileges in point of trade.”¹

In this letter Mr. Graves is highly recommended, “as much for his honesty as for his skill.” Express instructions were given to the Governor to consult with him in relation to the proposed settlement. He had been “a traveller in divers forraigne parts to gaine his experience.” Therefore say the Company, “we pray you take his advice touching the premises, and where you intend to sit down in, to fortify and build a town that it may be qualified for good air and water, according to your first instruction, and may have as much natural help as may be, whereby it may with the less labor and cost be made fit to resist an enemy.”

This letter, dated April 17, was sent by the George Boneventure.² This ship arrived at Salem, June 22.³ The Talbot and Lion’s Whelp, with Higginson and Bright, arrived June 29. During the last week of June, or the first week of July, 1629, Mr. Graves, Rev. Francis Bright, with a part of the emigrants, settled in Charlestown. Describing the colony this year, Higginson says:— “There are in all of vs both old and new planters about three hundred, whereof two hundred of them are settled at Neihum-kek, now called Salem: and the rest have planted themselves at Masathulets Bay, beginning to build a towne there which wee doe call Cherton, or Charles Towne.”⁴

¹ Hazard vol. i. p. 259.

² Felt’s Salem, 2d ed. p. 86.

³ Higginson in Hutch. Coll.

⁴ Higginson in Force’s Tracts, vol. i.

CHAPTER V.

1629 to 1630. — Foundation of the Town.¹ — First Settlers. — Winter of 1629-30. — Indian Conspiracy. — Francis Bright. — Thomas Graves. — Descriptions of the Country. — Charlestown in 1629. — Time's Changes.

IN 1629, when Graves and Bright arrived here, a few settlers had located themselves in the neighborhood. Samuel Maverick, early noted for his hospitality, had a residence at Noddles Island. William Blackstone, an Episcopal clergyman, lived at Shawmut, now Boston. At Mishawam, now Charlestown, Thomas Walford had built his "pallisadoed and thatched house." The precise date when these pioneers of civilization first pitched their tents, is not known.

¹ Dr. Bartlett (2 Mass. Coll. vol. ii. p. 163,) and Hon. E. Everett, (Orations p. 210, 213) place the foundation of the town in 1628. So do Prince and other writers. The only authority for this date however is the town records. Prince (p. 250) erroneously supposed these written by Increase Nowell; they state Endicott's arrival correctly, but are otherwise erroneous as to dates previous to 1632. Besides :

1. The records indicate that the Spragues came over after Endicott came, yet they say, "in the same summer" of 1628 — which must have been after Sept. 6 — they, with three or four more, settled about the Town Hill. And furthermore, they expressly state that Graves, Bright and the Palmers, were of those "who first settled in this place." But some of these did not come over until 1629.

2. Though the Spragues may have explored this peninsula previous to the arrival of Graves, yet they, the records, expressly say, did not begin to build until he had laid out their lots, which must have been in 1629.

3. Danforth's Almanac, the entries of which were made in 1647, seventeen years before this relation was written, places the foundation of the town in 1629.

The precise date may reasonably be fixed as the day of Graves's arrival. The Talbot, with Higginson, did not arrive at Salem until June 29. But "the George," he writes, (Hutch. Coll. p. 33) "having the special and urgent cause of hastening her passage, set sail before the rest about the middle of April." The imperative nature of the instructions she carried (see p. 17) will explain the "urgent cause." She arrived June 22. Endicott would not be likely to "protract," but to send some of the emigrants to inhabit at Massachusetts Bay. That most accurate of early writers, Prince, (p. 261) places the arrival here of Thomas Graves, under the date of June 24. Add ten days, to bring this to new style, and it will give July 4, 1629, as the only date for the foundation of Charlestown, for which good authority can be adduced.

Several of the early towns had no special acts of incorporation. This was the case with Salem and Lynn. It was also the case with Charlestown. It was the original purpose of the colonists to build a large town, and the Company voted, May 1, 1629, when in England, that, when a site had been decided upon, "no man shall presume to build his house in any other place," — making however the exception, "unless it be in the Massachusetts Bay, and then according to such direction as shall be thought meet for that place."¹ The Spragues and their associates, who this year founded the town, acted under the immediate direction of an agent of the Company, — Thomas Graves; and before there appears on record any precise grant, or the boundaries were defined, proceeded to occupy the land, and the next year even to build in the country towards Cambridge. But they had, undoubtedly, permission from the Company, as an order of September 7, 1630, prohibited any "to plant at any place within the limits" of their patent without leave from the governor and assistants, or the major part of them.¹

The following is the record of their first proceedings:—

"The inhabitants yt: first settled in this place and brought it into the denomination of an English Towne was (were) in Anno 1628 (1629) as follows, viz :

Ralph Sprague,	Abra. Palmer,	Mr. Graves
Richd. Sprague,	Walter Pamer,	who had charge of
William Sprague,	Nicholas Stowers,	some of the servts. of
John Meech,	John Stickline,	the Company of Pa-
Simon Hoyte,	Tho. Walford smith	tentees with whom hee
	yt lived heere alone	built the great house
	before	this yeare for such of
		the sd Company as are
		shortly to come over
		which afterwards be-
		came the Meeting
		honse.

And Mr. Bright Minister to the Companies Servants."

By whom it was jointly agreed and concluded, that this place on the north side of Charles River, by the natives called Misha-

¹ Colony Records.

wum, shall henceforth from the name of the river, be called Charlestown, which was also confirmed by Mr. John Endicott, governor.

It is jointly agreed and concluded by the inhabitants of this town, that Mr. Graves do model and lay out the form of the town, with streets about the Hill, which was accordingly done and approved of by the Governor.

It is jointly agreed and concluded, that each inhabitant have a two acre lot to plant upon, and all to fence in common; which was accordingly by Mr. Graves measured out unto them.

Upon which Ralph Sprague and others began to build their houses, and to prepare fencing for their lots, which was (were) afterwards set up almost in a semi-circular form on the south and south-east side of that field laid out to them, which lies situated on the north-west side of the Town Hill.

Walter Pamer and one or two more, shortly afterwards began to build in a straight line upon their two acre lots on the east side of the Town Hill, and set up a slight fence in common, that ran up to Tho. Walford's fence, and this was the beginning of that east field."

Some account may be expected of these founders of the town. Ralph Sprague was a farmer and the oldest of the three brothers. Their father, Edward Sprague, was a fuller of Upway, in the County of Dorset, England. Ralph Sprague was about twenty-five years of age when he emigrated. In 1630, he was chosen constable and made freeman, and in 1632, one of the founders of the church. He was selectman several years, and representative nine years, — first in 1637. He was a member of the Boston Artillery Company 1637. In 1639, he was elected Lieutenant. He died in 1650. He was a prominent and valuable citizen, — active in promoting the welfare of the town and of the colony. The General Court, in 1639, granted him one hundred acres of land "having borne difficulties in the beginning." He left four sons: John and Richard, born in England; Samuel born 1631; and Phineas. Also a daughter Mary, who married Daniel Edmands. His widow, Joanna, married Edward Converse and died about Nov. 1680. Of his sons, Richard became a prominent citizen, and Samuel had a daughter who married Ebenezer Austin, — the ancestor of Benj. Austin of Boston and Gen. Nathl. Austin of this town.¹

¹ Genealogy of the Sprague Family.

Richard Sprague was a merchant, and the third son of Edward Sprague. He was made freeman 1631, one of the founders of the church, 1632, Captain of the Charlestown Military Company, a member of the Artillery Company, Boston, several years selectman, and a representative from 1659 to 1666. He died Nov. 25, 1668, leaving to Harvard College thirty-one sheep and thirty lambs, and thirty pounds, in value, to the church of this town. His estate was valued at £2357, 16s. 8d. of which one item was £600 in money. He left the greatest part of this to his widow, Mary. He bequeathed to Ralph's son, Richard, a wharf and warehouse, and other property; and to his brother William, of Hingham, his sword, which, in 1828, was in the possession of his descendants. He left no children. His widow, Mary, died 1674.

William Sprague was the youngest of the three brothers. In 1629, he visited Hingham, in a boat, and afterwards became one of its founders. His name appears repeatedly as an inhabitant of Charlestown until 1635. In 1636, he obtained a grant of land at Hingham, removed there, and continued to live there, sustaining important town offices, until his death, Oct. 26, 1675. His wife's name was Millesaint. He had eleven children.

Abraham Palmer, a merchant, was one of the prominent men of the colony. He signed the instructions to Gov. Endicott, May 30, 1628. He probably came over in Higginson's fleet in 1629, and arrived in this town with Graves. He was freeman in 1631, and selectman several years, and elected six years a representative, first in 1634, the last time in 1646. His name appears on the records in connection with the most important business. He was sergeant in the Pequot war, in which he is mentioned as doing efficient service, being ordered with twelve men to surround a part of the swamp in the great fight, to prevent the Indians from escaping. In 1638, he is styled Ensign Palmer, and was chosen town clerk, and to make a record of the possessions of the inhabitants. In 1638, he was a member of the Artillery Company, and in 1642, "clerk of the writs." He died at Barbadoes, about 1653. His wife's name was Grace, who died about 1660. He was, probably, a brother to Walter Palmer.

Walter Palmer is mentioned in a jury, Sept. 28, 1630, called to hold an inquest on the body of Austin Bratcher. It found "that the strokes given by Walter Palmer, were occasionally the means of the death of Austin Bratcher, and so to be manslaughter. Mr.

Palmer was tried at the next Court in October, and acquitted. He was freeman 1631, elected selectman in 1635, and constable in 1636. His son Benjamin was baptized in this town in 1642. Soon after he removed to Rehoboth, of which he was one of the founders. He there appears to have been an influential citizen. He died about 1662, leaving property to his sons John, Jonas, William, Gersham, Elihu, Nehemiah, Moses, Benjamin; and daughters Grace, Hannah, and Rebecca. He left to Jonas his "lot at Seaconke," who resided there. His son John remained in town.

Nicholas Stowers was freeman in 1631, and herdsman in 1633. His duties were "to drive the herd forth to their food in the main every morning, and to bring them into town every evening, and to have fifty bushels of Indian corn for keeping the milch cows till Indian harvest be taken in." He was also to have the benefit of keeping such other cattle as came into town during the summer. He died May 17, 1646, leaving property to his wife Amy, to sons Joseph and Richard, to daughters Jane and Abigail, and daughter Starr. Richard Stowers, named as arriving in 1628, died July 8, 1693.

John Meech may have emigrated to Connecticut. Simon Hoyte and John Stickline, were admitted freemen 1631.

Thomas Walford, the smith, remained in town but two years. If he held his land originally from Robert Gorges, or one of his agents, and reluctantly acknowledged the validity of the Massachusetts patent, it will account for the severity of the Court towards him. In 1631, the following order appears upon the records: Thomas Walford of Charlton is fined £10, and is enjoined, he and his wife, to depart out of the limits of this patent before the 20th day of October next, under pain of confiscation of his goods, for his contempt of authority and confronting officers." A month later, he was again fined £2, and "paid it by killing a wolf." Even after he had left the town, the government distrusted him. On the 3d of September, 1633, it was ordered, "that the goods of Thomas Walford shall be sequestered and remain in the hands of Ancient Gennison, to satisfy the debts he owes in the Bay to several persons."

"This severity, Mr. Savage writes, must be regretted." He was the first English inhabitant of the town. And it is not improbable,

that to the good offices he rendered to the Indians, the Spragues and their companions were indebted for their friendly reception.

Walford removed to Piscataqua, now Portsmouth. Here his conduct goes far to show that the severity with which he was treated was undeserved, for he became a prominent and valuable citizen. In 1640, he was one of two trustees or wardens for the church property, one of the grand jury in 1654, and died about 1667. His enterprise was rewarded by a competent estate, for he left property to the amount of £1433, 3s. 8d.

John Walford, probably a son of Thomas Walford was, in 1692, one of the council of Gov. Allen of New Hampshire. Jane Walford, perhaps the wife of Thomas, was in 1656, presented by her neighbors as a witch, and, ten or twelve years later, recovered damages against one for calling her by that odious name."¹

This little band are all that are recorded as inhabitants in 1629. These had wives and children. But the "servants of the Company of patentees," under the charge of Mr. Graves, — mentioned by Higginson as those who "began to build at Cherton," — are to be added to this list of early residents. Their names are not known. These, until more convenient lodgings could be prepared, lived in wigwams and huts.² The work of building went on slowly. By the succeeding June, if Roger Clapp may be credited, there was but one house in town.² This is not improbable, as the infant colony experienced more than the common hardships of early settlements. During the following winter, provisions became scarce, and disease so thinned their numbers, that, by April, eighty had died, and those that were alive were "weak and sick." In this situation they were alarmed by rumors of hostile Indians. The early residents of Charlestown shared in these hardships; at one time "all hands, men, women and children" were engaged in providing for self-defence. The town records contain the following significant relation:

"About the months of April and May, in the year of our Lord

¹ Savage's Winthrop, 53. Adams's Portsmouth. I have not been able to locate precisely the spot of Walford's residence. It is usually fixed on the Town Hill. But the "westernmost Hill of the East Field," was probably, Breed's Hill. He lived on the south side of it, a short distance from the water.

² R. Clapp. He refers to the Great House, as the only habitation worthy of the name.

1629, (1639) there was a great design of the Indians, from the Narragansetts, and all round about us to the eastward in all parts to cut off the English, which John Sagamore (who always loved the English) revealed to the inhabitants of this town; but their design was chiefly laid against Plymouth (not regarding our paucity in the bay) to be effected under pretence of having some sport and pastime at Plymouth, where after some discourse with the Governor there, they told him if they might not come with leave they would without, upon which the sd. Governor sent their flat bottomed boat (which was all they had) to Salem for some powder and shot: At which time, it was unanimously concluded by the inhabitants of this town, that a small fort should be made on the top of this Town Hill, with palisadoes and flankers made out, which was performed at the direction of Mr. Graves by all hands of men, women and children, who wrought at digging and building, till the work was done: But that design of the Indians was suddenly broke up by the report of the great guns at Salem, only shot off to clear them, by which means they were so frightened, that all their companies scattered and ran away, and though they came flattering afterwards, and called themselves our good friends, yet were we constrained by their conspiracies yearly to be in arms."

During this time the work of the Gospel was not neglected. The Company had instructed the three ministers they had engaged to come over, namely, Messrs. Higginson, Skelton and Bright, that in case they could not agree who should "inhabit at Massachusetts-Bay," they should "make choice of one of the three by lot," and he, on whom the lot should fall, should "go with his family to perform that work."

In accordance with these instructions, Rev. Francis Bright, of Roily, Essex, "trained up under Mr. Davenport," came to Charlestown. The Company had engaged to give him twenty pounds towards the expenses of his journey, his passage out and back, and a salary of twenty pounds a year: Also, ten pounds for the purchase of books and a dwelling-house and land, to be used by him, and left to his successor in the ministry. If he remained seven years he was to have one hundred acres of land for his own use."¹

¹ His contract is printed in Felt's Annals of Salem, vol. i. p. 570.

Mr. Bright resided in town over a year, and is termed on the records, "minister to the Company's servants." He was named as one of the council for the government of the colony. But he was a moderate, rather than a thorough Puritan, and affection for the church of England restrained him from going with his brethren in their increasing non-conformity. Hence, his labors would be likely to grow daily more unsatisfactory to the people. He sailed for England in the ship *Lyon*, in July, 1630. Hubbard says, that he was "a godly minister." On mentioning his departure, he quotes the character another gave him, "that he began to hew stones in the mountains wherewith to build, but when he saw all sorts of stones would not suit in the building, as he supposed, he, not unlike Jonah, fled from the presence of the Lord, and went down to Tarshish."¹ If he was an Episcopalian, he would not be permitted to "hew stones" for the building of the new Ecclesiastical temple of congregationalism. Mather classes him with Rev. R. Smith, a clergyman of opposite tendencies, and then buries "all farther mention of them among the rubbish in the foundation of the colony."²

There is no record of the gathering of a church, though it is not probable that the people remained a year without the enjoyment of the ordinances. But this brief notice of Mr. Bright is interesting, as it shows, that the institutions of religion were coeval with the foundation of the town.

Of Thomas Graves, the distinguished engineer, there is little that is authentic. He is spoken of as a person of eminent skill, and of extensive travel. He was named one of the council, and consulted often respecting the division of land. In 1629, he had a wife and five children. These circumstances indicate a person somewhat advanced in years.

The papers in the possession of the descendants of "Rear Admiral Thomas Graves," who died in 1653, make the two identical. They state, however, that the admiral was born in 1605, which would make him too young a person to be the engineer. It is probable the latter soon returned to England. But he may have been connected with the family that became so prominent in the town and the colony.

This year, 1629, Mr. Graves sent to England a flattering description of the country. He writes as follows:—

¹ Hubbard, p. 113.

² *Magnalia*, vol. i. p. 64.

“Thus much I can affirme in generall, that I never came in a more goodly country in all my life, all things considered: If it hath not at any time been manured and husbanded, yet it is very beautifull in open lands, mixed with goodly woods, and again open plaines, in some places five hundred acres, some places more, some lesse, not much troublesome for to cleere for the plough to goe in, no place barren, but on the tops of the hils; the grasse and weeds grow up to a man’s face, in the lowlands and by fresh rivers abundance of grasse and large meddowes without any tree or shrubbe to hinder the sith. I never saw, except in Hungaria, unto which I always paralell this countrie, in all our most respects, for every thing that is heare eyther sowne or planted prospereth far better then in Old-England: The increase of corne is here farre beyond expectation, as I have seene here by experience in barley, the which because it is so much above your conception I will not mention. And cattle doe prosper very well, and those that are bredd here farr greater than those with you in England. Vines doe grow here plentifully laden with the biggest grapes that ever I saw, some I have seene foure inches about, so that I am bold to say of this countrie, as it is commonly said in Germany of Hungaria, that for cattel, corne, and wine it excelleth. We have many more hopefull commodities here in this country, the which time will teach to make good use of: In the mean time wee abound with such things which next under God doe make us subsist: as fish, fowle, deere, and sundrie sorts of fruits, as musk-millions, water-millions, Indian pompions, Indian pease, beanes, and many other odde fruits that I cannot name; all which are made good and pleasant through this maine blessing of God, the healthfulnesse of the countrie which far exceedeth all parts that ever I have bene in: It is observed that few or none doe here fal sicke, unless of the scurvy, that they bring from aboard the ship with them, whereof I have cured some of my companie onely by labour.”¹

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. i. This is an extract from a letter written by Mr. Graves in 1629. There is said to be in the British Museum “A coppie of a letter from an ingineer sent out to New England, written to a friend in England, A. D. 1629, giving an account of his landing with a small company at Salem, and thence going and making a settlement at Massachusetts Bay, laying the foundation of a town, to which the Governour gave the name of Charlestown, with a pleasing description

This commendation of the country was even exceeded by Higginson. "Experience doth manifest," he wrote, "that there is hardly a more healthfull place to be found in the world that agreeeth better with our English bodyes. Many that have been weake and sicklie in Old England, by coming hither have been thoroughly healed and growne healthfull strong. For here is an extraordinary cleere and dry aire that is of a most healing nature to all such as are of a cold, melancholly, flegmatick, rheumatick temper of body." "A sup of New England's aire is better than a whole draught of Old England's ale."

But these accounts were by far too flattering. They raised expectations in England that were doomed to sad disappointment. Deputy Governor Dudley, two years later, writes, that "honest men out of a desire to draw over others to them, wrote somewhat hyperbolically of many things here."

Such were the events, such the hopes and fears, attending the foundation of Charlestown. It is not difficult to imagine the appearance of the peninsula and the occupation of its inhabitants, during this first year of settlement. The latter, numbering perhaps a hundred souls, arrive here in one of the Company's vessels, and bring with them materials for building. They find Thomas Walford, living "alone," — that is the only Englishman in the place, — in his rude palisaded residence on the south side of Breed's Hill; having a wife, and, probably, children; cultivating his grounds and trading with the Indians. He receives them with coldness and jealousy; but "the gentle and good" Sagamore, the owner of the soil, gives them his "free consent" to commence a settlement. Accordingly they set up huts or tents, for a temporary shelter, about the Town Hill; and then the accomplished Graves proceeds to lay out the streets and divide the ground. Soon, Walter Palmer and a few others, begin to fence in their lots, and prepare for building on the east side of Main-street, not far from Walford's "thatched" residence; while the Spragues and

of the exceeding Pleasantness and Fruitfulness of the country, and of the civility of the natives. In one sheet MS. Ex dono Rev. Alexandri Young, S. T. B."

The author has made two ineffectual attempts to get this letter. It appears to contain interesting historic matter. But it is not in its place in the British Museum and cannot be found. It is not improbable that a part of this letter is quoted in the text.

others, do the same on Bow-street around the Hill. But the most important work is going on in the Square, where Mr. Graves, with a crowd of workmen, is building the "Great House," — anxious, that, when the Governor comes to live in it, and the Court to sit in it, it may be pronounced worthy of his reputation. Such are the six-days' occupations. But as each Sunday comes round, the echoes of the axe and the hammer cease to reverberate in the "uncouth wilderness;" and all join with that "godly man," Rev. Francis Bright, in praise and prayer. At first, health blesses the laborious pioneers; their boards are crowned with plenty, and they rejoice in being at peace. But winter approaches, and brings with it sickness and a dearth of provisions. Spring opens, and their faithful friend, the Sagamore, starts them from their dream of security, by revealing to them the "conspiracy" of the hostile tribes to cut them off. The duty of self-preservation then supersedes all other duties. They all, — "men, women and children," — repair to the Town Hill, and there work at "digging and building," until they complete a fortification.

But the peninsula "is full of Indians," who are attentive spectators of this infant colonization. With what wonder do they regard each note of preparation! They follow the engineer as he goes from point to point with his curious instruments, "modeling" the town; and then carry tidings of the strange things they see, to the Saunks of the late King Nanepashemit. She, in all her Queenly dignity, with the Powwow of the Tribe in her train, comes down from her residence in the woods, to verify for herself the wonderful reports. The "Squa Sachem" gazes curiously upon each household implement; while her son, Wonohaquaham, notes each timber in the construction of the "Great House." As he watches these things his countenance is unmoved, and he utters only the customary "ugh." But as he beholds the white man's stated and simple sacrifice to the Great Spirit, another feeling is awakened; until at length, Indian stoicism relents into the confession, that an answering chord is touched in his own undisciplined breast. Ere he dies, his spirit longs for communion with the "Englishman's God."¹

And as, at intervals of their labors, the founders of the town

¹ New England's First Fruits.

survey the surrounding scenery, it is not strange that they kindle into admiration and enthusiasm. Nature blooms in its virgin freshness and magnificence. The peninsula, with its fine eminences sloping gently to the river side, is "generally filled with stately timber;" and over it roam freely the wild tenants of the forest: but it presents to the scientific observer, a site for one of the most beautiful towns in the world.¹ And the prospect from its hill-tops is one, that, for beauty accompanied with variety, is seldom equalled. If the eye turns towards the sea, the harbor² reflects like a mirror from its polished surface, the emerald isles that gem its bosom:³ if toward the land, the hills all around, crowned with forests, form a natural amphitheatre of unsurpassed loveliness. But the only traces to be seen of man are the fortified abode of Maverick on the neighboring island, the cottage of Blackstone by the hills of Shawmut, the smoke from the wigwams of the natives, and their birch canoes gliding over the waters. How changed has become the scene from these summits! The same sky spreads over them; the same waters flow below them; there is the same splendid amphitheatre. But now the works of man mingle with the vesture of nature. Immediately about them are the hum of industry, and the dwellings, school-towers, and churches, of a free population. Where there was the solitary residence of Maverick, there is a thriving city. Tri-mountain is a forest of human abodes, and far-famed for its triumphs of art, and commerce, and freedom; and, nestling among the surrounding hills, are the halls of learning, the asylums of benevolence, and circles of flourishing towns, with their altar-spires pointing towards Heaven. The old trails of the savage are crossed by the iron paths of the steam car. In place of his frail skiffs dancing upon the waves, there are sails from every clime moving among the islands, and among them, the giant forms of our National war-ships, riding in their splendid repose; while, on the Mount of Sacrifice, sublimely rising "over the land and over the sea,"

¹ Dwight's Travels, vol. i. p. 466.

² Hubbard, p. 17, writes that Charles River, "affords as gallant an harbor near the mouth of it, as any river of that bigness in all Christendom."

³ A. H. Everett.

stands the solemn MONUMENTAL PILE, speaking continually of COURAGE, PATRIOTISM, and LIBERTY.

CHAPTER VI.

The Indians; their connection with the town.—The Massachusetts.—The Pawtuckets.—Wood's Description.—The Tarratines.—Nanepashemit.—Squa Sachem.—Webcowit.—Wonohaquaham.

THE Spragues found Mishawum¹ full of Indians who were called Aberginians.² Their chief gave them his free consent to settle in the peninsula. To follow this friendly reception, there are none other than friendly relations to detail between the early inhabitants and the fading red man. The former took care to satisfy the original owners of the soil before they divided the land; if injury was done, by a reckless citizen, to their corn, or swine, or property, the law ordered prompt restitution; no Indian was allowed to be held in bondage, and their old fishing-places were respected. The inhabitants, on their stated training days, mustered about their wigwams. Though thus intimately connected,

¹ The records name a spring in the peninsula that was overflowed by the tide, which became so brackish that the prevalent mortality was ascribed to its use; and that the inhabitants, in 1630, were informed by Blackstone that there was plenty of water at Boston. After analyzing a few Indian names for springs, and remarking upon the customs of the natives in relation to them, a writer in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, (vol. xx. p. 173,) comes to the conclusion, that Mishawumut (meaning the Indian name of Charlestown) "meant "a large spring:" and that Shawmut, (the Indian name of Boston,) meant, "fountains of living waters." He says: "The result seems almost conclusive, that when the spring at Mishawumut (Mishawum) "a great spring," was overflowed by the tide, the aborigines were probably in the daily habit of crossing over in their canoes to the opposite peninsula to procure fresh water, where springs were excellent and abundant. Hence the name Shawmut, "fountains of living water." Tradition and the town records,—"west side of the north-west field,"—locates this "large spring," not far from the site of the Winthrop Church, on the shore to the south of the State Prison.

² "Abergenymen," a name given by the English to the natives.—Roger Williams Key.

there is no tale of blood to rehearse, of encounters between the citizens and the natives. The "gentle" chief died in peace: the widow of their late King, Nanepashemit, "old and blind," probably here ended her days. A few pages of this work may surely be properly devoted to a remembrance of the first occupiers of the soil.

A few years previous to the settlement of the country, the Indians in this region were exceedingly numerous. Smith (1614) saw on the sea-coasts, "great troops of well-proportioned people," and "salvage gardens;" and estimates the number inhabiting the islands of "the Massachusetts," at three thousand.¹ The mouth of Charles River was their general place of rendezvous. But wars among themselves and disease, so reduced their numbers, that at the time of the colonization of Massachusetts, they presented but the shadow of their former greatness.

The two nations that governed the circle of territory around Boston harbor, and running back into the interior, were the PAWTUCKETS, and the MASSACHUSETTS. The latter "were a numerous and great people." Their chief Sachem was, Chikataubut. His dominion was bounded on the north and west by Charles River, and on the south, extended to Weymouth and Canton."² It included Shawmut, whose Sachem's name was Obbatinna. Previous to the terrible mortality of about 1613, this tribe could bring into the field three thousand warriors. At the time of the settlement its numbers were inconsiderable.

The PAWTUCKETS had a dominion extending north and east of Charles River; "and they had under them several other smaller Sagamores, as the Pennakooks, (Concord Indians,) Agawomes, (at Ipswich) Naamkeeks, (at Salem) Pascatawayes, Accomintas (York) and others."³ It extended as far east as Piscataqua, and north, as far as Concord on the Merrimack.⁴ It included Mishawum. They were also a great nation, and could boast of their three thousand warriors; but they were almost destroyed by the great sickness of about 1616. They generally lived in peace with the Massachusetts tribe.⁵ In 1621, the Boston Sachem, Obbatinna, was at enmity with the Squa Sachem of the Massachusetts tribe.⁶

¹ Smith in Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. xxxvi. p. 119.

² Lewis's Hist. Lynn, p. 45.

³ Gookin, Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. i. p. 149.

⁴ Lewis.

⁵ Gookin.

⁶ Young's Chronicles, p. 225.

Wood, in his chapter "On the Aberginians," has furnished the following description of this people: it may, perhaps, answer equally as well for the Indians of Canada or of Florida, so similar have been found their characteristics:¹

"First of their stature, most of them being between five and six foot high, straight bodied, strongly composed, smooth skinned, merry countenanced, of complexion somewhat more swarthy than Spaniards, black haired, high foreheaded, black eyed, out-nosed, broad shouldered, brawny armed, long and slender handed, out-breasted, small waisted, lank belled, well thighed, flat kneed, handsome grown legs, and small feet: In a word, take them when the blood brisk in their veins, when the flesh is on their backs, and marrow in their bones, when they frolick in their antique deportments and Indian postures; and they are more amiable to behold (though only in Adam's livery) than many a compounded phantastic in the newest fashion. It may puzzle belief, to conceive how such lusty bodies should have their rise and daily supportment from so slender a fostering; their houses being mean, their lodging as homely, commons scant, their drink water, and nature their best clothing."²

The dreaded enemy of these tribes, was the tribe of Tarratines, who lived on the bay and waters of the Penobscot. They were more "brave, wise, lofty-spirited and industrious than many others," and on terms of intimate intercourse with the French.³ They were a "hardy and warlike people," writes Gorges.⁴ Their great sachem was Nultonanit.⁵ In 1621, when the Plymouth men visited the Massachusetts' tribes, the latter dared not "to lodge a second night in the same place, for fear of them,⁶ and after the settlement of the country, they would fly to the houses of the English for a shelter from their fury; for the Tarratines were accustomed yearly, at harvest, to come down in their canoes, and reap their fields, and carry away their corn, and destroy their people."⁷ It was this warlike tribe that (1631, Aug. 8) in their

¹ Bancroft, vol. iii. p. 3.

² N. E. Prospect, p. 54.

³ Williamson's Maine, vol. i. p. 215.

⁴ Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. xxxvi. p. 91.

⁵ Lewis's Lynn.

⁶ Drake, Hist. Indians, b. ii. chap. 3.

⁷ Planter's Plea.

canoes, one hundred strong, at night attacked Sagamores John and James, wounded them and others, and killed seven men.¹

The great Sachem of the Pawtuckets was NANEPASHMIT, or the New Moon. He lived at Lynn until the war with the Tarratines in 1615. His dominion, at one time, extended to the Piscataqua River to the east, and to Concord on the Merrimack; while the Nipmucks, as far as Pocontocook, now Deerfield, acknowledged his authority. He removed to the banks of Mystic River, after 1615, where he was killed in 1619.² When the Pilgrims of Plymouth visited Boston harbor, they heard of the fame of this chieftain and saw his grave. Winslow gives the following account of his residence and burial place (Sept. 21, 1621). "On the morrow we went ashore, all but two men, and marched in arms up in the country. Having gone three miles, we came to a place where corn had been newly gathered, a house pulled down, and the people gone. A mile from hence, Nanepashemit, their king, in his lifetime, had lived. His house was not like others, but a scaffold was largely built, with poles and planks, some six foot from the ground, and the house upon that, being situated on the top of a hill. Not far from hence in a bottom, we came to a fort, built by their deceased king; the manner thus. There were poles, some thirty or forty feet long, stuck in the ground, as thick as they could be set one by another; and with them they enclosed a ring some forty or fifty feet over; a trench, breast high, was dugged on each side; one way there was to go into it with a bridge. In the midst of this palisado, stood the frame of a house, wherein being dead, he lay buried. About a mile from hence, we came to such another, but seated on the top of a hill. Here Nanepashemit was killed, none dwelling in it since the time of his death."³

This sachem left a widow and four children. Their names are, 1. Wonohaquaham, Sagamore John, of Mystic. 2. Montowampate, Sagamore James, of Lynn, who died in 1673. 3. Wenepoyken, Sagamore George, of Salem, who, after the death of his bro-

¹ Savage's Winthrop, vol. i. p. 59.

² Lewis's Hist. Lynn; Smith; Hubbard.

³ Young's Chronicles, p. 229. Shattuck, Hist. Concord, p. 2, locates his principal place of residence in Medford, near Mystic Pond.

thers and his mother, became Sachem of the Pawtuckets. He died in 1684. 4. A daughter, Yawata.¹

The Saunks, or queen of Nanepashemit, SQUA SACHEM, continued the government. In 1621, she was at enmity with the Sachem of Boston, and this year the latter made it one of the conditions of submission to the English, that they would grant them protection against her.

Previous to 1635, she married Webcowit, the physician of the tribe — “its powow, priest, witch, sorcerer, or chirurgeon.” She continued to be the Queen, and the Powow became King in right of his wife.² “It does not appear that he was much respected or thought of.”³ The apostle Elliot, in his “Clear Sunshine of the Gospel,” gives the following account of some of the questions he asked, when the English were endeavoring to convert the Indians. This “old Powow’s” question was “to this purpose:” “Seeing the English had been twenty-seven years (some of them) in this land, why did we never teach them to know God till now? Had you done it sooner,” said he, “we might have known much of God, by this time, and much sin might have been prevented, but now, some of us are grown old in sin, &c.”⁴

In 1637, the Squa Sachem, with Webcowit, deeded a large tract of land in Musketaquid, (Concord) — one of the principal villages of the Indians, — to the English. On this occasion, “Wibbacowitt,” in particular, received a suit of cotton cloth, a hat, a white linen band, shoes, stockings, and a great coat, as a part of the consideration. In 1639, the same Indian deeded to Charlestown the tract of land now part of Somerville; also, another tract, to Jotham Gibbons, of Boston. At this time she styled

¹ Lewis’s Hist. Lym. Shattuck says, p. 2, the king left five children.

² The Powow is next the King, or Sachem, and commonly, when he dies, the Powow marries the Squa Sachem, that is, the Queen.—Letchford. Morton, however libellous on the Colonists, is thought to have given a good account of the Indians. Having stated their easy life, he concludes as follows. “They may be accounted to live richly, wanting nothing that is needful: and to be commended for leading a contented life, the younger being ruled by the elder, and the elder ruled by the Powahs, and the Powahs are ruled by the Devill, and then you may imagine what good rule is like to be amongst them.”—New English Canaan.

³ Drake.

⁴ Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. xxxiv. p. 55.

⁵ Shattuck’s Concord.

herself "Squa Sachem of Mistick." In the deed to Charlestown, the Squa Sachem reserves to her use her old fishing-places and hunting grounds, until her death.¹

In 1644, the Squa Sachem, and other Sachems, submitted themselves to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. They promise to be true and faithful to the government, to give "speedy notice" of any conspiracy, attempt, or cruel intention, they may hear of against it, and to be willing to "be instructed in the knowledge of God." In relation to this, Winthrop writes, that "we causing them to understand the articles, and all the ten commandments of God, and they freely assenting to all, they were solemnly received, and then presented the court with twenty-six fathom more of wampum; and the court gave each of them a coat of two yards of cloth, and their dinner; and to them and their men, every one of them, a cup of sack at their departure." They went away "very joyful." Having become old and blind, the Squa Sachem is supposed to have died in 1667.²

The only other sachem, whose history is immediately connected with Charlestown, is WONOHAQUAHAM, who lived at Mystic, "upon a creek which meets with the mouth of Charles River."⁴ This was the Sagamore John, characterized in the Re-

¹ From the description in the deed, the Town Records, and tradition, it is probable that one of the residences of the Squa Sachem was near "Gardner's Row," now part of West Cambridge.

² Lewis's Hist. Lynn, p. 47. The following document, however, shows that the Squa Sachem died previous to this year. It is copied from the Registry of Deeds, Middlesex, vol. ii.

"Mr. Francis Norton and Nicholas Davison, do in the name of the inhabitants of Charlestown, lay claim to the tract of land, reserved to Squa Sachem during her life-time, and which is at present possessed and improved by Thomas Gleison of Charlestown, this land bounded on the east by Mistick Pond, on the west by Cambridge Common, on the south by the land of Mr. Cooke, on the north formerly in the possession of Mr. Increase Nowell.

This demand and claim was made in the person of John Fennell, and Mr. Wm. Sims, the 25th of March, 1662, at the house of Thomas Gleison.

Entered 29th March, 1662, by T. DANFORTH.
Signed,

JOHN FENNEL,
WM. SIMMES.

³ Hutchinson, vol. i. pp. 408. 410. Drake, b. ii. chap. 3, says, however, that he lived at Rummy Marsh, (Chelsea). Rev. John Higginson's deposition sustains Hutchinson. He lived, probably, at both places.

cords as of "gentle and good disposition," who always "loved the English, and gave them permission to settle here, and who revealed to them the conspiracy of 1630." His limits included Winisemit. Dudley describes him as "young, handsome," "conversant with us, affecting English apparrell and houses, and speaking well of our God." But he did not command more than thirty or forty warriors.

In 1631, a servant of Sir Richard Saltonstall burnt two of his wigwams. Dudley gives the following relation of this event.

"Before the departure of the shipp (w^{ch} yet was wind bound) there came vnto vs Sagamore John and one of his subiects requireinge satisfaction for the burning of two wigwams by some of the English which wigwams were not inhabited but stood in a place convenient for their shelter, when vppon occasion they should trav-aile that wayes. By examination wee found that some English fowlers haueing retired into that which belonged to the subiect and leauing a fire therein carelessly which they had kindled to warm them were the cause of burninge thereof; ffor that which was the Sagamores wee could find noe certaine prooffe how it was fired, yet least hee should thinke vs not scedulous enough to find it out and soo should depart discontentedly from vs, wee gave both him and his subiects satisfaction for them both."

Sir Richard was ordered to make satisfaction, "which he did by seven yards of cloth, and that his servant pay him, at the end of his time, fifty shillings sterling."

In 1631, he was at Agawam, (Ipswich,) on a visit, when the Tarratines made their fierce attack on Mascononomo, when he was wounded. In 1632, with thirty of his men, he went with Chikatabut to aid Canonicus, chief of the Narragansetts, in a war against the Pequots. He died in 1632, at Winisemit, of the small pox.

In New England's First Fruits, there is the following interesting detail of his last hours:

"Sagamore John, prince of Massaquesers, was from our very first landing more corteous, ingenious, and to the English more loving than others of them; he desired to learne and speake our language, and loved to imitate us in our behaviour and apparrell, and began to hearken after our God, and his wayes, and would much commend English men, and their God, saying (much good

men, much good God), and being convinced that our condition and wayes were better farre then theirs, did resolve and promise to leave the Indians, and come live with us; but yet kept down by feare of the scoffes of the Indians, had not power to make good his purpose: yet went on not without some trouble of mind, and secret plucks of conscience, as the sequel declares; for being struck with death, fearfully cryed out of himselfe that he had not come to live with us, to have knowne our God better: 'But now, (said he) I must die, the God of the English is much angry with me, and will destroy me; ah, I was afraid of the scoffes of the wicked Indians; yet my child shall live with the English, and learne to know their God when I am dead; ile give him to Mr. Wilson, he is a much good man, and much loved me:' so sent for Mr. Wilson to come to him, and committed his onely child to his care, and so died."¹

He left by will, all his wampum and coats to his mother, and his land about Powder-Horn Hill, to his son, and in case of his decease, to his brother George.²

CHAPTER VII.

1630 to 1631. — Objects of the Puritans. — The Winthrop Emigration. — Roger Clap's visit. — Arrival of Winthrop. — Situation of the Colony. — Deaths. — Samuel Fuller's Letter. — Fortitude of the Sufferers. — Removal. — Settlements. — Reflections.

WHILE the inhabitants were struggling through the winter, the Massachusetts Company³ were making preparations to add largely

¹ Hubbard, p. 651, adds, "Whether the child answered the father's desire or no, is not known, but the contrary feared."

² Felt's Annals of Salem, p. 17.

³ In the Massachusetts Archives, Lands, p. 1., there is a document which asserts that Sir William Brereton also sent over several families. It gives the history of his title as follows: — "Sir William Brereton dies leaving Thomas, his only son, afterwards Sir Thomas, and Susanna his daughter. Sir Thomas dies without issue. Susanna marries Edmund Lenthall, Esq., and dies leaving Mary, her only daughter and heir.

to their number. The resolution had been taken, by Winthrop and his associates, to transform themselves, by the bold step of carrying the charter with them, from a Commercial Corporation into a Provincial Government. The causes that led to this result will be found in the general histories: the motives that actuated the multitude that were about to people this then "terrible wilderness," are, perhaps, well and concisely stated by contemporary writers. "Necessitie," says one of them, "may presse some; noveltie draw on others; hopes of gaine in time to come, may prevail with a third sort: but that the most sincere and godly part have the advancement of the Gospel for their maine scope, I am cōfident."² "The propagation of the Gospel," — the Company write, 1629, — "is the thing we do profess above all to be our aim in settling this plantation."³ But though the spread of the Gospel, in the stern form of Puritanism, became the main aim of the colonists, yet both their eulogists and their denounciators admit, that they also looked, both here and in England, to a higher political liberty. "These men," said Laud, "do but begin with the Church, that they might after have the freer access to the State."

The first vessel of the fleet that carried over those who emigrated with Winthrop, arrived at Nantasket on the 30th of May, 1630. Roger Clap, was in this ship, — the *Mary & John*, — and gives the following account of his visit to this town:—

"When we came to *Nantasket*, Capt. *Squib*, who was Captain of that great ship of *Four Hundred Tons*, would not bring us into *Charles River*, as he was bound to do; but put us ashore and our Goods on Nantasket Point, and left us to shift for ourselves in a forlorn place in this Wilderness. But as it pleased God, we got a boat of some old Planters, and laded her with Goods; and some able men well Armed went in her unto *Charlestown*: where we

Mary is married to Mr. Levett, of the Inner Temple, who claims the said lands in right of Mary his wife, who is heir to Sir William Brereton and Sir Thomas Brereton.

"Sir William Brereton sent over several families and servants, who possessed and improved several large tracts of the said land, and made several leases as appears by the said deeds."

Brereton sided with the Parliament in its contest with Charles I, and led its troops at the siege of Chester, in 1644. In the History of Chester, may be found his summons to this city to surrender, with an account of the siege.

¹ Planter's Plea, written in 1630, p. 36.

² Letter, April 17.

found *some Wigwams* and *one House*, and in the House there was a Man which had a boiled *Bass*, but no *Bread* that we see; but we did eat of his Bass, and then went up *Charles River*, until the River grew narrow and shallow, and there we landed our Goods with much Labor and Toil, the Bank being steep. And Night coming on, we were informed that there were hard by us *Three Hundred Indians!* One *English Man* that could speak the *Indian Language*, (an old planter,) went to them and advised them not to come near us in the night! And they hearkened to his counsel, and came not. I myself was one of the Centinels that first night: Our captain was a Low Country Souldier, one Mr. *Southcot*, a brave Souldier. In the Morning some of the *Indians* came and stood at a distance off, looking at us, but came not near us: but when they had been a while in view, some of them came and held out a great *Bass* towards us; so we sent a man with a Bisket, and changed the cake for the Bass. Afterwards they supplied us with Bass exchanging a Bass for a Bisket-Cake, and were *very friendly* unto us."

On the 12th of June, the ship in which Winthrop embarked, arrived at Salem; on the 17th he sailed, in a boat, up Mystic River; on the 18th he stopped at Maverick's Fort¹ on Noddle's Island; on the next day he returned to Salem, and reported favorably for building at "Charlton." On the 1st of July he had arrived here, and during this month, the greater part of the fleet arrived safely into port.

¹ By this time, Samuel Maverick "had built a small fort with the help of Mr. David Thomson," Johnson, b. i. chap. 17, who was the first occupant of Thompson's Island in the harbor, where the Farm School is. Hon. James Savage, Winthrop, vol. i. p. 27, concludes, from the language of this writer, that Maverick came either in 1628 or 1629. Josselyn, 1638, praises him for his hospitality, pronouncing him "the only hospitable man in all the country,—giving entertainment to all comers gratis," Voyages in Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. xxxiii., while Johnson sets him down "as an enemy to the reformation in hand, being strongly for the Prelatical power." However the latter might be, the General Court granted to him Noddle's Island. But he was obliged to pay "to the governor for the time being" "either a fat weather, a fat hog, or £10 in money." The Court also reserved to this town and Boston, the right "to fetch wood continually, as their need requires, from the southern part of said Island." "Winisemet Ferry, both to Charlestown and Boston, was also granted to him forever."—Savage's Winthrop, vol. i. p. 27. Oldmixon, 1741, says that "Nettles" Island, "within these few years was esteemed worth 2 or 300*l.* to the owner, Col. Shrimpton," vol. i. p. 191.

The condition in which Winthrop found the Colony, was sad and unexpected. Smith thus describes it. "They found three-score of their people dead, the rest sick, nothing done, but all complaining, and all things so contrary to their expectation, that now every monstrous humor began to show itself."¹ "All the corn and bread amongst them all hardly sufficed to feed them a fortnight." "But bearing these things as they might,"² some began to look about them for places of settlement, while the multitude set up "cottages, booths and tents," about the Town Hill. The Records give the history of this arrival as follows:—

"In the months of June and July, 1629, (1630,) arrived at this town John Winthrop, Esq., Governor, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Knt., Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Pinchon, Mr. Broadstreete, who brought along with them the Charter, or patent, for this jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay, with whom also arrived Mr. John Wilson, and Mr. Phillips, Ministers, and a multitude of people, amounting to about fifteen hundred, brought over from England in twelve ships. The governor and several of the Patentees dwelt in the Great House, which was last year built in this town by Mr. Graves, and the rest of their servants.

"The multitude set up cottages, booths and tents, about the Town Hill. They had long passage; some of the ships were seventeen, some eighteen weeks a coming; many people arrived sick of the scurvy, which also increased much after their arrival for want of houses, and by reason of wet lodgings in their cottages; and other distempers also prevailed. And although people were generally very loving and pitiful, yet the sickness did so prevail, that the whole were not able to tend the sick as they should be tended; upon which many perished and died, and were buried about the Town Hill.

"By which means provisions were exceedingly wasted, and no supplies could now be expected by planting; besides, there was miserable damage and spoil of provisions by sea, and divers came not so well provided as they would, upon a report whilst they were in England, that now there was enough in New England. And

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. xxxiii. p. 40.

² Dudley's Letter.

unto all this, there were [some, imprudently selling much of the remainder]¹ to the Indians, for beaver. All which being taken into consideration by the governor and gentlemen, they hired and dispatched away Mr. William Pearce, with his ship, of about two hundred tons, for Ireland, to buy more, and in the mean time went on with their work for settling. In order to which they, with Mr. John Wilson, one of the ministers, did gather a church, and chose the said Mr. Wilson pastor, — the greatest number all this time intending nothing more than settling in this Town, for which the governor ordered his house to be cut and framed here.

“But the weather being hot, many sick and others faint after their long voyage, people grew discontented for want of water; who generally notioned no water good for a town but running springs;² and though this neck do abound with good water, yet for want of experience and industry none could then be found, to suit the humour of that time, but a brackish spring in the sands, by the water side on the west side of the northwest field, which could not supply half the necessities of that multitude. At which time the death of so many was concluded to be much the more occasioned by this want of good water.”

One witness writes, that “many died weekly, yea, almost daily;”³ another says that, “almost in every family lamentation, mourning, and woe were heard, and no fresh food to cherish them.”⁴ There were, among the deaths, some of the most honored and excellent of the Colonists. Rev. Francis Higginson was one of the victims. Early in August, the Lady Arbella,⁵ wife of

¹ The words in brackets are supplied from Prince, p. 313, — the manuscript being illegible.

² This “notion” respecting running springs operated, at one time, unfavorably for Roxbury. On the 6th of Dec., 1630, the governor and most of the assistants, and others, met there and agreed to build a town. And a committee was appointed to make the necessary arrangements. But when this committee met at Roxbury eight days later, it was concluded not to build a town there, and one reason that weighed against the place was, “There was no running water; and if there were any springs, they would not suffice the Town.”—Savage’s Winthrop, vol. i. p. 38.

³ Johnson.

⁴ Dudley.

⁵ “The Lady Arrabella, and some other godly women, abode at Salem, but their husbands continued at Charlestown, both for the civil government and gathering of another church.”—Wonder-working Providence.

Isaac Johnson, died, leaving an envied name; and during this month, Mrs. Pyncheon, Mrs. Coddington, Mrs. Phillips, and Mrs. Alcock. On the 20th of September, William Gager died, "a right godly man, a skilful chyrurgeon," who had been chosen deacon; and on the 30th, Isaac Johnson, the wealthiest of the company, and a warm friend of the Colony, followed his deceased partner. He died in Christian peace and resignation; declaring his life better spent in promoting this plantation than it would have been in any other way. On the 23d of October, Mr. Rositer died, another highly esteemed associate, and one of the assistants.

Among those present at this gloomy period, was Samuel Fuller, one of the fathers of Plymouth, and an eminent surgeon. He remained several weeks, sympathizing with the sufferers, but unable to supply requisite medicines. On the 2d of August, he writes to Gov. Bradford of Plymouth: "The sad news here is that many are sick and many are dead; the Lord in mercy look upon them! Some are here entered into church covenant, the first was four, namely, the Governor, Mr. John Winthrop, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Wilson; since that five more are joined unto them, and others it is like will add themselves to them daily. The Lord increase them both in number and holiness, for his mercy's sake. I here but lose time and long to be at home: I can do them no good, for I want drugs and things fitted to work with." ¹

"It was admirable to see with what Christian courage many carried it amidst these calamities."² It was chiefly Winthrop's calm decision that sustained the courage of his associates.³ In the midst of the suffering, he wrote to Mr. Johnson, at Salem, "representing the hand of God upon them in the prevailing sickness," and appointing July 30, a day of fasting and prayer. On the 9th of Sept. he wrote to his wife, then in England, in the following language: "I praise the good Lord, though we see much mortality, sickness, and trouble, yet (such is his mercy) myself and children, with most of my family, are yet living and in health, and enjoy prosperity enough, if the afflictions of our brethren did not hold under the comfort of it. * * * I thank God, I like so well to

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii. p. 76.

² Johnson.

³ Bancroft.

be here, as I do not repent my coming; and if I were to come again, I would not have altered my course, though I had foreseen all these afflictions. I never fared better in my life, never slept better, never had more content of mind." ¹

Immediately upon the arrival of the colonists, differences arose respecting places of settlement; for Salem, where they landed, "pleased them not." Several were sent "to the Bay," — Boston harbor, — "to search up the rivers for a convenient place." On receiving their reports, — some being in favor of Mystic, some of "Charlton," some of a place "three leagues up Charles River," — the goods were "unshipped into other vessels, and with much cost and labor, brought in July" to this town. But after this, they "received advertisements by some of the late arrived ships from London and Amsterdam, of some French preparations" against them. They changed their original intention of establishing themselves in one town, and for their "present shelter," resolved to "plant dispersedly." ² "This dispersion," Governor Dudley writes, "troubled some of us, but help it we could not, wanting ability to remove to any place fit to build a Towne upon, and the time too short to deliberate any longer lest the winter should surprise us before we had builded our houses. The best council we could find out was to build a fort to retire to, in some convenient place, if any enemy pressed thereunto, after we should have fortified ourselves against the injuries of wet and cold." The Town Records assign the want of water as the chief reason why the great body of those who had remained here through the months of July and August, determined to remove to Shawmut and other places. Immediately after the paragraph already printed, these Records furnish the following history of the "dispersion:" —

"This caused several to go abroad upon discovery; some went without the neck of this town, who travelled up into the main till they came to a place well watered, whither Sir Richard Saltonstall,

¹ Winthrop, vol. i. p. 377.

² Dudley's Letter. As it was written March 12, 1631, it takes precedent of the Town Records, where the two authorities differ. It was written at Boston. The author says, "having yet no table, nor other room to write in, than by the fireside upon my knee, in this sharpe winter; to which my family must have leave to resorte, though they break good manners, and make mee many times forget what I would say, and say what I would not."

Knt., and Mr. Phillips, minister, went with several others and settled a plantation, and called it Wattertowne.

“Others went on the other side of Charles River, and there travelled up into the country, and likewise finding good waters, settled there with Mr. Ludlow, and called the plantation Dorchester, whither went Mr. Maverick and Mr. Warham, who were their ministers.

“In the meantime, Mr. Blackstone,¹ dwelling on the other side of Charles River, alone, at a place by the Indians called Shawmutt,

¹ William Blackstone was the eccentric Episcopal clergyman and the first English occupant of Boston. He was at Shawmut when Charlestown was founded: How long had he been there? He had a cottage: Who built it? He claimed the whole peninsula, and the inhabitants acknowledged his right to it by buying it of him. On what was his claim founded?

Letchford says, *Mass. Hist. Collections*, vol. xxxiii. p. 97, he “went from Boston, having lived there nine or ten years.” If ten years, it would bring his arrival to about 1625. Hopkins, *Hist. Rehoboth*, p. 3, who published ninety years after Blackstone’s death, says he had been at Boston “so long as to have raised apple trees and planted an orchard,” when the Mass. Colony came. Mr. Savage, *Winthrop*, vol. i. p. 45, concludes that he had occupied the peninsula several years before 1628. These authorities unite in establishing the time as far back as 1625, — possibly a year earlier.

It was about this time, or in 1624, that Robert Gorges left his interests here “to the charge and custody of his servants and certain other undertakers and tenants.” — Hazard, vol. i. p. 191. Four years later, 1628, the inheritor of these interests, John Gorges, authorized Blackstone, Hazard, vol. i. p. 268, to give Oldham the possession of the land which had been leased to him. Does not this show that Blackstone was connected with this patent? Is not the inference a just one, that he was one of the “undertakers” alluded to above? And if so, that he came over with Gorges and occupied under a grant from him?

Mather, *Magnalia*, vol. i. p. 226, and Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 26, say that Blackstone claimed the whole peninsula upon which Boston is built, because “he was the first that slept upon it.” See also, Snow’s *Hist.* p. 52. Perhaps Walford might have advanced such a claim in relation to Charlestown, when he “confronted the magistrates.” Such claims could not be allowed: for however prodigal or avaricious the Plymouth Council might have been in selling patents, “all the right of soil which the government at home could give, was, by the charter, given to the “Massachusetts Company.” (Savage). But it may be asked; why should our ancestors have expelled Walford and bought out Blackstone? Perhaps because of the friendly offices of the latter during the suffering of 1630.

There is a tradition, current in the neighborhood where this eccentric individual last resided, that the Company were disposed at first to deprive him of his land, and that he made a characteristic and spirited resistance. — *Hist. Rehoboth*, p. 3. The early writers say, that he told the Puritans that “he came from England because he did not like the Lord’s

where he only had a cottage at, or not far off, the place called Blackstone's Point, he came and acquainted the governor of an excellent spring there, withal inviting him and soliciting him thither. Whereupon, after the death of Mr. Johnson and divers others, the governor, with Mr. Wilson and the greatest part of the church removed thither: whither also the frame of the governor's house, in preparation at this town, was (also to the discontent¹ of some) carried when people began to build their houses against winter, and this place was called Boston.

"After these things, Mr. Pinchon and several others, planted betwixt Boston and Dorchester, which place was called Roxbury.

"Now, after all this, the Indians' treachery being feared, it was judged meet the English should place their towns as near together as could be, for which end Mr. Dudley and Mr. Broadstreete, with some others, went and built, and planted between Charlestown and Waterton, who called it Newtown (which was afterwards called Cambridge.)

"Others issued out to a place between Charlestown and Salem, called Saugust, (since ordered to be called Lynn.²)

"And thus by reason of discouragements and difficulties that

Bishops, but he could not join with them because he did not like the lord's brethren."

Blackstone took the degree of A. B. at Emanuel's College, 1617: that of A. M. 1621: (Mass. Hist. Coll.: vol. xxxviii. p. 247,) was assessed to pay for the campaign of Merry Mount, and named as an agent of Gorges, 1628: was freeman 1631: had fifty acres of land set out to him near his cottage 1633: sold all but six acres to Boston and removed to Rehoboth 1634: married Mary Stevenson, widow, July 4, 1659; and died May 26, 1675, leaving a son.

The learned commentator on Winthrop says, that of the exact time when he pitched his tent at Boston "we shall, probably, remain forever unformed." I have been able to add but a fact and a suggestion to his valuable note.

Full accounts of the latter part of his life, may be found in Bliss's Hist. Rehoboth, Dagget's Attleborough, and Mass. Hist. Collections, vol. xxix. p. 174.

¹ In 1632, Savage, Winthrop, vol. i. p. 82, there was also discontent at Newtown, because the governor removed a frame he had set up there, in accordance with a promise he had made to build there. Winthrop's explanation was, "that he had performed the words of the promise, for he had a house up, and seven or eight servants abiding in it, by the day appointed." He gives good reasons for his removal to Boston.

² The interleaved Almanacs of Danforth, in Farmer and Moore's Coll., vol. iii. p. 292, give the annexed dates as the time when these towns "began:" 1628, Salem; 1629, Charlestown, Lynn; 1630, Dorchester,

strangers in a wilderness at first meet withal, though as to some things but supposed, as in this case people might have found water abundant in this town and needed not to have perished for want, or wandered to other places for relief, would they but have looked after it. But this, attended with other circumstances, the wisdom of God made use of as a means for spreading his Gospel, and peopling of this great, and then terrible wilderness, and this sudden spreading into several townships came to be of far better use for the entertainment of so many hundreds of people that came for several years following hither, in such multitudes from most parts of old England, than if they had now remained altogether in this town.

“But after their departure from this town, to the peopling and planting of the towns aforesaid, and in particular of the removal of the governor and the greatest part of our new gathered church with the pastor to Boston, the few inhabitants of this town remaining, were constrained for three years after, generally to go to Boston on the Lord's day, to hear the word and enjoy the sacraments before they could be otherwise supplied.”

From April to December two hundred died: “It may be said of us almost as of the Egyptians, that there is not a house where there is not one dead and in some houses many.”¹ It is not strange that some were disheartened and turned back — sailing

Watertown, Roxbury, Boston; 1631, Marblehead, Cambridge, Weymouth: 1633, Ipswich; 1634, Hingham.

The Town Records date the settlement of Boston after the death of Mr. Johnson, which took place. Sept. 30. But in a rate levied by the Court of Assistants, Sept. 28, of £50, Charlestown was assessed only £7 while Boston was assessed £11. Mr. Savage says, Winthrop, vol. i p. 95, that, in September the greater part of the congregation lived at Boston. The first meeting of the Company at Boston was held Oct. 19: the first Court of Assistants Nov. 9. Snow dates the foundation of Boston from Sept. 7, when Tri-mountain was ordered to be called Boston. Hubbard says, that “about November the Governor and Deputy Governor, with most of the assistants, removed their families to Boston.

The first Court of Assistants at Charlestown was held Aug. 23, on board the *Arbella*, Johnson says, which assertion, as to the place, Mr. Savage, Winthrop, vol. i. p. 30, questions. It was then, however, specially ordered that the next Court should be held “at the Governor's House.” (the Great House) Sept. 7. There was another Court held Sept. 28, probably at the same place: after which, Oct. 19, the meetings were held at Boston.

¹ Dudley.

with Captain Peirce for England. But this, no more than their suffering, discouraged the survivors. They professed themselves glad so to be rid of them. This experience, however, gave a different tone to the letters from the Colony to their friends in England. "I say this," nobly wrote Dudley to the Countess of Lincoln, March, 1631, "that if any come hither to plant for worldly ends, that can live well at home, he commits an error, of which he will soon repent him." "If there be any endued with grace, and furnished with means to feed themselves and theirs for eighteen months, and to build and plant, let them come into our Macedonia, and help us, and not spend themselves and their estates in a less profitable employment: For others I conceive they are not yet fitted for this business." ¹

Such were the scenes, as described in the simple and touching language of the sufferers, that marked the second year of the history of Charlestown and the settlement of Boston. The dead, say the Records, were buried about the Town Hill.² It was chiefly about this hill that the emigrants first built their "cottages." It continued, until the Revolution, to be the most populous part of the town. And there, on another day of trial, the homes of the descendants of these "first victims," became an early sacrifice on the altar of American liberty. Eulogy has exhausted itself in treating of the day of Bunker Hill. But not less worthy of commemoration are the firmness, the self-sacrifice, the Christian resignation, of the men, who thus, in tears and faith, founded the Colony of Massachusetts.

¹ Dudley's Letter.

² There is a tradition that there was anciently a grave-yard on the Town Hill. Human bones have been dug up in various places upon it. The last instance of this was, in digging this year, 1845, the cellar for the stores built by Mr. Joseph Thompson on the Square. Some of the bones consisted of parts of skulls in which the teeth were in a state of perfect preservation. But no part of this hill was ever laid out as a regular burying-place, and the tradition is probably founded on the single instance mentioned in the Records.

CHAPTER VIII.

Organization of Local Government.—Boundaries.—Admission of Inhabitants.—Division of Land.

THE New England towns,¹ in many respects, were peculiar. Not in the fact that such communities were formed here, for civilized society, from time immemorial, had gathered in cities, as naturally as savage society had clustered in villages: but peculiar in their independence, and the organization of their government.

This government, in the light of to-day so simple and reasonable, perhaps existed nowhere else. England did not furnish an example of it; for its municipal governments were either vested in little councils first appointed by the crown, and which had the privilege of electing their successors; or in persons who had acquired the title of freemen, who commonly consisted of but a small number of the resident inhabitants, and often even of non-residents; or they were singularly connected with the local guilds or trade corporations, as London is at the present day. These local governments failed to fulfil the commonest municipal purposes, until, in 1835, the municipal Reform Act, with few exceptions, re-constituted them. Scotland did not furnish such an example; for there, a sweeping statute (1449) vested the government in the existing magistrates, with power to nominate their successors; and in spite of the enormous evils that crept into their management, this system lasted nearly four centuries, or until the Reform Act of 1833. On the continent the municipal system, if possible, was still worse; in France, for instance, the local magistrates were all appointed

¹ "The origin of town governments in New England, is involved in some obscurity. The system does not prevail in England. Nothing analogous to it is known in the Southern States, and although the system of internal government in the Middle States bears a partial resemblance to that of New England, it is in many respects dissimilar." Baylies' Plymouth, vol. i. p. 241. Baylies traces their origin to the independent churches.

by the crown, and the citizens even forbidden to assemble in town meeting to discuss their wants.¹ In all these cases the body of inhabitants had but little voice in controlling their townships. The nearest precedents for the New-England towns were those little independent nations, the free cities of the twelfth century; or the towns of the Anglo-Saxons, where every office was elective.²

But in New England, from the first, the towns have been controlled substantially, by the body of inhabitants. Here they gathered in town meetings, made by-laws, decided upon rates, created offices and elected officers, before there appear on the colonial records laws authorizing such proceedings. This internal self-government was assumed. The General Court recognised the early towns and their government as such; and in 1636, defined their privileges.

The inhabitants of this town, for a few years, transacted all their local business in town meeting. In 1634, January 9, they "empowered" a committee to "lay out any lots and make any rates" necessary for that year. A few months later, June 13, there was appointed a committee of three "to be at town meetings to assist in ordering there affairs." No other specification is given of the duties of this committee. But their local government was not yet to their minds: "by reason of many men meeting, things were not so easily brought unto a joynt issue." And, February 10, 1635,

1 Guizot's Civilization.

2 Penny Cyclopaedia: article Boroughs. The distinction in our towns between freemen and inhabitants will be noticed hereafter. In England, the freemen became such by purchase, birth, marriage, apprenticeship, and, in some towns, by the possession of property. In many towns it was necessary that the freeman, to complete his title, should be a member of one of the local Guilds or Trade corporations. Plymouth affords a good instance of the narrowness of the elective body, where, in a population of 75,000, there was (1835) but 437 freemen, of whom 145 were non-residents. In Elizabeth's reign, and also earlier, the right was assumed to remould, by Royal Charters, the municipal constitutions of the towns; and, in place of the election of officers by the body of inhabitants, to vest the local government in small councils, originally nominated by the crown, and to be ever after self-elected. In vain did the inhabitants apply to the privy council to restore the old system of popular elections, even where council elections rested only on a custom that had grown up. The judges decided against such petitions: they decided not only that elections by select common councils were legal, "but that when such custom had grown up, the community at large were forever excluded from such elections."



1634 An order made by the parliament of Great Brittain
At a full meeting for the Good but it is found
in confirmation of the great benefit and

decease of the Inhabitants of the said town
by reason of the frequent meeting of the Inhabitants
in general & it be reason of many more meetings
beinge was not so easily brought into a right Tiffon
It is therefore agreed by the sayd townsmen

to buye that best chosen men wch shal name
and written and to be chosen by the said town
of the sayd and beinge chosen in any case of
confusions, To all subvert of all such business
to be done by the townsmen to be requir
of the sayd quoyed, And wch to be on the number
part of the sayd townsmen of the sayd town
And willingly to submit unto the sayd town
to be set, and to be to be continued in light

employment for one yeare next ensuing the
date hereof to be dated the 10 of February 1634
In witness of the agreement and wch to be made
was under our hands and set to the sayd townsmen

Abram: Mollard

Wmth Fookingan
Thomas Goble

William Jamesth Gough

Ruth Mollard

William Johnson

Henry Whitel

Walter

Richard Sprague

James Peniston heron

William Richardson
Thomas Equine

Robert Baker

Charles Baker

Christopher James
Edward King

George Bunker
Thomas King

George Ball
Thomas King

William Graye

Thomas Graye

Edward Johnson

Pro Mauris

Robert Gorthad

Thomas Johnson
Richard Johnson

the original proceeding on board the *May Flower* was imitated, in providing for the government of the town by Selectmen, in the following "order" :—

"An order made by the inhabitants of Charlestowne at a full meeting for the government of the Town by Selectmen.

"In consideration of the great trouble and chearg of the Inhabitants of Charlestowne by reason of the frequent meeting of the townsmen in generall and yt by reason of many men meeting things were not so easily brought unto a joynt issue It is therefore agreed by the sayde townesmen ioyntly that these eleven men whose names are written one the other syde, (w'th the advice of Pastor and Teacher desired in any case of conscience,) shall entreat of all such business as shall concerne the Townsmen, the choise of officers excepted, and what they or the greater part of them shall conclude of the rest of the towne willingly to submit unto as their owne proper act, and these II to continue in this employment for one year next ensuing the date hereof being dated this: 10th of February 1634 (1635).

"In witness of this agreement we whose names are under written have set o'r hands.

Wm. Frothingham,	Abra. Mellows,	John Greene,
William Learned,	Wilm. Gnash,	Thomas Goble,
Robt. Moulton,	Walter Pope,	Richard Sprague,
William Johnson,	James Pemberton,	Thomas Squire,
George Whitehand,	Rice Coles,	William Sprague,
William Baker,	Thomas Minor,	Thomas Pearce,
Robert Hale,	Richard Kettle,	Edward Johnes,
Nicholas Stowers,	Edward Sturgis,	Rice Mauris,
Robert Blot,	George Felch,	Robeart Shorthos,
George Bunker,	Thomas Lincoln,	Geag. Hutchinson,
John Hall,	Anthony Eames,	Richard Palgrave."

No town has a more perfect history of the formation of its local government than is here presented. Its form was evidently dictated by experience. The original document, from which the accurate fac-simile is taken, is preserved; or, rather, only half of the sheet on which it was written.¹ Some may now think it a small

¹ The other half, on which were the names of the eleven persons chosen, is destroyed. On this half, probably, were also the signatures of the re-

matter; once it was full of life and meaning. It was evidently regarded as important business for the whole "to willingly submit" to the doings of eleven men, as "their own propper act." In all probability, for months, this measure occupied the time, thoughts and prayers of the town.

There arose difficulties very early, respecting the bounds of the towns, and the General Court settled them by defining their several limits. In 1633, March 6, it established the lines between this town and Newtown, (Cambridge) by ordering that the land "impaled by Newtown men, with the Neck thereto adjoining where Mr. Graves dwelleth, shall belong to the said Newtown": while Charlestown bounds were to "end at a tree marked by the said pale, and to pass by that tree by a straight line, unto the midway between the westermost part of the great lot of land" granted to John Winthrop, (Ten Hills) "and the nearest part thereto, of the bounds of Watertown." The court also granted "Mistick side" to this town (July 2), — ordering that "the ground lying betwixt the North river and the creek on the north side of Mr. Maverick's, and up into the country, shall belong to the inhabitants of Charlestown." This does not say how far "up into the country" the tract ran. Another order, March 3, 1636, was more definite: "Ordered that Charlestown bounds shall run eight miles into the country, from their meeting-house, if not other bounds intercept, reserving the propriety of farms, granted to John Winthrop, Esq., Mr. Nowell, Mr. Cradock, and Mr. Wilson, to the owners thereof, as also free ingress and egress for the servants and cattle of the said gentlemen, and common for their cattle, on the back side of Mr. Cradock's farm."

It was not until 1636 that the lines were established between this town and Boston. It was, at first, uncertain to which Winisimit belonged. The government ordered, May 14, 1634, that the

mainder of the inhabitants, as there were seventy-two the succeeding January. This curious document is carelessly copied into the first volume of the Records, — speaking but poorly for the general accuracy of the transcriber.

The names of the first board of Selectmen were, Increase Nowell, Esq., Mr. Thomas Beecher, Edward Converse, Ezekiel Richardson, Walter Palmer, Ralph Sprague, William Brackenbury, Thomas Lynde, Mr. Abram Palmer, John Mousal, and Robert Moulton.

people of that place, before the next General Court, should join themselves either to one town or the other, or they would "be laid then to one of those two towns by the court." On the 3d of September it was ordered "that Winnissemitt shall belong to Boston." In 1635, May 6, the lines between the two towns were definitely fixed. It would be difficult to follow them now. They ran from "one marked tree" to another; from "the creek in the creek upward" to "a little neck of land"; from "a tall pine upon a point of rock" to "the other side of Rumney Marsh"; and "from outside to outside by a strait line." This line did not satisfy the parties: for, March 28, 1636, there appears an agreement by which "the bounds between Boston and Charlestown, on the north-east side Mistick river, shall run from the marked tree upon the rocky hill above Rumney Marsh near the written tree no: no: west upon a straight line by a meridian compass up into the country."¹

The General Court, on the petition of the town, made it an additional grant (May 13, 1640) of "two miles at their head line, provided it fall not within the bounds of Lynn village and that they build within two years"; that is, lay the foundation of a new town, afterwards Woburn. On the 7th of October, another grant was made to the town: "the proportion of four miles square, with their former last grant to make a village, whereof 500 acres is granted to Mr. Thomas Coitmore to be set out by the court." In these grants "Cambridge line" was not to be crossed, nor were the bounds to "come within a mile of Shawshine river." The "great swamp and pond" were to lie in common.

This completes the grants, — so far as boundaries are concerned, — from the General Court to the town. Still, the farms, the proprietorships of which were reserved to the owners by the order of 1636, were not considered as belonging to the towns where they lay, until 1641, when the Court ordered (June 14) "that all farms that are within the bounds of any town should be of the Town in which they be, except Meadford."²

The inhabitants parcelled out the land within these limits. But

¹ This agreement is signed by Abraham Palmer, William Chesborough, and William Spencer.

² The connection that existed between Charlestown and Cradock's Farm or Medford, will be found stated in subsequent pages.

who were inhabitants? Those only who were admitted such by vote of the town. For many years applicants were severely scrutinized, and not unfrequently refused a residence. "Not for their poverty," Johnson writes; correctly of this early period, for it will give a vivid idea of its prejudices to say, that the towns then dreaded a Quaker as much, as later, they dreaded a pauper. "Yet," continues Johnson, a zealous actor in municipal affairs, "such as were exorbitant, and of a turbulent spirit, unfit for a civil society, they would reject till they come to mend their manners."¹ Credentials that applicants were church members, or of good moral character, were required. Persons, in some towns, were admitted on condition that they would bring their wives from abroad.²

The persons who brought Charlestown "into the denomination of an English town" (1629) were approved by Gov. Endicott. The next notice respecting inhabitants occurs (1630) in the "list of such as staid and became inhabitants" after the removal. After this date, inhabitants were admitted by a vote of the town. As early as 1634, October 13, it was ordered "that none be permitted so sit down and dwell in this town without the consent of the town first obtained"; and February 21, 1637, "that no freeman should entertain any in their houses, but to give notice thereof at the next town meeting," and "none that are not free should entertain any without the consent" of three of the Selectmen. This year the General Court passed a law, providing that none from abroad should reside in any town without the consent of one of the counsel, or two of the magistrates, under penalty of one hundred pounds; and the next year a more stringent municipal order of this town (April 3, 1638) provides that, "no freemen shall entertain any person or persons at their houses, but to give notice to the Townsmen (Selectmen) within fourteen days; and such as are not free, not to entertain any at all without consent of six of the men deputed for the town affairs; and these to acquaint the town therewith at their next meeting, upon penalty of ten shillings for every month that they keep them without the town's consent; and the constable is to see this order observed from time

¹ Wonder Working Providence, chap. 22.

² Felt's Salem, p. 167.

to time, and to gather up the aforesaid fines by way of distress." Nor was this by any means a dead letter: this year, Faintnot Wines and Nicholas Stowers were fined "ten shillings a piece for receiving inmates without license from the town." Hospitality, for a long time, continued to be an expensive virtue.

If a person applied for admission who, it was thought, would be a valuable acquisition, there was no hesitancy. Thus, (1637) "Mr. John Harvard is admitted a townsman with promise of such accommodations as we best can": "Mr. Francis Norton is admitted a Townsman if he please." If the circumstances of the applicant were doubtful, there was a different vote: in 1635, "Goodman Rand granted to set down with us upon condition the Town have no just ground of exception"; in 1636, "Ralph Smith was admitted a month upon trial;" in 1637, James Hoyden was admitted "if the court give way;" John Mosse, "newly out of his time," was admitted "for this year to live with his master in his family upon trial"; "Timothy Ford upon his good behaviour was admitted to plant and to be at Richard Kettle's for planting time, or to propound another place." In 1638,— "Turner was permitted for the present to sojourn with Henry Bullock till next meeting, in mean time to be enquired of."

The first, and most important work of the Colonists was the division of the soil. According to the terms of the Company, each person who came over "at his own cost," was entitled to fifty acres; each adventurer of fifty pounds in the common stock, to two hundred acres, or in this proportion; those who brought over servants were allowed fifty acres for each, and grants were made, also, in consideration of eminent service rendered the Colony. On such considerations, a large part of the tract called Charlestown, was granted; the farms of Winthrop, Nowell and Wilson, referred to in the boundary description, were of this class. So was, also, the great farm set off to Matthew Cradock. All these were granted by the General Court before the bounds of the town were established.

After townships had been defined, lands within their limits were divided by their inhabitants. In general divisions, the tract to be allotted was agreed upon in town meeting. A committee was appointed, generally the "seven men," with other principal inhabitants, to survey it, stake out the lots and number them.

Sometimes the inhabitants would draw lots for their shares, sometimes they were assigned by the committee. Record was made of the lots in the town books, with the conditions upon which they were granted, and this constituted the title of their owners. The considerations that governed these local divisions were, the number of persons an inhabitant had in his family; the number of cattle and other stock he was able to own; and "eminent respect" was given to "men of eminent quality and descent, in assigning them more large and honorable accommodations in regard of their great disbursements to publike charges." One of the conditions the General Court imposed was, that no man should "set his dwelling house above the distance of half a mile or a mile at the furthest, from the meeting of the congregation, where the Church" usually assembled.¹

The inhabitants of this town, in 1629, agreed that each should have two acres for planting ground and to fence in common; and in 1630, that each, "dwelling within the Neck" should have "two acres of land for an house plot, and two acres for every male that is able to plant." In 1634, each inhabitant had ten acres of land allotted to him "at Mistick Side," but the next year, twenty nine "willingly relinquished" five acres of their ten acre lots "for the good of the town," — "that it might supply new comers." Though these votes indicate that the land was divided equally, yet next year, (1635) in a large division of bay grounds, — two hundred and thirty-one and a half lots among sixty-three inhabitants, — the largest number any one had was fifteen lots; the smallest, half a lot; and the conditions on which they were allotted, were, that no one should have the right to dispose of any lot until he had built and planted in town, nor then to any but inhabitants of the town; nor were any to have lots who "did not resign up half their ten acre lots on Mistick Side, for the accommodation of such brethren that want." And in 1638, when a large allotment of land, now Malden, was made, the largest share was two hundred and sixty acres, and the smallest ten acres.

Besides these general divisions, each inhabitant, on being admitted, commonly had a grant of a lot of land. This was done, at

¹ Laws of New England, 1641, in 3d vol. of Force's Tracts, p. 8. Felt's Salem, p. 181. In 1635, Salem voted that "the least family shall have ten acres, but great families may have more."

first, in general town meeting; after a few years, by the board of selectmen. These grants were, usually, without restriction. Sometimes, however, there were such provisos as the following: in 1633, Jonathan Wade had thirty acres, "provided he plough it up in four years or else to lose it, except so much of it as he shall break up in that time:" in 1635, Stephen Fosdick had a house plot, "upon condition to build a good house upon it and pay goodman Richeson a day's work:" in 1636, Mr. Green had "a cows hay and a house plot, provided he build and live upon it:" in 1637, Richard Perry had "eight acres of planting ground" "if his man stay or another come:" in 1638, John Brimsmead had a house plot "upon the condition that he demolish his new dwelling house."

Such was the increase of inhabitants, that, in 1637, the town began to be more careful in granting land. It prohibited the "nine men" (selectmen) "from granting great lots other than according to apportion;" and voted, that, "if any man sell his house or ground, he shall have no more allowed him." After this time inhabitants are frequently admitted with the proviso that they are to have but small lots or none at all: this year (1637), Azpia Knight had liberty "to follow his trade and to have a house plot, if to be found, and no other land;" Jervase Boyken, to "sit down, if we can to afford him a house plot, but no other ground;" Goodman Fitt, a tailor, "to set up a salt pan, if he can live upon it, and upon his trade, without any land;" and in 1638, Richard Hill, a cooper, "to buy a house and follow his trade, without any accommodation of land or otherwise." After this period, admissions are less frequent, and are generally without any grants.

The division of the soil occupied a large part of the life of the early inhabitants. It was not done without jealousies and contests. Boston, in 1634, left off some of its chief men from its selectmen, because the majority feared that "the richer men would give the poorer sort no great proportions of land," but leave too much for "new comers" and common. And after divisions had been made, some would be negligent in looking after their lots, some would take what did not belong to them; stakes were pulled up, and bounds destroyed. Hence occurred "great darkness of title," and much dispute. The aggrieved would petition the General Court, which sometimes appointed commission-

ers to visit the town, hear the parties, and settle their differences. An award of this kind at Watertown, fills several folio pages.

The land in this way, was broken into farms and house lots. In the first general divisions, the humblest, — for the widow and the orphan were not forgotten, — had something, though no more than half a lot in the “hay grounds,” or a single “cows commons.” Independent proprietors were thus created, holding their lands in fee simple, free from the feudal exactions that were so oppressive in other countries. And then followed the wise legislation, that made their transfer, at length, simple and free. Such a policy was the fruitful parent of an independent spirit. When these lands had been adorned by labor and defended by valor, their possessors felt that they owned them, and ought to control them; and that the legislation which their circumstances required, ought to be determined by themselves, rather than by those, thousands of miles off, who, necessarily, must be ignorant of their wants. The native growth of this influence, with other influences, was destined to be “a perfect independence and an intelligent republicanism”¹

CHAPTER IX.

1630 to 1640. — The Town after the removal. — Extracts from John Greene's Relation. — Fort at Moulton's Point. — Ten Hills. — Spot Pond. — Summer of 1632. — Winter of 1632-3. — Wood's Description. — Indian Mortality. — The Great House. — A School. — Lovell's Island. — The Common Stinted. — The Pequod War. — Indian Purchase.

THE records indicate that the condition of the inhabitants was not much relieved by the “dispersion.” Winter, December 24, 1630, set in with uncommon violence, and the prospect before

¹ Edward Everett's Orations, p. 87. Another has remarked of the N. E. Colonists, — “it may be fairly said, that this necessary act (division of lands) fixed the future frame and form of their government.” — Webster's Plymouth Oration, 1820.

them was cheerless, for famine, almost stared them in the face. "Oh the hunger," writes Roger Clap, most probably referring to this period, — "that many suffered and saw no hope in an eye of reason to be supplied only by clams, and muscles, and fish. Flesh of all kinds was a rare thing, and bread was so very scarce that sometimes I thought the very crumbs of my father's table would have been sweet unto me. And when I could have meat and water and salt, boiled together, it was so good, who could wish better."

The records furnish the following account of the first proceedings of the town, after the removal, with the names of those who remained: it concludes the transactions of 1630.

"A list of the names of such as staid and became inhabitants¹ of this town in this year 1629, (1630) following :

"Increase Nowell, Esq.,	William Brakenburry,
Mr. William Aspinwall,	Rice Cole,
Mr. Richard Palsgrave,	Hugh Garrett,
Edwd. Convers,	Ezekiel Richeson,
Wm. Penn,	John Baker,
Wm. Hudson,	John Sales,
Mr. John Glover.	

Capt'n Norton,	} These four went and built in the maine on the north- east side of the north-west creeke of this town. ²
Mr. Edward Gibbons,	
Mr. Wm. Jennings,	
Jno. Wignall.	

"Agreed and concluded by the inhabitants of this towne that the great cornfield shall be on the east side of the Town Hill, the fence to range along even with those dwellings³ where Walter Pamer's house stands and so along towards the neck of land, and that to every inhabitant dwelling within the neck be given two acres

¹ Dr. Bartlett (in Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.), and Snow (Hist. Boston, p. 34), with others, say; but "seventeen male inhabitants" remained in town. This is certainly incorrect, as those of 1629 continued to reside in town; the seventeen in the text are to be added to the original settlers.

² Johnson says, Wonder Working Providence, chap. xvii., one mile distant from Maverick's "upon the river ran a small creeke, taking its name from Major Gen. Edward Gibbons, who dwelt there for some years after." This location would be on Mystic side, or in Malden.

³ This was the beginning of Main-street.

of land for an house plot and two acres for every male that is able to plant : But in consideration of the greatness of the charge in fencing down to the neck of land, it is concluded that that be suspended at present, and that only a cross fence be drawn at the neck of land from Misticke River to the water on the west of the neck, which being computed ariseth to one pole and two foot the acre for so many acres as are at present allotted : And that the cattle be kept without upon the maine.

“ But now as the winter came on, provisions began to be very scarce upon the grounds aforesaid, and people were neccessitated to live upon clams, and muscles, and ground nuts, and acorns, and these got with much difficulty, in the winter time ; upon which people were very much tired and discouraged, especially when they heard that the Governor himself had the last batch of bread in the oven. And many were the fears of people, that Mr. Pearce, who was sent to Ireland to fetch provisions, was cast away, or taken by pirates : But God who delights to appear in greatest straights, did work marvellously at this time ; for before the very day appointed to seek the Lord by fasting and prayer, about the month of February or March, in comes Mr. Pearce¹ laden with provisions ; upon which occasion the day of Fast was changed, and ordered to be kept as a day of Thanksgiving : Which provisions was (were) by the Governor distributed unto the people according to their necessities.”²

¹ The ship Lyon. She anchored in Boston harbor Feb. 9, 1631. Her cargo of stores consisted of 34 hhds. wheat meal, 15 hhds. peas, 4 hhds. oatmeal, 4 hhds. beef and pork, 15 cwt. of cheese, butter, suet, &c. They arrived in good condition. On the 22d, by order of the Governor, a thanksgiving was appointed.

² The extracts from the town records on pages 12, 13, 14, 20, 21, 24, 25, 41, 42, 44 to 47, and the above extract, contain about five and a quarter pages of the seven described on page 2 of this work ; and also in the order in which they stand on the records. The spelling of the writer is not adhered to, except in the case of proper names. And here he spells the same words differently : It is “ Mishaum ” in one place, and “ Mishawum ” in another : “ Waterton ” and “ Wattertowne : ” Walter “ Pamer ” in the first pages of the records and then Walter “ Pahner.” This difficulty occurs throughout the volume. But strange as it is that one living so near the time of the settlement should have been so incorrect as to dates,—for they cannot be explained by reference to the then prevalent system of double dating—yet we cannot but thank the author of it for transmitting to us so valuable a relation.

After this date (1631) the records appear to have been copied, with

1631. It was concluded to build a fort "on the hill at Moulton's Point," and mount the "six guns left by the company" last year upon the beach of this town, for defence "in case ships should come up on the back side of Mistick River." The next year, however, the project was abandoned, as the town records say, by "sounding the mouth of Mistick River, the channel lies so far off from Moulton's Point towards Winnesemit side, that the erecting a fort on the hill will not reach that end."

The Court, September 6, granted to Governor Winthrop, six hundred acres of land and "near his house at Mistick," which he named ten Hills. Here he built a bark of thirty tons, which was launched July 4th, and named "the Blessing of the Bay;" and also built his "farm house." This place is often referred to in the town records as "Winthrop's Farm." He writes, October 30, that in a violent storm, two sides of an unfinished building of stone "laid with clay for want of lime," was washed to the ground.¹

few exceptions, from memoranda made at the time the events took place. Prince, and others following him, have ascribed the account quoted in the text, to Increase Nowell, who appears to have been town clerk in 1636 and 1637, and to have assisted Abraham Palmer in 1639. But he died nine years before this was written. This first volume is most carelessly bound, having four leaves dated 1635 and 1636 inserted, out of place, before this account. The following is the order of the Selectmen to Mr. Greene.

"At a meeting of the Selectmen April 18, 1664, John Greene is appointed by us to transcribe the records of this town and having begun the same in a book as far as to folio eight, most whereof is gathered by information of known gentlemen that lived and were actors in those times, and all except some court orders and some few town orders in the seven first pages not being of that concernment as the grants of lands which happened after, we do approve of the same, and consent that what is written on those seven pages remain as it is, but for what follows the seventh page of that book we desire that all grants of lands or alienations be written verbatim as they stand in the old record without any alteration, only to place each grant orderly in that place where it appears clear on the book, or otherwise to be placed as near as you can in its proper year. And as for such things that are obscure, or to be dubiously understood, relating to grants, &c., you are to clear themselves by the best evidence may be, and place such explanation only in the margin — and for other things that are not grants or alienations of lands you are to place orderly, and reduce them into the most brief and clear language you can.

Per James Cary, Recorder.

¹ Winthrop, under date of October 11, 1631, details the following adventure:—"The governour, being at his farm house in Mistick, walked out after supper, and took a piece in his hand, supposing he might see a wolf, (for they came daily about the house, and killed swine and calves,

1632. Governor Winthrop, Mr. Nowell and others, went, February 7, over Mystic River at Medford, and going north and east about two or three miles, came "to a very great pond, having in the midst an island of about one acre, and very thick with trees of pine and beech; and the pond had divers small rocks, standing up here and there in it, which they therefore called Spot Pond. They went all about it on the ice." For nearly a century this pond was within the limits of Charlestown.¹

"The summer of this year," the town records say, "proved short and wet; our crops of Indian corn (for all this while we had no other) was very small and great want threatened us, at which time here happened in this town the first known thief that was notoriously observed in the country. His name was John Sales, who having stolen corn from many people in this scarce time, was convicted thereof before the court, and openly punished and all he had by law condemned and sold to make restitution.

"This winter also proved very sharp and long, and people were exceedingly pinched for want of provisions, for their came very little over this year from England. But it pleased God to send an unexpected and early supply, for one Mr. Stratton arrived here with his vessel in the beginning of March laden with Indian corn from Virginia which he sold for ten shillings per bushel."

1633. William Wood, having resided several years in the colony, sailed for England, August 15, where, in 1634, he published an interesting description of the country under the title of "Nevv Eng-

&c. :) and, being about half a mile off, it grew suddenly dark, so as, in coming home he mistook his path, and went till he came to a little house of Sagamore John, which stood empty. There he stayed, and having a piece of match in his pocket, (for he always carried about him match and compass, and in summer time snake-weed,) he made a good fire near the house, and lay down upon some old mats, which he found there, and so spent the night, sometimes walking by the fire, sometimes singing psalms, and sometimes getting wood, but could not sleep. It was (through God's mercy) a warm night; but a little before day it began to rain, and, having no cloak, he made shift by a long pole to climb up into the house. In the morning, there came thither an Indian squaw, but perceiving her before she had opened the door, he barred her out: yet she stayed there a great while essaying to get in, and at last she went away, and he returned safe home, his servants having walked about, and shot off pieces, and halloed in the night, but he heard them not."

¹ Winthrop, vol. i. p. 69. This year a fort was built on Corn Hill at Boston; Winthrop writes "May 25, Charlestown men came and wrought upon the fortification."

land's Prospect," accompanied by a map, which is dated 1635. This was the first map of New England, made after its settlement; the fac-simile of a section of it represents Massachusetts, probably, in 1633. Wood furnishes the following description of Charlestown:—

“ On the North-side of Charles River is Charles Towne, which is another neck of land, on whose North side runs Misticke-river. This towne for all things, may be well parale'd with her neighbor, Boston, being in the same fashion with her bare necke, and constrained to borrow conveniences from the Maine, and to provide for themselves farmes in the countrey for their better subsistance. At this towne there is kept a Ferry-boate, to conveigh passengers over Charles River, which betweene the two Townes is a quarter of a mile over, being a very deepe channell. Here may ride forty ships at a time. Vp higher it is a broad Bay, being above two miles betweene the shores, into which runnes stony-river, and muddy-river. Towards the south-west in the middle of this Bay, is a great oyster Bank. Towards the North-west of this Bay is a great creeke, upon whose shore is situated the Village of Medford,¹ a very fertile and pleasant place, and fit for more inhabitants than are yet in it. This Towne is a mile and a half from Charles Towne.” After describing “ New-towne ” and “ Water-towne,” the writer goes on: “ The next Towne is Misticke,¹ which is three miles from Charles Towne by land, and a league and a half by water: It is seated by the waters side very pleasantly; there be not many houses as yet. At the head of this river are great and spacious Ponds, whither the Alewives preasse to spawne. This being a noted place for that kind of Fish, the English resort hither to take them. On the west side of this River the Governor hath a Farme, where he keeps most of his Cattle. On the East side is Maister Craddock's plantation where he hath impaled a Parke, where he keeps his Cattle, till he can store it with Deere. Here likewise he is at charges of building ships. The last year one was upon the stockes of a hundred Tunne, that being finished, they are to build one twice her burden. Ships without either Ballast or loading, may

¹ There was no town by this name; nor was Medford a town until later. See note on Craddock's Farm.

floate downe this River; otherwise the oyster-banke would hinder them which croseth the Channell."

During the winter of 1633-4 there was great mortality among the Indians. The town records say: "At this time began a most greivous and terrible sickness amongst the Indians, who were exceeding numerous about us, (called the Aberginians)¹ their disease was generally the small pox, which raged not only amongst these, but amongst the eastern Indians also, and in a few months swept away multitudes of them, young and old,—they could not bury their dead,—the English were constrained to help; and that which is very remarkable is, that though the English did frequently visit them in their sickness, notwithstanding the infection, it was observed that not one Englishman was touched with the disorder; but it was extremely infectious among themselves, and mortal when it took any of them, insomuch as there was scarce any of them left: By which awful and admirable dispensation, it pleased God to make room for his people of the English nation who, after this, in the immediate years following, came from England by many hundreds every year to us, who (without this remarkable and terrible work of God upon the natives) would with much more difficulty have found room, and at far great charge have obtained and purchased land."

Chickatawbut, November 30, with many of his tribe, Wonohaquaham, (Sagamore John) December 5., Montowampate, (Sagamore James) and most of their people, were swept away. "The poore creatures," writes Johnson, "being very timorous of death, would faine have fled from it, but could not tell how:" and their "Powwows, Wizards, and Charmers, Hobbamoocka's Factors were possest with greatest feare of any." "Relations," he adds, "were but little regarded among them at this time;" and he details the terrible scenes that met the English as they visited "their matted houses." "It wrought much with them," writes Winthrop, "that when their own people forsook them, yet the English came daily and ministered to them."

1634. The court granted Pettock's Island to this town for twenty-one years. In 1638, it was voted that "for the time to come the

¹ Though Wood describes the Aberginians as Northern Indians, yet Johnson, (Mass. Coll. vol. xxii. p. 66.) says "the Aberginny men" consisted "of the Massachusetts, Wippenaps and Tarratines."

calves should be kept" there; and "the keeper to have ground to plant there."

1635. "Edward Converse, William Brackenbury, and Mr. Abraham Palmer were desired to go up into the country upon discovery three or four days," for which they were to be "satisfied at the charge of the Town."

The Great House, which in 1632 had been purchased of the Company for ten pounds, and was the first meeting-house, was this year sold for thirty pounds, to Robert Long. The record is as follows: "Mr. Long was granted to have the Great House wholly when we shall be provided of another meeting-house, and to pay £30, and for the present to have the south end, and so much of the chamber as the deacons can spare, and when the congregation leaveth the house, the deacons are to have the plank and the boards which lie over the chamber with all the forms below and benches."

1636. "June 3, Mr. William Witherell was agreed with to keep a school for a twelve month to begin the eighth of August, and to have £40 this year;" the same month in which John Oldham was killed by the Pequods. This simple record is evidence of one of the most honorable facts of the time, namely, that a public school, and judging from the salary, a free school at least for this "twelve month," was thus early established here; and on the principle of voluntary taxation. It may be worth while to remember also, that this date is eleven years prior to the so often quoted law of Massachusetts, compelling towns to maintain schools.

The General Court, September 8, granted Lovell's Island to the town, "provided they employ it for fishing by their own townsmen, or hinder not others."¹ This island was rented, and the income of it, in a short time, applied regularly to the support of the school. The town records, under the date of 1634, state that the island was let for twenty years; probably an error in the copyist. In 1648 the Court gave this island to the town forever, "provided that half of the timber and fire-wood shall belong to the garrison at the castle."

1637. The large tract of land lying between Winter Hill Road and Cambridge was divided into rights of pasturage. A large committee was chosen to do this, or "to stint the common," who determined the number of "cows commons" which 113 inhabitants

¹ The Colony Records say 1636.

should have in this pasture. The agreement was as follows:—
 “In consideration of the straitness of common on this side of Mistick River, it was agreed, that all the ground from the town to Menotomics River that is without the enclosures shall be reserved in common for such cattle as are necessarily to be taken care for near home as milch cows, working cattle, goats, and calves of the first year, and each man to have a propriety of the same, according to the proportions under written for such cattle above specified, either of their own or any they shall let unto of the same kind, and not other ways.” The largest number any one had was ten and three-fourths commons; the smallest, half a cows commons.

In the war with the Pequod Indians, concluded this year, Charlestown furnished sixteen men,— first twelve, and then four. Sergeant Palmer, of this town, with twelve men, rendered efficient service at the great Swamp fight. Rev. John Wilson went with the troops, as chaplain; and Thomas Starr, afterwards Town Clerk, as surgeon. Of about six or seven hundred Indians, the commander of the expedition states that only about seven escaped.

1638. “A true record” was taken of “all such houses and lands as were possessed by the inhabitants, whether by purchase, by gift from the town, or by allotments, as they were divided among them by a joint consent, after the General Court had settled their bounds, by granting eight miles from the old meeting-house into the country,” and established, also, the other boundaries already quoted. This record is not perfect. Many of the descriptions are so indefinite that it is difficult, if not impossible, to locate the lots.

1639. The town refused in some cases to grant land outside the peninsula, until “the Indians had been agreed with.” In 1637 it paid thirty-six shillings to Squaw Sachem and Web Cowit, for land, now a part of Somerville, which they acknowledged themselves in Court “to be satisfied for;” and this year (1639) it purchased a large tract, part now Somerville and West Cambridge, of the same Indians, for nineteen fathoms of wampum, twenty-one coats, and three bushels of corn. The deed is recorded on Middlesex records, and the town records.¹

¹ “The 15th of the 2d mo., 1639.

Wee Web-Cowet and Squaw Sachem do sell vnto the Inhabitants of the Towne of Charlestowne, all the land within the line granted them by the court, (excepting the farmes and the ground, on the west of the two

CHAPTER X.

Ecclesiastical History, from 1630 to 1640. — The First Church. — Removal to Boston. — Separation. — John Wilson. — A new Church. — Thomas James. — Divisions. — Zechariah Symmes. — Removal of Mr. James. — Antinomian Controversy. — John Harvard: his Monument. — Thomas Allen. — Church Officers.

THE first church gathered here, — the fourth in New England, — was organized at a time of severe suffering and mortality, when man is wont to feel the most deeply his sense of dependence. July 30, 1630, was a day of fasting; and after religious exercises, Governor Winthrop, Deputy Governor Dudley, Isaac Johnson and Rev. John Wilson, signed a covenant,¹ and thus constituted what is now the first church of Boston. On August 1st, Increase Nowell and four more joined this church, and in a short time the number increased to sixty-four men, and half as many women. On the 27th,

great Ponds called Misticke ponds, from the south side of Mr. Nowell's lot, neere the vpper end of the Ponds, vnto the little runnet that cometh from Capt. Cooke's mills, which the Squaw reserveth to their vse, for her life, for the Indians to plant and hunt vpon, and the weare above the ponds, they also reserve for the Indians to fish at whiles the Squaw liveth, and after the death of Squaw Sachem, she doth leave all her lands from Mr. Mayhue's house to neere Salem to the present Governor, Mr. John Winthrop, Sen'r, Mr. Increase Nowell, Mr. John Wilson, Mr. Edward Gibbons to dispose of, and all Indians to depart, and for satisfaction from Charlestowne, wee acknowledge to have received in full satisfaction, twenty and one coates, nuten fathom of wampom, and three bushels of corne: In witness whereof we have here vnto sett o'r hands the day and yeare above named.

the marke of Squaw Sachem, m'e.
the marke of Web Cowet, in.

Subscribed in the presence off.
Jno. Humphrey,
Robert Heake.

This is to testifie that the aforementioned purchase was made at the charges of the Inhabitants of Charlestowne, and to their use, and for so much as lyeth with in their limitts, we do accordingly resigne, and yield up all our interest therein, to the vse of the said towne, according to the trust reposed in vs. 10th mo. 18th, 1639.

Entered and recorded 23th (8 mo 1656,
By Thomas Danforth, Recorder.
Jno. Winthrop, Gov'rn'r.
Increase Nowell,
Jno. Wilson.

¹ This covenant, see p. 70, was copied almost word for word, when the present First Church was organized in 1632.

after a fast, John Wilson was elected teacher, Increase Nowell, ruling elder, William Gager¹ and William Aspinwall, deacons; all of whom were severally confirmed in office "by the imposition of hands." It was understood, as it respected Mr. Wilson, that the ceremony "was only as a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that he should renounce the ministry which he received in England."²

The proceedings, however, recognised an important principle then struggling for life, that of congregationalism. Here a body of Christians, of equal rank as such, voluntarily associated themselves for social worship, and exercised "all the powers, rights, faculties and privileges, which are needful to construct and constitute a church of Christ;"³ all without the presence or permission of hierarchy, Protestant or Catholic. Such independent action was new in the world. It had been attempted, in part at least, by Robert Brown, the Lathrops, and John Robinson, in England, but their attempts were crushed. It was renewed successfully for the first time at Plymouth — that church being the first Congregational church in America.⁴ The Salem church was the second; the Dorchester church, organized in England, the third. This church was the fourth — one peculiarly dear to the early colonists, which they loved to honor "for its faith and order," "its eminent gifts of utterance and knowledge."⁵ "Some have been heard to say," writes Hubbard, "they believed the church of Boston to be the most glorious church in the world."

Provision was promptly made for the support of public worship. At the first court of assistants, August 23, "the first thing propounded is, how the ministers shall be maintained." A house was ordered to be built "with convenient speed at the public charge," for Mr. Wilson, whose salary was to be twenty pounds a year until "his wife came over," and then thirty pounds.

The body of the church remained in this town less than three months; afterwards their place of worship was in Boston. The two towns continued united in one church for about two years. A

¹ Dr. Gager died Sept. 20, 1630 — his wife and two children the same year. He was a "right godly man, and skilful chirurgeon." (Dudley.) John, his son, went with the younger Winthrop to New London; was (1660) one of the settlers of Norwich, Con., and had nine children. His descendants are still in Norwich. Hist. Norwich, p. 102.

² Winthrop's Hist. vol. i. p. 33.

³ Upham's Century Discourse.

⁴ Young's Chronicles of Plymouth, p. 77.

⁵ Hubbard, p. 281.

large part of this time, the Teacher was in England, — leaving, on his departure, March 30, 1631, the duty of prophesying, or exhortation, to the Governor, Mr. Dudley and Mr. Nowell. His place was soon supplied, however, by the arrival of Rev. John Eliot, the celebrated Apostle.

Mr. Wilson returned May 26, 1632. A subscription of £120 had been gathered for a meeting-house, which was now commenced by the united congregation.

For two years, say the town records, the citizens were “constrained” to go to Boston, “to hear the word and enjoy the sacraments, before they could be otherwise supplied.”¹ On the 5th of June, 1632, Rev. Thomas James arrived, and the Charlestown part of the congregation, soon after, determined to form a new church. October 11 was a day of fasting; and on the 14th, agreeably to their request, thirty-five persons were dismissed from the old church, — constituting a quarter part of the congregation. The separation appears to have been, on both sides, friendly.²

Rev. John Wilson enjoyed, in an eminent degree, the confidence of his congregation, and that of his contemporaries. Winthrop commends him as “a very holy, upright man, and for faith and love inferior to none in the country and most dear to all men.” His sermons are characterized as having been imbued with “marvellous wisdom;” his conversation, as “pleasant and profitable;” his benevolence to the poor, as unbounded. Mather has a long description of his character: “great zeal,” “with great love,” “joined with orthodoxy,” “make up his portraiture.” The historian adds; “he had the zeal of a Phineas, I had almost said of a Seraphim, in testifying against every thing that he thought offensive to God:” and in his sight, among things most offensive, were Anabaptists and Quakers. Hence Johnson’s praise that he was

¹ ‘ Before they could build at Boston, they lived, many of them, in tents and wigwams at Charlestown; their meeting-place being abroad under a tree, where I have heard Mr. Wilson and Mr. Phillips preach many a good sermon.”—Roger Clap. There was, for many years, a tree known as the Charlestown Oak, referred to in 1719, by Judge Sewall.—*Amer. Quarterly Register*, vol. xii. Dr. Bartlett locates it on Town Hill, from tradition.

² Prince (405) having given a history of the separation, remarks:—“I conclude, that Lord’s Day, the 21st of this month, (October) is the first day of their worshipping in public as a distinct and new congregation at Charlestown.” From July 30, 1630 to Oct. 10, 1632, one hundred and fifty-one members had joined in full communion with the church.

“a powerful instrument” “for the cutting downe of error and schisme,” “when it o’er topping stood.” It is not strange that the sects that felt the effects of such zeal, should write of him with severity. He died August 7, 1667, aged 79.

The thirty-five persons dismissed from the Boston church, formed, November 2, 1632, a distinct church, and elected Rev. Thomas James Pastor. This is now the first Congregational Society of this town. Its first covenant is recorded in the Church Book in the following manner :

<p>“ Increase, Parnel, Nowell. “ Tho:, Christian, Beecher. “ Abra:, Grace, Palmer. “ Ralph, Jone, Sprague. “ Edward, Sarah, Convers. “ Nicholas, Amy, Stowers. “ Ezek:, Susan, Richeson. “ Henery, Elizabeth, Harwood. “ Robert, Jone, Hale. “ Geo:, Margarit, Hucheson. “ Tho:, Elizab., James. “ William, Ann, Frothingham. “ Ralph, Alice, Mousall. “ Rice, Arroll, Cole. “ Richard, Mary, Sprague. “ John, Bethiah, Haule. “ William, Dade. “ Thomas, Minor. “ Thomas, Squire.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>The forme of the Covenant.</i></p> <p>“ In the Name of o^r Lord God, and in obedience to his holy will and divine ordinances.</p> <p>“ Wee whose names are heer writen Beeing by his most wise and good providence brought together, and desirous to vnite o^r selus into one Congregation or Church vnder o^r Lord Jesus Christ our Head: In such sort as becometh all those whom he hath Redeemed and Sanctified unto himselfe, Doe heer Sollemlly and Religeously as in his own most holy presence, Promise and bynde o^r selus to walke in all o^r wayes according to the Rules of the Gospell, and in all sincer conformity to his holy Ordinances; and in mutuall Love and Respect each to other: so near as God shall give us grace.”¹</p>
<p>“ Those were dismissed from Boston Church the 14th of the eaight moneth 1632.”</p>	

The pastor, Mr. James, was born in Lincolnshire, in 1592, and was in that place a settled minister, when the edicts against non-conformity drove him to this country. His connection with the society proved to be unhappy. Besides being of jealous disposition

¹ On the other side of the leaf on which the covenant quoted in the text was written, there is another in the following words:—

“ The Covenant proposed to particular persons for their consent when they are to be admitted, viz. :

“ You doe avouch the only true God [father son and Holy Ghost,] to be your God, according to the tenour of the covenant of his grace, wherein he promiseth to be a God to the faithful and their seed after them in their generations, and taketh them to be his people: and accordingly therefore you do give up your self to him, and doe solemnly and religiously, as in his most holy presence, covenant through his grace, to walk in all your

and inclined to melancholy, his abilities may have compared unfavorably with those of his Boston contemporary. It is certain that his temper was not so amiable, nor were his talents so useful, as had been expected; and dissatisfaction soon arose in the infant church. Winthrop remarks, March, 1633, that "Satan bestirred himself to hinder the progress of the gospel, as, among other practices, appeared by this: he stirred up a spirit of jealousy between Mr. James and many of his people." Mr. Nowell and others began to question "their fact" of separation from their Boston brethren. It is not stated on what grounds; but whatever they were, Winthrop writes, "it grew to such a principle of conscience among them, as the advice of the other ministers was taken in it, who after two meetings could not agree about their continuance or return."

While in this divided state, Rev. Zechariah Symmes, (September 1634,) arrived in this town. He was admitted, with his wife, a member of the church, December 6th, soon after elected teacher, and on the 22d, "a solemn day of humiliation," ordained to this office. This appears to have settled the question with its "principle of conscience," as to the return of the members to the First Church. Mr. Symmes entered upon his duties with the reputation of being a firm and faithful Puritan divine. He was born at Canterbury, April 5, 1599. His father, Rev. William Symmes, was a preacher, and was settled at Sandwich. His ancestors, contemporary with Queen Mary, had been zealous Protestants, shielding ministers from the effects of sanguinary laws. Zechariah, at eighteen years of age, entered Cambridge University, and took the first degree in 1620. After he graduated, he became private tutor "to certain persons of quality;" then, in 1621, a lecturer at Atholines in London, where he was troubled by the proceedings of the "Bishops' Courts." In 1625 he removed to Dunstable, where he was probably Rector. Here he resided eight years, and had six children. He removed to America, Mather says, on account of his

waies, and in communion with this particular church in special, as a member of it, according to the rules of the gospell."

This covenant, without date, was written sometime after 1632, as it evidently is in the handwriting of Rev. Thomas Shephard, who was ordained in 1659. It is worthy also of remark, that the important words in brackets, which are interlined in the original, are of different colored ink from the rest, and are as evidently in the handwriting of Rev. Charles Morton, who was installed in 1686.

continued troubles from the "Bishops' Courts;" another account says, on account of the living being small in value,—his compensation not being enough to support his family.¹ On his arrival, he was invited to assist in gathering a new church, but the place being remote from those already settled, he accepted the invitation of this church.² Here, after a long and faithful ministry, he was to end his days.

The settlement of Mr. Symmes was succeeded by increased discord between the pastor and the people. Mr. James gave great offence by "divers speeches," for which Mr. Symmes and the brethren "dealt with him both privately and publickly." In a year "the elders and messengers of the next churches" were called in; then, March 11, 1636, there was a council of ministers, when the pastor was blamed "for speaking as of certainty, that which he only conceived out of jealousy;"³ and the church was blamed, because "it had not proceeded with him in due order." The conclusion was, to advise Mr. James to ask his dismissal; but if he refused, and still persisted, that then "the church should cast him out."⁴ The connection was dissolved.

Mr. James, whom Dr. Calamy characterizes as "a very pious good man," soon, for the love of peace,⁵ removed to New Haven. In 1642, in company with Rev. Messrs. Knowles of Watertown and Thompson of Braintree, he went to Virginia as a missionary. In a few years he returned to England, settled at Needham, Suffolk county, and, August 24, 1662, was ejected for non-conformity. Still he gathered a large society and labored with them. He died in 1678, aged about eighty-six, much beloved and esteemed. His successor, though owing his benefice to the noble uprightness of Mr. James' heart, would not allow him to be buried in any other part of the church-yard, "but that unconsecrated corner left for rogues and other excommunicates."

At this period the colony was excited by the Antinomian controversy. It originated with Mrs. Anne Hutchinson who came over in the same ship with the Rev. Zechariah Symmes, in 1634. She advanced opinions that were contrary to the prevailing belief. In meetings of Christians of her sex, she blended them with criticisms

¹ Savage's Gleanings, Mass. Coll., vol. xxxviii. p. 308. ² Wonder Working Providence ³ Hubbard, p. 191. ⁴ Winthrop. ⁵ Prince, p. 413.

on the sermons delivered on Sundays, and gained many adherents, — among whom were some of the eminent men of the colony. This was the Antinomian party, or those designated as “for the covenant of grace.” The old colonists, comprising most of the ministers and elders, regarded her views as contrary to the Bible and dangerous to society, and became alarmed at her success. Hence they opposed them. These were the Legalists, or those designated as for “the covenant of works.”

The controversy thoroughly pervaded the country. It mingled with the doings of town meetings, and influenced the division of lands. It became an element of politics: Vane at the head of his friends, the Antinomians, on one side, and Winthrop, at the head of the Legalists on the other. The latter triumphed. A synod, convened at Newtown (Cambridge), August 30, 1637, condemned eighty-two errors; the General Court soon afterwards, disfranchised, disarmed, and banished the leading Antinomians.

In these proceedings, prominent Charlestown men zealously participated. Mr. Symmes, even when in England, saw that Mrs. Hutchinson “slighted the ministers,” and on board the ship noticed “the corruptness and narrowness of her views.” He had “reproved her vehemently,” before she arrived. Hence he was prompt and active in opposition to her movements. Mr. Nowell, of equal sternness as a Puritan, was equally decided in his opposition. Both questioned Mrs. Hutchinson on her trial.¹ On the other side, were prominent church members. One of the arbitrary acts of the General Court, was the condemnation and banishment of Rev. John Wheelright, Mrs. Hutchinson’s brother, for “holding forth the covenant of grace,” and “inveighing against those that walked in a covenant of works,” in a Fast Day Sermon, January 20, 1637. A remonstrance against this action was signed by many persons and handed in to the Court; of this town were William Learned, Edward Carrington, Richard Sprague, Ralph Mousall, Ezekiel Richardson, Benjamin Bunker, James Browne, Thomas Ewar, Benjamin Hubbard, William Frothingham, William Baker, and Edward Mellows. The Court judged this paper, also, seditious, and called its signers to account. Ten of the above-named persons acknowledged their “sin” in signing it, and desired to

¹ The questions and speeches of both Mr. Symmes and Mr. Nowell may be found in the account of the trial, in Hutchinson’s Hist., vol. i.

“have their names crossed out.” Two, however, would do themselves no such injustice; namely, Benjamin Bunker and James Browne, and hence the constables of Charlestown received a warrant in this shape; — the body of the original is in Nowell’s handwriting; the words in italics are interlined, and in that of Governor Winthrop: —

“By order of the court, the armes of Benjamin Bunker and James Browne are to be delivered in to Goodman Thomas Lynde, to wit: guns, pistols, swords, powder, shot, and match, upon pain of £10, after notice given, or left at their houses, *or within two days after*, and the said parties are enjoined not to buy or borrow any of the aforesaid arms upon the penalty of £10 aforesaid, until the court shall take further order therein, unless they acknowledge, (they did evil in subscribing the seditious libel) *or give other satisfaction for their liberty*, before two magistrates, which, if they shall do, they to be freed from delivering in of their arms.

“To the constable of Charlestown, per,
INCREASE NOWELL, Recorder.”¹

Another of the signers, Deacon Ralph Mousall, in 1638, was dismissed from the General Court “for his speeches in favor of Mr. Wheelright.” Such proceedings were arbitrary and tyrannical, and few, if any, attempt to justify, or to palliate them. Intolerance was the error of the age.

On the removal of Mr. James, the whole care of the church devolved upon Mr. Symmes. The next year, however, Rev. John Harvard settled here. He entered Emanuel College, Cambridge, in 1628; took the degree of A. B. in 1631, and that of A. M. 1635.² He was admitted an inhabitant, August 6, 1637; took the freeman’s oath November 2d; was admitted, with his wife, Anne, a member of this church on the 6th, and “was sometime minister of God’s Word” here, and hence an associate with Mr. Symmes. There is no account, however, of his ordination.

His name is found a few times on the town records. He had a share in a division of land in 1637; and in 1638, in another division, his lot was nearly a third larger than that of Mr. Symmes. He is named, April 26, 1638, one of a committee “to consider of some things tending toward a body of laws,” and had a grant³ for a portal

¹ Mass. Archives. Ecclesiastical; the copy is taken from a warrant addressed to the constable of Roxbury. The reader will find an interesting detail of this extraordinary controversy in the *Life of Anne Hutchinson*, by Rev. George E. Ellis of this town. He passes the severest censure upon the Court for its whole proceedings with reference to the remonstrance; nor will he admit “the least palliation.”

² Savage’s Gleanings.

³ Nov. 27, 1637; “three and a half feet of ground for a portal.”

for his house. Such is all the information this source affords. He came here when religious controversy was vehement; yet "he was not distinguished among the divines of the age as a disputant. He took a less beaten path to the veneration of after times, and a shorter road to Heaven."¹ "This man," writes Rev. Thomas Shepherd, his contemporary, "was a scholar, and pious in his life, and enlarged toward his country, and the good of it, in life and death."

Harvard died September 14, 1638, of consumption, bequeathing one half of his estate, estimated in value at £779, 17s. 2d.,² with his library of three hundred and twenty volumes,³ to the college,— "the earliest, the noblest, and the purest tribute to religion and science this western world had yet witnessed."⁴ This high eulogium, be it remembered, is upon one of a class to whose generous energies America owes so much; for Harvard was but a young man when he thus manifested how truly he was "a lover of learning," and how ardently he desired that it should be enlisted in the cause

¹ Letter of John Quincy Adams.

² There is doubt about even the amount of Harvard's gift. The College Book says the sum in the text; but only £395, 3s. 0d., is known to have been received. The authorities say "one half of his estate," and that he "died worth £1600." Probably the other half was bequeathed to his widow, for I find that she sold property. May not the library, (for books were of great value then,) have been valued on settling the estate, and formed one item of the half that went to the College? This will account for a part of the discrepancy. The precision in the sum named, indicates that "the whole estate" was inventoried at £1559, 15s.

³ Quincy's Hist., vol. i. p. 512.

⁴ President Quincy's Hist., vol. i. p. 11. If Harvard entered college at 17, he would have been 27 when he died. The General Court, May 3, 1639, granted "Mr. Thomas Allen 500 acres of land in regard to Mr. Harvard's gift." From this vote, and the fact that Harvard's executor's name was Allen, I infer that this was Rev. Thomas Allen. Harvard's widow, Anne, had land allotted to her once, Dec. 30, 1638, and then her name disappears from the records; nor have I met with any notice of her marriage or death. But when Rev. Thomas Allen was admitted and dismissed from the Boston church, in 1639, his wife was not named; nor is she named when he was, the same year, admitted to the church here, nor afterwards. Yet in 1640 he had a wife, whose name was Anne; and, January 11, 1640, his daughter, Mary, was born. Hence I conclude it very probable that he married Harvard's widow, already a member of the church. Her maiden name, if so, was Sadler, and her father lived in Patcham, England.—(Savage's Gleanings, Mass. Coll., vol. xxxviii. p. 315.) Hence that town may have been the place of residence of Harvard's family. Harvard built a house in this town, which was standing in 1697, situated on Gravel Lane, running from Main street, near its junction with the Square, to the Town Hill. A part of this estate—perhaps the whole of it—was once owned by Mr. Allen.—See hereafter the account of Rev. Thomas Allen.

of religion and liberty. This great thought, with the act it dictated, has enrolled his name among the benefactors of mankind.

If tradition may be credited, "till the revolutionary war, a grave-stone was standing over the spot where his ashes repose." But this was destroyed at that period; and, what is deeply to be regretted, no attempt was made to replace it. And thus it was, that for more than half a century, there was only tradition to point out the sacred place. On the 6th of September, 1827, a few graduates of Harvard College were assembled at the house of Dr. Parkman of Boston, when one of the company, then an eminent citizen of this town,¹ proposed to erect a monument on the Burial Hill to Harvard's memory, and to defray the expense by a subscription from the graduates of the College, limited to one dollar from each person. The suggestion was approved; measures were immediately taken to commence the work; the selectmen of the town promptly gave their consent, and the object was successfully effected.

On the 26th of September, 1828, a large company assembled on the burying-ground to participate in this "act of filial reverence." After prayer by Rev. Dr. Walker, the monument was raised to its position on the hill; a letter was read from Hon. John Q. Adams, then President of the United States, and an address delivered by Hon. Edward Everett. The monument is "a solid obelisk, fifteen feet in height, four feet square at the larger extremity, and two at the smaller, and rises from a substantial foundation, without a base, from the surface of the ground." It is enclosed "by a simple iron railing, surrounding a space nine feet square, and stands in a beautiful and commanding situation." On the eastern face of the shaft, the name of Harvard is inscribed in large letters and in high relief, and this inscription, wrought in a white marble tablet:—

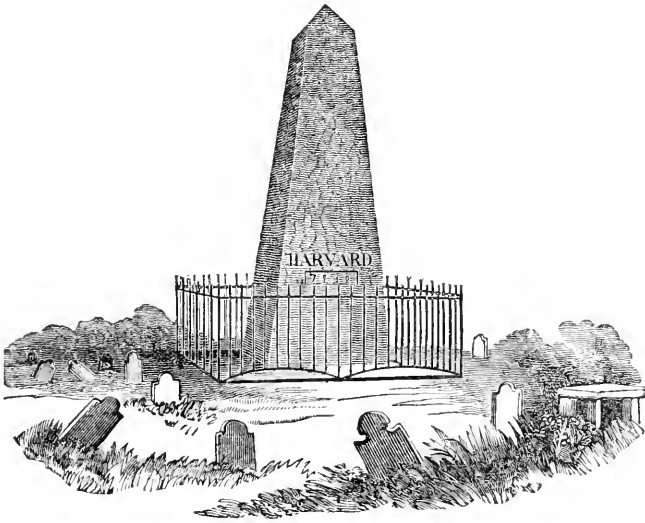
"On the twenty-sixth² day of September, A. D. 1828, this stone was erected by the graduates of the University of Cambridge, in honor of its Founder, who died at Charlestown, on the twenty-sixth day of September, A. D. 1638."

¹ Hon. Edward Everett. The other gentlemen, who organized into a meeting, were Hon. F. T. Gray, Hon. P. O. Thatcher, Joseph Coolidge, and Dr. George Parkman. The resolutions adopted and the address issued, may be found in Everett's Orations, p. 175.

² It will be observed, that, as Harvard died September 14, the date of the inscription is erroneous, as the rule is, to add ten days to dates of the seventeenth century, in order to bring old style into new style. It should be September 24. The error is first noticed in Rev. W. J. Budington's History of the First Church, p. 180.

On the opposite face of the shaft, and looking towards the University, is another inscription also on a white marble tablet: —

“In piam et perpetuam memoriam Johannis Harvardii, annis fere ducentis post obitum ejus peractis, academix quæ est Cantabrigiæ Nov-Anglorum alumni, ne diutius vir de litteris nostris optime meritis sine monumento quamvis humili jaceret, hunc lapidem ponendum curaverunt.”



About the time of Harvard's death, Rev. Thomas Allen arrived in this country, and, probably in 1639, became teacher of the church. At this period therefore, its officers were, the Pastor, whose "special work was to attend to exhortation, and therein to administer a word of wisdom," and the Teacher, who was "to attend to doctrine, and therein to administer a word of knowledge." The Pastor's duty was to move, by appeals, "the will and the affections;" the Teacher's, to state cardinal points of faith, "explain the Scripture and manage controversies." The next office was that of Ruling Elder, at this time filled by Mr. John Green. In the church he had an elevated place assigned to him between the deacon's seat and the pulpit, and was a person of great consideration. But in about fifty years the office was hardly, in importance, distinguishable from that of Deacon. Scottaw (1691) laments this decline. Some could remember there were such persons, but could not tell what was their work. "What a shame," he adds, "is it to

our churches, that through disuse, misuse, or nonuse of them, such a question should be put to any of above fifty years of age, now living among us." Mr. Green was the only ruling elder this church ever had. The third office was that of Deacon, of which there were two: Deacons Mousall and Hale.

CHAPTER XI.

NOTICES OF EARLY INHABITANTS.

IN this chapter the name of every inhabitant, in the year specified, is given, with such notices of each as could be obtained. Biographical Sketches, more in detail, will hereafter be given of the few mentioned as bearing a prominent part in the history of the colony.

1630. William Aspinwall was one of the prominent men of the colony, but in a few years removed to Boston, where he engaged zealously in the Antinomian controversy.

Richard Palsgrave, the first physician in town, came from Stepney, Middlesex county, England, lived here several years, and died about 1656. His widow, Anne, removed to Roxbury, and died about March, 1669, leaving property to her son — Alcock, daughters Mary, wife of Roger Wellington, and Lydia, wife of — Heylet.

Edward Converse was the first ferryman; selectman from 1635 to 1640: one of the settlers of Woburn, its representative in 1660, and died August 6, 1663, leaving an estate valued at £327, 5s. 6d., to wife Sarah; sons Josias, James and Samuel; and daughters, Mary Thompson and Mary Sheldon.

William Hudson removed to Boston about 1640; in 1643, went to England, and was in the service on the side of Parliament.

Ralph Mousall, a carpenter, was freeman in 1631, selectman, deacon, and representative in 1636-7-8. In 1637 Deacon Mousall signed the remonstrance in favor of Mr. Wheelright. But though afterwards he confessed his "sin in subscribing the sedi-

tious writing," and desired "to have his name crossed out," yet this was not enough to satisfy the jealous majority. The latter, September, 1638, dismissed him from the General Court, "for speeches formerly spoken by him in approbation of Mr. Wheel-right." Still he was selectman nearly every year until his death, April 30, 1657 — having been to the town an efficient citizen. He left property to his widow Alice, who died in 1667: to sons Thomas and John: to daughters Elizabeth, Mary, Ruth Wood and Mary Goble. His descendants, for many years, were a numerous and influential family in town, though there are none of this name remaining.

William Learned was freeman 1634, selectman 1636, one of the founders of Woburn, and died there April 5, 1646.

William Brackenbury, a baker, was four years selectman. In 1636 he had liberty to build a store house on Little Island, in the marsh, "if he go on to keep a bake house for public use." He was one of the prominent men of Malden, and died, August, 1668, aged sixty-six, leaving property valued at £562, 15s. 1d., to son Samuel, and daughters Anne Foster and Mary Ridgway.

Ezekiel Richardson, written also Richeson, was freeman in 1631, deputy in 1635, and one of the first settlers of Woburn, where he died, October 28, 1647.

William Frothingham was the ancestor of the family of this name in the country. He was one of the founders of the church, and is often found connected with town affairs. He died about 1652. His widow, Anne, survived him until July 28, 1674, aged sixty-seven; so reads her grave-stone. The records say 1675. His land was in the neighborhood of Eden-street, next to Bunkers, — the same that is now occupied, in part, by his descendants. He had sons John, Peter, Nathaniel, Stephen, Joseph and Samuel; daughters Bethia, Elizabeth, Mary and Hannah, — all born in this country. No family has been more numerous in town, and the name appears, in uninterrupted succession, in connection with its municipal business until the present day.

William Dady, a butcher, was one of the founders of the church, and died April, 1682, aged seventy-seven, leaving property to wife Dorothy, son William, and daughter Abigail.

George Hutchinson, died about 1660, leaving property, £231, 15s. 9d., to son Nathaniel.

Robert Moulton, was a celebrated ship-carpenter, who engaged

to come over in 1629; freeman 1631; representative 1634. From him "Moulton's Point," found very early, took its name. One of this name, in 1637, was disarmed at Salem: probably the same, as the town gave a citizen permission, in 1635, to buy of him. He died in 1655, leaving a son Robert, and a daughter — Edwards.

Thomas Knowler, in 1632, was set in the bilbows for threatening the Court "that if he should be punished, he would have it tried in England, whether he was lawfully punished or not." Such an appeal, even thus early, was accounted treason.

Edward Gibbons was one of the most distinguished characters of the colony. He was representative for this town in 1635 and 1636; but shortly after sold his property and removed to Boston, where he was for many years a representative; also an assistant and Major General.

John Woolrich, was a prominent man, as the prefix of "Mr." is always before it. He is styled "an Indian Trader," and planted himself "a mile and a half without the neck," on Cambridge road, near "Strawberry Hill." He was representative in 1634.

The other inhabitants of 1630 were, Captain — Norton, who may have been killed by the Pequods in 1633: William Jennings, not named after 1634: John Baker, a tailor, who (1637) removed from town, Rice Cole, freeman 1633, who died May 15, 1646, Edward Jones, freeman 1631, John Sales, Constant Morly, a widow, who died in 1669; John Glover, one of the prominent men of Dorchester; Prudence Wilkinson, a widow, who died in 1655, leaving a son John; Walter Pope, who died previous to 1640; when there is a grant to "Walter Pope's child;" John Wignall, Richard Johnson, William Penn, Hugh Garrett, and Increase Nowell, the "principal person," writes Prince, who remained in this town.

1631. Thomas Beecher, was master of the Talbot, the ship that brought over Higginson in 1629; vice admiral of Winthrop's fleet 1630; one of the first selectmen; representative 1634 and 1636; and captain of the fort at Castle Island, 1635. Mr. Beecher was an active and prominent citizen, and his name appears on the records of the court, in connection with important business. He died in 1637. Dr. Lyman Beecher is a descendant.

Henry Harwood, herdsman 1631, and an inhabitant 1636, but

probably died soon after, as land is allotted, in general divisions, to "widow Harwood."

George Knower, one of the first settlers of Malden, died there February 13, 1665, leaving property to wife Elizabeth, son Jonathan, and daughter Mary Mirrable.

Anne Higginson, the widow of Rev. Francis Higginson, of Salem, after residing here a few years, removed to New Haven, where she died, early in 1640, leaving eight children.

The other inhabitants in 1631 are: Thomas Moulton, a planter, and Abraham Pratt, a "chyrurgeon."

1632. John Greene was the first and only ruling elder of the church of this town. He was elected selectman in 1646; and, with only one year's intermission, every year until his death. He served on important committees, and, for some time, was town clerk. His writing is beautiful,—both in the church and town records; though the order for establishing the Board of Selectmen (see page 51) appears to have been drawn up by the person who signs his name "John Greene," and will hardly sustain this commendation. He died, April 22, 1658. His tomb-stone, near Harvard's monument, is still to be seen. It lies even with the ground, broken, much defaced, and the inscription partly illegible. It had once the following:

"MEMORIAL OF YE JVST IS BLESSED.

Here lyeth ye body of Mr. John Greene, born at London in Old England, who married Perseverance, the daughter of — Johnson, in Amsterdam, by whom he had 6 children, with whom and 3 children he came to Charlestown, in New England, in 1632, was rvlng elder in ye chvrch, and deceased April 22, 1658, leaving behind 2 sons and one daughter, viz. Iohn, Iacob, and Mary, who erected this monvment to the memory of him and his wife, their father and mother."

Mr. Greene lived in Bow-street, near the Square; his widow sold (1667) his "mansion house" to Francis Willoughby. He bequeathed the most of his property to his wife Joanna, because she brought him a good estate, which had "much decreased" on his hands. This was his second wife.

Jonathan Wade was an inhabitant until 1636, when he, probably, removed to Ipswich, was a prominent citizen there, and died in 1684. His wife, Susannah, died Nov. 29, 1678. Jonathan Wade, probably his son, purchased a large part of "Medford Farm."

Thomas James was the Pastor of the church.

1633. Robert Hale was a deacon, in 1634 a freeman, in 1644 member of the artillery company, and eleven years selectman, be-

sides serving the town in other capacities. He died, July 16, 1659,—a valuable citizen, and the ancestor of a large family. His widow Johanna married Richard Jacob of Ipswich, and died about July, 1679. His son John graduated at Harvard 1657, and became the first minister of Beverly. He had other sons, Zechariah; Samuel, a mariner, died 1679; and daughters Mary, who married — Wilson, and Johanna. Nathan Hale, executed as a spy by the British, was one of his descendants.

Thomas Squire, freeman 1634, and member of the artillery 1646.

William Baker, selectman 1646, and named as living in 1650. His wife, Joau, died a widow September 26, 1669.

Atherton Hough, (Howe,) was a prominent character, but soon removed to Boston, where he was seven years a representative, a member of the council, and died 1650.

Richard Kettle, (written also Kettell,) a butcher, was several years selectman, sergeant of the company, and died June 28, 1680, aged seventy-one, leaving a widow, Hester; sons John, Joseph, Samuel, Nathaniel, Jonathan, and Hannah who married John Call. The second wife of his son John was carried away from Lancaster by the Indians in 1676.

James Thompson, written also Thomson, one of the first selectmen of Woburn, died there in 1682. One of his descendants was Benjamin Thompson, (Count Rumford.) Another, the late Timothy Thompson, removed to this town a few years previous to the Revolution, married, January 3, 1775, Mary Frothingham, who is now living, and became the father of the Thompsons of this town.

James Pemberton, freeman 1630, one of the founders of Malden, died February 5, 1662.

George Felt, written also Felch, was one of the Malden settlers. About 1670 he paid £69 for two thousand acres of land at Casco Bay, and lived there three years. At the age of eighty-seven Mr. Felt petitioned the court for relief, stating that the Casco people had taken his land; he died at Malden in 1693, aged ninety-two; and his wife in 1693. Rev. J. B. Felt, the author of the *Annals of Salem*, and other valuable works, is one of his descendants.

James Brown, freeman in 1634, disarmed in 1637, had a grant of a part of Lovell's Island in 1640, on the condition "that he set up a stage and follow a trade of fishing there." He had sons John, James and Nathaniel.

The other names this year are Abraham Mellows, a person held in much respect, who adventured fifty pounds in the Company; Thomas Minor and George Whitehand, freemen in 1634: Edmund Hubbert (Hobart) and his two sons, Edmund and Joshua, who became leading men at Hingham: Benjamin Hubbard, John Hall, Edward Burton and John Hodges. This year the records say, "There were fifty-eight inhabitants, most of whom had wives and children."

1634. Thomas Lynde, a farmer, was selectman fourteen years; eight years a representative,—the first time in 1636, the last time in 1652; and was constantly connected with town business. He was a deacon; bought of the town the tract of land that includes the site of the State Prison, which, until after the Revolution, was known as Lynde's Point; and died December 30, 1671, leaving property valued at £1709, 16s. 9d. His posterity were numerous, and some of them highly distinguished. He had three wives: by his first wife, he had eight children, two of whom only, survived him, viz., Thomas, who settled in Malden, and Mary who married — Weeks of Sukanoset: by his second wife, the daughter of John Martin, and widow of Thomas Jordan, he had five children, viz.: Joseph, Sarah, Hannah, William and Samuel. Sarah married Robert Pierpont 1666: Hannah married John Trarice 1663. This second wife died August 3, 1662. Deacon Lynde then married Rebecca Trevitt, December 6, 1665, who died December 8, 1688.

Edward Mellows, son of Abraham Mellows, was selectman five years; clerk of the writs; and died May 5, 1650. He had a son Edward, and daughters Martha and Elizabeth.

John Mousall, brother to Ralph, was selectman, representative, member of the artillery in 1641, and one of the first settlers of Woburn, where he died in 1665.

George Bunker appears to have been a wealthy emigrant, and a large land owner. He had one lot on Bunker Hill, running over its summit, and hence its name. His shares in divisions are commonly the largest of any. He died in 1664, leaving property to sons John, Benjamin and Jonathan; and daughters Mary, Martha, and Elizabeth.

The other inhabitants of this year are Thomas Pearce, John Lewis, Rice Morris, Thomas Chubbuck, Anthony Eames, William Johnson, John Blott, Robert Shorthus, Edward Sturges, Matthew

Mitchell, Robert Blott, James Matthews, William Nash, John Sibley, William Bachelor, Edward Carrington, Thomas Lincoln, Adam Hawks, Thomas Goble, Mrs. Sarah Oakley, Mrs. Crowe, who came over a year before her husband, Thomas Brigden, James Greene, and Zechariah Symmes, the pastor of the church.¹

1635. Robert Long, from Dunstable, England, came over this year with his wife Elizabeth and ten children. He was an innholder, and purchased the "Great House." In 1638 he was allowed to draw wine, on condition "that he take what wines or waters are in the hands of Thomas Lynde, who formerly sold the wines, so that he be not damnified." Mr. Long was selectman, and died January 9, 1664, leaving considerable property to a large family. His widow died May 29, 1687.

Robert Rand, ancestor of the numerous family of this name in this town, died about 1639. He married a sister of the wife of Richard Sprague, who died July 29, 1691, aged ninety-eight. He had a son Nathaniel, who married, Sept. 2, 1664, Mary Carter; daughters Alice, who married Thomas Lord; Susanna, married Abraham Newell; Elizabeth, married Nathaniel Brewer, and Margery, married Lawrence Dowse.

The other inhabitants this year are, George Shavelin, Faintnot Wines, Stephen Fosdick, Robert Hawkins, Robert Jeffries, Jona. Gould, Thomas Blott, Edward Jones, Thomas Bonny, Isaac Cole, William Tuttle, Henry Lawrence, Thomas Ewar, John Crowe, Philip Drinker, George Hepbourne, Nicholas Davies, John Palmer, ——— Bates, Michael Bastow.

1636. The records furnish the following "list of the names of the inhabitants of this town, recorded this month of January,² 1635, (1636): —

¹ The order of Court of 1631, in connection with Adams' Portsmouth (p. 18), where, under 1631, Thomas Walford is named a settler of Piscataqua, were the authorities for the assertion, p. 23, that he remained in this town but two years. On copying names for this chapter, I find Walford mentioned an inhabitant as late as January 9, 1634. Unless the copyist is in error, he refused to obey the order of the Court to depart. Still the subsequent order of Sept. 3, states that his goods were seized to satisfy his creditors in the Bay. Walford had no grant nor share in the divisions of land, nor have I met with his name after 1634.

² It will be noticed that most of the names of inhabitants admitted in 1635 are not to be found in this list of January, 1636. Probably the list should be of the date of January, 1635; it is in the text as it is in the records.

Increase Nowell, Esq.	Mr. Abra. Palmer,	James Matthews,
Mr. Thomas James,	Geo. Hutchinson,	William Brackenbury,
“ Zech’r. Symmes,	Robert Hale,	Thos. Pearce,
“ Thos. Beecher,	Edmund Hubbert, Jun.,	Wm. Dady,
“ Abra. Mellows,	Edward Converse,	Wm. Johnson,
“ Edw’d Gibbons,	James Brown,	Rice Cole,
“ John Greene,	Henry Harwood,	Walter Palmer,
Ralph Sprague,	Robert Blott,	Thos. Chubbuck,
Rich’d Sprague,	George Knower,	Thos. Linds,
Nicholas Stowers,	Thomas Moulton,	John Hall,
Wm. Nash,	Robert Moulton,	John Sibley,
Wm. Baker,	Prudence Wilkinson,	Ezekiel Richeson,
Mr. Jona. Wade,	John Baker,	Mr. George Bunker,
James Pemberton,	Wm. Learned,	Wm. Frothingham,
Edward Burton,	Ralph Mousall,	Edmund Hubbert, Sen.,
Thomas Squire,	Mr. John Woolrich,	Thos. Goble,
William Sprague,	James Thomson,	Anthony Eames,
Edward Jones,	Adam Hawkes,	Mr. Benj. Hubbert,
Robert Shortus,	Rice Morris,	George Whitehand,
Wm. Bachelor,	Tho. Minor,	Mr. Rich’d Palsgrave,
Walter Pope,	Mr. John Crowe,	Mr. John Hodges,
Rich’d Kettle,	John Lewis,	Thomas Lincoln.
Edward Sturges,	Mrs. Anne Higginson,	

In all 72. Most of these had wives and children, the widows had also.¹”

William Witherell, schoolmaster. His certificate from his parish in England, dated March 14, 1635, and signed by the Mayor of Maidstone, was for his wife Mary, three children, and one servant. It testified that they had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and were correct as to “the orders and discipline of the church.” Having presented this paper to the authorities of Sandwich, England, they, according to custom, were allowed to embark for New England, which they did in the ship *Hercules*.² He was, for several years “the grammar master” of the public school.

Thomas Coitmore, selectman in 1640, and deputy in 1645, built a mill in town near Spot Pond, and in 1642 sailed master of the *Trial*, — the first ship ever built in Boston. He was drowned on

¹ The reader will notice the title of “Mr.” prefixed to a few of the names. This almost invariably indicates, in records of this period, a person of consideration, as much, or perhaps more, than “Hon.” does at the present day. It appears that there was but one “Esq.” in town, and he ranks above the ministers. “Not more than a dozen of the principal gentlemen took the title of Esquire,” writes Hutchinson, “and in a list of an hundred freemen, generally men of substance,” there are not more than four or five distinguished by “Mr.” The General Court ordered Josias Plaistowe, for taking corn from the Indians, to return the corn, pay a fine, and “hereafter to be called by the name of Josias, and not Mr., as formerly he used to be.” Goodman and Goodwife were the common appellations.

² Savage’s Gleanings,

the coast of Wales, December 17, 1645, leaving an estate of £1266, 9s. 7d. to widow Martha and son Thomas. "A right godly man and expert seaman," writes Winthrop; "dearly beloved," writes Johnson; "a good scholar and one who had spent both his labor and estate in helping on in this wilderness work." His widow, Martha, the daughter of Capt. Rainsborough, married Gov. Winthrop. On his death she married John Coggan, whom she survived.

The next year Mr. Coitmore's mother, "Mrs. Katherine Coitmore," came over, a widow, and so continued until her death, Nov. 28, 1659. Of her daughters, Parnell married Increase Nowell; Catherine married Thomas Graves, the "Admiral;" Anne married William Tyng of Boston; Sarah married — Williams. This family was also connected with Joseph Hill and William Stitson, — leading men.

The other inhabitants, admitted in 1636, were: — Jenner, William Powell, Joseph Ketchering, Thomas Richeson, Nicholas Trarice, Ralph Smith, Benjamin Linge, Abraham Hill, — Potter, Lewis Hewlett, Richard Wilde, James Hoyden, George Heywood, Thomas Hawkins, William Quick, John Charles, Thomas Weeks, James Hayward, and Robert Sedgwick, in 1656 one of Cromwell's generals.

1637. Francis Norton was, in 1631, "a steward," sent by Captain Mason to Piscataqua, to manage his plantation. On his death, Mrs. Mason made Mr. Norton her attorney, with full power to manage the estate of her late husband. The colony was not prosperous; no supplies were sent over, and Mr. Norton, then living at the Great House, Portsmouth, left that settlement and drove about a hundred head of cattle — worth £25 the head, "money of England," — to Boston, and there sold them. He did not return. He was freeman in 1643, and member of the artillery; and visited England in 1646; selectman first in 1647 and afterwards eight years; representative first in 1647 and afterwards ten years. He was a distinguished military character, and commanded "the train band" of this town. "One of a bold and cheerful spirit, and full of love to the truth," — "a well disciplined and able man," writes Johnson. He died July 27, 1667. His estate is valued at £630; among the items of which was "a negro man £26." He had (1667) three daughters unmarried: Deborah, Elizabeth and Sarah; and one, Abigail, married — Long. He left a widow Mary, who married (1670) Deacon Stitson.

Seth Sweetser came from Tring, Hertfordshire, and was the ancestor of the numerous family of this name. He died, May 21, 1662, aged fifty-six, leaving property to wife Elizabeth, son Benjamin, son Samuel Blanchard, daughter Mary Blanchard and daughter Hannah. He was a Baptist, as was his son Benjamin of Boston, who was fined £50 and imprisoned for his opinions. One of his descendants was Seth Sweetser, schoolmaster, and the patriotic town clerk during the Revolution.

Edward Johnson was the author of the very curious work entitled "Wonder-Working Providence of Zion's Saviour; Being a Relation of the firste planting of New England in the Yeere 1628:" London, 1654. This volume begins thus: "Good Reader: as large Gates to small Edificies, so are long prefaces to little Bookes; therefore I will briefly informe thee, that here thou shalt find the time *when*, the manner *how*, the cause *why*, and the great successe *which* it hath pleased the Lord to give, to this handful of his praysing Saints in N. Engl., &c:". He lived in Bow-street; yet it is strange that the name of so noted a civilian and religionist is not found in the church records at all, nor on the town records before 1640, except in divisions of lands, and in a description of his property, where he is styled "Captain." He was the father of Woburn, where he died, April 23, 1672.

Robert Cutler, deacon, selectman and an active citizen, serving the town on various committees, died March 7, 1665, leaving an estate of £602, 8s. 2d. to wife Rebecca, son John, daughters Rebecca, wife of Abram Arrington; and Hannah, wife of Matthew Griffin.

William Stitson, a valuable citizen, was selectman first in 1642, and served twenty years in this office; a representative six years, the first time in 1646, the last time in 1671; a sergeant of the military company, and member of the Boston artillery, 1648; and a deacon of the church "thirty-one years and five months," as it is inscribed on his tomb-stone, still to be seen. He died April 11, 1691, aged ninety-one. He was as active in ecclesiastical matters as he was in civil affairs; but the bare recital of the offices he filled is nearly the only memorial I can give of this venerable patriarch. His first wife was Elizabeth ———, who died Feb. 16, 1669. He married, August 27, 1670, Mary Norton, widow of Francis Norton. His will frees his negro Sambo, and gives property to sons John, Thomas, William, Daniel Harris and ——— Maverick, children of his first wife; and Deborah, wife of Matthew Griffin.

The other inhabitants, admitted in 1637, were Joshua Tedd, selectman 1660 and 1668, John Mosse, Timothy Ford, John Brimsmead, Richard Perry, William Hayward, — Luson, — Simonds, Joseph Coleman, Thomas Caule, William Knight, Peter Garland, Matthew Smith, Robert Leach, — Fraile, John Todd, John Burrage, George Line, — Fitt, James Garrett, James Hubbard, Apsia Knight, Jervase Boyken, John Harvard, the founder of Harvard College.

1638. Joseph Hill was selectman 1644, and representative in 1647; the principal character at Malden, where he probably died. Johnson characterizes him as "active to bring the laws of the country in order," and the first leader of the Malden band.

The others admitted this year were, Robert Hunt, John Martin, Thomas Ruck, Henry Bullock, William Smith, Henry Swaine, Edward Paine, Richard Hill, Edward Larkin, John Pentecost, Walter Nichols, Nehemiah Bourne, John Fairfield, Hiram Garrett, Richard Lowden, — Sergeant, Benjamin Butterfield, William Bateman, Thomas Martin, Thomas Graves, rear admiral, probably appointed by Cromwell, and Francis Willoughby, who, for nearly forty years, was one of the principal characters of the colony.

1639. John Allen was a merchant, and a prominent man, often engaged in town business, several years selectman, representative 1668 to 1674, and captain of the company, 1658. He died March 27, 1675.

Augustine Walker was a sea-captain, actively engaged in commerce — freeman, 1641; died at Bilboa, January 1, 1653. His wife's name was Hannah. His descendants settled in Woburn.

The other inhabitants, admitted this year, were, John Seer, John Marsh, Thomas French, Richard Robert, William Simonds, John Scudder, Gaudy James, and Isaac Wheeler.

1640. The following are all that are recorded this year, James Jackson, Alexander Field, Ralph Wilmot, Ralph Cook, Ralph Woory, Edward Wood; and Richard Russell, for twenty years Treasurer of the colony and for twenty-six years in succession, selectman.¹

¹ In this chapter the names of all the inhabitants from 1630 to 1640 are given. After this time, there are few admissions recorded. Biographical sketches, hereafter, must, necessarily, be confined to those inhabitants who took a prominent part in public affairs.

CHAPTER XII.

Charlestown Two Hundred years ago.—Extent.—Cradock's Farm.—Fields.—Streets.—Market Place.—Town Hill.—Training Field.—Burial Ground.—Ferries.—The Meeting-House.—The Tavern.—The Watch-House.—A School-House.—The Military.—The Hill Fort.—The Battery.—The Poor.—Population.—Freemen.—Town Officers.—Voting.—Town Meetings.—By-Laws.—Colonial Laws.—Condition of the Citizens.—Their Pursuits.—Trade.—Ship Building.—Fruits of Ten Years.

IN the year 1640, in consequence of the change that took place in the political condition of England, emigration ceased. Many persons even returned, either to observe, or to take part in, the great struggle going on there for liberty. It may be interesting, as the foundations of the town were now laid, to view it in its infancy; for "small things," writes Dudley, "in the beginning of natural or politique bodies are as remarkable as greater in bodies full grown."

Charlestown, at this time, included the extensive tract already described. A few settlers had planted themselves at "Mistick side," afterwards Malden. Stoneham had not a single occupant; a number of Charlestown men had commenced the "village," afterwards Woburn; on the north side of Mystic River lay the extensive plantation of Matthew Cradock,¹ not far from 2500

¹ Cradock's Farm was the tract, bounded on the south by Mystic River, that, until 1754, constituted the greater part of Medford. The early history of this flourishing town is "very meagre," writes Mr. Savage. (Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 161.) It has been found difficult to account (American Quarterly Register, vol. xiv. p. 409: Stetson's Discourse, 1840) for the facts, that until 1674 it has no records; until 1689, it had no representative; until after 1700, no school; and until 1713 no church, though it had preaching from 1793; and confusion has arisen from the fact, that the name Medford has been applied incorrectly to settlements on both sides the Mystic River.

Matthew Cradock was a merchant of London, of enterprise and sagacity, — the Governor of the company in England, and first proposed (July 28, 1629) the transfer of the charter, — that the emigrants might be their own rulers. He, with other "particular brethren," sent over, in the ships that sailed that year, men and materials for the establishment of a large plantation. The Company instructed Gov. Endicott to aid this undertaking (Letter, April 17, 1629,) "done without any charge to the Company's stock."

acres; in the eastern part of what is now Medford, were the farms of John Wilson, Increase Nowell, and Thomas Allen: on the south side of the Mystic, the tract from the Ponds, eastward, afterwards named "Mystic Fields;" the six hundred acres owned by Governor Winthrop, called Mystic; and a tract extending to Penny Ferry, where Malden Bridge is, long known as the High Field. Between the "Winter Hill Road" and Cambridge line, was the field called "The Stinted Common," already described, a small part of which, situated in the neighborhood of the tavern, on the Neck, retained the name of "The Common" to the present century. There

Subsequently, (Letter of May 28,) this charge was renewed; "Cradock," the letter says, "had engaged himself beyond expectation" in this adventure; "our desire is that you endeavor to give all furtherance and friendly accommodation to his agents and servants." They selected the land on the north side of Mystic River, cleared a farm, "impaled a park," built vessels, and began a fishing establishment.

"Some of us," Dudley writes, March, 1631, are planted "upon Mystic which we named Meadford;" designating by this, the plantation on the north side of the river. The south side was Charlestown. Thus Ten Hills was "at Mistick in the precincts of Charlestown;" farther up, opposite the middle of Medford, and so towards the Ponds, were "Mystic Fields;" so read descriptions in early deeds. Later, Medford was also frequently called Mistick.

In 1634 the General Court granted to Matthew Cradock all the tract between the "lands of Mr. Nowell and Mr. Wilson on the east, and the partition betwixt Mystic bounds on the west;" on the south by Mystic River, and north by "the Rocks," — the extensive ledge that skirts the north side of Medford. In 1636 the Court further ordered, that this tract "should extend a mile into the country from the river side in all places." This piece of land contained over twenty-one hundred acres, and perhaps twenty-five hundred; included the Wellington Farm in the eastern part of Medford, and ran beyond the centre of the town towards "Symmes's Corner." In 1634 the Court also granted "the Wear at Mistick" to Cradock and Winthrop.

At this period the plantation, undoubtedly, was extensive and flourishing, — furnishing employment to many mechanics, farmers and fishermen. A "ship" of sixty tons was built here in 1633; another projected of two hundred tons. A celebrated clergyman, Rev. James Noyes, preached here for more than a year. Medford paid a large proportion of the colonial taxes; for eight years it was "superior in wealth, at different times, to Newbury, Ipswich, Hingham, and Weymouth, all ancient towns." (Savage's Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 161.) Its tax in 1634, of a rate of £600, was £26, — Charlestown's proportion £45; in a rate in 1635 of £200, it was £10, — Charlestown's, £16. Hence all printed authorities speak of Medford as a town, and date its incorporation in 1630; but this appears to be an error.

There are many allusions, on Charlestown records, to this Plantation. It is called for about forty years, "Medford Farm," "Farme at Mystic," "Medford Farms," and "Cradock's Farm. In 1638 Mr. Cradock's agents built a bridge (Mistick Bridge) over the river, to "the hindrance of

was also another field fenced in, called Menotonies Field, which bordered on West Cambridge.

At this period it was common for the towns to have these fields.—The land of which they were composed, in this town, was first allotted to individuals, who agreed to fence in common, to avoid expense. Each proprietor might use his land, or sell it. One of the fields within the Peninsula, was “The Great Cornfield,” or “The East Field,” described on the town records, as bounded “west by the Country Road,” Main-street; “south by the Marsh that runs along by Charles River;” east by Mistick River; “north

boats,” say the records, — “exacting toll (without any orders) of cattle that go over that bridge.” The town commenced a suit against him at the Quarter Court. This bridge was one of the earliest, if not the earliest, toll-bridge in the state.

The prosperity of this Plantation declined on the decline in health, and the death of its owner, Matthew Cradock. The date of this event is uncertain; probably it was about 1642. His will is dated November 9, 1640. The period when he withdrew a portion of his means from the plantation may be fixed at 1638, from the circumstance that Medford is not named in the rates of 1639 or 1640. In 1642 it paid, of a rate of £800 only £10, while Charlestown paid £60; in 1644, of a rate of £616, it paid £7, while Charlestown paid £60.

Mr. Cradock in his will, after a few legacies to the poor, — one to the poor of Broad street, where he served his apprenticeship, another to the poor of Swithens, where he lived, — leaves property to his wife and others; and among the bequests is the use of one half of his estate in New England to his widow Rebecca during her life; the use of the other half to his daughter Dammaris, and this half to go to her children; if she had none, then the whole of this estate was to revert, on the deaths of mother and daughter, to his brother Samuel, and to be inherited by his male heirs.

His widow, Rebecca, married first, Richard Glover, who in 1644, rented to Edward Collins of Cambridge, one half of the plantation “called Medford in New England;” including “houses, edifices, buildings, barns, stables, out-houses, lands, tenements, meadows, pastures, findings, woods, highways, profits, commodities and appurtenances.”

In 1652 Cradock’s widow had again married, to Benjamin Whitecot, D. D.; his daughter Dammaris had married Thomas Andrews, leather-seller of London: and Samuel, his brother, was “Elder of Chesselton, County of Rutland, clerk,” and had three sons. These parties, in instruments dated June 2, 1652, and September 6, 1652, relinquished to Mr. Edward Collins, “all that messuage, farm, or plantation, called Medford in New England.”

Edward Collins, who appears to have resided on his plantation, sold, August 20, 1656, to Richard Russell, of Charlestown, sixteen hundred acres of it, “being part of the plantation known by the name of Medford,” with the mansion house and other buildings; bounding this tract on the south by Mistick River; north by Charlestown line; west by trees standing by a brook; and east by the farms of Nowell and others. Collins covenants to save Russell harmless from all claims from the heirs of Cradock “unto whom the said plantation was first granted” by the Court.

by the isthmus, or neck of land that lets out into the Main;" including Bunker Hill, Breeds Hill and Moulton's Point. The town maintained the gates, but the individual proprietors paid for the fences, "either in money or merchantable corn." Minute regulations were made respecting the occupancy of this field; a proprietor might, every third year, plant Indian corn; for each two acres he might pasture "one grown beast and two calves;" the times were fixed when it might be occupied for pasturage, or for planting ground; fines were imposed for violations of these laws, viz.: for leaving gates open, 2s. 6d.; for a bad fence, 12d.

No specification is given of the number of "cattle" or of "tenements." At this time, Mr. Collins also deeded to others portions of this farm.

In 1658, in answer to a petition of the "inhabitants of Mistick," the Court, Oct. 19, decided that they should "have half proportion with the rest of the inhabitants of Charlestown" in the commons lately divided, unless "Charlestown leave the inhabitants of Mistick and their lands to Malden" and the latter accept them. At this period there are many references, on the town records, to this plantation. One in 1655, reads thus — "about the commons concerning Mr. Winthrop's Farm, Medford Farm and Cambridge town." In 1658 the General Court, also, gave the people of Medford liberty to "join the train-band of Cambridge, and be no longer compelled to travel to Charlestown;" and to have all matters of a civil nature, arising within their "peculiar," and proper to be heard by the three commissioners, "to be heard and determined" by those of Cambridge. From these facts it appears, that, though Medford was taxed separately in colonial rates, it was not a town; it was rather a manor, owned by one of the leading inhabitants of Charlestown; and its people, for some municipal purposes, were considered as belonging to this town.

Richard Russell, May 25, 1661, deeded three quarters of this farm, including the "Mansion House," to Jonathan Wade, of Charlestown; and Mr. Russell's heirs sold to Peter Tufts three hundred acres of it lying in what is now the heart of Medford.

For several years Medford was called "A Plantation." It had its records, which after 1674 are still extant. It elected selectmen to manage "the affairs of the plantation." Jonathan Wade, Nathaniel Wade, and Peter Tufts, appear to have been its leading men. Its board of selectmen were, in 1677, Jo. Wade, Jno. Hall, and Stephen Willows. Some of the persons of Medford, at this period, 1658 to 1681, were also inhabitants of Charlestown. But from the vote of the Court of 1684, Medford probably might have been at this time a town, had it chosen to recognise itself as such.

There was much trouble about Mistick Bridge. In 1653 the Court established rates of tolls, and offered to authorize any person or persons to collect them, on condition that the bridge be maintained. After much action upon this subject, an agreement was entered into, July 17, 1668, by which Charlestown obligated itself to maintain one half, seventy-seven feet two and a half inches, and the other was to be kept in repair by the people of Medford, Malden, Woburn and Reading. This bridge, after this time, was frequently "presented" at the County Court as being unsafe. While Charlestown appears to have been, generally, prompt to

for each defect; for putting in cattle before the field was cleared, 12*d.*, besides damages. A hayward was chosen to enforce these regulations. The other field, within the Peninsula, was called the North-west Field, in the vicinity of Washington-street. Water Field is also mentioned.

There is no record of streets until 1670. The two principal ones, at this time, (1640) were, Main-street, then called "The Country Road," "The Town-street," in 1670, "Broad-street," and later, Market-street; and Bow-street, then called Crooked-lane." Other highways are mentioned in old records and deeds, such as "Malt-lane," "Rope-maker's-lane," "Meeting-house-lane," "Hale's-lane." Wapping was a name given to that part of the town in the neighborhood of the Navy Yard; Sconce Point, to a point now included within the limits of the yard; Moulton's Point, to the tract now known as "The Point." Cambridge-Road and Winter-Hill-Road had been laid out; or, rather, were narrow cartways.

do its part, it required sometimes sharp "duns" in the shape of fines, to bring her neighbors to the mark.

On the 13th of October, 1684, say the Medford records, "It was agreed upon at a general meeting of the inhabitants by a vote, to petition the General Court to grant us power and privilege as other towns for the ordering of prudentials among us." This was signed by Nathaniel Wade and Peter Tufts. The Court declared, Oct. 15, "that Medford hath been and is a peculiar, and have power as other towns as to prudentials." In 1685, April 1, there was a rate made; in 1689, June 4, "Ensign Peter Tufts" was elected a deputy, and again "Lieut. Peter Tufts" in 1690.

In 1687, May 3, the lines were established between this town and Medford. Under this date there is on the Charlestown records, nearly a page of description of boundary lines, after the fashion of the times; the points, piles of stones, — more curious than intelligible. It would be out of place to follow the divisions of this great farm or the fortunes of Medford, farther. It has a history of its own, commencing, not very auspiciously, with a long and painful controversy with its minister, Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge. At length the General Court decided, that he "was not legally the minister," "and ordered the town to settle another without delay." The town immediately took measures to comply with the order; and meanwhile "humbly begged the General Court not to impose a minister upon them without their consent." — Stetson's Discourse, p. 19.

Mr. Cradock's widow, in 1650, through Nicholas Davison, a merchant of this town, petitioned the Court for £676, which she alleged to be due to Cradock's estate. The Court refused to allow this claim on the ground that the government "were never concerned" in Cradock's adventure. In 1670, then Mrs. Whitecot, she renewed this claim. At first, Oct. 11, the Court decided not to grant it; but shortly after, in consideration of "the great disbursement of Mr. Cradock in planting the colony," it allowed Dr. Whitecot and Rebecca his wife, one thousand acres of land, and they relinquished all claims on the government.

The Market Place was the tract, now called the Square, then becoming filled with buildings. Here, by the permission of the Court, "a market was kept constantly on the sixth day of every week,"—an old custom of the towns of England. Here was a weekly exhibition of the infant commerce of New England. Other towns, on other days, had the same privilege.

The Town Hill was then called the "Windmill Hill," from the mill that Robert Hawkins built upon it in 1635. For a century, estates in this vicinity, are described in deeds, as being on or near "the Windmill Hill." In a few years (1646) it was determined that this Hill "should lie common to the town forever;" and (1648) that "no more gravel should be digged or fetched from it." Large quantities of gravel were carried from this Hill about the year 1782, when it was much higher than it now is. It must have been very much higher at the time of the settlement of the town.

The Training Field was, probably, laid out, as a few years later it is (1648) first alluded to in the records, as a well-established public place. The next year the town voted to maintain the upper and west side of the "Training Place." It was used, undoubtedly, for military purposes.

The old Burial Ground is alluded to in the records for the first time in 1648. But this beautifully located hillock had, undoubtedly, been already appropriated for this purpose. A few years later, in 1656, the marsh in front of it was sold by the town,—the hill and the street leading to it "being reserved to the town's use forever." At this time, (1640,) it had received some of its most sacred relicts, for among them were those of Beecher and Harvard; but the earliest grave-stone is that of Maud, the wife of Richard Russell,—a horizontal monument, with 1652 upon it. Time has dealt severely with Charlestown. The monuments of its grave-yard, its records, and its silent highways, are its only antiquities. The conflagration of 1775 spared not a dwelling-place; and living witnesses testify, that the temporary possessors of the town did not even respect this venerable sanctuary of the dead; they used its grave-stones on Bunker Hill for the thresholds of the barracks of the soldiers.

There were two ferries, "The Great Ferry," and "Penny Ferry." The first, where the Charles River Bridge is, was established in 1631, when the General Court allowed Edward Converse "to set up a ferry between Charlton and Boston, for which he is to have

2*d.* for every single person, and 1*d.* a piece if there be two or more." This lease was renewed, November 9, 1637, for three years, for which Mr. Converse agreed to pay forty pounds rent into the Colonial Treasury, and "to set up a convenient house on Boston side, and keep a boat there." He was allowed to exact the above-named fees, "as well on lecture days as at other times;" and for a horse, or cow, with the "man that goeth with them, 6*d.*; for a goat, 1*d.*; a swine, 2*d.*; and of passengers after dark, or before day-light in the morning, recompense answering to the season, and his pains and hazard, so it be not excessive." In 1640, this ferry was granted to Harvard College, which in 1639 had received £50 from it. Penny Ferry, where Malden Bridge is, was established by the town, April 2, 1640, when it was voted "that Phillip Drinker should keep a ferry at the Neck of Land, with a sufficient boat, and to have 2*d.* a single person, and a penny a piece when there go any more." Little Island, lying near it in Mystic River, was appropriated to its support. It continued to be maintained by the town, which, some years later, derived a small income from it.

The Meeting-house was in the Market-Place, now the Square. It was the third place of public worship that had been provided. The first place was the Great House; the next was situated "between the town and the neck," and in 1639, was sold for one hundred pounds; the third, built with the proceeds of this sale, and probably voluntary contributions,¹ was between the present Town House and the entrance to Main-street, — near the Bridge Estate. And here continued to be the site of the meeting-house until the Revolution. No description of it is extant. It was erected by those, in the words of the quaint Scottaw, who "served God in houses of the first edition, without large chambers, or windows ceiled with cedar, or painted with vermilion;" yet, judging from the money expended upon it, it was something more than "a mud-wall meeting-house with wooden chalices," as he describes the first church of Boston. It was "very comely built and large," writes Johnson, and it may have had galleries;² but the reader must not suppose it lined with pews and covered with "vermilion." These appendages belong to a later day.

¹ The younger Winthrop gave, in 1636, five pounds towards a meeting-house.

² The new Boston church (1643) had galleries.—See Snow's History.

The "Great House" in which the Governor had lived, the court sat, and the people worshipped, was now the 'Tavern: an "Ordinary," as such places were called, kept by Robert Long. Josselyn, in his *Voyages*, mentions calling (1638) at "one Long's Ordinary"; and writes of these old Puritan Taverns as though he was annoyed by the strict surveillance to which they were subjected. "If a stranger went in, he was presently followed by one appointed to that office, who would thrust himself into his company uninvited, and if he called for more drink than the officer thought in his judgment he could soberly bear away, he would presently countermand it, and appoint the proportion beyond which he could not get one drop." Besides: mine host could permit no tobacco to be used about his premises, no cards to be shuffled, no dice to be thrown. And if he took more than six-pence for a meal, or a penny "for an ale quart of beer out of meal times," or sold cakes or bunnis, except for marriages or burials, or like special occasions, the penalty to which he was liable was ten shillings. But by paying a round sum into the colonial treasury, he was allowed to "sell wine and strong water made in the country." The town granted Mr. Long the use of the horse pasture, on the condition that he fenced it, "for the use of the guest horses." Mr. Long and his sons after him, kept this tavern for nearly three quarters of a century; and, judging from the inventories of their estates, got rich in the business. It came to be known as "The Two Cranes," from its sign.¹

The only other public building, named thus early, in the records, is the watch house. For not having one, the town had been fined; and in 1639, one was ordered to be built "with a chimney in it, of convenient largeness to give entertainment on the Lord's Days

¹ The Great House was inherited by John Long, who carried on the tavern established by his father. In 1683, he bequeathed it to his widow, Mary, the daughter of Increase Nowell. There is specified in the inventory, among other rooms, a great lower room, a great chamber, the kitchen where the bar is kept, and the wine cellar. A brew-house was attached to the estate. Mrs. Long gave it, in 1711, to her son, Samuel Long, where it is named in the deed, as "The Great Tavern." In 1712, Samuel Long sold the estate to Ebenezer Breed, when the house is called "The Old Tavern." I have not seen any notice of its being destroyed, and hence conclude it was burnt June 17, 1775. The estate remained in the possession of Mr. Breed's heirs, until the town purchased it to form a part of the Square. The Great House stood wholly in the Square, and opposite the lane by the "Russell House," or "The Mansion House."

to such as live remote from the meeting-house, and that there shall be a small room added or taken out of it for widow Morly to live in."

The school continued to be maintained, though there is no notice of a school-house until 1648, when one was ordered to be built on "Windmill Hill," and paid for by "a general rate."

The military concerns of the colony at this early period, were of the highest importance. The General Court, as early as 1631, appointed days for military exercises; on every Friday there was "a general training," in this town, "at a convenient place about the Indian wigwams," commencing at one o'clock in the afternoon. Up to 1635, the people of Medford, Watertown and Charlestown formed one company, but then the Court ordered that the two towns last named "shall be two distinct companies, and to have officers of their own;" the Medford men remaining members of the Charlestown company. For a few years there was no prominent military character here; and the town paid, in 1636, to the renowned captains, Patrick and Underhill, "twenty shillings a time for training" its company. But there were no such expenses after Robert Sedgwick and Francis Norton, both distinguished military men, as well as enterprising merchants, became inhabitants. Johnson, in 1644, speaks of "the very gallant horse troop," of this town. Francis Norton at that time (1644) commanded the foot company; Ralph Sprague was the lieutenant, and Abraham Palmer the ensign. The early writers speak in high terms of the skill displayed at the general musters. There was one in May, 1639, that lasted a day, when more than a thousand soldiers, able men, well armed and exercised, were in Boston; and another, September 15, 1641, which lasted two days, when there were over twelve hundred; and, though there was "plenty of wine and strong beer" to be had, yet, such is the testimony, there was "no man drunk, no oath sworn, no quarrel, no hurt done." This was the golden age of New England musters.

There were two fortifications in the town, "the Hill Fort" and "the Battery." The former, on Town Hill, on the site of the present Congregational church, was first built in 1629, under the direction of Mr. Graves "with pallisadoes and flankers made out." This was considered of sufficient consequence to be encouraged by the colony. The Court, March 3, 1636, voted "twenty pounds, to make a platform and breast-work, for three

pieces of ordnance at the Hill Fort," and ordered the inhabitants to finish "said work at their own proper charges before the General Court of May next. This fort was maintained at great expense to the town, for more than forty years; a rate, for instance, of £77, 18s. 6d. was levied, in 1653, to repair it. In, 1670, September 25, it was ordered that "the great guns now mounted on the Town Hill, by reason of endangering Mr. Shepherd's and the Town House grass, shall not be discharged at the Hill, in future, unless the militia see just cause. And the guns for salutes be improved in some other place." After this time, the Hill Fort appears to have been abandoned.

The "Battery" was ordered to be built by the General Court, which, in 1634, appointed a large committee, consisting of Captains Underhill, Patrick, and Mason, Mr. Beecher, and others, to locate it, and lay out the works. It was situated near Swett's wharf. Johnson commends the public spirit of this town in military matters, and writes, that, in the active men, "it hath not been inferior except in numbers," to Boston. "Although," he adds, when commending Robert Sedgwick, and rather unjustly to Captains Mason and Underhill, "Charles Town do not advantage such or'e-topping batteries as Boston, yet hath he (Sedgwick) erected his to very good purpose, insomuch that all shipping that comes in, must needs face it all the time of their coming in." The town continued to maintain, and chiefly at its own expense, a battery near this site, — for the location appears to have been once changed, — until the Revolution. It appointed a gunner, and the works were regularly inspected by the colony. There is much matter on the town records and in the colony files about it, and in 1774 it will furnish the occasion of an interesting reminiscence.

The earliest notice of a provision for the Poor, occurs October 3, 1635, when it was voted "that widow Morly be monthly kept from House to House throughout the town, at 3s. in winter, and 2s. in summer, per week." In 1637, a room was provided for her in the watch-house. In 1640, another notice of this sort reads as follows: "Thomas Gold, was allowed £3, 10s. for the widow Wood for one year past, which was allowed by the Treasurer."

There is no record of the number of the inhabitants at this period. In 1636, the whole number was seventy-two, who had wives and children. From that date to 1640, one hundred and twenty-seven were admitted. The population was probably not far from one thousand.

The relative importance of the town may be gathered by comparing the taxes assessed upon it with those of some of the principal towns:—

<i>Date of Rate.</i>	<i>Amt.</i>	<i>Charlestown.</i>	<i>Boston.</i>	<i>Roxbury.</i>	<i>Watertown.</i>	<i>Salem.</i>	<i>Dorchester.</i>
1630	£ 50.	£ 7.	£ 11.	£ 5.	£ 11.	£ 3.	£ 7.
1631	39.	4.10.	5.	3.		3.	4.10.
1633	412.	48.	48.		48.	28.	80.
1635	290.	16.	27.6.8.	20.	20.	16.	27.6.8.
1637	400.	42.6.	59.4.	30.8.	30.8.	45.12.	42.6.
1638	1500.	138.	233.10.	115.	110.	172.10.	140.
1639	1000.	85.15.	144.10.	74.12.	81.17.	111.13.	93.7.9.
1640	1200.	90.	179.	75.	90.	115.	95.

For nearly half a century the inhabitants were divided into freemen and non-freemen. To become a freeman, it was necessary to be a church member, and to subscribe the freeman's oath, binding the person taking it to maintain the government of the Commonwealth. Then he became qualified to vote and to be voted for.

The Town Officers were:—1. The Selectmen, then called the "seven men," or the "Townsmen." The board commonly consisted of seven persons. Their duties were more general than those of the same officers to-day, — acting as assessors and overseers of the poor. 2. Constables who, in addition to such duties as pertain to their office, then collected the taxes. 3. Surveyors of Highways, who acted under the Selectmen, and directed the labor on the streets. "Every man, and boy above ten years old" were obliged (1646) to work one day in a year on a highway; and every one that had one hundred pounds stock, "a day for that," and so above or under proportionably. A team and three beasts were "to goe for three days," and one beast "for two days." All were required "to bee at work by eight o'clock," and "no man to send a boy instead of a man." The fine for neglect was 2s. 6d. 4. Town Clerks, and clerk of the writs, who granted summonses and attachments in civil actions. 5. The Herdsman, who, with a boy to assist him, drove the three herds to their pastures. He was required to be at Antony Dick's Corner, (near Austin and Main-streets,) in the morning, "when the sun was half an hour high, whither people are to bring their cows at that time," — the dilatory who "came after the first putting forth" of the herd, were obliged to pay 6d. a cow. His pay for the year was eighty bushels of Indian corn, "the grass in the swamp," and a pound of butter "upon each cow" he kept; but the boy that assisted him was to have "twenty pounds of the butter," and 6s. a week paid to him by the town. 6. Overseers of the Fields. They had the general

oversight of these enclosures; attended to fencing, watering places, keeping them clear of intruders; watching lest people put more beasts in than they had a right to; seeing that all the swine were "yoakt and runge," — the "yoak" to be two feet long, and every "yoak" to have "a pick upward of six inches high, on penalty of twelve-pence fine. 7. The chimney sweepers, who (1648) were to see that all the chimneys in the town be sufficiently daubed from the mantell-tree to the head or top of the chimney, and that each chimney top be at least three feet high above the top of the thatch. Every chimney was required to be swept once a month in winter — once in two months in summer. 8. A few other officers were required by law to be chosen, though none at this time (1640) are named in the records.

The freemen voted, 1. for Governor, Deputy Governor, Major General, Treasurer, Secretary, and Commissioner of the United Colonies. For a few years the freemen of all the towns were obliged to go to one place to vote, but at this time (1640) they might cast their votes before the constable, or their deputies, who carried them, sealed up, to the place of election, generally Boston. The ballots were to be put into the box "open, or once folded, not twisted or rolled up." The freemen also elected assistants or magistrates. But this election was to be by corn and beans; the "corn to manifest election, the beans, contrary." A person putting in more than one of either, or voting when he had no right to vote, was liable to a penalty of ten pounds. The elections thus early were not always more quiet than they are sometimes now. An instance is afforded in the contest between Winthrop and Vane in 1637. Then there was considerable rallying of voters; for the Newbury men went forty miles on foot to vote for Winthrop;¹ and some political oratory; for Rev. John Wilson, in his zeal, "gat upon the bough of a tree," — for the election was "carried on in the field," — and made a speech "advising the people to look to their charter," and proceed to vote. Vane's friends desired to postpone the election; but Mr. Wilson's speech, writes Hutchinson, "was well received by the people, who presently called out, election! election! which turned the scale."² Winthrop was successful: his opponents "grew into fierce speeches, and some laid hands on others;" there was "great danger of tumult that day."³ 2. The freemen voted

¹ Coffin's Newbury, p. 23. ² Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 62. ³ Winthrop, vol. i. p. 220.

for Deputies, or Representatives, who were chosen by "papers." None but freemen could be deputies, and no freeman "unsound in judgment concerning the main points of the Christian religion, as they have been held forth and acknowledged by the generality of the Protestant writers. As the town contained more than twenty freemen, it was entitled to two deputies, for whose services it was obliged to pay 2*s.* 6*d.* a day, during attendance at Court. 3. Grand Jurymen, who generally consisted of the most valuable inhabitants.

Town meetings were held as often as occasion required. No intimation is given in the records of the place of meetings, or of the mode of conducting them. In other towns, as to-day, a Moderator was chosen, who, if an elder or deacon were not present, opened the meeting with prayer. Each speaker, on rising, took off his hat, and was not allowed to be interrupted; small fines were imposed for non-attendance, or for leaving the meeting without permission. In them, "every man, whether inhabitant, or florreiner, free or not free,"— so ordered the Court in 1641,— had liberty to make any motion, prefer any complaint, or present any petition,— whereof the meeting had cognizance,— "so it be done in convenient time, due order, and respective manner." Such, from the first, were these "glories of New England," as they have been called. These little assemblies, thus open to all, where debate run as free as thought, were the primary schools of freedom. In selecting officers, deciding about dividing the land, supporting schools and the ministry, making by-laws, and discussing Parliamentary measures, there was evolved an independence of mind, and manliness of character, that constituted a wide and admirable preparation for more important political action. Their influence was decided. Andross, when he suppressed them, Hutchinson, when he denounced them, and the British Parliament, when it prohibited them, knew what they were about. Such action on the part of their enemies, is a solid testimonial of their value. One of their friends, — of the highest authority, — assigns them the credit of having commenced the American Revolution.¹

The early votes of these meetings are worthy of notice. At first, — as already quoted, — they relate to dividing the land, building fences and making fields. The town voted, in 1633, a bounty of "a penny upon every acre of planted land, for killing an old fox"

¹ Judge Story, in Niles' Register, vol. xlvi. p. 169.

within its limits, and "half-a-penny for every young fox;" in 1635, that whoever had been warned forty-eight hours before a town meeting, "and shall fail, unless the occasion be extraordinary, shall forfeit and pay 18*d.*;" in 1636, that a committee "settle the rates of all workmen, laborers, and servant's wages, and for cart and boat hire;" also, a fine of 5*s.*, "for every tree felled and not cut up," and at the end of six days, that any other might "cut up the tops and take the tree;" in 1637, that the wharves should be, "on pain of 10*s.*," "kept clear of timber and fire-wood," that "hay and other things" might be landed, which were to remain "not above two days after landing, upon pain of 12*d.* each day;" in 1638, that no inhabitant sell his estate to a foreigner without consent of the town; for doing which, Robert Hawkins was fined 19*s.*, which was "levied by distress."

Colonial legislation at this period, aimed at the whole of domestic life. If the citizens reproached the government, they were liable to be fined, set in the bilboes, and disfranchised; if they took tobacco publicly, "or privately in their houses, before acquaintances or strangers," the penalty was 2*s.* 6*d.*; if they sold certain goods for more than four-pence in a shilling profit, they were fined; the fair sex could not wear short sleeves, nor those more than half an ell wide; none could sell "lace to be worn upon any garment or linnen;" though they might sell "binding or small edging." This list might be easily extended. These laws were not dead letter. Major Sedgwick was admonished for selling goods too high; Nicholas Davison was fined for swearing an oath; Robert Shorthus, for another oath, had his tongue put into a cleft stick, and thus stood for half an hour; and at another time, for saying "if the magistrates had any thing to say to him, they might come to him," was committed; and for again slighting them in his speeches, was set in the bilboes. Ambrose Martin, for traducing the church covenant and the ministers, was fined ten pounds, "and counselled to go to Mr. Mather to be instructed."

Much of this must be regarded as vexatious and arbitrary; and in such matter, those disposed may find ample material for coarse abuse of the Puritans. Still, none of it was peculiar to them. For ages government had controlled people in their religion, manufactures, trade, dress and diet. At this time, in England, the right to carry on almost every kind of business, was farmed to a Court favorite, who retailed rights to others; and in addition, there were

the ruinous exactions of the Guilds.¹ The error of the colonists consisted in not rejecting the whole of such absurdities instead of a part of them; what they retained, however, were transient in character, and have, one by one, taken their places among the things that were.

But how nobly were those errors redeemed! Our citizens, as a general thing, in an age of restriction and tyranny, enjoyed personal security; inviolability of property; jury trial; freedom to engage in business; town meetings; education for their children; annual elections; a government of laws and not of men; and the right of making the laws, which, if arbitrary, were still to be tested on those who made them, and could correct them. Such principles were permanent; and, as time rolled on, were more firmly grasped, and more intelligently defended. It was the mission of the Colonial age to battle for them, and successfully; and now they are the corner-stones of the republic. Two centuries ago the freemen of this town understood well their comparative situation, — looking far deeper than they who only see the transient to denounce it, while they are blind to that which was grand and permanent; they declared themselves “the most happy people they knew of in the world.”²

The pursuits of the inhabitants for the first ten years were chiefly farming and building. They brought over materials for their pursuits: stock for their farms; clothing for their families; and tools to carry on their trades. Their “homesteads” were humble places indeed; with rough walls, thatched roofs and “catted chimneys.” At this time the deeds begin to mention “the mansion house,” and probably here and there a stately building might be seen rising among the more humble dwelling-places.

In 1640 there were in town, tailors, coopers, rope-makers, glaziers, tile-makers, anchor-smiths, collar-makers, charcoal-burners, joiners, wheelwrights, blacksmiths; there was a brew-house, a salt-pan, a potter’s kiln, a saw-pit, a wind-mill, a water-mill near Spot Pond, and (certainly in 1645) the old tide mill at the Middlesex Canal landing.³

¹ Anderson’s History of Commerce, *passim*.

² Petition of Charlestown Freemen, 1668, in Mass. Archives.

³ Major Sedgwick and Dea. Stitson were part owners of this mill, and undoubtedly built it. I have an agreement between them and John Mousall the miller, dated 1645.

No town had better men, the most of whom have already been noticed. It was largely indebted to Robert Sedgwick,¹ Francis Willoughby and Richard Russell,— all enterprising merchants, public spirited citizens. They, with others, had already commenced a prosperous business, and built shops, ware-houses and wharves. They exported furs, lumber, pipe-staves, and frames of buildings. A petition of Francis Willoughby, and others, dated 1641, evinces the growing trade of this town and Boston. It states that they had invested a great part of their estates in “building ware-houses and framing wharves,” to facilitate the landing of goods, “not only from about home but from further parts,” and pray that the Court would “appoint a certain rate for wharfage, portorage, and houseing of goods.” Mr. Willoughby’s wharves were on each side of the old Ferry-ways: Major Sedgwick’s near the old Town Dock. Willoughby had a ship-yard on the site of the Fitchburg Railroad Depot, or in Warren Avenue; and was, in 1641, building a ship. The town, to encourage the enterprise, gave him liberty “to take timber from the common,” and without “being bound to cut up the tops of the trees.”

The early writers exult over the ten years just reviewed. “God hath at once subdued the proud Pequots, and the proud opinions that rose up in the land; and for plenty, never had the land the like. Yea what is better, the word of God grows and multiply-eth,” writes one:² “The golden age of New England when vice was crushed as well by the civil as the sacred sword; especially oppression; extortion in prices and wages, which is injustice done to the public,” writes another.³ The colonists had risen from penury to plenty; they had comfortable “houses, gardens, orchards,” “so that strangers seeing such a forme and face of a commonwealth appearing in all the plantation,” “wondered at God’s blessing on their endeavors.” It was with evident pride added,— “all these upon our own charges, no publick hand reaching out any help.”⁴

¹ “A very brave, zealous and pious man,” Carlyle’s *Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 198.

² *New England’s Tears for Old England’s Fears*, 1640. ³ Hubbard.

⁴ *New England’s First Fruits*.

CHAPTER XIII.

1640. — Charlestown Village. — Location. — Municipal Government. — Woburn Incorporated. — Extract from its Records. — Woburn Church Organized. — Thomas Carter. — His Ordination. — Boundaries. — A Letter. — Final Agreement. — Land of Nod.

THE territory called Woburn was regarded in 1640, as "remote land," whose roads were Indian pathways, with crevices of rocks and clefts of trees for shelters. To explore it, or occupy it was viewed as a "great labor," not to be undertaken without prayer, not to be accomplished without danger. The history of its settlement, minutely detailed by the early authorities, affords a good illustration of some of the peculiarities of the times, and of the way in which towns were organized.

In May, 1640, Charlestown petitioned the General Court for a grant of land "to accommodate such useful men as might settle" here, and form "a village for the improvement of such remote lands as are already laid out;" hence the grants of May 13 and October 7, 1640, made on the condition of their being built upon within two years.¹ A committee, September 28 and November 4, were appointed to locate "The Village," who were instructed "to advise with Mr. Nowell and the elders in any difficulties they meet with." This Committee, November 17, agreed as follows:

"That (beside the land already granted by the Court to particular men) there shall be laid out at the head of the new grant betwixt Cambridge Line and Lynn, quite throughout, land at such breadth as shall contain three thousand acres to remain as their proper land to accommodate with farms there such as they shall have occasion.

Second, That the bounds between Charlestown and the village shall be from the Partition of the Ponds to the north-west corner of Mr. Craddock's Farm, and from thence to that part of Lynn village (since called

¹ See page 53. The last grant is in the following words: 1640, October 7. At a General Court: — Charlestowne petition is granted them the proportion of four miles square, with their former last grant to make a village; whereof five hundred acres is granted to Mr. Thomas Coytmore, to be set out by the Court, if the town and he cannot agree; in which they shall not cross Cambridge Line, nor come within a mile of Shawshine river, and the great swamp and pond to lie in common."

Reading) that turns from Charlestown head line by a straight line, provided that this line shall be half a mile from the lots in the nearest place; that the lands of the village bordering upon that common may have benefit of common for milch cattle and working cattle. And the village is to allow so much land as shall be taken in more than the straight line besides the three thousand acres.

Third, That the place of the village meeting house should be above the head of the old bounds near against Robert Cutlers."

This agreement, the Woburn Records say, "was in part assented to but afterwards denied." Difficulties arose; "many, fearing the depopulation" of Charlestown, "had a suspicious eye over" the villagers. A new committee were selected "to compound any differences;" they, "considering the weightiness of the work and the weakness of the persons," held first, a meeting for fasting and prayer, and then proceeded with their "great labor."¹ The Woburn Records note every step. One meeting was held "before Mr. Nowell and Mr. Symmes, who gave them no small discouragement;" at another, January 11, 1641, many, after having been admitted to sit down with the villagers, "being shallow in brains fell off;" at another, February 16, forty gathered to mark the "meets and bounds," when, "the way being so plain backward that divers never went forward again." At length, February 27, Mr. Nowell, "the noble Captain Sedgwick," Lieutenant Sprague and others, "advised the removal of the house lots, and place for the meeting house to the spot where they were finally located," near the centre of the town. The lots were laid out March 6, when the settlers began to build.

Before this time, however, the villagers had provided a local government. They met, December 18, 1640, at the house of Mr. Thomas Graves, in Charlestown, and agreed upon a series of "Town Orders," which were signed by thirty-two persons,² the

¹ "The committee were obliged to spend nights without shelter, "whilst rain and snow did bedew their rocky beds." They have recorded one remarkable providence as "never to be forgotten." Some of the company sheltering themselves under the body of a large tree, which lay at a distance from the ground, no sooner was the last of them come from under it, at break of day, than to their amazement it fell; and they were obliged to dig out their provisions, their united strength being insufficient to remove it." — Chickering's Dedication Sermon, p. 14.

² The names of the signers were:—

Edward Johnson,	John Seers,	Edward Winn,
Edward Converse,	John Wyman,	Henry Belden,
John Mousall,	Francis Wyman,	Francis Kendall,
Ezekiel Richardson,	Thomas Graves,	John Tedd,

most of them inhabitants of this town. The preamble to this document, which is too long to quote in full, reads as follows: "The free fruition of such liberties and privileges as humanity, civility and christianity calls for as due to every man with his place and proportion without impeachment and infringing, which hath ever been and ever will be; the tranquillity and stability of Christian Commonwealths, and the denial or the deprivation thereof, the disturbance if not the ruin of both; we hold it therefore our duty,"¹ to subscribe "these orders." The gist of them was, that each inhabitant should pay sixpence for every acre then laid out, and for all afterwards twelpence; that all that did not build in fifteen months were to return their lots, and none were to sell to any but such as the town should approve of: that all orchards and garden plots were to be "well enclosed" by "pale or otherways;" that "no manner of person" should entertain "inmates either married or other," more than three days without the consent of "four of the Selectmen" under a penalty of sixpence for each day's offence; and, finally, that none were to cut young oak timber "under eight inches square" under penalty of five shillings for each offence. Small things, some may think, to follow so high sounding a preamble. But let them not be despised; for such are the fibres of our national tree.

In a few months the General Court extended to the villagers substantial encouragement. It repealed an existing law providing that no immunity should be granted to any new plantation, and the next entry on the records grants (June 14, 1641,) to Charlestown village "two years immunity from public rates from the end of this Court for such stock as they have there only." The next year is the act of incorporation: 1642, September 8:² "Charlestown

Samuel Richardson,	Nicholas Davis,	Henry Tottingham,
Thomas Richardson,	Nicholas Trarice,	Richard Lowden,
William Learned,	John Carter,	William Greene,
James Thomson,	James Converse,	Benjamin Butterfield,
John Wright,	Daniel Bacon,	Henry Jeffs,
Michael Bacon,	James Parker,	John Russell.
James Britten,	Thomas Fuller,	

¹ This preamble is a mutilated transcript of the beginning of the "General Laws and Liberties of the Massachusetts Colony." See Massachusetts Collection, vol. xxxviii. p. 216 where these laws, drawn up by Ward, the author of the Simple Cobler of Agawam, are reprinted.

² Colony Records. The date of May 18, in American Quarterly Register, vol. xi. p. 187, and p. 25 Chickering's Sermon is incorrect.

Village called Woburn.”¹ Henceforward Woburn is a town co-equal in rights and obligations, with its parent town. Its citizens regularly gather in town-meetings, choose selectmen,² manage their local affairs, and send their representative to the General Court.

The first volume of the Town Records of Woburn commences with the following narration of its history by its first Recorder, Edward Johnson: the reader may find more of the same kind of poetry in the author’s *Wonder Working Providence*:—

RECORDS FOR THE TOWNE OF WOBURNE

ffrom the year 1640 : the 8 : day of th : 10 month.

Paulis per Fui.³

In peniles age I Woburne Towne began ;
 Charles Towne first mou’d the court my lins to span ;
 To wewe my land-place, compild body reare,⁴
 Nowell, Sims, Sedgwick, thes my paterons were.
 Sum fearing I’d grow great upon these grounds,
 Poor I wase putt to nurs among the clownes,⁵
 Who being taken with such mighty things,
 As had bin work of noble Queeins and Kings—
 Till Babe gan crye and great disturbance make—
 Nurses repent they did hur undertake.
 One leaves her quite — another hee doth hie
 To foren lands free from the Baby’s crye.
 To (two) more of seaven, seeing nursing prou’d soe thwarte,
 Thought it more ease in following of the carte.
 A neighbour by, hopinge the Babe wold bee
 A pritty Girl, to rocking hur went hee.

¹ Woburn is the name of a market town in Bedford county, England,—the population in 1830 was 1827.—McCulloch’s *Gazetteer*. It is also the name of a parish in Buckinghamshire. It is memorable for the case of a contested election in 1604, when a controversy concerning the election of Sir Francis Goodwin proved the cause of establishing the great constitutional doctrine, that the House of Commons have the sole right of deciding on the validity of their own elections and returns.—Lyson’s *Buckinghamshire*, p. 670.

² The first board of selectmen were, Edward Johnson, Edward Converse, John Mousall, William Learned, Ezekiel Richardson, Samuel Richardson and James Thomson. The first representative was Edward Johnson, who served in this capacity twenty-eight years, and for thirty years was town clerk.

³ I have been a little while: “I” meaning the Town.

⁴ This couplet required uncommon abbreviation ere the metre would come right to Johnson’s critical ear. “Compild body reare” means—my compact body to rear.

⁵ The distinguished patrons of Woburn, fearing it would one day rival Charlestown, discouraged the enterprise, and gave it to those they regarded as of a lower grade in society, or as the “clownes.” But difficulties discouraged them also, and they “repent they did her undertake.”

Two nurses, less undanted then the rest,¹
 Ffirst houses finish — thus the Girle gane drest.
 Its rare to see how this poore Towne did rise
 By weakest means — too weak in great ons eys.
 And sure it is, that mettells cleere extraction
 Had neuer share in this poore Towns ervation.
 Without which metall, and sum fresh suplys,
 Patrons conclud she neuer upp would rise.
 If ever she mongst ladys have a station,
 Say twas ffrom parentes, not her education.
 And now conclud the Lords owne hand it wase
 That with weak means did bring this work to pass.
 Not only Towne, but Sister Chureh to ade,
 Which out of Dust and ashes now is had.
 Then all inhabit Woburne Towne stay make
 The Lord, not means, of all you undertake.

But, many discouragements surmounted, the town was still but half founded: "It being," Johnson writes in his account of Woburn, "as unnatural for a right New England man to live without an able ministry, as for a smith to work his iron without a fire." Yet the villagers were prudent,— "not rashly running to gether themselves into a church, before they had hopes of attaining an Officer to preach the word, and administer the seals unto them;" and for some time they remained members of the Charlestown church. "Upon some hope they had of Mr. Carter's help," they applied (July 4, 1642,) for permission to form a new church. But the old society was "found backward," and they "were put off fourteen days, at which time, after much agitation, they had liberty to gather a church." They lost nothing, however, by waiting, as the history of Malden church will testify.

The Woburn church was organized August 14, 1642, when there were interesting services. Messengers from the neighboring churches formed the council, and Rev. Zechariah Symmes was the preacher. One of the magistrates, "the honored Mr. Increase Nowell," was present, both "to prevent the disturbance that might follow" the introduction into the infant church of "those cursed opinions that caused such commotion in this and the other colonies," and to "countenance the people of God in so pious a work." All about to enter into church communion, stood forth before this grave assembly, and related their religious experiences. After the elders had questioned them on doubtful points, and they had an-

¹ "A neighbor by" is Johnson, the author of the metre in the text: the "two nurses" who persevered were John Mousall and Edward Converse. Mss. Com. of Rev. Samuel Sewall, to whom I am indebted for many favors.

swered "according to that measure of understanding the Lord had given them," and "all were satisfied," they entered into a covenant, and received the fellowship of the churches.¹

A few months later, 1642, November 22, a minister was ordained. Thomas Carter came to this country in 1635, was made freeman in 1637, resided some time in Dedham, and, when invited to preach at Woburn, was a member of the Watertown church.² Johnson characterizes him as "apt to teach the sound and wholesome truths of Christ." The occasion of his induction into office furnished an eminent instance of lay ordination. It was not done without differences and discussion. The Woburn church had no elder, "nor any members fit," so Winthrop writes, "to solemnize such an ordinance." Some advised that the church should desire the elders of other churches to perform the ceremony; others, fearing the tendency to "a dependency of churches," and "so a presbytery, would not allow it." It was done by the laymen. After Mr. Carter "had exercised in preaching and prayer the greater part of the day," two persons in the name of the church laid their hands upon his head, and said, "We ordain thee, Thomas Carter, to be pastor of this church of Christ," and one of the elders closed by prayer. Winthrop was evidently displeased with the service: the ceremony, he writes, was performed "not so well and orderly as it ought."³

A controversy respecting the boundaries between the two towns continued several years. An unusual vote appears on the records relative to it, dated May 8, 1643, when it is stated that the "church" chose four men to settle the difficulties; the Woburn records also mention that the "church" of Charlestown appointed commissioners to act in relation to this business. How far the church claimed or exercised authority, in this transaction, does not appear. A few years later, March 17, 1646, the new town agreed "to send to the Selectmen of Charlestown" the following admirable letter,⁴ a model of directness of purpose and Christian courtesy:—

"To our much respected and much approved good freinds of Charlestowne, chosen to order the prudentiall affaires therof.

"Much Respected and Antient freinds :

¹ The quotations are from *Wonder Working Providence*, chapter 22.

² *Amer. Quarterly Register*, vol. xi. p. 187.—Chickering's *Dedication Sermon*, p. 25.

³ *Winthrop*, vol. ii. p. 91.

⁴ *Woburn Records*.

Wee are Bould to interrupt your present precious Implyments with Request for Issue of those things which sartaine of our Beloved Brethren among you were chosen unto. Now our humble Request is, that they may End it forthwith. If otherwise they cannot so doe, our further Request is, that some others uninterested in the things may put a freindly Issue to the same. Our last Request is, that if nether of these will doe, then in a brotherly and freindly way to petition to the generall Court, that wee may not bequeth matter of diffurance to our posterity. Thus with hope of a present answer in writing to our soe Resanabl Request,

Wee Remain yours to be commanded

in all Saruis of love in Christ our Lord."

This letter did not produce an immediate settlement. In 1649, March 3, four of the selectmen of Woburn were chosen to speak with their "brethren of Charlestown" about "settling the bounds suddenly." At length, in 1651, January 10, the business was concluded, and an agreement entered at length upon the Records. It provides; first, that the line of division between the two towns shall run "from Cambridge Line by the north-west end of Mr. Nowell's lot and so all along between Mr. Symmes's farm and Edward Converse's farm until it come to the east side" of those adjoining Charlestown common: second, that Woburn shall have five hundred acres of land out of this common — making here a fence "of two rails" to constitute the boundary line between the two towns. Third, that Charlestown shall have three thousand acres of land within the bounds of Woburn, to begin "at the uttermost corner northerly, next Reading Line, and so to run southerly along two miles deep on the east side of Shawshine Line," till the tract amounted to three thousand acres.¹

¹ The Charlestown Records contain much matter about this tract, called the "Land of Nod." The town retained an interest in it; how much does not appear, but enough to produce trouble and litigation, and for a century (to 1742) committees were, at intervals, appointed to look after it. Still there is no clear account of this land in the records.

Charlestown, in a large division of its territory, April 23, 1638, allotted a tract, extending between Lynn and Cambridge, called the "Great Plot,"—the "remote lands" alluded to in the petition of 1640 (see page 105) When Woburn was incorporated it was agreed that the boundary line should run so that a part of this "Great Plot," together with five hundred acres of commons adjacent to it, should belong to Woburn; while Charlestown was recompensed by retaining the proprietorship of three thousand acres of land, lying at the northern extremity of the four mile square grant, though, for municipal purposes, this also was assigned to Woburn. This three thousand acres — described in the text — was called the "Land of Nod,"—the name being probably suggested by a comparison of its forlorn condition,—so far remote from church ordinances,—with the Nod to which Cain wandered when he went "from the presence of the Lord."—Genesis, iv. Its Indian name is given in an old deed, Nena Saawaattawattocks, and the "old Saggamore of these parts," was John Tahattawon.

Woburn, besides these difficulties, had trouble in dividing its own lands. There is extant a curious petition to the General Court, signed by twenty-five of its citizens, dated October 7, 1667, and

Though Woburn had municipal jurisdiction over Nod, yet it never claimed to own rights in its soil. Charlestown, accordingly, originally granted it to individuals. Under date of 1643 there is a record as follows:

“Proportions of Land granted out to these follo^s:

Robert Sedgwick,	300.	William Stitton,	250.
Zacheriah Symmes,	300.	William Phillips,	200.
Thomas Allen,	300.	Ralph Woory,	200.
Richard Russell,	300.	Robert Cooke,	250.
Francis Willoughby,	300.	Thomas Graves,	250.
John Allen,	300.	Mr. Barnard,	200.

This was the original grant of Nod, though it was not laid out until seven years afterwards, nor lotted out until 1718. Of these proprietors, Graves and Sedgwick, Cooke and others, resigned their lots to the town. The latter, in 1652, granted five hundred acres of Nod to Captain Francis Norton, retaining a propriety of part of it. Nod lay in common for many years, some of its proprietors neglecting to look after it. Francis Willoughby bought the shares granted to Francis Norton and John Allen, and then owned one thousand one hundred and fifty acres. In 1683, May 1, Lawrence Hammond, who had married Governor Willoughby's widow, sold this quantity to John Hull. Judge Sewall married Mr. Hull's daughter, and thus came into the possession of rights in Nod. He (about 1703) authorized the Richardsons', of Woburn, to cut timber on it. On hearing of this, Charlestown appointed a committee to examine its rights to the land of Nod, who reported, 1704, December 25. The following is an extract from this report: “We are informed that there are several persons that clam part of that tract of land (Nod) which we cannot allow of, for we are very well satisfied that this tract of land was originally the land that Woburn exchanged with Charlestown, for lands then belonging to Charlestown, and we cannot find any record that this land was ever legally conveyed to any particular person.”

The other claimants were five citizens of Andover, who exhibited a deed from “Sam Johnson, grandson and heir” of the old Saggamore Tahattawon, who for nine pounds relinquished, “all Indian and native rights” to Nod, or its native name Nena Saawaattawattocks. The town accepted the report of its committee, contested the right of Judge Sewall, and claimed the whole of Nod. The case was tried at a Special Court on the 18th of September, 1705, when the decision was against the town. The latter appealed to the Superior Court, which affirmed the former judgment. (Mss. Com. Rev. Samuel Sewall.) The result was, that the town had but a share of Nod, instead of owning the whole. The rights of individual proprietors being thus confirmed, they met at Charlestown, April 14, 1718, and voted to divide the whole three thousand acres. Captain Burnap, a noted surveyor, was employed to draw a plan of it.

In the same year, November 12, the land was lotted out. (Judge Sewall's Mss. Com. by Rev. Samuel Sewall.) After this, several committees were raised in relation to Nod. A vote of 1742, May 10, indicates that a part of the town's share of it had been sold, and a committee was then authorized to sell the remainder.

Such is the early history of Wilmington, incorporated in 1730, and made up of the land of Nod with a part of Reading. To this day the tract between Lubber's Brook and Andover Line, among the farmers of that region, goes by the soporific name of Nod.

beginning :—" May it please this honorable court to vouchsafe some help to our town of Woburn in dividing a lump of this wilderness earth." The church, however, lived in harmony with its minister more than forty-two years. Mr. Carter died September 5, 1684. In ten years the town increased to about sixty families—the church to seventy-four members. But it would be obviously improper to devote further space to Woburn—it shared largely in the early dangers, and partook of the prosperity of the country.

CHAPTER XIV.

1640 to 1650. — Commerce. — Bounty on Wolves. — Shops. — The Castle. — Harvard College. — The Tide Mills. — Town Hill. — Rate for a School. — Petition of the Ferrymen. — Customs on Wines. — Case of Witchcraft. — Town Order. — A Fire. — Johnson's Description of the Town.

For several years the town affords, in its corporate capacity, but few details for history. The civil war in England secured to the colonists the luxury of neglect, and Cromwell was their undisguised friend. " 'Tis incredible," writes Nathaniel Mather, from London, in 1651, " what an advantage to preferment it is to have been a New Englishman." ¹ During this period the towns were silently laying the foundations of their prosperity.

1640. The cessation of emigration was severely felt. Heretofore there had been a scarcity of goods. This year " there came over great store of provisions, both out of England and Ireland," and the market was glutted. All commodities grew very cheap, and " this evil," writes Winthrop, " was very notorious, that most men would buy as cheap as they could and sell as dear." The next year, he writes again, " corn would buy nothing, a cow which last year cost twenty pounds, might now be bought for four or five pounds," ² and the price of land declined in the same proportion.

¹ Mather's Mss. in Mass. Hist. Society Archives.

² Winthrop's Hist. vol. ii.

1641. The town voted, "that whosoever should kill any wolf within the Neck, or in any part of the Milch-cow Common, shall receive from the constable of the town ten shillings for each wolf killed."

1642. Liberty was granted to the deacons to build shops on "the two sides of the meeting house;" in 1645 it was voted that the house "be floored over and two thirds to be carried on by Mr. Russell and a third by a general rate — Mr. Russell having liberty "to build shops on the outside of the house;" in 1648 Joshua Tedd had permission to build one "on the north-east side of the east door;" in 1652, Ensign Richard Sprague had the grant of "a place to set up a shop" near the meeting house, "also," the vote continues, "he and brother Tedd are to join, if brother Tedd will, in making the portal over the meeting house door. But if brother Tedd will not join, then the Ensign to make it alone and enjoy it, provided he do neither let the shop nor portal, or that on it, nor sell any of them to any person without the Townsmen's consent." At this time the town decided that no more shops should be built on any side of the house.

1643. The town assumed a part of the expense of maintaining the Castle on Castle Island, concerning which there is much matter on the Records. Two platforms and a small fortification, built of "lime burnt of oyster shells" in 1634, had decayed; and in 1637 the General Court contemplated discontinuing this defence. This year (1643) six towns, Boston, Charlestown, Roxbury, Dorchester, Cambridge and Watertown, believing they were too much exposed to an enemy, determined to rebuild the Castle, and in this, were encouraged by some of the magistrates, and the elders "in their sermons." The Court granted one hundred pounds towards maintaining it, "rather out of willingness to gratify these six towns, being near one half the Commonwealth for number of people and substance" than "any confidence of safety by it."¹ A rate of 1645, to support it, assigns Charlestown £20.16, Boston £52. A garrison of twenty men took care of it. For many years a tax for the Castle formed a part of the expenses of the town.

This year the Colony was divided into four counties, Middlesex, Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk. There were thirty towns and plantations.

¹ Winthrop's History, vol. ii. p. 115.

1644. The following vote was passed August 27. "It was agreed yt. one peck of wheat, or 12d. in money, shall be paid by every family towards the maintenance of the College at Cambridge. It is to be brought in to Sergeant Sprague's and John Pentecost by the 21st of the 12th month next ensuing." This humble contribution continued to be made many years. In 1647, for instance, "at a general meeting of the inhabitants," voted to continue to bring in unto Ensign Sprague and John Pentecost a peck of corn upon a house as in former years." In a record of contributions of eight years, the amount from Boston was £ 84.18.7. the next highest is Charlestown, £ 37.16.2. Its prominent citizens were active in promoting this great work. Mr. Willoughby, in 1639, gave twenty-five pounds. Major Sedgwick, in 1642, gave forty pounds, and afterwards a shop. Mr. Russell gave nine pounds. Mr. Nowell was a warm friend to it.

1645. An agreement, dated December 11, between John Fownell¹ the miller, and Robert Sedgwick and William Stitson part owners of the Tide Mill, at the Middlesex Canal Landing, stipulates that the former is to have one-third part of the profit of the mill a year for his services. By law he could not take "above one-sixteenth part of the corn he ground," and was obliged to keep ready for use "mill weights and scales." The owners were to allow "two ditchfuls of corn" every time the mill was dressed; eight gallons of lamp oil, for the use of the mill; and provide a house for the miller to reside in, or pay "thirty shillings per annum."

1646. The following vote, relating to the Town Hill, is one of the few original entries in volume second of the Records :

"At a meeting of the 7 men the 22d of the 12th moneth 1646.

"It was agreed that the ground on the top of Charlestowne Hill upon w^{ch} the windmill stands, reaching from the end of goody Shepherdsons garden pales on the one syde the highways going along forth right towards Mr. Syms his pales end, and the highway that goes along by his pales, and so along by Mr. Allen's pales in a square plot: this peece of ground to lye eomon to the towne for ever, and not to be impropriated by any particuler person, and if or bro: William Stitson can prove that it was given him, then hee to be payd a proportionable sune for it out of the skirts of land on the ends of the planting ground on mistick side."

1647, January 20. "It was agreed that a rate of fifteen pounds

¹ The reader is requested to correct at the bottom of page 103; the name should be Fownell.

should be gathered of the town, towards the school for this year, and the five pounds that Major Sedgwick is to pay this year (for the island) for the school, also the town's part of Mistick wear for the School forever." In the margin, "allowance granted for the Town School."

1648. The ferrymen, Francis Hudson and James Heyden, state in a petition to the General Court, that the Ferry never was less productive: that contrary to law disorderly passengers would press into the boats, and on leaving refuse to pay their fare; that some pleaded they had nothing to pay, and others that they were in the country's service. And they further state, that the payment generally tendered was "usually in such refuse, unwrought, broken, unstringed and unmerchantable peag," (wampum,) at six a penny, that they lost twopence a shilling, being forced to take peag at six a penny and pay it at seven. They petition that if the Court intend "all soldiers with their horses and military furniture be fare-free," that they might be paid for it by the colony: that strangers, not able to pay, may be ordered to give in their names: that "the peag hereafter to us paid may be so suitably in known parcels, handsomely stringed, and their value assigned, that it may henceforth be a general, current, and more agreeable pay." Probably in consequence of this petition, the Court, October 18, ordered that all "payable peag" should be "entire without breaches, both the white and black, suitably strung in eight known parcels, 1d, 3d, 12d, 5s., in white; and 2d, 6d, 2-6d, and 10s, in black." The Court also ordered that for transporting officers in the colony service, the ferryman should be allowed £ 4 per annum for the past, and £ 6 for the time to come.

The General Court "farm-let the customs on wines" imported into the colony, to Robert Sedgwick, Richard Russell, and Francis Norton, of this town; and David Yale of Boston. They agreed to pay £ 120 a year for four years, and were clothed with full power to collect these duties. This year the right to retail wines in this town and Boston was sold to Robert Long and other "vintners" for £ 160 a year.

Margaret Jones of this town, in May, was accused of witchcraft, the first case of this nature that occurred in Massachusetts. Her offence probably suggested the following order of the General Court, May 18. "The Court desire the course which hath

been taken in England¹ for discovery of witches by watching them a certain time: It is ordered that the best and surest way may forthwith be put in practice to begin this night if it may be, being the 18th of 3 month, and that the husband may be confined to a private room, and be also there watched." The course adopted with the unfortunate woman was an effectual one. The evidence against her was, first, that she had "a malignant touch," so that persons she afflicted were seized with deafness, vomiting, and violent pains: second, she practised as a physician, and though she used harmless medicines, as aniseed, liquors, &c., yet they produced "extraordinary violent effects:" third, she would tell those who would not employ her that they never would be healed, and in consequence "their diseases and hurts" baffled "the apprehension of all physicians and surgeons:" fourth, some things which she foretold came to pass accordingly, and she could tell other things, as private speeches, of which she had no ordinary means to come to the knowledge. There were other charges not necessary to detail. For such things this poor creature was condemned to suffer death, and was executed,—hanged,—in Boston, June 15.

Winthrop gravely records, that on "the same day and hour she was executed there was a very great tempest at Connecticut, which blew down many trees, &c." And several days later (June 28) that "the *Welcome of Boston*, about 300 tons, riding before Charlestown, having in her 80 horses and 120 tons of ballast, in calm weather, fell a rolling, and continued so about twelve hours." The husband of the witch desired a passage in her to Barbadoes. The magistrates, on hearing of it, sent a warrant to apprehend him, when the ship ceased its diabolical rolling, and after Jones was in prison "moved no more."²

1649. The following order, — to be found among the original documents of this period, — is copied as a specimen of the earliest by-laws of the town. The date is Jan. 22, 1649.

"At a meeting of the selectmen the 22d of the 11th moneth, 1648:— In regard of the great damage that hath come, not only unto particular

¹ There is nothing on the Town Records relating to this case of witchcraft. In England, where thirty thousand witches have been executed, the practice was various. The town of Lynn, England, voted, May 11, 1616, "that Alderman Thomas Rivett be requested to send for Mr. Hopkins, the witch-discoverer, to come to Lynn, and his charges and recompense to be borne by the town." Richard's Lynn, vol. ii. p. 724.

² Winthrop's History, vol. ii. p. 326.

persons, but to the whole towne by swine, through the multitude of them, and there not being sufficiently youkt and runge according untoo former orders: It is therefore ordered by the selectmen that no inhabitant of this towne shall keep above twoo swine abroad eyther upon the comon or in the towne: also that all swine shal bee shutt up every night, and on the Lords dayes: and that all swine that doe goe abroad shalbee sufficiently youkt and runge, that is each swine above a year ould their youks to bee twoo foot long, and every youk is to have a pick upward of six inches high: and every swine which is found defective the owner is to forfeit twelve pence for each defect: and all the swine that goe abroad are to be runge by the 28th day of the 11th moneth 1648: and youkt by the 10th day of the first moneth 1649."

1650. Johnson relates that there was "a terrible fire" in this town in the depth of winter. 'The wind was violent, and it "consumed the fairest houses of the town." He devotes one of his metres to this calamity:

"Thy houses were consumed with much good store,
By fearful fires, which blustering winds blew o're."

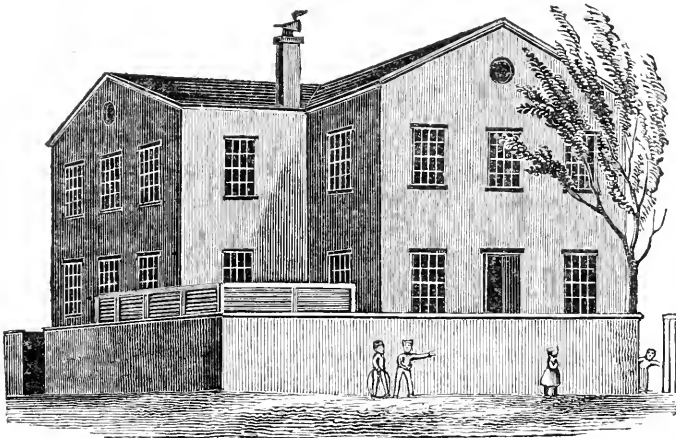
This writer also takes this occasion to sum up other calamities, as the manifestation "of the rod of God" towards the colonists: in Charles River the *Mary Rose* blew up and "sunk in a moment with about thirteen men slain therein:" "many men, under pretext of being unequally rated, murmured exceedingly, and withdrew their shoulders from the support of government;" "pride and excess of apparel were frequent," and "far worse," spiritual pride delighted "in new-fangled doctrines."

Johnson also furnishes the following description of Charlestown, which will as well apply to this year as to any other. "This town of Charles is situated on the north side of Charles River, from whence it took its name, the river being about five or six fathom deep. Over against the town (are) many small islands lying to the seaward of it, and hills on either side. By which means it proves a very good harbor for ships, which hath caused many seamen and merchants to sit down there. The form of this town in the frontispiece thereof, is like the head, neck and shoulders of a man, only the pleasant and navigable river of Mistick runs through the right shoulder thereof, and by its near approach to Charles River, in one place, makes a very narrow neck, by which means the chief part of the town, whereon the most buildings stands, becomes a Peninsula. It hath a large market-place near

¹ The General Court, May 5, 1650, remitted to those who had their houses destroyed, £ 7.16 due by them for taxes.

the water side built round with houses, comely and fair, forth of which there issue two streets orderly built with some very fair houses, beautified with pleasant gardens and orchards. The whole town consists in its extent of about one hundred and fifty dwelling houses. Their meeting house for Sabbath assembly stands in the market place, very comely built and large. The officers of this church are at this day one pastor, and one teacher, one ruling elder and three deacons, the number of souls are about one hundred and sixty. Wonderful it is to see that in so short a time such great alterations Christ should work for these poor people of his. Their corn land in tillage in this town is about twelve hundred acres: their great cattle are about four hundred head; sheep near upon four hundred. As for their horse, you shall hear of them, God willing, when we come to speak of their military discipline."¹

¹ Wonder Working Providence, chapter 18. This history purports to come down to 1652, and was printed in 1654.



WARREN SCHOOL HOUSE.
BUILT 1840.

CHAPTER XV.

1650. — Mistick Side. — Settlements. — Malden Incorporated. — Church Gathered. — Marmaduke Matthews — his Ordination. — Congregationalism. — Matthews accused — his Defence — his Confession — his Fine. — Petition in his Behalf — his Confession to the Court. — Malden Church Arraigned — its Defence — its Fine. — Submission of the Church. — Departure of Matthews. — Malden Ministers.

THE grant of the land, now Malden, to Charlestown, with the first division of it, has been already noticed.¹ In 1638, April 6, the town voted to reserve a large part of it "for such desirable persons as should be received in," or for "such as may come with another minister;" which is described as lying "at the head of the five acre lots" and "running in a straight line from Powder Horn Hill to the head of North River, together with "three hundred acres above Cradock's Farm." With this exception, the greater portion of the tract which, until 1724, was Malden, was divided, April 23, 1638, among the inhabitants of Charlestown.

Before the year 1640, a few of the inhabitants had settled at Mistick side. In a few years, from 1641 to 1648, there are records of highways having been made, commonage provided, and the public fields rented. In 1649, January 1, a large committee was chosen from the inhabitants residing on this side of the river, "to meet three chosen brethren on Mistick side," to agree upon the terms of a separation, and the boundaries of a new town. This committee made an elaborate Report beginning: "To the end the work of Christ, and the things of his house there in hand, may be more comfortably carried on, it is agreed as followeth:" that the Mistick side men should be a town by themselves. Among the conditions, were these, that Charlestown should retain Nowell's and Wilson's farms, that it should have liberty to water cattle at the North Spring until harvest time, and that Malden should bear a part of the burden of maintaining the Battery of this town and the Castle. The remaining clauses, with one exception, relate to commonage, landing places, and highways. The tenth condition reads thus: "For further encouragement of the work aforesaid we acquit the

¹ See page 52.

inhabitants within the line of Charlestown from church charges for three years next ensuing and no more.”¹ In all these proceedings there appears to have been remarkable harmony,—the Malden people being generally mentioned as “our brethren,” and “our friends.” The town was soon incorporated; the Colony Records say, May 2, 1649; “upon the petition of Mistick side men, they are granted to be a distinct town, and the name thereof to be “Maulden.”²

During this period, or until 1650, the “Mistick side men,” although they had probably gathered a church, had no ordained minister; and Mr. Sargeant “a Godly Christian,” and “some young students from the College,” “broke to them the seals.” In 1650 they invited Rev. Marmaduke Matthews to settle with them.³ He was born in Swansea, graduated at Oxford February 20, 1624, at the age of eighteen; arrived in this country September 21, 1638; and, with his wife Catharine, united with the Boston Church February 6, 1639.⁴ He settled first at Yarmouth; and afterwards, it is supposed in 1644, removed to Hull.

Mr. Matthews was very zealous in his profession, a decided spiritualist, and had many peculiarities of character. His style of preaching, and his opinions on doctrinal points, differed from those of his contemporaries; and this lost him the “approbation of some able understanding men, among both magistrates and ministers.” Among other things, he held the “Scriptures to be the foundation of a dogmatical and historical faith, but not of a saving faith.”⁵ To-day he would probably be classed as of the transcendental school of divines. In his time, so exceptionable were his views, that the General Court, as early as 1649, judged him guilty of uttering expressions, some of which were “erroneous,” and others “weak, inconvenient and unsafe;” and ordered Governor Endicott, in its name, to admonish him.”⁶

¹ Charlestown Records.

² Colony Records. Malden is the name of a parish in the county of Surrey, England. It was written Mældune by the Saxons, being composed of two words *mæl*, a cross and *dune*, a hill. In the Conqueror's Survey it is spelt Meldone; in subsequent records it is written Meaudon, Mauden, Maldon and Malden. — Lyson's Environs of London, vol. i. p. 241. Maldon is the name of a market town in Essex county.

³ Wonder Working Providence, book iii. chap. 7.

⁴ Hon. James Savage.

⁵ Mass. Hist. Col., vol. xxxi. p. 31.

⁶ Colony Records. Mr. Matthews appears to have left Hull in 1649,

When such was the standing of Mr. Matthews, it was natural that his preaching should be narrowly watched, and that the jealous should find in its peculiarities, more "unsafe and unsound" expressions. Hence two churches, Charlestown and Roxbury, wrote to their Malden brethren not to ordain him as their minister. The latter, in reply, requested that any "sin" in their pastor elect might be pointed out, and they would consider it. No reply was received from Roxbury, previous to the ordination, and only the views of Mr. Nowell from Charlestown; but whether in behalf of the church or as a magistrate, is not stated. Mr. Matthews was ordained; "although some neighbor churches," Johnson says, "were unsatisfied therewith:" "without," Hubbard writes, "the approbation of neighboring churches and allowance of the magistrates, if not against the same."

At this period the ecclesiastical polity of the Colony, though settled by the Cambridge Platform, had not been practically defined. There appear to have prevailed two opinions relative to the rights of the churches. One was, that congregationalism was substantial independency; or a right and capacity in each church to maintain a pure worship, elect and ordain its officers, and manage its affairs.² The other was, that congregationalism was consistent with a hierarchy, of which the State was the proper head; and as such, that it was the duty of the civil power to protect the churches from heresy and schism. The Malden church took the former ground, and hence proceeded independently of the advice of other churches, or of the magistrates. For this, it was accused before the General Court, which took this occasion to define its authority over the churches. It is their connection with this principle, that makes the details of this controversy as important as they are curious.

The Court dealt first with Mr. Matthews, who was cited to appear before it; and, June 18, 1650, granted "time to give satisfaction." Besides failing to do this, he gave new offence at Malden;

as this town petitioned the Court to encourage him "to return to them." The Court, May 2, 1649, thought it "no way meet" to grant this request.

² The Cambridge Platform (1648) claimed for the churches, as their right, the power of ordaining their officers, which was defined "the solemn putting a man into his place and office in the church, whereunto he had rights before by election."—Chap. xi. 2. 4. See an excellent note on this point in *American Quarterly Register*, vol. xii., by the Rev. Samuel Sewall.

for, a year later, 1651, May 7, he was again summoned before the same tribunal to answer concerning "former and later miscarriages." On the 15th the passages he had delivered in his sermons were read by his accusers; which, "though he owned them not," were proved upon him, under oath, by depositions from such citizens as Thomas Lynde¹ and John Hawthorne. Mr. Matthews replied to them in detail, commencing as follows:—

"To ye accusations exhibited against Marmaduke Mathewes before ye general court at Boston ye 15 of ye 3 month 1651. In his name and presence whose I am, and whom I desire to serve, and yt wth Child like frame, —as also forevermore to rejoyce in, and yt with christian trembling, I ye sayd accused, M. M. thinke good thus to answere."

This paper, dated May 26, is an elaborate document, that would occupy several pages of this type.² One accusation, with a part of the answer to it, will serve as a specimen of the theology of the day:

"8 Accusation. That the saints have more varieties of righteousness than Christ, for Christ hath only a double righteousness, and the saints have a trebble.

"Answer. Tis true that having treated about the freeness of Christs grace to sinners according to what was expressed in the point of Christs purpose towards the rebellious, my scope then was to treat also of the fulness of his grace to his saints, which I did dispatch by the only explaining of one word as tis in the original (1) righteousnesses in —, 45. 24, tis rendered truly righteousness in the margin of many Bibles: implying that Christ is not only very free but also very full of grace to his believing servants, in that he affords unto them not only a single righteousness, or a righteousness of imitation, for the resembling of righteous ones in respect of outward conversation, which was all the righteousness that the Pharisee had, or civil honest persons have for to shew, but comes short of qualifying for the Kingdom of Heaven—witness Christs words Mal. 5, 20—nor meerly a double righteousness, or a righteousness of infusion, both which were all the righteousnesses that Adam in Paradise had, or the elect Angels in Heaven have, as the blessed angels have no more, so believing sinners have no less, witness Eph. 9. 20., but a trebble righteousness or a righteousness of imputation, witness 2 cor. 5, 21: Phil. 3. 10, which is more than Christ himself either hath or doth need to make himself righteous. Twas far from me to either to say or suppose that Christ Jesus doth give to others more than he hath to give, as twas both ingeniously and publickally reported in the presence of many hundreds of men.

"'Twas nor a solecism nor any absurdity to affirm that Christ Jesus hath more variety of righteousnesses for to make others righteous than he hath

¹ The church of Malden censured Mr. Lynde for his testimony against Mr. Matthews. At a council held in Boston, March 4, 1651, a letter signed Edward Rawson, secretary, was addressed to the Malden church, in which they were requested, before they proceeded so far as excommunication, to consult the neighbor churches. This was done, the letter says, "without any intention or desire in the least to infringe the liberty the Lord Jesus Christ hath purchased for his church."—Mass. Hist. Col., vol. xxviii. p. 325.

² It is in Mass. Archives, Vol. Ecclesiastical.

to make himself righteous: no more than it is to say that he hath more variety of graces, as restraining grace (or fear of men) or renewing grace (as repentance from dead works) to bestow on others for to make them gracious, than he hath in himself for to make himself gracious."

This defence, certainly not free from "inconvenient" expressions, was unsatisfactory to the Court; and a special commission was instituted to examine Mr. Matthews on doctrinal points. For consenting to be ordained, he was fined ten pounds, which he was ordered to pay within a month, provided he did not make "an humble acknowledgment of his sin;" and for ordaining him, the Malden church was summoned to answer at the next Court.

The commission consisted of "Mr. Simon Broadstreet, Mr. Samuel Simonds, Captain William Hawthorne, Captain Edward Johnson, Mr. John Glover, Captain Eleazer Lusher, Captain Daniel Gookin, Mr. Richard Brown and Captain Humphrey Ather-ton,"—gallant and able men, doubtless, but severely representative of the intolerance of the times. The Court, however, provided for an addition to it, by instructing the commission to call in "the reverend elders" in case of difficulty.

Mr. Matthews was cited to appear on the 11th of June; and on the 15th, he favored this ecclesiastical tribunal of civilians and soldiers with the following confession:—

"To ye Honored Committee of ye Generall Court appointed to examine some doctrinall points delivered att Hull and since yt time at Malden by M. M.

Honored of God and of his people;

"Haveing given you an account of my sence and of my faith in ye conclusions wch were accused before you, I thought good to acquaint you, yt, if any among you (or others) should count that faith a fansie, and that sence to be non-sence, I desire yt God may forgive them: I doe, conceaving yt such doe not yet soe well know what they doe, as they shall know hereafter.

"Yet in case yt this should reach any satisfaction to such as are (yett) unsatisfied with my expressions for to know that I doe acknowledge yt there be sundrie defects in sundry points yt I have delivered, I doe hereby signifie yt through mercy I cannot but see and also ingenuously confesse yt some of my sayings are nor safe nor sound in the superlative degree: to wit: they are not most safe; nor yett eyther sound or safe in a comparative degree; for I easily yeald yt not onely wiser men probably would, but also I my self possiblie mouyht have made out¹ x's mynd and my owne meaning in termes more sound and more safe than I have done had I not been too much wanting both to his sacred majesty, whose unworthy messenger I was, and also to my hearers, and to my self, for wch I desire to be humbled, and of wch I desire to be healed by ye author of both. As I

¹ Christ's mind.

doe not doubt but yt conscientious and charitable-hearted Christians (whose property and practise it is to put uppon doubtfull positions not ye worst construction but ye best) will discerne, as I doe, yt there is a degree of soundness in what I doe owne, though but a positive degree.

“ However it is and (I trust) for ever shall be, my care to be more circumspect than I have hitherto been in avoyding all appearances yt way for ye time to come, yt soe I may ye better approve my self through ye grace of Christ and to ye Glory of God, such a workman as need not be ashamed. In ye interim I remayne amongst his unworthy servants ye most unworthy, and

Boston this 13th of ye
4 month, 1651.

Your accused and condemned
fellow-creature to command
in ye things of Christ
Marmaduke Matthewes.

The hint which the ingenious preacher gave his stern tribunal, to act as charitable-hearted Christians, was lost upon them. In two days (June 17) the committee declared themselves “much unsatisfied” with the confession, finding “several particulars weak, unsafe and unsound, and not retracted by him;”¹ and the marshal proceeded to collect the fine. But the “condemned” was a poor subject for fines: “he lived above the world, and depended wholly upon providence for the support of himself and family.”² The officer could only find a library; and the General Court, in October, permitted the execution “to be respited until other goods appear besides books.”³

Meantime Mr. Matthews appears to have retained the confidence of his congregation, or the majority of it.”⁴ It was his custom

¹ Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. xxxi. p. 30.

² Dr. Calamy, Non-Conformist Memorial, vol. iii. p. 504.

³ Colony Records.

⁴ Even Johnson, (book iii. chapter 7,) than whom none treated heresy more sternly, seems loth to give up Matthews. Notwithstanding what had passed, he says, “he will not miss to mind him in the following meeter,”—perhaps one of his most expressive verses.

“ Mathews ! thou must build gold and silver on
That precious stone, Christ cannot trash indure,
Unstable straw and stubble must be gone,
When Christ by fire doth purge his building pure,
In seemly and in modest terms do thou
Christ’s precious truths unto thy folk unfold,
And mix not error with the truth, least thou
Soon leave out sense to make the truth to hold :
Compleating of Christs Churches is at hand,
Mathews stand up and blow a certain sound,
Warriours are wanting Babel to withstand,
Christs truths maintain, ’t will bring the honors crown’d.”

to make no visits but such as were properly ministerial, and to receive none but in a religious manner; and ties thus formed were not to be weakened by fines. The female portion of his flock sent to the General Court, October 28, 1651, the following petition, — valuable as a record of the names, and christian spirit, of the early matrons of the town: —

“ To the Hon'd Court ;

“ The petition of many inhabitants of Malden and Charlestown of Mistick side humbly sheweth :

“ That the Almighty God in great mercie to our souls as we trust, hath, after many prayers, endeavors, and long waiting, brought Mr. Matthews among us, and put him into the work of the ministry : By whose pious life and labors the Lord hath afforded us many saving convictions, directions, reproofs and consolations, whose continuance in the service of Christ if it were the good pleasure of God, we much desire : and it is our humble request to this honourd Court, that you would please to pass by some personal and particular failings (which may as we humbly conceive be your glory and no grief of heart to you in time to come) and to permit him to employ those talents God hath furnished him withal. So shall we your humble petitioners with many others be bound to pray &c.

28 — 8 — 51.

Mrs. Sergeant,	Sarah Bucknam.	Eliz. Mirrable.
Joan Sprague.	Thanklord Sheppie.	Sarah Osbourn.
Jane Learned.	Fran. Cooke.	An Hett.
Elizabeth Carrington,	Eliz. Knowker.	Mary Pratt.
Bridget Squire.	Bridget Dexter.	Eliz. Green.
Mary Wayte.	Lydia Greenland.	Joan Chadwicke.
Sarah Hills.	Margaret Pemerton.	Margret Green.
An Bible.	Han. Whitmore.	Helen Luddington.
Eliz. Green.	Eliz. Green.	Susan Wellington.
Wid. Blancher.	Mary Rust.	Joana Call.
Eliz. Adams.	Eliz. Grover.	Rachel Attwood.
Rebec Hills.	Han. Barret.	Marge Welding.”

At the same time, 1651, October 28, Mr. Matthews addressed another confession “ to the honored Court,” declaring that he was “ in some measure sensible of his great insufficiency to declare the counsil of God unto his people;” that he “ was very apt to let fall some expressions that are weak and inconvenient;” but that it was his desire “ to avoid all appearances of evil therein for time to come as in all other respects whatsoever.”¹ But the Court continued inexorable; neither the petition nor the confession procuring a remittance of the fine.

Meantime the General Court, at a full meeting October 24, 1651, arraigned the Malden Church for its share of the sin in or-

¹ This document is printed in Mass. Hist. Col., vol. xxxi. pp. 31, 32.

daining Mr. Matthews. The defence of the church, dated October 28, is a manly and well prepared document. It argues, first, that the offensive expressions delivered at Malden were not so much before ordination as after, and "for the business of Hull," Mr. Matthews had undergone his punishment and "stood clear in law:" second, that in case they had "swerved from any rule of Christ" they should have been proceeded with "in a church way," for they "both owned and honored church communion;" third, that they had invited two churches, before ordination, to pursue this course, and were ready to reply to any charges of "sin" they had committed: fourth, they begged the Court to consider what passed between them and the magistrates, and "that no return was made only by Mr. Nowell:" fifth, that it was with grief of heart they seemed "to wave or undervalue" the "advice of any magistrate or church, but considering the liberty of the churches allowed by law to choose their own officers and apprehending him (Mr. Matthews) to be both pious, able and orthodox, as the law provides, we proceeded." The gist of the document, however, is contained in the last specification,—a part of which reads as follows:—

"Our plea is, that we know no law of Christ or the country, that binds any church of Christ not to ordain their own officers without advice of magistrates and churches. We freely acknowledge ourselves engaged to any that in love afford any advice unto us, but we conceive a church is not bound to such advice farther than God commends it to their understanding and conscience. And if a church act contrary to such advice, we see not how, or by what rule, they are bound to take offence against a church of Christ in that respect,—namely, for not attending that advice, or that a church of Christ so doing should be concluded offenders in any court of justice, and so plead our laws allow every church free liberty of all the ordinances of God according to the rule of the scripture; and in particular, free liberty of selection and ordination of all their officers, from time to time, provided they be pious, able and orthodox. And that no injunction shall be put upon any church officer or member, in point of doctrine or discipline, whether for substance or circumstance, besides the Institutes of the Lord."

This remarkable plea did not prove a valid one with the Court. In three days, October 31, the church received the following sentence:—

"Ordered, that the members of the Church of Malden shall be fined for their offences the sum of fifty pounds, which shall not extend to any person that hath given this Court satisfaction, and that consented not to Mr. Matthews' ordination. And it is further ordered, that the said fifty pounds shall be levied by execution on the estates of Mr. Joseph Hills, Edward Carrington and John Wait, who are hereby impowered to make proportion of the said sum on the rest of the members of the church, except before excepted."

Subsequently, the church was charged, "speedily to consider the errors Mr. Matthews stands charged with in Court." An ecclesiastical council, composed of messengers of the churches of Charlestown, Cambridge, Lynn and Roxbury, was gathered, which considered the whole case and reported to the Court, May 26, 1652. On this day, in answer to petitions, the Court declared it saw no cause to remit the church's or the pastor's fine, "the country being put to so great trouble, charge and expenses in the hearing of the cause." On the 19th of October, however, the fine of Mr. Matthews was remitted in full, and ten pounds of that of the church.

But the General Court, firmly established its power over the churches: it aimed to preserve them as well from incompetent as from heretical pastors. In 1653 it prohibited any to preach or prophecy without the consent of neighbor churches or the county court. This called forth a letter of remonstrance from the Salem church, in which the first reason against this law is this:—

"First, because it intrencheth upon the liberties of the several churches, who have power (as is confessed by all the orthodox) to choose and set up over them, whom they please for their edification and comfort without depending on any other power and if a breach be once made into these liberties, we know not how far it may proceed in time, there being such a leading example as this."¹

But this was of no avail. The law was sustained; and churches if in the view of the Court schismatical, or acting in a corrupt way, or "contrary to the rule of the word," fared no better than individuals; the civil magistrate might put forth his coercive power as the case required.²

In a short time, individuals of the majority submitted to the Court. Several,³ in May, 1655, "humbly acknowledged the offence they gave to the Court and several churches about ordaining Mr. Matthews," and prayed for a release from £13. 6s. 8d., the remainder of their fine. Edward Carrington, one of the three made responsible for the whole fine followed, October 28, 1658, their example. He states that the Lord had convinced him of the evil of being of the majority; but that it was not in his

¹ Felt has preserved the whole of this excellent letter in his *Annals of Salem*, p. 533. See also *Woburn Memorial* in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. xxxi.

² *Cambridge Platform*, chap. xi. 9.

³ Their names were, Joseph Hills, Abram Hill, John Waite, Jno. Sprague, Ralph Shepherd, John Uplam, James Greene and Thomas Call.

power to collect fines of "his poor, unable and absent brethren;" and he prays that some meet person may be appointed to receive these fines, or that they be remitted, or that he may be allowed to pay his proportion, and be released from the rest. The magistrates voted to accept his part of the fine, and to give the remainder "to the town for a town stock;" but the deputies would not consent to it."¹ The General Court finally referred the whole subject of abating the fines to the Middlesex County Court; which, June 19, 1660, ordered the majority of the church to "give a clear account of all their proceedings" to a commission of three, Richard Sprague, Edwin Oakes and Ephraim Child; who were instructed to report at the next Court. This does not appear to have been done: but in 1662 the same Court abated ten pounds of the fine of Edward Carrington.

Mr. Matthews soon returned to England, where he continued to preach, in Swansey, in a small chapel, by the connivance of the magistrates. "He had," writes Dr. Calamy, "no estate, but subsisted by the piety of his children, of whom two or three were sober conformists, and by the kindness of relatives and friends, which made him sometimes pleasantly say; "he was comfortably maintained by the children of God, his own children, and the children of the world." "He lived to a good old age, and continued useful to the last. He died about 1683."²

During nearly thirty years, there are but few allusions on the records to Malden. Mr. Matthews was succeeded, as early as 1654, by Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, a distinguished divine and physician; who for nearly half a century, until 1705, was the regular pastor of the church. He was of feeble constitution, and for twenty years unable to discharge the duties of his office. Yet the people generously supplied him with aid. Benjamin Bunker,³ from 1663 to 1669, Benjamin Blackman in 1679, Thomas Cheever and Mr. Upham, preached at Malden. In 1662 the church

¹ In the proceedings in this, from first to last, there was far from unanimity. In the vote of censure (May 1651) fifteen of the deputies recorded their names as "contradicentes;" and in October of the same year, ten,—among the latter Richard Bellingham the deputy governor.

² Non-Conformist Memorial, vol. iii. p. 11.

³ Benjamin Bunker was the son of George Bunker, of this town, (see p. 83,) a graduate of Harvard College in 1658. He settled at Malden, 1663, December 9, and died February 2, 1670. It was his father, George, that signed the remonstrance in Mr. Wheelright's favor and was disarmed. The reader is requested to make the correction on pp. 73,74.

had so far regained the good opinion of the Court as to obtain a grant of one thousand acres of land which was laid out at Worcester. The early records of Malden are lost. There are no church records until Dr. Thatcher's ministry, and no town records before 1678,—when the by-laws, curious and quaint though they are, indicate a thriving community, striving to maintain the blessings of health and order.¹

CHAPTER XVI.

Ecclesiastical History — 1640 to 1650. — Thomas Allen. — Theological Controversies. — Samuel Gorton. — The Baptists. — The Cambridge Platform. — Death of Thomas Allen.

REV. Zechariah Symmes remained sole pastor of the church but a few months. In the year Harvard died, Thomas Allen arrived in Boston. He was the son of John Allen, a dyer of Norwich, born in 1608, and educated at Caius College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of Master of Arts in 1631. He was minister of St. Edmunds, of the city of Norwich, where about 1636, he was silenced by Bishop Wren, for refusing to read the Book of Sports and conform to other innovations; and hence emigrated to this country. In 1639, January 11, he was admitted a member of the church of Boston, in the records of which he is called "a student." On the succeeding June 9th, at his own desire and that of the Charlestown church, he was dismissed from Boston; admitted to this church December 22, and probably soon after became its teacher.

During the eleven years of the joint ministry of Messrs. Symmes and Allen, the churches were occupied with interesting and important questions, that supplied the place, though in a moderate degree, of the Antinomian strife. There was the controversy respecting Gorton; the synod that established the Cambridge Platform; the commencement of the Baptist controversy, and of the proceedings

¹ Wright's Historical Discourse on Malden. Mr. Wright furnishes no facts about Matthews, and does not mention his name.

against the Malden church and minister. The Charlestown records of this date, afford no information of the action of this church upon these subjects. They only contain the record of one hundred and twenty-three persons admitted from 1639 to 1651, with an imperfect list of the baptisms.¹

Samuel Gorton was imprisoned in this town on account of his opinions. He was, in the language of the time, a minister of "very heretical principles, a prodigious minter of exorbitant novelties, even the very dregs of familism;"² in the judgment of to-day, "a wild but benevolent enthusiast, who used to say, Heaven was not a place, there was no Heaven but in the hearts of good men, no hell but in the mind."³ The magistrates judged him worthy of death,—the deputies of the lighter penalty of imprisonment,—"to be kept at work and to wear such bolts and irons as might hinder his escape." In 1644, March 7, he was released on the condition that he should leave the Colony in fourteen days. Perhaps this notice will be a sufficient introduction to the following extract:—

"When this order of the Court was presented to Samuel Gorton, by the constable of Charlestown, bringing a smith with him, to file off his bolts, he told the constable he was not willing to part with his irons on these terms, but expected fairer terms of release, than were therein expressed, desiring him to go to Master Nowell, who lived in that town, and declare so much unto him. In short time the constable returned, bringing divers of the chief men in the town with him, and commanded the smith to fall to work to file off his bolts, who did accordingly, and so took them from him, leaving the said Gorton either to walk abroad, on such conditions, or else stay at his peril."⁴

The increase of the Baptists caused great alarm in the colony. They were treated with double injustice by our fathers; who first associated them with the savage reformers of Munster; and then inflicted upon them excommunication, fines, imprisonment and banishment. The colony law of 1644 reads as follows:—

"If any person within this jurisdiction shall either openly condemn or oppose the baptism of infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the ministration of the ordinance, or, &c., and shall appear to the Court willfully and obstinately to continue therein after due time and means of conviction, every such person shall be sentenced to banishment."⁵

¹ The inquirer will find a valuable catalogue of the admissions into the church from 1632 to 1787 in Rev. W. I. Budington's History of the First Church of Charlestown.

² Hubbard, p. 402.

³ Bancroft's Hist., vol. i. p. 419.

⁴ Simplicity's Defence against Seven Headed Policy, p. 75.

⁵ Savage's Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 175.

Persons were fined for reading Anabaptist books. Probably for offences of this nature Stephen Fosdick, of this town, was fined twenty pounds; and, May 7, 1643, was excommunicated¹ from the church. In 1647 he petitioned the Court, that as his house, burnt while in the sheriff's hands, was worth fifteen pounds, he might be released by paying the remaining five pounds.² A few years later, (1664,) on making an acknowledgment and confession, the church granted him absolution. The record of this is in the following words :

"The covenant of the church being (for the summe of it) a solemn promise or engagement to walk with God, and with his people according to the word of God, I do now heartily approve of it, and close with it, and am sorry that I have at any time spoken against it: Having neglected likewise to hear the church in their dealings with me for my offence, I do unfeignedly repent thereof, and desire God and his people to forgive me."

"This was read to the church, accepted by all as satisfactory; he was (the brethren consenting) received to that state of communion which he had before his excommunication; and by the sentence of the Eldership declared to be soe restored."³

A petition, praying the Court to abrogate the laws in relation to Anabaptists and foreigners, has on it the name of Robert Sedgwick and others, of this town; the Court declared, in reply, that these laws "should not be altered or explained at all;" and in 1646, a counter petition, prayed for their enforcement.

The other exciting religious topic of this period was the synod that closed its labors in 1648. "It went on," Winthrop writes, "comfortably, and intended only the framing of a confession of faith, &c., and a form of church discipline." This was the celebrated Cambridge Platform, which continued, in the main, to be the rule of the ecclesiastical polity of Massachusetts, until the adoption of the constitution of 1780; "and is still of some influence in the construction of difficult topics."⁴

The ministry of Mr. Allen in this country closed in 1651, when he returned to England. In January, 1657, he was chosen pastor of the Congregational Church in Norwich, where he continued until he died, September 21, 1673, aged sixty-five years. He was greatly beloved, and is characterized as "an able, practical preacher."

¹ Church Records.

² Mass. Archives.

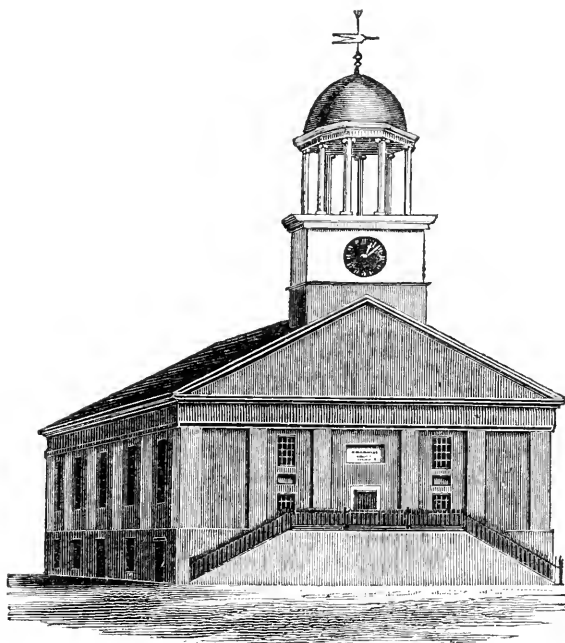
³ Church Records.

⁴ Savage's Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 330.

Mr. Allen was the author of several works, the titles of these are as follows:—An Invitation to Thirsty Sinners to come to their Saviour: The way of the Spirit in bringing Souls to Christ: The Glory of Christ set forth, with the Necessity of Faith; in several sermons. A Chain of Scripture Chronology, from the Creation to the Death of Christ, in seven periods,—which has been much commended.¹ A letter written by him, relating to the preaching of the gospel among the Indians, may be found in Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. xxxiv. p. 194.²

¹ Non-Conformist Memorial, vol. iii. p. 11.

² Rev. Thomas Allen, (see p. 75,) probably married the widow of John Harvard. They had in this country, 1, Mary, born January 31, 1640: 2, Sarah, born August 8, 1641, buried April 21, 1642; 3, Elizabeth, born and died, 1642: 4, Mercy, born and died, 1646. They had also a



FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH,
BUILT 1833.

CHAPTER XVII.

Biographical Sketches. — Increase Nowell. — Robert Sedgwick. — Thomas Graves. — Francis Willoughby. — Richard Russell.

INCREASE NOWELL was the most distinguished of those who remained in town on the dispersion of Winthrop's company. He was relative of Alexander Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, in Elizabeth's reign; a Patentee; elected an assistant of the Massachusetts Company in England, October 20, 1629; came over in the *Arbella* with Winthrop; and on the organization of the first church, was chosen ruling elder. But being also an assistant, the question arose whether a magistrate ought to be a ruling elder? It was submitted to the Salem and Plymouth churches, which gave the opinion, "that a ruler in the church ought not to be a ruler in the state at the same time." Mr. Nowell, accordingly, relinquished the office of elder.

He held the office of magistrate until his death. But to write in full his biography would be, in fact, to write a large part of the civil and ecclesiastical history of his time, for his name appears in connection with much of it. He was secretary of the colony many years, and one of the commission for military affairs in 1634. He joined with Endicott, Dudley, and others, in 1649, in the association against wearing long hair.

son, Thomas. His wife, Anne, was living in 1651, as she, this year, deeded land with him. She died soon after, and Mr. Allen married, for his second wife, the widow of Robert Sedgwick; they had no children.

Harvard had a large property for those days, in this town,— one half of which fell, probably, to his widow. I have met with only one allusion to a sale of land by her, and that in 1638, to Thomas Graves. Thomas Allen was also a large land owner, having, among other property, five hundred acres granted to him, "in regard to Mr. Harvard's gift." Among the sales of property is one, in 1659, of a part of the estate on which "his mansion house" stood. It had an orchard, and was bounded north on "the narrow lane up Mill-hill." The purchaser was Thomas Shephard. In 1676 Gravel-lane is described as bounded on Mr. Shephard's land, and this, it is hence inferred, was Harvard's house, standing in 1697, and owned by Mrs. Shephard. It is the estate on which Washington Hall stands.

Mr. Nowell was one of the chief founders of the town. He was often on important committees, a short time town clerk, and for nineteen years a selectman,—from 1635, with the exception of 1653, to the year of his death. He devoted his life to the public service, and died poor. The situation of his family, just before his death, elicited the following order of October 24, 1655. "It is desired that the deputies of each town commend the condition of Mr. Nowell's family to their several towns in reference to some meet recompense for the said Mr. Nowell's service by way of rate or otherwise, bringing their returns to the next Court of election." This vote, at least, cheered the closing days of this "honored magistrate." He died November 1, 1655. The next year, October 14, 1656, the General Court, remembering Mr. Nowell's "long service to this Commonwealth in the place not only of a magistrate but secretary also, for which he had but little and slender recompense," granted Mrs. Nowell and her son Samuel, two thousand acres of land. The territory now part of Worcester, was once owned by this family.

Increase Nowell was a rigid Puritan, and enjoyed, in an eminent degree, the respect and affection of his contemporaries. One terms him, "one of the men of renown that settled Massachusetts:" another, "honored and upright-hearted:" a third, "eminent for his piety and learning." The long confidence of his townsmen, and the votes of the colony, are solid testimonials of the value of his services. It is to be regretted that his piety was accompanied with a severe temper, and his public virtue with a stern intolerance.

Mr. Nowell married Parnel Coitmore, the daughter of Catharine Coitmore. She survived him; and the town, in 1658, voted that she "should be freed from paying town rates hence forwards." She died March 25, 1687, aged eighty-four.¹

ROBERT SEDGWICK was one of the most distinguished men of his time. The family is supposed to have sprung from the northern counties of England. Johnson furnishes the earliest notice of

¹ Increase and Parnel Nowell had eight children, of whom three died in infancy, namely, Increase, Abigail and Eliezur. The others were:—

1, Samuel, born November 12, 1634, graduated at Harvard College in 1653, a preacher, often engaged in the public service, treasurer of the College, and an assistant in 1680. He married widow Mary Usher, who died in this town August 14, 1683. He died in London, September, 1688.

Mr. Sedgwick, writing that he "was nursed up in London's artillery garden," and "was stout and active in all feats of war." He was admitted an inhabitant of this town June 3, 1636; a freeman in 1637, and this year chosen representative, and several times afterwards. He was also selectman, and often engaged in town business. He was, probably, a merchant, and on an occasion of selling his goods too high, was admonished (1639) by the Court to take heed of oppression. He was the captain (1636) of the first "trained band" of this town, the first major (1644) of the Middlesex regiment, and elected major general May 26, 1652. In 1641, '45, and '48, he commanded the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, and in 1641 the Castle. In 1645, he had a commission to take care of the fortifications of the town, and to keep it and the harbor "from all hostile and mutinous attempts or insurrections." He was, among other duties, directed to have always in readiness, "a barrel of powder for every six pieces of ordnance, with twelve shot and five pound of match, if any ships in the harbor shall quarrel and shoot one another, whereby the people, or houses may be endangered."

Previous to July 1, 1654, General Sedgwick had visited England, and engaged in the service of Cromwell, as commander of a contemplated expedition against the Dutch at New-York. In a letter to the Protector, of this date, Sedgwick informed him of his arrival here, and of his proceedings; namely, that in fourteen days he had victualled his ships, and in six more was ready with nine

2, Mehitable, born February 2, 1638, married William Hilton September 16, 1659. Their children were, Nowell, born May 4, 1663; Edward, born March 3, 1666; John, baptised May 24, 1668; Richard, born September 13, 1670; and Charles, born April 19, 1673. William Hilton died September 7, 1675, and his widow married, October 29, 1684, deacon John Cutler, who died September 12, 1694. She died, Sept. 1711.

3, Increase, born May 23, 1640, (Boston Records,) — a seaman.

4, Mary, born May 26, 1643, married August 14, 1666 Isaac Winslow, whose father, John, was a brother of Edward, of Plymouth, and whose mother, Mary, was the first female who landed from the Mayflower in 1620. Their children were: — Parnel, born November 14, 1667, married Richard Foster, May 4, 1686; Isaac, born and died in 1670; Mr. Winslow died, August 14, 1670, at Port Royal, Jamaica; his widow married, September 16, 1674, John Long, who died July 20, 1683. Their children were Isaac, born 1675, died 1680; Catharine, married William Welstead May 24, 1694; Samuel died March 18, 1730; and Mary married Simon Bradstreet; Mary Long died about 1729.

5, Alexander, graduated at Harvard in 1664, the author of several Almanacks, and died in 1672.

hundred foot and a company of horse, to act against the enemy, when, June 1, news of peace arrived; and that commissioners, at a meeting in Charlestown, June 17, had determined to employ the force against the French forts in Nova Scotia. Sedgwick sailed, July 4, 1654, from Boston, with a fleet consisting of the *Augustine*, *Church*, *Hope*, and a ketch; arrived at St. Johns, a strong fort, on the 14th; captured it on the 17th; then took Port Royal and another French fort, and sailed for Piscataqua.

Though the General Court questioned General Sedgwick's authority for doing this, yet such vigorous action was so acceptable to Cromwell, that the next year he was appointed to an important service in the West Indies. Jamaica had been captured; and General Sedgwick was sent, with a fleet under his orders, with reinforcements for the army under General Venables. He sailed from Plymouth July 11, 1655; and arrived at Barbadoes, August 27, when he learned that Venables had met with a repulse, losing four hundred men. A few extracts from Sedgwick's letters show the state of his feelings. Writing to Cromwell, September 1, 1655, he says:—

“I must confess, I cannot but bring my own spirit to stand and consider what I may understand of the mind and will of God, and what he speaks in so loud a voice as this. I must conclude this, that God is righteous in his proceedings, to curb and bring low the pride of the sons of men.”

The same letter concludes in the following manner:—

“I am resolved to attend my business with as much wisdom and vigor as God shall assist me with. I thank God, my heart in some measure beareth me witness, that it is the glory of God, that I intended in this employment, and I hope he will yet own us. Our condition, I am confident, is often remembered by you in your approaches to Heaven, and I hope will yet be. Religion and God was pretended, and I question not intended, and I know must now be attended, if we prosper. Let your highness be pleased to pardon my boldness and prolixity. I thank God my prayers are for you, that the God of wisdom and grace may yet own you in your so many weighty affairs, that you may be a blessing to your generation, and serviceable to Christ, and to his people.

Sir,

I am willing to be, and wish I were,

Your Lordships humble Servant,
ROBERT SEDGWICK.”

General Sedgwick's letters,¹ long, able, and interesting, present

¹ In Thurloe's State Papers.

a vivid view of the difficulties he had to encounter. "The truth is," he writes the Protector, November 5, 1655, "God is angry, and the plague is begun, and we have none to stand in the gap." "Sir, you cannot conceive us so sad as we are, broken and scattered, God rending us in twain, a senseless hearted people, not affected with his dealing towards us." There was the evil of a divided command. A council for managing the affairs of the island was formed, of which Sedgwick, appointed commissioner by Cromwell, was one, and General Fortesque was president. The latter soon fell a victim to the climate. At this time General Sedgwick made two requests to the Protector:—

"One is, if God spare me life, that your highness would be pleased to permit me to come to England. But I am not very solicitous in that, sometimes thinking that another place will be my portion, before I may hear again from your highness.

"The other petition is: I left behind me a dear and religious wife, who through grace hath much of the fear and knowledge of God in her. I have also five children, to me dear and precious. I would only by this, that your highness would cast one thought towards them; that whatever hazard or hardship I may go through, yet my relations may not be forgotten. I only expect, what your highness was pleased to promise me, that she may not be troubled in obtaining it in such seasons, as may tend to her comfort."

General Sedgwick renews the latter request,—in relation to his pay,—to Cromwell's secretary, Thurloe, in letters dated November 7, and November 12, 1655; remarking, "the truth is, my heart and spirit are in a confusion, and (I) think sometimes it may finish my few days I have here to be." His presentiment proved true. So far from granting his request to return, the Protector sent him a commission to command the army. "He never enjoyed himself," writes one of his officers, "after he received his commission," "but as was apparent to all men, from that time lost much of freedom and cheerfulness." He died May 24, 1656.

Charlestown has cause to remember the public spirit of General Sedgwick. He took a warm interest in its welfare; and either as selectman, representative, or a member of an important committee, was constantly in its service. He was an enterprising merchant, as we find him building wharves on the shore east of the old ferryways, carrying on a brewing establishment, building the old Tide Mills, and interested in the Iron Works at Lynn. He was zealous in disciplining his company,—freely spending time and money,

Johnson says, for this purpose. The train band manifested their feelings towards him by the grant, somewhat irregularly, of a piece of land, which the town "to gratify the major" confirmed. His residence was in the market-place, now the square, near the site of the Bunker Hill Bank.

Robert Sedgwick was a representative of the liberal Puritans of early New-England. Religion was in all his thoughts, and yet he openly opposed the prevailing intolerance. His regard for education is seen in his gifts to the College. He was "a very brave, zealous and pious man,"¹ "beloved and esteemed by all."²

THOMAS GRAVES, the ancestor of the distinguished family of this name, was born June 6, 1605, in Ratcliff, England, and baptised June 16, at Stepney.³ In 1629 he is mentioned by Higginson in terms of commendation,⁴ and was mate of the Talbot,—the year that the engineer of the same name came over. In 1630, he was made freeman; in 1632 was master of the Whale; in 1633, of the Elizabeth Bonadventure; in 1635, of the James;⁵ in 1643, of the Trial, the first ship built in Boston, and which had been commanded by Thomas Coitmore. Mr. Graves continued to follow the sea. During the protectorship of Oliver Cromwell, and while on a mercantile voyage, he met a Dutch privateer in the English Channel; and though in a merchantman, he engaged with her, and captured her. As a reward for his bravery, the owners of the vessel presented him with a silver cup; and Cromwell conferred on him the command of a ship of war.⁶ In the inventory of his

¹ Carlyle.

² Aylesbury, his secretary, June 25, 1656, in Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 604. "He was truly a religious man, and of the most innocent conversation I ever accompanied."

General Sedgwick names five children living in the year of his death. Of these,—1, Samuel, baptised 1639, was in 1668 a woolen draper of London. 2, Hannah, baptised 1641. 3, William, married Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Samuel Stone, first minister of Hartford, Connecticut, and died in 1674. He had a son Samuel from whom the distinguished family of the Sedgwicks is descended. 4, Robert, member of artillery in 1674, whose widow died in 1683. 5, I know nothing of the fifth child.

³ MSS. in possession of his descendants. I have been informed that the date of his birth and baptism may be relied on; the MSS. make the engineer and admiral identical.—See p. 26.

⁴ Hutchinson's Coll., p. 48.

⁵ Winthrop's Hist., vol. i. pp. 77. 161. He came over "every year for these seven years."
⁶ MSS. Papers.

estate he is called "Rear-Admiral;" he must have received this distinction, also, from the Protector.

The name of Thomas Graves¹ is not found on the Town Records until 1638; and of course, he had no share in any divisions of land previous to this time. In 1639, with his wife Catharine, he was admitted to the church of this town; and after this date, until his death, his name is constantly found on committees, and in divisions of land: and the names of his children, among the list of baptisms in the Church Records. He died July 31, 1653. Winthrop commends him as "an able and godly man." His will contains his autograph. The signature of the engineer is also affixed to the contract (see p. 16) he made with the company in 1629. Fac-similes of the two,—

THE ADMIRAL,

THE ENGINEER,

indicate the hand-writing of two individuals. The admiral was undoubtedly the ancestor of the family of this name in this town.²

¹ The compiler of the account of the settlement of the town appears not to have known the whole name of the engineer (see p. 20) but left a space for the name of "Thomas." He always writes out the name of the admiral in full; and after 1640, with the "Mr." before it. In 1633 the General Court (see p. 52) ordered the neck of land "where Mr. Graves dwelleth" to belong to Newtown,—since Cambridge. This neck was East Cambridge; and it is probable that the "Mr. Graves" was the engineer.

² Thomas Graves married Catharine Coitmore, the daughter of widow Coitmore, noticed on page 86. He names in his will, sons John, Thomas, Nathaniel and Joseph: and daughters, Rebecca, Elizabeth and Susanna. Of these:

1, John, probably lived in England, as a house at Ham, near London, is bequeathed to him.

2, Thomas, born in 1638 at this town, married May 16, 1677, Elizabeth the widow of Dr. John Chickering, who died July 22, 1679. He then

FRANCIS WILLOUGHBY, an eminent citizen, was the son of Colonel William Willoughby and his wife Elizabeth, of Portsmouth, county of Hampshire, England. He was admitted an inhabitant of this town, August 22, 1638; and from 1640 to the time of his death, was almost constantly engaged in the public service. He was first chosen selectman in 1640, and served seven years on this board; was representative 1649 and '50; elected an assistant in 1650, '51, '54, and was Deputy Governor from 1665 to the day of his death. He was, also, entrusted with an agency in England, as appears from the vote of the Court, October 15, 1669, granting him one thousand acres of land:—

“The Court considering that our honored Deputy Governor, Francis Willoughby, Esq. hath yet had no acknowledgment of the country's respect to him by grant of lands or otherwise, as has been shown to some others that have not done that public service which he hath done for this place as well in England as here, do therefore grant him one thousand acres of land to be laid out in any place that may not prejudice a plantation.”¹

Mr. Willoughby was a merchant, and a successful one. He built wharves above and below the old Ferry-ways, where he owned a large property. He had a part of this granted to him in 1649, when a road was laid out to the landing “so that boats might go to low water mark;” he “agreeing to build a wharf and stairs for passengers and maintain them.” In 1663 he resigned this land adjoining the ferry. He built (1641) a ship directly on the Warren Bridge avenue. He lived near the square, between Harvard-street and Bow-street, on the estate on which the house

married, May 15, 1682, Sarah, the widow of Dr. Samuel Aleock. Their children were: Thomas, Catharine, John, Nathaniel, Susanna, Joseph. Hon. Thomas Graves, distinguished as a physician and judge, died May 30, 1697. His widow married Colonel John Phillips of this town and died March 1, 1731, aged eighty-seven.

3, Nathaniel, baptised 1639, a mariner, married August 24, 1664, Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Russell. Their children were Nathaniel, Maud and Elizabeth. He died February 12, 1679.

4, Joseph, born April 13, 1645, married, Jan. 15, 1666, Elizabeth Maynard, and had, Samuel, born 1667, Richard, born 1672, John, born 1674. He married a second time—Mary, and had Mary, Ebenezer and perhaps others.

5, Susanna, born July 8, 1643, married Zechariah Symmes (minister of Bradford) November 18, 1669. Their children were, Susanna, Sarah, Zechariah, Catharine, Thomas, William and Rebecca. Susanna died July 23, 1681: her husband Zechariah, March 22, 1718.

6, Of Rebecca, I know nothing.

¹ Savage's Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 321.

stands that was, a few years since, occupied by Governor Everett. He died April 4, 1671.

Hutchinson¹ has this short, but honorable characteristic of him: "He was a great opposer of the persecutions against the Baptists." He is mentioned, in warm terms of affection, by his contemporaries. Two significant memorials² of him exist. One is a letter dated May 28, 1670, when he was confined to his house, and addressed to his associates in the government. After dwelling on the rumors that came to him of disunion in the councils, he says: —

"I do earnestly beseech you that you study and contrive some way before you break up the Court, to adjourn with the demonstration of onenes and affection, that it may appear you all scope at the good of the country. And that you will endeavor to have as good thoughts one of another as possibly you can; retaining the interest of the name of God among us: Let it not be published to the world that the Government of New-England is broken, and that your animosities are such that it is impossible for you to agree in any thing that may tend to the saving the whole. Desiring a good construction may be put upon my broken hints; and that you will believe that my scope is publick interest: Praying and beseeching the Lord to be with you in your counsell and determinations, yt his name may be glorified in all your transactions, with my service heartily endorsed to your interest."³

The other memorial is the fragment of a speech made in 1666, on one of the most interesting events in the history of New-England. It was delivered in the controversy (which began in 1662) connected with the preservation of the Charter Privileges; and was against sanctioning an appeal to the king, or his commissioners. A royal mandate (1666) summoned the General Court to send persons to England, to answer the complaints made against the colony; the Court refused to comply with the order. The following is a part of the debate in the council:

"Bradstreet. I grant legal process in a course of law reaches us not in an ordinary course, yet I think his prerogative gives him power to command our appearance, which before God and men we are to obey."

"Dudley. The king's commands pass any where; Ireland, Calais, &c.,

¹ Hist. Mass., vol. i. p. 246.

² Governor Willoughby left MSS. which (see p. 4) were in the hands of Prince. There is a journal, supposed to have been written by him, now in the archives of the Antiquarian Society of Worcester. It is in a difficult cypher, which I have, in vain, tried to read. Rev. W. I. Buddington says of it: "It is entitled 'A Continuation of my Daily Observation,' and comprises a period of time from 1. 9 mo. 1650, to 28. 10 mo. 1651. It was certainly written in Charlestown, for on the first page is a brief account, not written in cypher, of a fire, which consumed eleven or twelve houses, 21. 9. 1650, p. 208."

³ Mass. Archives, p. 203.

although ordinary process from judges and officers pass not. No doubt but you may have a trial at law, when you come in England, if you desire it, and you may insist upon it and claim it."

"Willoughby. Whether God doth not call us to argue one way, as well as another; whether Calais, Dunkirk,— have not been governed by commission, and if this be allowed, how easily may the king in one year undo all that he hath done: and we must as well consider God's displeasure as the king's, the interest of ourselves and God's things, as his majesties prerogative; for our liberties are of concernment, and to be regarded as to the preservation; for if the king may send for me now, and another to-morrow, we are a miserable people."¹

It is to such far-sighted men as Willoughby, that New-England owes its liberties. From this period,— and the decision of this question,— Judge Minot² dates the origin of the controversy between the patriots and prerogative men, scarcely intermitted, and never ended until the separation of the colonies from the mother country.

Winthrop relates an incident that happened in London. Dr. Child, who had been harshly treated by the General Court, met Mr. Willoughby at the Exchange; and in conversation about New-England, "railed against the people, saying they were a company of rogues and knaves." Mr. Willoughby replied, "that he who spake so, &c., was a knave;" whereupon the Doctor gave him a box on the ear. Mr. Willoughby arrested his assailant; who, through friends, made atonement. Dr. Child was ordered to "give five pounds to the poor of New-England (for Mr. Willoughby would have nothing of him) and to give Mr. Willoughby open satisfaction in the full Exchange;" and to promise in writing that he never would speak evil of New-England again, nor cause the country trouble.³

Governor Willoughby left a large estate,—valued at £4050. 5. 4. of which £600 were in money and plate. He gave three hundred acres of land for the school of this town; and five pounds to Thomas, son of the celebrated Ezekial Cheever, schoolmaster, "provided he be brought up to learning in the College." He names this institution as one for which he had great affection, and felt desirous for its prosperity; "Having," he says, "made it my work to solicit the country in general, and particular persons to

¹ This interesting debate is in Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. xxviii. pp. 99, 100.

² Minot's Hist. Mass., vol. i. p. 51.

³ Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 322.

take care thereof, in order to the advantage of posterity." He gave the military company of this town twenty pounds, to furnish "poor men on days of exercise" with arms. His will has this paragraph respecting funerals: "whereas, in funeral solemnities there is generally a great expense to little profit or advantage to particular persons: I do prohibit the giving any scarfs or ribbons to any persons except magistrates, and those who officiate at my funeral."¹

RICHARD RUSSELL, the ancestor of a distinguished family in this country, was of a family no less celebrated in England. He came from Hereford, in Herefordshire, and was admitted an inhabitant of this town in 1640. In 1642 he was elected a selectman, and from this year until his death was constantly engaged in the public service. His name stands at the head of the board of selectmen seventeen years, and he was on it twenty-six years. He was elected representative first in 1646, and for ten years afterwards; was an assistant sixteen years from 1659 to 1676; a speaker of the House of Deputies in 1648, '50, '54, '55 and '58; and for twenty years treasurer of the colony.

Though thus engaged in public duties, he found time to embark, largely for those days, in commerce. He was deeply interested in navigation and real estate. He built, in this town, wharves and store-houses; purchased one quarter of the Pemaquid Patent; and in 1656, he bought of Edward Collins the greater part of what, at that date, was Medford. He accumulated a handsome fortune.

¹ Francis Willoughby had certainly two wives, perhaps three, for I find in Church Records, Mary; in Boston Records, Sarah; and on the Town Records, Margaret, wives of Francis. He had children, some of whom died young. Of the others,

1, Jonathan, married Grizzel ———, and had Mary, born 1664. He was living in 1671.

2, Nehemiah, born June 8, 1644, was a respected citizen and merchant of Salem; married Abigail Bartholomew, January 2, 1672, who died September 3, 1702. He died November 6, 1702, leaving children, Francis, Nehemiah, Abigail and Sarah. (Felt's Salem, p. 326.)

3, William died of small pox in 1678.

4, Sarah, baptised in 1641, who is named in 1662, as the "only daughter of Francis. She may have married ——— Kempfield, or Campfield.

By his last wife, Margaret, (whom he probably married in England, as he speaks of her as being a stranger in the country) Governor Willoughby had, 1, Francis; 2, Nathaniel, died 1663; 3, Susanna, born Aug. 19, 1664.

Governor Willoughby's widow, Margaret, married Captain Lawrence Hammond, February 8, 1675, and died February 2, 1683.

Richard Russell¹ died May 14, 1676,—leaving in his will additional proof of the interest he felt in the town, the church and the colony. To the church, “with whom he had been in sweet christian fellowship for many years,” he gave one hundred pounds; and also fifty pounds towards a house for the use of the ministry, provided it was built within two years. To the town he gave two hundred pounds to constitute a fund for the poor,—the annual proceeds of which (with additions) are, to this day, distributed by the selectmen and deacons. To Harvard College he gave one hundred pounds. This item of the will is in the following words:

“To Harvard College in Cambridge I doe give and bequeath £100, and my will is yt it shall be improved for the purchase of some real estate or otherwise so as to bring in an annual revenue and the principal not wasted; and ye said annual revenue shall be allowed to two poor students yt may need the same for their furtherance in good literature.”

Mr. Russell opposed the sanguinary edicts against the Quakers, and was ever ready to afford substantial aid to the colony. His son James Russell, in a letter to the General Court regarding a settlement of the accounts of the late treasurer, dated May 24, 1676, says:—

“I hope you will please to take care for the reimbursing his estate for what he has expended in the countries service in this war and otherwise, and those personal engagements he has passed for the countries use and benefit, that so his children may not suffer for his love to the country. Thus, not doubting but you will in some measure consider the case, and take care not to injure or oppress the widow and fatherless, whose loss is so great already, and that there may be ordered a speedy settling of accounts, I am &c.”

1 Richard Russell married Maud ———. Their children were:—

1, James, born, Oct. 4, 1640, of whom a notice will be subsequently given.

2, Daniel, who graduated at Harvard in 1669. He was a preacher of the Gospel; invited to settle at Saybrook in Connecticut, and also at Charlestown. He accepted the latter invitation; was about to be ordained, when he died of small pox January 4, 1678,—leaving a widow, who was of Connecticut, and a daughter who married ——— Hubbard.

3, Catharine, who married, November 29, 1654, William Roswell, a merchant of Connecticut, and had children.

4, Elizabeth, who married August 29, 1664, Nathaniel Graves, a sea captain, (see page 141,) and on his death in 1679, she married Captain John Herbert of Reading, whom she survived. She died probably in 1713.

Richard Russell's wife Maud died in 1652; and he married widow Mary Chester of Weathersfield, Connecticut. They had no children. She had by her first husband; 1, son John; 2, Stephen; 3, Mercy, who died in this town in 1669; 4, Dorcas, married Samuel Whitney of Billerica; 5, Prudence, married Captain Thomas Russell of this town, had children Thomas, Mary and Prudence. She died October 21, 1678; he died October 20, 1666. 6, Eunice, married February 25, 1673, Captain Richard Sprague, son of Ralph, and died May 27, 1676.

The epitaph on his monument is not wholly legible; it is probable that the following is but an imperfect copy of it:

“ Here lies interred the body of Richard Russell, esq. who served his country as treasurer, more than a treble prenticeship, and as magistrate, sixteen years, who departed this life, the 14th of May, 1676, being the 65th year of his age.

A saint, a husband, a faithful brother,
 A friend scarce parallell'd by any other;
 A saint, that walked high in either way
 Of godliness and honesty, all say;
 A husband rare to both his darling wives,
 To her deceased, to her who him survives;
 A father politick, faithful, and kind
 Unto our state as treasurership we find;
 Of fathers good and best to own to those
 On him a fathership law did impose.
 Moses brother kind good Aaron lov'd:
 On whom love showers how full of truth improv'd;
 A friend to needy poor whom he refresh'd,
 The poor may well lament the friend suppress'd.
 In time of war he was remov'd in peace,
 From sin and woes to glory, by his decease.

N. B. The ravages of time and an accident during the siege of Boston, in 1775, having destroyed the monument erected at the decease of Mr. Russell, this, being a true copy of the original, was replaced by his relations, A. D. 1787, in testimony of their regard to his memory.¹

The Russell family are identified with the history of this town. And direct descendants of the treasurer exhibited, for five generations, the same nobility of character, and shared, even more largely, of public honors. Judge James Russell, who died in 1798, wrote in the following strain to his son, Hon. Thomas Russell, an eminent merchant of his day:—

“ Our family has great reason to bless God that the reputation of it has been preserved. You are the fifth generation. In the year 1646, Richard Russell entered into public life. From that time to the present, I may say, the family have had every office of profit and honor which the people could give them, in the town of Charlestown, in the county of Middlesex and the State of Massachusetts; and I do not find that there was any one left out of office for misbehaviour. Let our hearts be filled with gratitude to Him who has thus distinguished us,— never to be obliterated from any branch of the family; and let us evidence this gratitude to our Maker by making a good improvement of our talents.”²

¹ This is printed in Hist. Soc. Col., vol. ii. p. 179, and in Alden's Epitaphs. I copy from the stone.

² MSS. Com. by Dr. Lowell.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1650 to 1670. — Penny Ferry. — Grants of Land. — Trees. — Mansfield Petition. — Malden Debts. — By-law respecting Strangers. — The Poor. — Burying Hill. — Town House. — Cow Commons. — Division of Land in 1658. — Names of the Inhabitants. — Josselyn's Visits to the Town. — Town Buckets. — Letter of Charles II. — Petition of Middlesex Artillery Company. — Grant to Charlestown. — Ezekiel Cheever's Petition. — Selectmen's Order respecting Boys. — Petition of Freeman. — Fine of John Davis. — Seating the People and Church Rates.

1651. PENNY FERRY was granted for a year to Phillip Knight, who appears to have had the income of it for taking care of it; he agreeing "to attend the ferry carefully, and not to neglect it, that there be no just complaint."

At a "full meeting" of the citizens, it was agreed to give Walter Edmonds, "eighty pounds for his house, housing and ground to it, upon the hill side with the young trees in the garden: also a cows common and a half. It to be paid in money, or wheat, rye, barley and peaze, by the first of the ninth month, 1652."

1652. The town made Increase Nowell the grant of "all that part of lands which Squa Sachem gave formerly unto him, the which he had given to the town, which lies on the south side of his lot next Woburn." This tract of land was sold in 1656 by Mr. Nowell's heirs to Thomas Broughton, who sold it in 1659 to Richard Gardner. The descendants of the latter have lived on it to the present day. It is known as "Gardner's Row."

The town also confirmed a grant made to Robert Sedgwick. The latter record commences: — "whereas it was by the trained band of this town granted to Major Robert Sedgwick (though unknown to the selectmen) yet they, to gratify the said major, gave consent to the said grant," — which was a piece of land near the river, and adjoining his wharf, near the Town Dock.

1653. The following order was passed by the selectmen in relation to cutting trees on the common grounds of the town: —

"It was ordered that no inhabitant of this town, nor none of any other town, shall under any pretence whatsoever, fell or cut down any trees

upon the common without the neck, or the common beyond Mistick farm, within Charlestown bounds, or the common on Mistick side belonging to Charlestown, without first acquainting the selectmen therewith, upon the forfeit of what the selectmen shall see meet, who are to judge according as they are to conceive of the offence."

1654. In 1652, the General Court took the important step of establishing a mint; and John Hull and Robert Sanderson were mint masters. In 1654, John Mansfield, of this town, petitioned that he might help "to coin and melt and fine silver with Mr. Hull and Goodman Saunders in the country-house;" and added, "for I served eleven years and one half prentice to the same arts, and am a freeman of London, and am also sworn to be true to the country, as I hope I shall." A few years later, (1668) he again petitioned the Court, stating "his extremity of poverty;" when the Court ordered the town to "repair his house" or "to build him a new one," and that the house shall be obligated to pay the expenses "after the death of Mansfield and wife."

This year there is the following record:—

"That which our Brethren of Malden are to allow their proportion of, to this Town for Debts owing when they went from us: viz,

Owing to the Captain of the Castle when our brethren went away to 1649,	22: 2: 11
To Mr. Long for diet,	5: 6: 4
To Mr. Mellows,	15: 0: 0
To Widow Rand,	10: 8: 0
To Mr. Nowell for a man at Castle,	2: 10: 0
To Lawrence Dowse,	6: 0: 0
To Goodman Tedd,	6: 4: 0
To Foxes and Wolves,	9: 0: 0
To Mr. Norton for charge about the Castle,	6: 0: 0
To a petition about Meadford,	0: 10: 0
To our Elders Allowances,	4: 0: 0
To The Training Place,	20: 0: 0
To Captain Davenport from the 9th month 1648 } to the fifth month 1650 }	31: 4: 0

By-laws in relation to entertaining strangers, were often renewed and ordered to be posted up. It was found difficult to enforce them. The following will serve as a specimen of these laws at this period:—

"Whereas it is found by dayly experience that Towns are brought under great burthen and charge by their inhabitants receiving and entertaining of strangers into their Houses and families without the knowledge or consent of the select men;

"And whereas it may bee of very great inconveniency and extream charge for the future to this towne;

“It is therefore ordered by the Townsmen this 24th day of the 11th month 1653 that no inhabitant of this town called Charltowne shall sell, or let, or dispose of, any Hous lott, or Hous in the sayd Towne to any stranger whosoever to inhabit amongst us without the knowledg and consent of the sayd selectmen :

“Alsoe it is ordered that no Inhabitant of this towne shall receive any inmates ould or yonge intoo their sayd Houses to abyde with them above a weeks tyme, without approbation from the selectmen aforesaid, or security from the sayd Person or Persons so receiving any inmates to bear the Town harmesse, and to save it from all charge and damage that may come by such persons so residing with them ; and if any person of this towne notwithstanding this order shall be delinquent, then every such person for the first offence to forfeit ten shillings, and for every week after ten shillings more so long as they shall be so defective. JOHN GREENE.”

This year there were several persons fined at the Quarter Court, holden alternately at this town and Cambridge, for being absent from the public ordinances on the Lord's days. One was presented for being absent twenty weeks, but he satisfied the Court for six of the Sabbaths, and was let off with a fine of three pounds ten shillings, or five shillings a Sabbath. Another was fined five pounds for twenty Sabbaths. The Court, March 18, imposed the following fine : —

“Rowland Leyhorne's wife, being presented to this court by the Grand Jury, for making disturbance on the Lords day, in the public assembly at Malden, and washing clothes on the Lord's day, she freely acknowledged and confessed her sin and fault in the court, and her husband Rowland Leyhorne consented to allow the four witnesses 2d per diem.”

The following record is a specimen of other punishments of the time ; which appear to have been inflicted by the constables, sometimes in this town and sometimes in Cambridge, but generally on “Lecture days :” —

“John Baker and Susan Martin, being convicted before this court for fornication by them committed together, are sentenced by this court to be each of them severely whipt with twelve stripes a piece upon their naked bodies at Cambridge the next lecture day, before the public concourse of people, and are also enjoined to marry together.”

1655. The provision made for the poor has been already stated (p. 98.) This year the records contain notices of Hannah Martin, “the lame girl,” and Roger Morgan, “the blinde man,” who were maintained by the town : for keeping the former, five pounds a year was paid. The following order relates to the latter : —

“Agreed with John Pentecost that he is to have and keep Roger in his house this year ensuing. He is to find and allow him meat, drink, lodgings, washing, and the like necessaries, for which the town is to give John Pentecost four shillings per week, and all that Roger earns by his work is to be brought in by account, and to go towards the payment of

the 4s. a week, only what is laid out for clothes for the year is to be deducted out of his work."

Upon the request of the inhabitants, Richard Russell, Ralph Mousall and Thomas Lynde, were appointed by the General Court to act as commissioners to "end small causes" in town according to law.

1656. The town granted the common marsh before the burying-hill to Solomon Phipps and Lawrence Douse, "in consideration of twelve pounds in good merchantable wheat and pease of each a like quantity:" the hill "remaining free and entire for the town's use, only liberty is granted them to feed on the burying-hill, provided no inconvenience accrue to the hill,—the Broadway going up to the hill being fully reserved to the town's use." They were to make and maintain the gate of that way "to the hill, also the lime-kilns are excepted, and a free way to them." The "right of herbage" was retained by individuals until it was purchased by the town in 1807, of the late Jacob Foster for four hundred dollars.

1657. A number of citizens subscribed twenty-nine pounds ten shillings toward building a "house," probably a town-house, on the Town Hill. This induced the town to pass the following vote:—

"At a generall town meeting of all the Inhabitants of Charletowne the second day of the eleaventh mo: 1656. It was agreed unanimously by the generall Townsmen, that a Hous should bee made and sett up upon the Windmill Hill: And the bell sufficiently hanged thereon; and a Sun-dial there; And to be done by a generall rate speedily to be gathered of the inhabitants, who are to pay each his proportion in good and merchantable Wheat at four shillings a bushell, and Barlee at four shillings a bushell, and Peas at three shillings and sixpence a bushell. The cost and charge off all not to exceed fifty pounds at the moste."

A record was made of the number of cow commons each individual had in the stinted pasture, lying between "the neck of land, Menotomies River, and the farms of Medford and Mr. Winthrop." The following is the form of this record:—

"Confirmed and entered for Thomas Lynde Senior—nineteen cow commons.

I say to him and his heirs forever.

JOHN GREENE, Recorder.

1658. The early action of the town, in relation to dividing the land, has been related.¹ The details of an important division concluded this year, will show the manner of proceeding at a later

¹ See chap. viii.

date; and also furnish the names, probably, of all the male inhabitants of the town in 1658.

When Malden was set off in 1649, Charlestown retained a large quantity of land on Mistick side, lying between Malden and Medford Farm. The town voted to divide a part of this land, and a large committee was raised to determine upon the principles upon which it should be done. This committee reported,¹ February 13, 1657, as follows:—

“The returne made by those brethren that were deputed by the Inhabitants of Charletowne for the propounding of a way for the deviding this Towns Land on Mistik syde into commonage; as alsoe the dividing of the wood and tymber that each inhabitant may have his proportion. After some debate spent, and tyme in the consideration hereoff, all the committees unanimously concurring therein, doe present this as their advice unto the sayd town.

“Imprimis: That every head rated in the cuntry rate be vallewed at twenty pounds.

“2, That all women, children, and servants that are not rated in the cuntry rate in regard of their heads, that every two of them be vallewed at the like proportion, that is to say at twenty pounds.

“3, That every £100 estate brought in to be rated to defraye cuntry charges, then that to have the like proportion, that is to say, five tymes as much as he that is only ratable for his head, and ten tymes soe much as where there is onely women and children; that is to say, ten of them to \$100 estate; and soe where there is not £100 rated yet what part of a hundred Pounds that is rated, then that to have its proportion as aforesayd, and soe where there is but one woman, childe, or servant they to have their proportion as being halfe heads.

“4, Ffor the devision of the wood and tymber, we conceive the whole to be divided into ten equall parts, and the devisions to runn from Mistick bounds to Readding bounds the longest way.

“5, That the whole according unto the proportions above sayd to be cast up as supposing them a thousand parts, that then every hundred of these to be comprised under each equall part of the ten parts, the first devision to be made by survayours chosen out by the whole towne, the latter to be made by those whose lot shall fall to be together in any one of the tenn parts.

“6, That because some inhabitants in this towne are ratable, and yet not rated by means of bearing some publick office; and being freed by court order; as these alsoe that are troopers, and soe exempted for their heads in poynt of cuntry rates, as alsoe some by means of poverty; yet all these to have their proportion in this devision, they that have estates, for them to have a proportion accordingly; And those that have no estates, yett those of years to be vallewed at twenty pounds. And those that are women and children and servants that they be vallewed as aforesayd, that is twoo to twenty pounds.

THOMAS BRATTLE, in the behalf of the rest.

¹ This report and the list of names is copied from the original in vol. ii. of the Town Records. According to the principles of the division, the quantity of each individual indicates, nearly, his relative circumstances, as to property. It is, therefore, in this respect, not unlike a tax list of to-day.

The town voted to accept this report, to add two to the committee, and to authorize the division to be made on these principles. Another long agreement was concluded March 1, 1658. This provides, that in case any person did not remain in town one year, he should lose his share "both of wood and commons:" that none should sell their shares but to an inhabitant of the town, upon the forfeiture of twelve-pence per load of wood, and the whole of the commons: that each proprietor should pay for laying out his lot. The other provisions relate to localities. Then the following entry was made in the Town Records.

"The returne of the committee apoynted by the Inhabitants of Charltowne, for the division of the wood and commons on Mistick syde, with the inhabitants their assent to the articles above mentioned; Accepted, by drawing each his lott the day and year above written: And is as followeth;—

	Wood in Acres.	Com- mons.		Wood in Acres.	Com. mons.
Edward Carrinton,	52	9	John Riehbell, .	24	4
Christopher Goodwine,	18	3	Lawrence Dous, .	26	4½
Thomas Alice Rand,	34	6	Monsieur Belvile, .	17	3
Richard Sprague, .	86	15	John George, .	11	2
Edward Brazier, .	12	2	John Baxter, .	7	1
Jacob Greene, .	52	9	Thomas Brigden, Senior,	18	3
Samuel Beadle, .	18	3	Thomas Osborne, .	18	3
George Heypbourn, .	11	2	Widow Goble's house,	3	1
John Trumble, .	54	9½	John Cloys, .	24	4
Mihell Long, .	23	4	John White, .	26	4½
Ten Families, .	340	62½	Ten Families, .	174	30
John Clough, .	8	1½	Robert Cutler, .	56	9½
Josiah Wood, .	8	1½	John Roper, .	20	3½
John Palmer, .	12	2	Thomas Carter, .	26	4½
Sarah Sallee's hous, .	4	1	John Fosdicke, .	14	2½
William Bullard, .	19	3	T. G. Drinker's Hous,	5	1
William Clough, .	16	3	Capt. Lusher's House,	4	1
Mr. Winthrop's Farme,	46	8	Faint: winds, .	10	2
Edward Wilson, .	9	1½	Robert Long, .	60	10½
John Funnell, .	33	5½	James Broune, .	29	5
Nathaniell Blancheer,	12	2	Barnaby Davis, .	27	4½
Ten Families, .	167	29	Ten Families, .	251	44
John Mirick, .	17	3	Michell, .	00	0
Thomas Lynde, .	66	11½	Benjamin Wilson, .	11	2
John Withman, .	10	2	Ould Mr. Rich'd Browne	15	2
William Morris, .	12	2	Phinias Pratt, .	14	2½
John Long, .	31	5	Thomas Wilder, .	34	6
John Patetfield, .	19	3	Thomas Peirec, .	24	4½
Randolph Nichols, .	62	11	Edward Burt, .	18	3
Robert Chalkley, .	28	4½	George Hutchison, .	27	4½
William Jones, Mason,	15	2½	William Croutch, .	13	2
Josuah Tydd, .	25	4¼	William Roswell, .	16	2½
Ten Families, .	285	49	Ten Families, .	177	30

	Wood in Acres	Com- mons.		Wood in Acres	Com- mons.
Nicholas Shapley, .	28	4½	Thomas Hett, .	28	5
Elias Roe, . . .	16	3	Samuell Adams, .	54	9
Seth Switzer, . .	23	4	Mrs. Trarice, . .	9	1½
Thomas Sheppy, .	19	3	Thomas Kimball, .	29	5
William Dade, . .	44	7	Henry Cookery, .	9	1½
Capt. John Allen, .	95	17			
Mrs. Nowell and farne,	48	8	Ten Families,	250	4½
Mr. Richard Russell,	91	16			
Isaak Cole, . . .	10	2	John Mousall, . .	19	3
Mathew Price, . .	28	5	Widow Frothingham,	35	6
			Gardy James, . .	7	1
Ten Families	402	69½	John March, . . .	25	4½
			Mikell Smith, . .	14	2½
John Johnson, . .	14	2½	Natha: Smith's hous,	4	1
William Hilton, .	37	6½	James Heyden, . .	19	3
Widow Nash, . . .	3	1	Leift. Wheelers Farne,	7	1½
Charlestowne Mill, .	57	10	Hadloks Hous, . .	4	1
Daniel Edmonds, .	26	4½	John Tucky, . . .	5	1
William Bachelor, .	18	3			
Roger Spencer, . .	37	6½	Ten Families, . .	138	4½
Thomas Starr, . .	26	4½			
Thomas Adams, . .	10	1	Mr. Willoughbys state,	23	4
Samuell Carter, . .	45	8	Samuel Ward, . . .	34	6
			William Baker, . .	22	3½
Ten Families,	273	48	John Call,	10	2
			Mrs. Graves,	50	9
Mrs. Sedgwick, ali state	28	5	John Phillips, . . .	15	2½
Mr. Zachary Syms,	57	10	John Knight, . . .	18	3
Marke Ktugs, . . .	19	3	Old Pritchard, . .	11	2
Mrs. Kempthorne, .	10	1½	Widow Stubbs, . .	5	1
John Mansfeild, . .	5	1	Thomas Mousall, . .	32	5½
Peeter Nash, . . .	8	1½			
Widow Cole, . . .	5	1	Ten Families, . .	220	38½
Josuah Edmonds, .	37	6½			
Widow Cartar, . .	13	4	George Buncker, . .	52	9
Sollomon Phips, . .	51	9	Matthew Griffin, . .	14	2½
			Widow Amy Stowers,	12	2
Ten Families, . .	233	40½	Henry Salter, . . .	7	1
			William Johnson, . .	27	4½
Widow Streeters Hous,	4	1	Richard Kettle, . .	26	4½
William Bicknor, .	13	2	Thomas Brigden, Junior,	16	3
Giles Fiffeild, . .	15	2½	Sargt Cutters hous, .	10	1½
John Burrage, . .	25	4½	Faithfull Rous, . .	32	5½
Captain Francis Norton,	89	15½	John Scott,	19	3
Mr. Nicholas Davison and farne	81	15			
Edward Johnson, . .	22	4	Ten Families, . .	215	36½
Henery Harbert, . .	39	6½			
John Blancheer, . .	37	6	James Cary,	19	3½
John Lawrence, . .	14	2½	Tho. Welsh,	30	5
			Mr. Thomas Shepheard,	42	7½
Ten Families, . .	339	59½	Richard Templar, . .	17	3
			James Peckar, . . .	12	2
William Goose, . .	5	1	John Drinker, . . .	19	3
Phillips' Estate, . .	7	1½	Thomas Gould, . . .	54	9½
William Stitson, . .	54	9½	Robert Leach, . . .	17	3
George Blancheer, .	26	4½	Samuell Blancheer, .	14	2½
William Foster, . .	29	5	Benjamine Switzer, .	20	2
			Ten Families,	234	41

that Charlestown had been taken by the Turks. He gives the rumor as follows:—

“June 20. That 18 Turksmen of war the 24 of Jan’y 1659–60 landed at a Town, called Kingsword (alluding to Charlestown) three miles from Boston, Killed 40, took Mr. Sims minister prisoner, wounded him, killed his wife and three of his little children, carried him away with 57 more, burnt the Town, carried them to Argier, their loss amounting to 12000 pound—the Turk demanding 8000 pound ransom to be paid within seven months.”

Josselyn visited Charlestown, and mentions, in 1638, calling at Mr. Long’s ordinary, and finding on the back side of it a rattlesnake, a yard and a half long, which he minutely describes. On his second visit (1663), he gave a brief description of the town:—

“The passage from Boston to Charlestown is by a ferry worth forty or fifty pounds a year and is a quarter of a mile over. The river Mistick runs through the right side of the Town, and by its near approach to Charles river in one place makes a very narrow neck, where stands most part of the Town, the market place not far from the water side is surrounded with houses, forth of which issue two streets orderly built and beautified with Orchards and Gardens, their meeting house stands on the north side of the market, having a little hill behind it; there belongs to this Town one thousand and two hundred acres of arable, four hundred head of cattle, and as many sheep, these also provide themselves farms in the country.”

One thousand acres of land were laid out, by order of the General Court, “for the use of the school of Charlestown,” “in the wilderness, on the western side of Merrimack River, at a place commonly called by the Indians, Sodegonock.”

1661. “Ordered that Thomas Brigden, senior, deliver the town buckets to any person or inhabitant of this town upon notice of fire within the town: provided the said Brigden takes care for the bringing them to the Meeting House again. And is to be satisfied for his pains and care therein.”

1662. Soon after the restoration, Charles II. addressed a letter to the colonists, in which a right was assumed to interfere with the internal affairs of the colony. This letter was read in the town meetings. This circumstance was recorded as follows:—“At a general meeting of all the inhabitants of Charlestown the 6th day of October, 1662, the Kings Letter directed to the General Court was openly and deliberately read by Jacob Greene, then one of the constables of the town.” Some feeling was manifested at Woburn on reading this letter. Isaac Cole refused to read it; and Edward Converse openly declared, that they “who brought the Kings letter to Woburn, brought popery thither.” Both were summoned to answer for their conduct.

Mr. Long of this town, had his license renewed "for keeping a house of common entertainment and for retailing wine and strong waters, on condition that no strong waters be suffered to be tipled or drunk in or about any house or place of any such his retailing, nor sold to any but masters of families of good report, or travellers in their journey. Penalty, forfeit of license and £5."

Phineas Pratt, of this town, May 1662, presented a "narrative of the streights and hardships that the first planters of this colony underwent in their endeavors to plant themselves in Plymouth and since, whereof he was one." In answer to his petition the Court granted him three hundred acres. Mr. Pratt, in his old age, was assisted by the town and died April 19, 1680. His narrative cannot be found.

The following petition is in the hand writing of Francis Norton. (See page 86.) In answer to it, the Court, May 9, 1662, made the company a grant of one thousand acres of land: —

"To the Hon'd. Genll. Court now assembled at Boston.

The petition of the Artillery Company for the County of Middlesex.

In most Humble wise sheweth;

Whereas by the favourable allowance and grant of this Hon'd Court for Sundry years now past, your petitionors have had free liberty to meet together and exercise themselves for their instruction in the military art, wherein, while your petitioners haus sought yr owne profiting, their Lt me End haus been the service of the Lord and his people therein; for further encouragement of which worke many of us expecting daly when we shall be called off the stage, and others take our places, who were not born. Soldiers no more than wee, and will yrfore stand in like need of Help for their instruction as those yt have b'en their predecessors, or els on neglect ye of, wee need not pesent to yor wisdom the Sad consequences yt will ensue; Your petitioners do yrfore Humbly beg of this Court to grant to the said Society 1000 acres of land, to be layd out in such places, where it may be improved for the benefit of the sd Society; the wch althouh to your petitioners it will be both travell and charge, yet being unfeignedly desirous yt so good an exercise should be continued, even when where they can be of no more use and service to God and his people in this world, they shall endeavour the improvement yrof, for the furtherance of the ends proposed and shall continue to pray that He, who is the Lord of Hosts, may be wth you and observe you in all ye weighty concernments for the furtherance of his glory and the peace of his people in these ends of the Earth."

FRAN; N. in the name of the Rest."

1663. In answer to the petition of Captain Francis Norton and Nicholas Davison, in behalf of the inhabitants of this town, "they being straightened by parting with lands to accommodate Cambridge, Woburn and Malden," the General Court granted to the town five hundred acres of land. This was laid out "on the westward side of the bounds of Lancaster."

1666. There is much matter on the records, relative to the dealings of the fathers of the town with the rising generation; and especially relative to their behavior in the meeting house. At a general town meeting, January 1, the town voted to leave the subject with the selectmen. The latter, January 12, passed the following order:

“By the Selectmen, Whereas there are many complaints of the rude and irreverent carriages of many of our youths especially in the times of the public ordinances of praying and preaching Lords Days which we conceive is heightened for want of due inspection and being and keeping in some certain appointed place or places. And we being called and encouraged by all our householders to take care about them, that profaneness may be prevented, and the government incumbent on governors of families not scandalized. We judge it our duty to commend it as our affectionate desire to all our inhabitants, concerned herein to further us with their cheerful endeavors, and that each person whom we nominate would in his term sit before the youths pew on Lords day during the morning and evening exercise. It being our joint expectation that all youths under fifteen years of age unless on grounded exemption by us, do constantly sit in some one of those three pews made purposely for them. It is our desire that all parents and governors will require their children and servants of the capacity aforesaid to sit and continue orderly in those pews except mr. Cheevers scholars, who are required to sit orderly and constantly in the pews appointed for them together. It is moreover commended to the conscientious care and endeavour of those that do sit before the youths pews Lords days to observe their carriage, and if any youth shall carry it rudely and irreverently to bring them before one of our magistrates with convincing testimony that due course may be taken with them for the discouragement of them and any others of like profane behavior. We doubt not but we shall find our householders active herein that so guilt may not be contracted by personal or general default herein.

Ezekiel Cheever, the renowned schoolmaster of his day, had at this period the charge of the Town School. On the 3rd of November he presented the following “motion” to the selectmen:

“First, that they would take care the school house be speedily amended because it is much out of repair.

“Secondly, that they would take care that his yearly salary be paid, the constables being much behind with him.

“Thirdly, putting them in mind of their promise at his first coming to town, viz. that no other schoolmaster should be suffered, or set up in the town so as he could teach the same, yet now Mr. Mansfield is suffered to teach and take away his scholars.”

At this time Matthew Smith was employed as Town Messenger at thirty shillings a year; and Thomas Brigden, senior, “to look unto the Meeting House and clear it, to ring the bell to meetings, and to keep out doggs in meeting time, and to receive four pounds yearly for his salary.”

1667. The following agreement gives some idea of the price of carpenter work in the olden time:—

“This day an agreement made with Solomon Phipps to lay upon the roof of our meeting house, viz. upon one half of the house fifteen or sixteen thousand of good shingles: the said Phipps to find the shingles and lay them only; and the selectmen are to find boards and nails sufficient for the work; he is to finish the work by the last day of May next ensuing, and is to receive twenty-two shillings per thousand to be paid out of the next town rates by the constable; only the selectmen do promise to give him twenty shillings in money over and above the bargain of 22s per thousand.”

1668. The records of this period indicate the jealousy of the fathers of the town respecting strangers,—citizens being often summoned before them for harboring inmates. Quaker preachers were disseminating their views in the towns; and the Baptists had organized a church here; and hence this uncommon vigilance. One instance was the case of John Davis. He entertained Thomas Maul, a Quaker, who even began “to exercise his trade” of a tailor, without the consent of the selectmen. The latter called Davis to account for his hospitality; who replied, that “he would not put him (Maul) out of his house, but would keep him with him, contrary to the mind and prohibition of the selectmen.” A week later, Mr. Davis was again summoned before the selectmen; when he replied that “Mr. Maul had left that very morning.” He was fined eighteen shillings “for his untimely words spoken,” “but especially for his entertaining” the tailor “six days after he was forbidden.” Thomas Maul, the next year, at Salem, was sentenced to be whipped ten stripes for saying “that Mr. Higginson preached lies, and that his instruction was the doctrine of Devils.” The selectmen continued to look sharp after Davis; for a few months later he was again summoned before them, and “warned that he should not frequent ordinaries at any time for the future.”

A petition was sent to the General Court, in the name of the Freemen, which shows the political spirit of the times. This year the Court determined to take the power of nominating military officers into its own hands; and hence the action of the town. Deacon Stitson and Captain Allen, who appeared in behalf of the freemen, were two of the most respected citizens:—

“To the much Honoured the General Court assembled at Boston.

The Humble petition of the freemen of Charlestown:

“Humbly sheweth That your petitioners having through the favour,

and blessing of God, lived under this Government, as tis now established, for many years, enjoying under the shadow thereof wonderful preservation, by the special presence of God with, and the care, and prudence of this honoured Court; together with such priviledges, and immunities, which seem to be essential to the constituting of our freedom, (viz — a free, and inviolable choice of our heads, and rulers over, as well civil and ecclesiastical, as military affairs,) and which hath rendered us the most happy people that we know of in the world.

“Now forasmuch as we are not conscios to our selves of any unfaithfulness to the interests of this Commonwealth, and government, but we hope a studious care to maintain the good of the same, and that in particular in the reference to our choice of military officers, hath from time to time been manifested; The persons chosen having generally approved them selves faithful to their trust. We would not but with grief of heart receive that unwilcome account given us by our deputy, of the voting down soe considerable a part of our so long enjoyed liberty, at the last session of the general Court, viz, the choice of our military ***** which as it seems to reflect unfaithfulness upon us, so (should it proceed) **** under great discouragements.

“Your petitioners, therefore do humbly ***** entreat this honourable Court to take the premises into your serious consideration, that we may not loose that in a day, which as we humbly conceive, hath been so many years, enjoyed, as our undoubted right: but that the same being confirmed to us (as that which can have no dangerous consequences; whilst our choice stands or falls, to the courts approbation or rejection) we may with all cheerful industry, not in this case only, but in all cases relating to the universal good of this government, be encourage to approve ourselves most faithful to the interest of the same.”

And your petitioners shall ever pray &c,

WILLIAM STITSON } in the name of the
JOHN ALLEN } freemen.”¹

This petition was referred to a committee of three, who reported that the Freemen were “not rightly informed” so “earnestly,” upon “slender ground, to assert that for an undoubted right which no-ways belongs to them, it being always in the Court’s power to allow and confirm military officers.” Heretofore the people had nominated them, and the County Court approved of the nomination; the course now adopted was justified “as more agreeable to the Patent.”

1669. A rate was made to support public worship. The ministers, at first, were paid by the company. This practice, however, continued but a few years, when the duty was put upon the towns. It does not appear from the Records of this town how the money was raised for this purpose; though the meeting house was paid for, and kept in repair, by a general rate. In other towns,² it was raised, both by voluntary contributions and taxation. It is

¹ The original, in the Mass. Archives, is imperfect.

² Felt’s MSS., Hist. Salem.

probable that such was the practice here, and that those who refused to contribute, were taxed. A citizen of Watertown, in 1643, on being rated for this cause, wrote a book against supporting public worship by taxation; wherein, "besides his arguments, which were naught, he cast reproach upon the elders."¹ He was fined ten pounds; not for his arguments, for "they were not worth the answering;"² but for his speeches. No trace has been found of this dangerous book.³ The individual mentioned in the following vote was, probably, of those who refused to contribute: "1667. 25. 9. John Gould appearing before the selectmen, being demanded whether he would pay any thing to the maintaining of ordinances for the time past, answered plainly that he was not willing to pay any thing for the time past."

The action of the towns on the subject of seating people in the meeting house, took place about this time. The formality of it in this town, and the wording of the votes, indicate something more than mere seating the people in pews. At "a general town meeting" February 26, 1667, it was "agreed by mutual vote," to choose a committee of five to join with the selectmen, "to consult and conclude of the way to bring in what may be sufficient to maintain ordinances comfortably amongst us, and that speedily to be done." Another vote indicates the nature of this business: — "Voted that the townsmen with the committee abovesaid, should have liberty to seat all the inhabitants in pews in the meeting house."

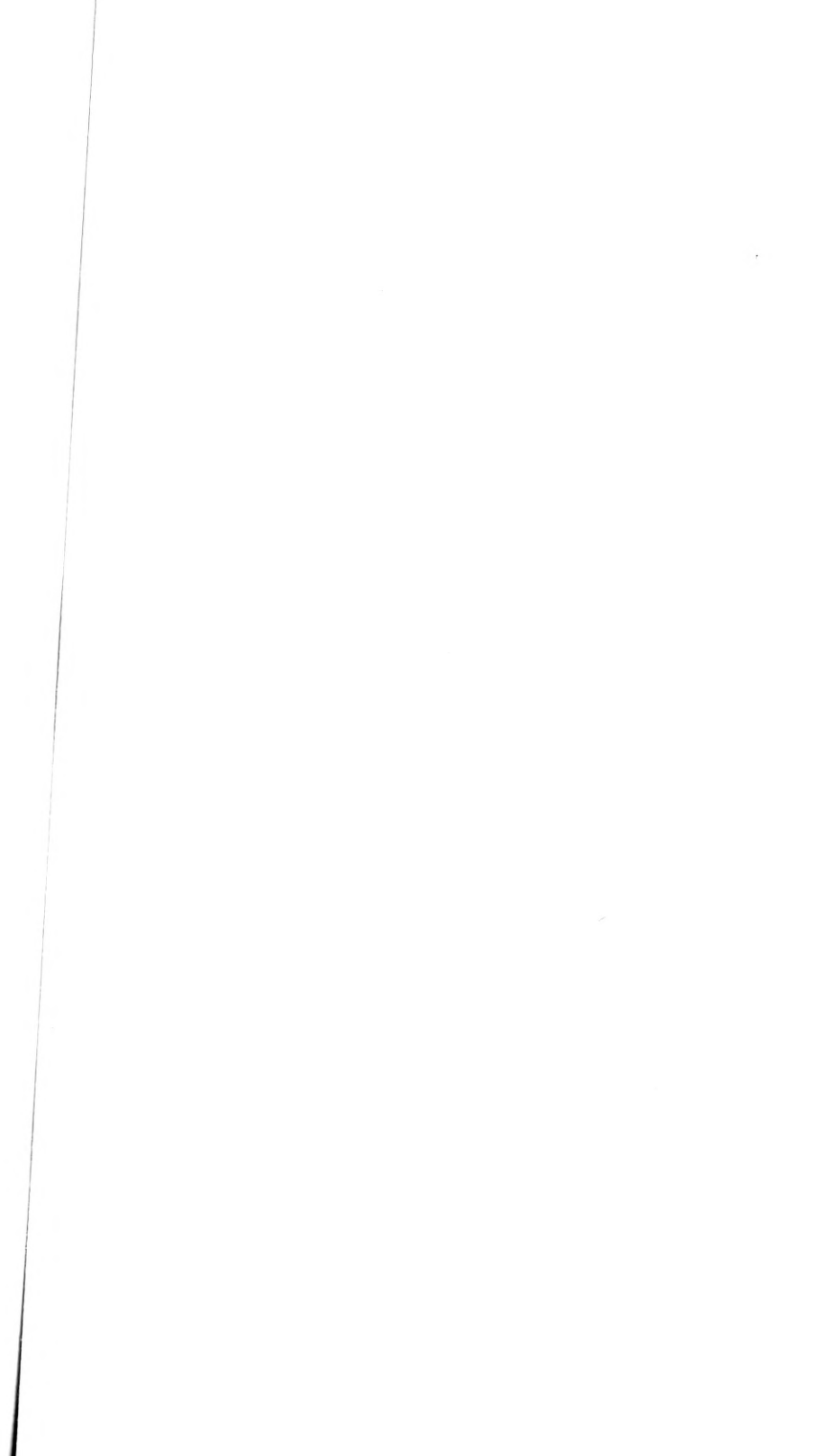
This committee matured their plan; and, April 9, the selectmen appointed James Cary, recorder, and Richard Lowden, constable, to "give notice to each person and to shew them as near as may be verbally where they are appointed to sit, and to inform them how much they are seized to pay." A few months later, January 27, 1669, the selectmen ordered: —

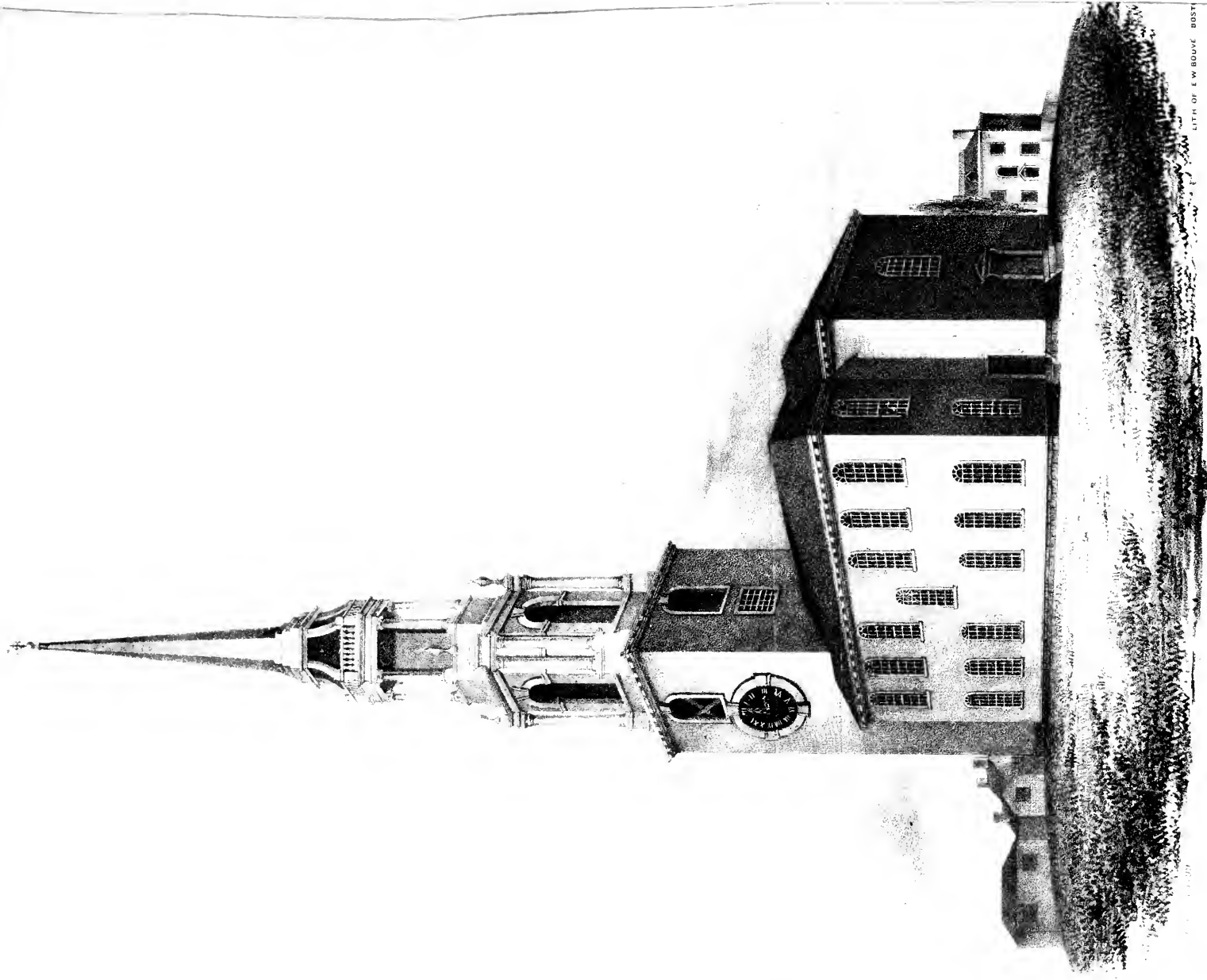
"That Richard Lowden is and shall be impowered to ask and receive of all the inhabitants of this town all such sums as they are rated or proportioned to pay unto the maintenance of the ordinances amongst us: He being deputed by us to collect it, and to pay it to the deacons of the church. For his care and pains to have ten pounds paid by us for this year ensuing."

¹ Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 93.

² Hubbard, p. 412

³ Savage in Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 93.





NORTH CHURCH, BOSTON, MASS. - VIEW OF THE CHURCH AND STEEPLE FROM THE WEST SIDE.

BOWEN & C. 1733. Engraving by Charles Bulfinch Esq. Engraved by J. D. Goussier del.

LITH OF E. W. BOUVE BOSTON

CHAPTER XIX.

Ecclesiastical History, 1650 to 1670. — Thomas Shephard, — his views on Toleration. — Baptism. — The Synod of 1662. — Increase of Baptists. — Thomas Gould, — his neglect of Baptism; views of the Church. — Gould before the County Court, — before the Church. — Private Meetings. — A Church Meeting. — Baptist Church formed. — An Excommunication. — The Baptists and the General Court; their Sentence. — An Oral Theological Discussion. — The Baptists imprisoned, — their Letter from Prison, — petitions in their favor, — release, — removal to Boston. — The Quakers. — Benanuel Bowers. — Death of Zechariah Symmes.

REV. THOMAS ALLEN returned to England in 1651, and Mr. Symmes, for eight years, was the sole pastor of the church, — a period mostly of harmony and prosperity. In 1659, April 13, Rev. Thomas Shephard, a son of the beloved and celebrated minister, of the same name, of Cambridge, was ordained as Teacher. He was born in London, April 5, 1635, and graduated at Harvard College in 1653. The church records contain the following notice of the services on the ordination: —

“Mr. Thomas Shephard was ordained with prayer and fasting unto the office of a Teacher to the Church of Christ in Charlestown, by me, Zechariah Symmes pastor to the same Church. Mr. John Wilson, Pastor to the Church of Christ in Boston, and Mr. Richard Mather teacher to the Church of Christ at Dorchester, at the desire of our Church joyning with me in laying on of hands upon the aforesaid Mr. Thomas Shephard: and Mr. Norton teacher to the church at Boston, in the name of the rest of the messengers of four churches, to wit, of Boston, Roxbury, Cambridge, Watertown, giving unto him the right hand of fellowship.”

Mr. Shephard enjoyed uncommon influence among his contemporaries. His learning and talents commanded their respect, while they loved him for his great goodness of heart, agreeable manners, and many virtues. Mather pronounced him to be “as great a blessing and glory as Charlestown ever had.”

Though unlike in many things, there appears to have been harmony of religious views in the two ministers, for Mr. Shephard was as conservative a puritan as his senior associate. That he did not feel more lenient towards new views, or heresies, may be concluded from the following extracts from one of his sermons: —

“Remember that a main design of God’s people’s adventuring into this wilderness was for progress in the work of Reformation, and that in the way of brotherly communion with the reformed churches of Christ in other parts of the world. O forsake not, deny not, condemn not that fundamental design! and otherwise indeed what needed they to have removed from England? (this cannot be justly denied) there were then in the place from whence they came, mixtures in the worship of God, and the blessed Sabbath of God struck at, &c., which they were grieved with, and vexed their righteous souls from day to day; but here they hoped they might enjoy freedom from those pollutions, and freedom to follow the Lord fully in all his ordinances and appointments. I say to follow the Lord (not by halves: not still in way of mixtures of religions to have a medley of all sorts of religion, but) fully; with what purity the Lord would give them light for and power to enjoy without molestation.”

* * * *

“And shall any now plead for mixtures of men’s superstitious inventions in the worship of God? and what else is the spirit of that toleration, which many cry up; but that no thorough and effectual testimony should be borne against such idolatrous mixtures? The hearty love and union of a truly religious people, consists not in a boundless toleration of sin, but in the way of reformation. Ezek. xi. 18, 19. * * * “Let the magistrates coercive power in matters of Religion (therefore) be still asserted, seeing he is one who is bound to God, more than any other man, to cherish his true religion.”

With ministers of such views, the church met the exciting questions of the next ten years. The protestantism, so earnestly defended, favored and justified the growth of sects; and hence there appeared among the colonists more of those “mixtures in the worship of God” which they had come so far, and endured so much, to avoid. But these sects they regarded as pollutions which to tolerate was sin.

The question, Who were the subjects of baptism? first occupied the attention of the church. It was then in theory restricted to the children of those in full communion; but others also desired it, and the custom was increasing of complying with their request. But it was an innovation, and the General Court in 1662 convened a synod to deal with it. The synod declared that the children of adults who publicly professed the Faith and gave their children to the Lord, were subjects of baptism; that each church was independent and competent of itself, to administer all the ordinances of Christ: and that there ought to be a consociation of churches. The result of the synod was communicated to the General Court; which, October 8, 1662, commended it to the consideration of the people and churches. The records give the following account of the action of this church:—

“1662–3, Feb’y 4. The decision of the late Synod about Baptism

Consociation was read by the Elders at a church meeting (except the preface of the book containing that decision act, which had been read before at a church meeting Jan'y 7, 1662-3, and generally well approved) and liberty given to the brethren to express their objections (if they had any) against any part thereof; and after some discourse, the brethren did generally express themselves (at least three fourths of them by word of mouth) that they did consent to the whole book for the substance thereof, and desired that the will of God therein might be attended; and upon a vote silentiary propounded, it was so carried, *nemine contradicente*, in the affirmative."

The increase of the Baptists interrupted the peace of the church. Thomas Gould, an esteemed member and respected citizen, became a convert, and in a few years the founder of a church. This, for nearly seventy years, was the only Baptist society in this colony; and its members, for several years, occupied much of the time of the courts. A narrative of the proceedings in relation to them will reflect much of the spirit of the times.

In consequence of his conversion, Mr. Gould withheld his child from baptism. This was a custom held sacred by the church and it could not overlook this neglect. The members asked, "Should the clear, sure, comfortable, blessed, glorious experience of so many servants of Christ be now concluded to be so many mistakes, fancies and delusions?" Its opposite, Anabaptism, as the new faith was named, they regarded as "a scab," — "a cruel and hard-hearted opinion," — "an engine framed to cut the throat of the infantry of the church." Those who embraced it they regarded as "disturbers;" and should they "be suffered to poison the rising generation or dispossess them of their portion in God?" If permitted to disseminate these views, others might also be allowed to propagate other views equally heretical; and "should liberty be proclaimed to men of any religion to come and set up shops or schools of seduction among us," they asked? If so, they reasoned, "what may we expect but that the curse devour this land?" "T is satan's policy to plead for an indefinite and boundless toleration."¹ The duty of the church appeared to be clearly, either to reclaim their wandering brother from error, equivalent to crime, or turn him over to the civil power. The distinction set up was this: "Protestants ought not to persecute any, yet that Protestants

¹ The quotations in the text are from a sermon of the Teacher of this Church — Thomas Shephard — preached in 1672, entitled "Eye-salve; or a watchword of our Lord Jesus Christ into his church, &c., pp. 24, 25, 14. Though not in office until four years after the controversy with Mr. Gould commenced, yet his sermon well shows the views of the church.

may punish Protestants cannot be rationally denied.”¹ If to-day the lamentable error of the fathers of New England be regretted and condemned, let the vitality in their faith be honored. To them, spiritual things were not cold abstractions, but earnest, solemn realities.

In 1655, about two months after Mr. Gould’s refusal to offer his child in Baptism, he met the church, and discussed at length the question of infant baptism. No censure of him, simply for withholding his child, appears however to have been then passed upon him. Mr. Gould, after this, left the meeting at the sprinkling of children, which proved a “great trouble to some honest hearts,” who pressed him to stay. He complied with the request, but sat down during the ceremony, and this was objected to as an unbecoming gesture.² Besides; he frankly told the church that he looked upon the rite as no ordinance of Christ; and this was judged speaking contemptuously and irreligiously of its emptiness and nullity. One of the members cried out, “Put him in the court — put him in the court:” but Mr. Symmes said, “I pray forbear such words.” After much expostulation with the erring brother, the church admonished him.

Meantime, in October, 1656, Mr. Gould was presented to the county court “for denying baptism to his child,” and tried December 30, when the truth of the charge was established by the evidence of Deacons Stitson and Cutler, and Thomas Brigden. “The court admonished him of his error, and of his great danger of the Lord’s displeasure to himself and peril to his seed, in case he persisted therein, instancing some scriptural examples, as that of Moses and some others, and gave him further time to consider of it until the next county court at Cambridge.” He was presented again April 7, 1657. He appeared, June 20, “confessed his

¹ Preface to Willard’s *Ne Sutor Ultra Crepidam*.

² There is no evidence that Mr. Gould interrupted the public service. This was not the case with some of the Baptist enthusiasts. Thus in 1663, at the Middlesex county court, Christopher Goodwin of this town was convicted of “contempt and violence offered to the public dispensation of the ordinance of Baptism at Charlestown, throwing over the basin of water in the meeting-house and striking the constable in the meeting-house and striking him on the Lord’s Day, and expressing himself in court with high contempt of that Holy Ordinance, and justifying himself in his former actions, and highly contemning the court.” He was sentenced to pay ten pounds and to be openly whipped ten stripes.

child to be unbaptized," and was again "solemnly admonished of his dangerous error therein." He was also called on the 24th of June, but did not appear. The court ordered that the clerk "should send an attachment for him to appear before any magistrate, in case he did refuse upon notice given him to give £20 bond for his appearance at the next court of assistants at Boston, and that he should pay the costs of court."¹ Mr. Gould was also presented for absence from the public ordinances; but he satisfied the court that he attended meeting constantly in Cambridge, and was not fined.² But the church called him to account for schism. "I told them," Mr. Gould says, "I did not rend from them for they put me away. Master Symmes was very earnest for another admonition for schism, which most of the church were against; but it seems he set it down for admonition on a bit of paper."

These proceedings naturally produced no other effect upon Mr. Gould than to add firmness to his faith. The next year the church again called him to account. Its records contain the following relation from the pen of Mr. Symmes:—

"Upon the 6th of 4th, 1658.

"Brother Thomas Gold according to the agreement of the church, the Lord's day before, was called forth to give an accounte of his large withdrawing from the publick ordinances amongst us on the Lord's days. It was asked Brother Gold, whether he had any rule from God's worde so to doe, or whether it were not a manifest breach of rule and order of the Gospel?

"His answer several times was to this effecte, that he had not turned from any ordinance of God, but did attend the worde in other places.

"It was then asked him whether he did not owne church covenant, as an ordinance of God, and himselfe in covenant with this church?

"He answered he did, but we had cut him off, or put him away, by denying him the Lord's Supper, when onely he had been admonished, and so now had no more privilege than an Indian, and therefore he looked not now at himself, as a member of our church, but was free to goe any whither. He was likewise blamed, that having so often expressed his desire to attend any light that might help him in his judgment and practice, about children's baptisme; that yet he should forbear, and stay away, when he could not but knowe, that his pastor was speaking largely to that subject. He confest his wife told him of it: and being asked how he could in faith partake of the Lord's supper, whilst he judged his own baptisme void and null? He owned that it was so, as administered to him as a childe: but since God had given him grace, he now came to make use of it, and gett good by it. It being replied, that a person owned by all, as gracious and fitt for supper, is not yet to be admitted to it, till baptized, he said little or nothing to it, but spoke divers things, generally offensive to the brethren, and would owne no fayling. Hence

¹ Middlesex Records. ² Gould's Narrative in Backus, Vol. I. p. 366.

after much time spent, the brethren consenting, he was admonished for his breaking away from the church in weighty schism and never having used any means to convince the church, of any irregular proceeding, but continuing peremptiously and contumaciously to justify his schism."

After a perseverance of years, Mr. Gould found sympathisers and associates. One of them was Thomas Osborn, a member of the church. He complained of the severity exercised towards the Quakers; that the church gave no liberty to private brethren to prophesy; that he did not find his own free spirit to come at the meetings; and that the ministry was confined to learned men.¹ Among others were William Turner and Robert Lambert from Dartmouth, England, and Richard Goodall of London. A private meeting, consisting of Gould and his wife, Osborn and his wife, and their friends from abroad,² was held at Mr. Gould's house on Sunday, November 8, 1663. This constituted a new offence and a far more heinous one than any that had been committed, for it made them "underminers of the church." In these private meetings, "continued for many years," Willard, an enemy of them, writes, "their neighbors were drawn in; and there were the churches villified, and ministers scoffed at, and means used to alienate men's hearts. And not only so, but they have published to the world that infant baptism is a nullity, that we are churches of unbaptised men and women, and have unbaptised officers; by these pleas seeking to draw men off: and if this be their reduction, it is in vain distinguished from destruction, and is properly seduction."³

The church called their schismatical brethren to account for these private meetings, carried on after they had been again and again admonished; but at this stage, they had withdrawn from its communion, and denied its authority over them. Mr. Gould says: "They asked me if I was not a member of that church? I told them they had not acted toward me as a member, who had put me by the ordinances of Christ seven years ago—they had denied me the privilege of a member." Many meetings were held about this point. Mr. Gould gives the following life-like sketch of one of them:—

"Mr. Symmes told the church that I was ripe for excommunication, and was very earnest for it; but the church would not consent. Then I desired that we might send to other churches for their help to hear the

¹ Willard's Ne Sutor.

² Church Records.

³ Ne Sutor.

thing betwixt us, but Master Symmes made me this answer: 'We are a church of Christ ourselves, and you shall know that we have power to deal with you ourselves.' Then said Mr. Russell, 'we have not gone the right way to gain this our brother, for we have dealt too harshly with him.' But still Master Symmes pressed the church to excommunicate me. Mr. Russell said, 'There were greater errors in the church in the apostles' time and yet they did not so deal with them.' Mr. Symmes asked him what they were. He said, 'How say some of you that there is no resurrection of the dead.' Mr. Symmes was troubled and said, 'I wonder you will bring this place of Scripture to encourage him in his error.' Mr. Symmes was earnest for another admonition. Then stood up Solomon Phipps and said, 'You may clap one admonition on him upon another, but to what end, for he was admonished about seven years ago.' Mr. Symmes said, 'Brother! do you make such a light matter of admonition to say, 'clap them one upon another! Doth not the apostle say, after the first and second admonition reject an heretick! Therefore there might be a second admonition.' It was answered, 'It was a hard matter to prove a man an heretic, for every error doth not make a man a heretic.' Mr. Symmes said, 'It was not seven years ago, nor above three since I was admonished, and that was for schism.' A brother replied and said, 'It was seven years since I was admonished.' On that there was some difference in the church what I was admonished for. Mr. Symmes then pulled a bit of paper out of his pocket and said 'This is that he was admonished for, and that was but three years since.' Brother Phipps asked him, 'When that paper was writ, for he never heard of that admonition before.' He answered, 'He set it down for his own memory.' Then he read it, that it was for schism and rending from the church."¹

After a few more words respecting the time of admonition, this last meeting of Mr. Gould with the church broke up. Soon, nine Baptists taking council of "able and godly" friends, embodied themselves on the 28th of May, 1665, into a church, — knowing, writes Mr. Gould, "it was a breach of the law of the country." On hearing of this proceeding, the church, July 9, sent Deacons Lynde and Stetson to Gould, and Osborn and his wife, requesting an interview the next Sabbath. The deacons reported a negative answer, July 16. The records say: —

"Bro. Gold said he should not come, and if our church had any thing to say against him, they should acquaint the society with it to which he was then joyned: saying also that he was no member of our church: and said, your church hath nothing to do with me. Br. Osburn said that he had given his reasons to the church formerly why he could not hold communion with it, viz.: because of infant baptism. 2. Our allowing none but such as had human learning to be in the ministry. 3. Our severe dealing with those of a contrary judgment from us. And therefore said he should not come to the church. Our sister Osburn's answer was that she desired not to continue with the church, but would be dismissed which way they would, and that she could not come to the church, she should sin against her conscience if she did."

¹ Backus, Vol. I. p. 367.

The church sent a similar message again, but received the same reply. It then resolved, on the 23d, that if nothing of more than ordinary weight did fall out in the interim, the brethren and sister should, without further debate, be excommunicated the next Lord's Day. "Nothing of repentance intervening," they were accordingly "excommunicated for their impertinency in their schismatical withdrawing from the church and neglecting to hear the church."¹ Henceforth the church were charged to abstain from all communion with them in spiritual things, and also in civil things further than the necessities of common life required. They were enjoined not to eat with them or drink with them that they might be ashamed. The excommunicates were as publicans and heathens.²

This completed the action of the church. Though it partook of persecution, yet in its moderation and patience, it evinced a better spirit than characterized the times.

The Baptists continued to hold meetings; and Richard Russell, a magistrate, issued a warrant, August 20,³ to the constables to ascertain where they assembled, to require them to attend the established worship, and in case of refusal, to return their names and places of residence to the next magistrate. Being summoned to appear before the Court of Assistants, they presented their church covenant, but were convicted of "a schismatical rending from the communion of the churches," and of "setting up a public meeting in opposition to the ordinances of Christ." They were then "solemnly charged not to persist in such pernicious practices." The Baptists still held meetings, and were summoned before the General Court, October 11; and among other things, to answer to the charge of "celebrating the Lord's supper by an excommunicated person." Here also they declared it to be their intention to persist in their mode of worship. The court pronounced them "no orderly church assembly," guilty "of high presumption against the Lord and his holy appointment, and of breaking the "peace of this government." The sentence was:—

"That Thomas Gould, Thomas Osborn, Edward Drinker, William Turner, and John George, such of them as are freemen, to be disfranchised, and all of them upon conviction before any one magistrate or

¹ Church Records.

² Cambridge Platform, Chap. XIV.

³ Backus, Vol. I. p. 371.

court, of their further proceeding herein, to be commanded to prison until the general Court shall take further order with them."

The Baptists were presented, April 17, 1666, at the County court, Cambridge, and Gould, Osborn and George fined four pounds each, and ordered to give bonds to appear before the next court of assistants. On refusal they were imprisoned. A special General Court, September 11, ordered them to be released on paying fines and costs.

Heretofore, heresy had been dealt with by the penalties of the law, enforced by councils and synods. The General Court resolved, (March 7, 1668,) to try another process, namely, to afford the Baptists "an opportunity of a full and free debate of the grounds of their practice." They appointed a day for a public discussion, and required Thomas Gould, John Farnum, senior, and Thomas Osborn, "in his majesties name," to be present.

It is not difficult to imagine the stir this announcement made in a community whose intellectual activity spent itself on theology. The fourteenth of April, 1668, is a memorable day. The people leave secular pursuits, and gather, in great numbers, in the meeting-house. Six reverend Elders,¹ renowned for their learning, dialectic skill, and soundness of doctrine, and selected to conduct on one side the discussion, are in the desk; and near them, the governor and the magistrates. On the other side are the few Baptists who are so heroically braving the popular storm, with three zealous brethren from the neighbor church of Newport to aid them, — feeling strong, not in the possession of human learning, but in the approvings of conscience. Some present sympathize with them; but the majority look with pride upon their reverend champions, and with scorn upon the humble heretics, and even talk of the latter in derision. Of one they say, "Cobbler, you had better stick to your last;" of another, "If you are fit for minister, we have but fooled ourselves in building colleges;" of a third, "You are a wedder-dropped shoemaker."² The discussion does not end until the close of the second day. The debate, just as it was taken down in short hand, still exists in its pristine fresh-

¹ The six ministers were John Allen, Thomas Cobbett, John Higginson, Samuel Danforth, Jonathan Mitchell, and Thomas Shephard. The Baptists were Messrs. Gould, Russell, Turner, Johnson, Bowers, Trumble, Drinker, and Farnum. ² These expressions are in Willard's *Ne Sutor*.

ness. It is doubtless rich in the theological lore of the time, — propositions drawn out into divisions and subdivisions, doctrine dissected with patient minuteness, scripture proof arrayed in oppressive abundance, with due mixture of improvement, exhortation and denunciation, — all which, though dry and husky food now, was “as the sweet manna of heavenly wisdom”¹ to the Puritan mind. I prefer to leave it, with its argument for and against infant baptism, in impartial oblivion, and only to quote the humiliating confession of the Great and General Court, “That the effect thereof had not been prevalent with them (the Baptists) as they could wish.”

And now authority had exhausted its resources. On the 7th of May, the Court summoned Gould and his associates to hear from their own lips whether the means used had effected their conversion, if not to apply “a mete effectual remedy” to “so dangerous a malady.” The result appears in a sentence, as tyrannical as it is interminable, in which their offences, old and new, are detailed at length. In open court they had asserted their former practice to have been according to the mind of God, and that nothing they had heard had convinced them to the contrary. The sentence goes on: —

“All which to allow would be the setting up a free school of Seduction into the ways of error and casting off the government of Christ Jesus in his own appointment with a high hand; and, opening the door for all sorts of abominations to come in among us, to the disturbance not only of our ecclesiastical enjoyments but also contempt of our civil order and the authority here established, doth manifestly threaten the dissolution and ruin both of the peace and order of the churches and the authority of this government, which our duty to God and the country doth oblige us to prevent by using the most compassionate effectual means to attain the same: all which, considering, together with the danger of disseminating their errors, and encouraging presumptuous irregularities by their example, should they continue in this jurisdiction: This court do judge it necessary that they be removed to some other part of this country or elsewhere: and accordingly doth order, that the said T. Gold, W. Turner and J. Farnham, sen’r, do, before the 20th of July next, remove themselves out of this jurisdiction.”

If found within the jurisdiction after July 20, they were to be committed to prison “without bail or mainprize,” until they gave security to depart from the colony. The keepers of all prisons were enjoined not to allow more than two persons, at any one time, to visit them. At this time Mr. Gould was undergoing im-

¹ Newell’s Church Gathering.

prisonment for the non-payment of a fine. He was released in order that he might prepare for banishment. In addition, the court ordered that no meeting should be held, or ordinance administered, previous to July 20.

The Baptists preferred close confinement to exile. After eleven weeks imprisonment, they addressed, October 14, 1668, to the Governor and to the General Court the following touching letter :

“ HONORED SIRS :

“ After the tenders of our service according to Christ, his command to your selves and the country, we thought it our duty and concernment to present your honors with these few lines to put you in remembrance of our bonds : and this being the twelfth week of our imprisonment, we should be glad if it might be thought to stand with the honor and safety of the country, and the present government thereof, to be now at liberty. For we doe hereby seriously profess, that as far as we are sensible or know any thing of our own hearts, we do prefer their peace and safety above our own, however we have been resented otherwise : and wherein we differ in point of judgment, we humbly beseech you, let there be a hearing with us, till you shall reveal otherwise to us ; for there is a spirit in man and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding, therefore if we are in the dark, we dare not say that we do see or understand, till the Lord shall clear things up to us. And to him we can appeal to clear up our innocence as touching the government, both in your civil and church affairs. That it never was in our hearts to think of doing the least wrong to either : but have, and, we hope, by your assistance, shall always endeavor to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and men : And if it shall be thought meet to afford us our liberty, that we may take that care, as becomes us, of our families, we shall engage ourselves to be always in a readiness to resign up our persons to your pleasure. Hoping your honors will be pleased seriously to consider our condition, we shall commend both you and it to the wise disposing and blessing of the Almighty, and remain your honors faithful servants in what we may.

THO : GOULD,
WILL : TURNER,
JOHN FARNUM.”¹

These proceedings excited strong sympathy in favor of the Baptists, both at home and abroad. A petition in their behalf, was presented to the court, representing that their condition had “sadly affected the hearts of many sober and serious Christians, and such as neither approve of their judgment or practice, especially considering that the men are reputed godly, and of a blameless conversation ; and the things for which they seem to suffer seem not to be moral, unquestioned, scandalous evils, but matters of religion and conscience ; not in things fundamental, plain and clear, but circumstantial, more dark and doubtful,

¹ The original of this letter is in the Massachusetts Archives.

wherein saints are wont to differ, and to forbear one another in love, that they be not exposed to sin for conscience' sake." They pray the court to relieve them, and "seriously consider" whether an "indulgence" "pleaded for and practised by congregational churches," be not more effectual than other ways, always grievous and seldom successful.

This petition was signed by sixty-six individuals;¹ but the court, October 14, 1668, declared that it contained many reproachful expressions, and called the signers to account. Some of them were fined. Two, Benjamin Sweetser and Joshua Atwater, who went round with "so scandalous and reproachful" a document, were fined severely. Another appeal came from abroad. Robert Mascall, the friend of Willoughby and Leverett, wrote to Captain Oliver, one of the signers, an eloquent letter against this persecution. "Strive, I beseech you," he said, "with God by prayers, and use all lawful ways and means, even to your greatest hazard, that those poor men may be set free;² for be assured that this liberty of conscience, as we state it, is the cause of God." Twelve dissenting ministers of London sent over a similar appeal.

The Baptists, however, were imprisoned over a year. In 1670 Mr. Gould was at liberty, and his society met at Noddle's Island. A warrant was this year issued to apprehend them there. The Baptists increased: five lived at Woburn, where John Russell, senior, "a gracious, wise and holy man," preached to them. In 1672 the court renewed the law dooming to banishment "every person who should openly condemn or oppose the baptism of infants." They, however, enjoyed a respite of six years from 1673 to 1679, during which period Mr. Gould (1675) died, and the church removed to Boston. In 1678 they decided to build a church, but moved cautiously, giving out, as the work went on, Willard writes, that "it might be a warehouse, or a brewhouse," and "so proceeded until it became a meeting house," and was "met in (February 15, 1679), on Lord's days. The General Court, however, met the case by a special law, that none should build or use a house of public worship without license: and that every house so used three times should be forfeited with the land on which it stood. The Baptists accordingly refrained from worshiping in it until protected by an order from the King. But the General

¹ A large number were from this town. ² Benedict, Hist. Vol. I. p. 395.

Court again forbade them; and March 8, 1680, by its order the door was nailed, and a paper put upon it inhibiting all persons from opening it at their peril. The next Lord's day the society held their meeting in the yard, but the General Court called them to account for it, and through the Governor admonished them, and charged them not to meet again. The church did not regard this prohibition, but continued their meetings, and at length the General Court ceased its persecutions. This society is now the First Baptist Church of Boston.

This period was a time of persecution of the Quakers. The leading member of this sect, in this town, was Benaniel Bowers. Bishop characterizes him as "a tender friend;" and accuses the magistrates of casting him into prison, and fining him five pounds for carrying milk to a Quaker woman in jail. At the county court, June 19, 1656, held in this town, he was presented for absenting himself from the ordinance of Baptism, convicted, admonished, and ordered to pay the expenses of the court. A few years later, October 16, 1663, he was again convicted of irregular attendance, and "two several times" of entertaining Quakers in his family. On his examination, he affirmed "that the Spirit of God was a Christian's rule, and that David had no need of the word, nor never contradicted it, and that he speaks of no other law but that which was in his heart." Bowers fared severely: he had neglected the ordinances three months, and was fined for this, twenty pounds: he had twice entertained Quakers, and for this was fined four pounds, with the cost of court and three shillings to the witnesses.

It is probable that there was a Quaker meeting at Mr. Bowers' house. For in the same month and at the same court, the wives of John Cole and William Osborn, were convicted of "meeting with sundry Quakers" there: the former was "admonished of her evil and sin therein, and warned to attend the worship of God on the Lord's days in the public assemblies, with more frequency and delight:" and the latter was warned "to beware of the cursed tenets and practices of those heretics, and to return herself to the fellowship of God's people, and attendance on his ordinances."

Mr. Bowers continued, for years, to give employment to the courts, and was fined and imprisoned for not attending public worship. He addressed a letter from Cambridge prison, dated October 2, 1676, "to the Governor, Major Clarke and Edward Tyng,

magistrates," arguing in favor of a mitigation of his sentence. He writes :—

" I have attended the worship of God with more difficulty than some of those who had a hand in imprisoning me on that account, and at my constant imprisonment many seem troubled, but yet condemn me, saying I bring it upon myself and may help it if I will. The same might be charged upon most persons that ever suffered on a religious account. But how to help myself in this case, and answer it with a good conscience is out of my knowledge. I also am blamed because I would not suffer others to pay my fine for me. To such I answer, it is contrary to equity both on the courts part and mine, that others should suffer the penalty of the law for my transgression. And besides (according to common reason) there will be no end of the thing whilst life and estates last. But were it not that many are concerned in my punishment, who are not guilty of what I am charged with, and the same might be amended, and your law satisfied, I would not have troubled you at this time."¹

With the exception of the details in relation to the Baptists, the Church records² are not very full at this period. The following vote was passed, April 22, 1666.

" A church act for the provision of the Lord's Table ; viz. : That at the beginning of every half year, each communicant shall bring in 12*d* to the deacons box for the half year that is to ensue respectively : and the year to begin (in order to this) the next sacrament day, which is May 6, 1666. Voted in the affirmative by the silence of the whole church."

Rev. Zechariah Symmes had been for thirty-five years the pastor of the church ; and the latter, in 1669, began to look for another associate in the ministry with Mr. Shephard. Rev. John Oxenbridge preached many Sabbaths to such acceptance, that the church 1669, October 8, thanked him for his labors, and requested him to continue them, with the view of becoming associate pastor. But Mr. Oxenbridge, of uncommon talents as a minister, accepted a call from the First Church of Boston. He died soon after, December 28, 1674, aged sixty-five.

Mr. Symmes died February 4, 1671, aged seventy-one years and ten months. The report of his speeches in the Trial of Anna Hutchinson, and the church record (see page 165) are the only memorials of him that exist. He bore an active part in the theological controversies of his time. Mather commends him for " his ability, integrity and zeal : " as " one worthy the name of minister,

¹ Hutchinson's Mss., in Mass. Hist. Cabinet.

² On the reception of the news of the great fire of London, £105 was collected in the Charlestown Church for the relief of the sufferers. Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 236.

for he knew his Bible well, and he was a preacher of what he knew, and a sufferer for what he preached." The few memorials that remain of him, afford but slender material for judging of his literary abilities. He says in his Will that "He never intended or prepared any thing to be put in print." He left his manuscript Sermons to his widow and son, and in his Will there is the following indication of his hope:—

"First, I commit and commend what I am and have into the hands of my most loving Father and Gracious God, in Christ Jesus. My soul immediately upon my death to be received into those Heavenly mansions, which my blessed Saviour hath prepared for me, my body to be for a time (in a comely but not over costly manner,) interred in assured faith and hope, that my Saviour will in his time, raise up my vile body and make it like his glorious body, and uniting it to my soul, will continue them forever with himself in perfect blessedness and glory."

The town voted that his grave should be covered and set comlie, "by a tomb stone, and the selectmen, February 27, 1673, passed the following order:—

"In pursuance of a Town order, the 6, 11, 72, that a tomb of stone should be erected over the grave of Mr. Zechariah Symmes, deceased. It is ordered, that the three deacons and Lawrence Hammond, do treat and conclude with the stone cutter at Boston, for a meet stone for that use; and that John Goodwin and Sam. Bickner, or some other mason be agreed with to build a stone work laid in lime, over the grave as soon as the weather will permit; and that the three deacons be desired to see the same issued with all convenient speed."

His epitaph is not legible: Dr. Mather says it mentions, that he lived forty-nine years and seven months with his virtuous consort, and contained the following couplet:—

"A prophet lies under this stone:
His words shall live, though he be gone."¹

¹ Rev. Zechariah Symmes had thirteen children, five sons and eight daughters. His widow Sarah survived him, and died in 1676. He names a brother William in his Will, of whom I know nothing. Of the sons:

1, William was baptized Jan. 10, 1626, and died Sept. 22, 1691.

2, Zechariah was baptized Jan. 12, 1638, married Susannah Graves Nov. 18, 1669, had three sons and four daughters, and died March 22, 1708. He was ordained minister of Bradford, Dec. 17, 1682.

3, Timothy born 1640, and died 1641.

4, Timothy born 1643, married Mary Nichols, Dec. 10, 1668, who died Sept. 18, 1669. He married Elizabeth Norton, Sept. 1671, and died July 4, 1678. I know nothing of the fifth son.

Of the daughters:

1, Sarah married Rev. Samuel Haugh, of Reading, who died March 30, 1662. She married afterwards his successor, Rev. John Brock, who died in 1688.

Johnson bestows great praise on the wife of Mr. Symmes. "Among," he says, "all the godly women that came through the perilous seas to war their warfare, the wife of this zealous teacher, Mrs. Sarah Symmes, shall not be omitted, nor any other, but to avoid tediousness; the virtuous woman, indued by Christ with graces fit for a wilderness condition, her courage exceeding her stature, with much cheerfulness, did undergoe all the difficulties of these times of straites, her God through faith in Christ, supplying all her wants with great industry, nurturing up her young children in the fear of the Lord, their number being ten both sons and daughters, a certaine sign of the Lord's intent to people this vast wilderness."

CHAPTER XX.

1670 to 1686. — Ladders. — The Schools. — A Flag. — Letter of Selectmen. — Instructions to Selectmen. — Indian War. — Small Pox. — Freemen. — Names of Inhabitants. — Fort. — Dry Dock. — Free School. — The Stinted Pasture. — Military Companies.

1670. At a town meeting, January 14, it was voted "that every householder should make or provide a ladder or ladders, to reach from the ground to his house top and upwards, and that such ladders should be ready and set up at such man's house, by the first day of the month of March next, ensuing this date." A year later, the selectmen affixed a penalty of five shillings for each neglect.

2, Mary, baptized April 16, 1628, married Major Thomas Savage Sept. 15, 1652, whose first wife was daughter of the celebrated Anne Hutchinson, whom Rev. Z. Symmes so zealously opposed.

3, Elizabeth, baptized Jan. 1, 1629, married Hezekiah Usher about 1652, who was representative from Billerica.

4, Huldah, baptized March 18, 1630, married, probably, Rev. Moses Fiske of Braintree. See Farmer.

5, Hannah, baptized Aug. 22, 1632, married Captain William Davis, and had children, Margaret and Hannah.

6, Rebecca, baptized Feb. 12, 1633, married Humphrey Booth, a merchant of this town.

7, Ruth, baptized Oct. 12, 1635, married Edward Willis or Willie.

8, Deborah, born Aug. 8, 1642, married Timothy Prout, Dec. 13, 1684.

1671. Benjamin Thompson, a celebrated teacher, was engaged by the selectmen to keep school in town on the following terms:—

“1. That he shall be paid thirty pounds per annum by the town, and to receive twenty shillings a year from each particular scholar that he shall teach, to be paid him by those who send children to him to school.

“2. That he shall prepare such youth as are capable of it for the college, with learning answerable.

“3. That he shall teach to read, write, and cypher.

“4. That there shall be half a years warning given mutually by him and the town, before any change or remove on either side.”

Mr. Thompson retained the charge of the school until November 7, 1674, when the selectmen, “with the advice and consent of Mr. Thomas Shephard and Mr. Joseph Brown,” gave “Mr. Samuel Phipps of this town a call to the work.”

1672. Hitherto the highways were kept in repair by each man and boy above ten years old, laboring one day in a year on them. At the annual meeting, it was voted, “That the charge to be expended on the highways this year shall be gathered of persons by way of rate, and ordered by the selectmen to rate persons, estates and heads.”

The town purchased of Benjamin Moor, as the vote reads, “one sarsnet flag for the Battery, being the kings colors; for which he is to be free as to his own proper estate from the town rate for five years ensuing, this year 1672, inclusive. The country, county and church rates are not included in the town rate above mentioned.”

1673. The town voted to build and maintain a bridge “over the creek called Wapping Dock.” The committee to build it consisted of “Mr. James Russell and Ensign John Cutler.”

The selectmen ordered “that the deacons of the church have power to empower Sergeant Lowden to gather in such church contributions as they shall see meet, and to agree with the said Lowden upon the town account, to be paid by the Town.”

A large trade was carried on this year in cedar posts, shingles and clapboards. The selectmen granted many of the inhabitants permission to cut the trees in Cedar Swamp, near Spot Pond; and John Mousal was charged with the duty of inspecting “the number and bigness” of the trees cut down.

1674. For several years the selectmen took especial pains to have the boys orderly in the time of divine service. Persons were appointed to sit with them. This year they enforced the duty, by a stringent letter. The following is the record:—

MARCH 23, 1674.

GENTLEMEN :

The sense of the necessity of the inspection and government of youth at times of public worshipping of God in our meeting house, and finding that the way taken to that end the last year, through the care and diligence of the persons attending that work, did very much reach our end propounded, we are encouraged to proceed in the same way this year also. And accordingly request you respectively to take your turns in attending the said work, according to the method hereafter propounded, in which we do desire you to do your utmost, that all children and youth that are under age, may be as much within your inspection as the convenience of seats will admit of. Not permitting them to scatter up and down in obscure places, when they may be from under a due observance. Wherein if need be you shall have the assistance of the constable. Your faithful attendance hereunto will doubtless be a service acceptable to God and to your brethren, remembering that to be a door keeper in the house of God was of high esteem with holy David. We further desire your care to prevent the disorderly running out of youth in time of public worship.

By order of the Selectmen,

LAURENCE HAMMOND, *Recorder.*

At a meeting “of the freemen,” those present, the record says, “put in their votes for magistrates and other public officers, that are to be put to choice on the day of election, the governor and deputy governor excepted; which votes were all sealed up in the presence of the freemen by the deputy, Mr. Joseph Lynde, and the constable, Daniel Smith, and delivered to the said deputy according to law.”

1675. The selectmen built a watch-house on the common fourteen feet square, under their direction and the militia.

From the year of the establishment of the Board of Selectmen, until this year, there is little said on the Records about its powers. The following “general instructions” were voted by the town, January 4:—

“1. That the said selectmen do attend and execute all such wholesome orders as are already made, and do stand upon record in the Town books, and have not been altered or repealed by the inhabitants.

“2. That they do levy by way of rate upon the inhabitants of the town all necessary public charges, both civil and ecclesiastical for the said town, and appoint and empower meet persons for the collecting the same.

“3. That the meeting house, schoolhouse, and other public houses in the said town, be through their inspection and order kept in good repair, and made fit and convenient for such publick uses as they are appointed to.

“4. That care be by them taken that all such poor persons and families

within the said town, as are really in want and incapable for providing for themselves, by age, sickness, or otherwise, be supplied and provided for.

“ 5. That for all other matters wherein the weal and common benefits of the towne may be promoted, the said selectmen have hereby liberty and power to make and execute all such orders, as to them shall seem meet and convenient, and to impose and levy fines upon all such the inhabitants who shall be found transgressing their said orders,—the fines so imposed not exceeding the limitation of the law of the colony.

“ 6. Provided it shall not be in the power of the said selectmen to sell or dispose any land or houses belonging to the inhabitants in generall, without the consent of the whole community, or the major part.

“ The above mentioned instructions were voted by the inhabitants, the day above said in the affirmative.

Attest, L. HAMMOND, *Recorder.*”

This year the celebrated Indian war, King Phillip's, was carried on with vigor by the colony. No skirmish took place within the borders of this town. One of its citizens, Capt. Samuel Hunting, raised a company of “Praying Indians,” which mustered here, and in April was under orders to march to Chelmsford. But on the 21st of April, “about midday, tidings came by many messengers, that a great body of the enemy” had attacked Sudbury. “Just at the beginning of the lecture there, (Charlestown,) as soon as these tidings came, Major Gooking and Mr. Thomas Danforth, (two of the magistrates) who were then hearing the lecture sermon, being acquainted herewith, withdrew out of the meeting house, and immediately gave orders for a ply of horse belonging to Captain Prentiss' troops, under conduct of Corporal Phipps, and the Indian Company under Capt. Hunting, forthwith to march away for the relief of Sudbury.”¹ They reached Sudbury at night.

In 1676 this company, having some English in it, performed efficient service.

Under the date of October 13, 1675, Captain Laurence Hammond returned the following list of persons impressed for “this present expedition:” viz.: Samuel Fosdick, Edward Johnson Jr., Henry Swain, Zechary Ferris, Benjamin Lathrop, Jr., James Smith, Joseph Prat, Samuel Leman, William Burt, John Mousall, John Hawkins, Nathaniel Rand, John Trumble, Jr., Alexander Phillips, George Mudge, 15. And at the same time the names of six others of the company who absented themselves, “skulking from place to place, avoiding this immediate press.” Of a tax levied, October 27, to carry on the war, the proportion of Boston

¹ Gooking, in *Annals of American Antiquarian Society*, pp. 510 - 512.

was £ 100; Salem, £ 100; of Charlestown, £ 80, — the three highest taxes.

1676. This year the sufferings of the colony were great on account of the war. Among other measures, the council ordered, March 23, commissioners to assemble at Cambridge, from many of the towns of Essex and Middlesex counties, to consider the expediency of building "a line or fence of stocadoes or stones," from Charles River to the Merrimack. The project was abandoned.

The following letter of the selectmen shows the energetic measures, taken at home to aid such as were impressed to fight the Indians:—

"To Samuel Pierce and Thomas Welch.

"You are hereby desired and ordered (by virtue of an order of the general court,) to take care of and inspect the corn and husbandry of such men as are impressed into the service, who are destitute of sufficient help of their own to manage the same. And you are hereby impowered to hire or impress men to labor therein, for the preventing damage thereunto. And the persons for whom they work, are, by said court order, to pay them eighteen pence a day for the said work, provided it doth not appear they have been negligent or unfaithful therein. This, you are desired forthwith to put in execution. And the like care is desired from you respecting all others that may be called forth into the service, until English and Indian Harvest be over.

"And you are to be allowed reasonable satisfaction for the time spent therein."

By the Selectmen.

L. HAMMOND."

The colony received from Ireland a contribution in aid of the sufferers by the Indian war. This was named the "Irish Charity," and was distributed through the towns in proportion to their losses. A list taken Jan. 22, 1677, names the following towns.

Charlestown,	29	families	102	persons,	. £ 15.6.0
Malden,	14	"	52	"	. 7.16.0
Woburn,	8	"	43	"	. 6.9.0

This was paid in "meal, oatmeal, wheat, malt at eighteen shillings per barrel, butter at six-pence, and cheese four-pence per pound."

A tax made for supporting the war, assigned Boston, £ 300; Charlestown, £ 180; Watertown, £ 45; Woburn, £ 25.¹

1677. The town, during the Indian troubles, had been somewhat tardy in contributing to the support of the college; and Mr. Manning, of Cambridge, appeared in its behalf. Whereupon, it was

¹ New Hampshire Collections, Vol. III. p. 101, and Shattuck's Concord, p. 63.

agreed by the Selectmen, "that Sergeant Lowden should be desired to go with him to quicken those who have not paid, that they do forthwith pay it in to Mr. Manning, on his order."

The summer of this year several ships arriving from England, had the small pox on board; and this disease soon spread with fearful ravages, through the town, sparing age, nor sex, nor station. It raged through the winter; and February 4, the selectmen authorized Mr. Gerrish "to use his best endeavors to relieve such, by his advice and physic, that through God's providence may be visited with the small pox that does so prevail amongst us." The names of ninety-one persons are registered as having died of it, among them Rev. Thomas Shephard, and some of the most valued citizens.¹ Several hundred of the inhabitants had it.²

The Town Books contain the following record :

"A list of the freemen in Charlestown, taken April 27, '77.

Mr. Tho. Shepard,	Samuel Pierce	Jno. Scot,
Mr. Jos. Browne,	Lt. Thos. Hinchman,	Soloun. Phipps,
Dea. Wm. Stitson,	Jno. Whitman,	Jno. Goodwin,
Mr. James Russell,	Sam. Kettle,	Peter Frothingham,
Lieut. Rand Nichols,	John Penticost,	Nath. Frothingham,
Edw. Wilson,	Tho. Rand,	Sam'l. Frothingham,
Mr. Wm. Foster,	Lt. Josh. Ted,	Isaac Fowle,
Mr. Jno. Hayman,	Lawr. Dowse,	Mr. Thomas Graves,
Wm. Clough,	Mathew Smith, Sen.,	Jno. Knight,
Tho. Carter,	Mr. Jacob Green, Sen.,	Tho. White,
Sam. Carter,	Rich. Lowden,	Jno. Burrage, Sen.,
Nath. Hutchinson,	Nathaniel Cutler,	John Call,
Jno. Dowse,	George Fowle,	Mr. Sam. Nowell,
Mr. Jno. Phillips,	Edw. Carrington,	Dea. Ward Mallon,
Mr. Jno. Blany,	Jam. Miller, Jun.,	Zech. Ferris,
Robert Leech,	Christo. Goodwin, Jun.,	Mr. Edward Collins,
Abzar Smith,	William Bullard,	Goodm. Langley,
Jos. Kettle,	John Kent,	John Guppy,
D. Aaron Ludkin,	Tho. Welch,	Sam. Dowse,
Edw. Brazier,	Dan. Edmond's,	Sam. Ward,
Nathaniel Rand,	William Symmes,	Witt Johnson,
Rich. Gardner,	L. F. Johnson,	John Gold, Sen.,
Richard Austin,	Peter Tufts,	Thomas Lord,
Stephen Paine,	Laur. Hammond,	Rich. Stowers,
D Jno. Cutler,	Rich. Kettle,	Mr. Henry Phillips,
Mr. Joseph Lyndes,	Thos. Chadwell,	Joseph Frost,
Sam. Champany's,	William Davy,	John Farmer,

81.

"Accepted at Gen. Court, 22-3 '77, and sworn at County Court Charlestown, 19-4 '77."

This year a Dry Dock was built in this town. In 1667 the General Court offered strong inducements to any who would make a "Dry Dock in Boston or Charlestown, fit to take in a ship of three

¹ Town Records.

² Rev. J. B. Felt's Mss.

hundred tons ;” and one was, that no others should build one for twenty-one years. The offer was renewed in 1668. The work was not done until this year, when James Russell and others, built one near Harris’ Wharf, a short distance from the Navy Yard. I have not met with a description of this work, — evidently a great enterprise for the time.

1678. The Records contain allusions to a fortification at the Neck, which was probably built during King Phillip’s war. This year an agreement was made by a committee in behalf of the town, with John Call, to “repair the half moon by Jonathan Bunker’s, for which he was to have forty shillings in town pay, as the country rate is paid ;” and also to keep the whole work in repair for seven years.

A law of the Colony obliged the towns to appoint tythingmen, and for a few years the inhabitants, or families, were divided into districts of ten or twelve families, each of which were “inspected” by this officer. Those in the following Record, marked by an * were the tythingmen :—

“At a meeting of the Selectmen, March 11, 1677–8, chose the persons following for Tithingmen, and are to inspect the several families expressed :

*John Kent,	John Fowle,	Wid. Smith’s House,
Patrick Mark,	Wm. Brown,	Wid. Bennett,
Samuel Whittemore,	Goodman Goodwin, Sen.,	John Smith,
Abraham Smith,	Christopher Goodwin,	James Smith.
Wid. White’s House,	John Bickner,	—
Samuel Peirce,	Wid. Crouch,	*Edward Wilson,
Goodman Bullard,	Samuel Pierce’s House.	Michael Long,
Goodman Welch,	—	Indigo Potter,
Mr. Ward,	*Solomon Phipps,	John Coggin,
James Miller,	Andrew Stimpson,	Mrs. Jacobs & Hale,
Thomas Crosswell,	Samuel Frothingham,	James Russell,
Goodman Brazier.	John Lowden,	Randall Nichols,
—	Goodman Guppy,	Mrs. Cary Nathadiel,
*John Whittemore, alias	Benjamin Sweetser,	Widow Russell,
*Robert Leach,	Mr. Green,	William Stitson,
Nathaniel Howard,	Increase Turner,	John Drinker,
John Foskett,	Josiah Wood,	Samuel Ballatt,
John Ridland,	Samuel Davis,	John Cutler, Jun’r.
William Crouch,	Thomas Carter.	—
Francis Shephard,	—	*Richard Lowden,
Paul Wilson.	*Mr. John Heyman,	Jonathan Bunker,
John Mousall,	William Everton,	Goodman Richeson,
Thomas Mousall’s House,	Thomas Hitt,	— Brown,
Thomas Joanes.	William Hurry,	John Call,
—	Mr. Blancy’s House,	Nath Hutchinson,
*Samuel Pierce, alias	Benjamin Lathrop,	Peter Frothingham,
*Peter Fowle,	Samuel Heyman,	Thomas White,
John Harris,	James Elson,	Capt. Hudson,
George Fowle,	Nathaniel Graves,	Edward Wyer,

- Nath'l Frothingham.
- *William Clough,
Mr. Trumble, Sen.,
Josh. Edmonds,
Mr. Baker,
John Scott,
Jacob Cole,
Isaac Fowle,
John Goodwin,
Samuel Bickner,
Thomas Shippie,
John Betts.
- *Richard Taylor,
John Parrock,
Stephen Waters,
John Candidge,
Mr. Foster,
Thos. Mousall,
Wid. Bell's House,
Mr. Martins,
Samuel Seaverns,
Mr. Phillips,
Mr. Braekenbury,
Mr. King.
- *John Fosdick,
John Edmaster,
Wid. Wadland,
Daniel Smith,
Joseph Royal,
Samuel Leeman,
William Vines,
Theophilus Marsh,
Richard Ford,
Nathaniel Heman,
Mr. Green's House,
Mr. Davison.
- *Aaron Ludkin, alias
*Zechary Johnson,
Alexander Stuart,
Daniel Edmonds,
Widow Edmonds,
Thomas Smith,
Widow Johnson,
Nathaniel Johnson,
Nathaniel Rand,
Mr. Sandiford,
Goodwife Barrett,
John Simpson,
Joseph Pratt.
- *Lieut. Tedd, alias
- *Lawrence Dowse,
James Miller,
Thomas Rand,
Samuel Lord,
Thomas Larkin's House,
Capt. Henelman,
Mr. More,
Capt. Hammond,
Thomas Peachy,
John Whitman,
Edward Johnson Jr.,
Robert Manser.
- *Samuel Dowse,
Mr. Edw'd Collins,
Widow Dean,
Thomas Barber,
Wid. Spencer,
Joseph Bachelor,
John Edes,
Goodman Langley,
Thomas Adams,
John Newell,
Joseph Kettle,
John James,
William Marshall.
- *James Cary, alias
*Henry Balcome,
Wid. Phipps,
Thomas Tarbell,
Henry Swain,
Isaac Johnson,
Walter Allen,
Samuel Lynde,
Thos. Lynde's House,
Abell Benjamin,
Mr. Lynde,
Barna. Davis, Jr.,
Goodman Smith.
- *John Penticost, alias
*Samuel Kettle,
Mr. Joseph Lynde,
John Walker,
Thomas Tuek,
Thomas Orton,
Wm. Wellstead,
Zeechariah Long,
Edward Johnson, Sen.,
John Roy,
Jere. Connoway,
Thomas Jenner,
Thomas Brigden.
- *Thomas Lord,
- John Baxter,
John Kettle's House,
Deacon Cutler,
Mathew Griffen,
Mr. Knell,
Serjeant Kittle,
Jonathan Kittle,
Nathaniel Kittle,
Widow Roper.
- *Elias Rowe,
Mrs. Trarice's House,
Mrs. Graves,
John Bacon,
Templars House,
Thomas Chadwell,
Widow Long,
John Knights,
Samuel Carter, Sen.,
Luke Perkins,
Benjamin Mirick,
John Burrige,
Widow Larkin.
- *William Dady,
William Jennison,
John Davis,
Mr. Thomas Graves,
John Cole, Jun'r,
Mrs. Russell's Houses,
John Trumble,
Timothy Symmes,
Mrs. Shephard,
Mrs. Nowell,
Richard Sutton.
- *Edward Carrington, alias
*Samuel Hunting,
John Poor,
Nathaniel Cutler,
Zeechariah Pheres,
John Douse's House,
Widow Heydon,
Mrs. Allin,
John Pattfield,
Samuel Phipps,
Mr. Phillips' House,
John Swett,
Goodman Astings.
- *Mr. William Symmes,¹
John Gould, Sen.,
John Gould, Jun.,
William Rogers,
Thomas Cutler,
Mathew Smith,

¹ This tythingman and the two following were not appointed until April 9: these families resided in what is now Stoneham, Malden and Chelsea.

Thomas Gery,
Richard Gardner,
Searletts Farm.

*Stephen Paine,
Goodman Stowers,
Widow Barrett,
Nicholas Hooker,

Richard Dexter,
Thomas Wheeler,
Fa. Mellin's House,
Widow Lee,
Edward Barlow,
Widow Bray.

*Peter Tufts, Senior,

George Blanchard,
Samuel Blanchard,
Thomas Shepard,
Goodman Mirrible,
Daniel Whittemore,
Walter Adams,
Thomas Mitchell.

1679. The ministers complained, in their sermons, of the general decay of schools, and an effort was made to restore them. This year a free school was established in this town, and Samuel Phipps was appointed teacher. The vote is : —

“ March 10, 1679. It was put to vote to the Inhabitants of this town whither they would make a free school in this town by allowing fifty pounds per annum in or as money and a convenient house for a school master who is to teach Latin, writing, cyphering and to perfect children in reading English. It was passed with a general vote by the holding up of their hands. As attests JAMES RUSSELL.”

“ Agreed that the chimneys of the town house be taken down and rebuilt without the house, and that the middle floor be taken down, and the hill be fenced in.” Two chimneys of nine feet width within the jams were substituted, and for this work, including underpinning and plastering, the masons were to receive £ 8 10s in money, or corn at money price.

1680. The General Court, October 13, authorized Daniel Gookin, James Russell and Laurence Hammond to “ divide the trained band ” of this town into two companies, and allowed Captain Hammond to choose the one he wished to command. This committee reported the next February that they had made as equal and convenient division as they could, and that each company consisted of about one hundred men. Richard Sprague was appointed to command one of the companies.

This year the Middlesex Regiment, under the command of Major Daniel Gookin was divided into two regiments. “ The towns and companies of Charlestown, Cambridge, Watertown, Cambridge Village, Woburn, Malden and Redding, with the troop under the command of Captain Thomas Prentice,” composed one regiment and continued under the command of Major Gookin.

1681. The Selectmen, October 8, voted, “ That on the 10th inst. being a training day whereon more service than ordinary is to be performed by reason of Boston gentlemen that intend to give the Soldiery of this Town an amicable visit, that there be a pound

of powder given to every musqueteer belonging to, and training under, Captain Laurence Hammond and Captain Richard Sprague, out of the town stock."

1682. The Selectmen ordered "that there be a careful watch of two persons, with a ward on the Sabbath day, to be kept in this town until further orders, which watch and ward is for the prevention of fire, or a timely discovery of it."

A school house was built "twelve feet square and eight feet stud within joints, with a flattish roof, and a turret on it for the bell, and likewise a mantel-tree of twelve feet long." The expense of it — the carpenter work — was thirteen pounds. The masons were to "build up chimneys and underpin the house, and to ceil the walls with clay and brick, and to point the roof with lime," for five pounds.

Thomas Foskitt had permission to set a lime-kiln on the Common.

1683. The Selectmen voted, March 2, to pay to Rev. Thomas Shepard¹ one hundred pounds in money forthwith, "toward the purchasing of a house for him to dwell in."

1684. There appears to have been much controversy, for a few years, about the division of the Stinted Pasture. The proprietors, Oct. 30, 1682, voted to sell a part of it to defray the expense of its management, and five acres were sold to Deputy Governor Danforth. This caused dissatisfaction, and this year, (July 8, 1684) there is an agreement on the records in relation to it. This large tract (now Somerville) was lotted out and confirmed to proprietors at a town-meeting, dated April 15, 1685,² reserving for the use of the town forever the piece of land called the Common,³ with all the range-ways and watering-places, and places for quarries, sand and gravel." Much difficulty attended this division. James Russell and other proprietors, in a petition, dated Oct. 15, 1686, state, that "some of the inferior sort of inhabitants among us, who have not, nor never had any right or title to the said tract of land," disturbed them and threatened to always hinder its improvement.

1685. Sewall, in his Journal, October 5, writes, that though it was a cloudy day, yet the Artillery Company of Boston came

¹ This name, in preceding pages, is incorrectly written. ² Report, dated May 9, 1768. ³ Part of the Common is now in Charlestown.

over to this town, and the two companies trained. "We divide into two and with Cambridge Artillery, oppose them upon the hill in prospect of the harbor. Mr. Cotton Mather prayed with us in the morning and at breaking up. Captain Wade, with his troop there — the Major General with a small guard. Major Richards, Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Nowell, Cook dine with us at Jackson's. Mr. Cotton Mather craves a blessing and returns thanks. Got over about dark." He has, October 21, the following significant record: "Captain Jno. Phillips finally refuses to be treasurer: the magistrates choose Mr. Nowell, but the deputies would have it done by the freemen, that their privileges may not be clipt as many of them have of late been."

CHAPTER XXI.

Ecclesiastical History 1670 to 1686. — Thomas Shepard. — Galleries. — Thomas Gilbert. — Election Sermon. — Joseph Browne. — Death of Thomas Shepard. — Thomas Shepard, Jr. — Daniel Russell. — Charles Morton.

UPON the death of Rev. Zechariah Symmes, the whole duties of the ministry devolved upon Mr. Shepard, who continued the regular minister until his death. In addition to his salary, the Selectmen, March 31, 1670, authorized the deacons, "to gratify any minister called in to help Mr. Shepard, on occasion of his weakness;" and also allowed him ten pounds, "in reference to entertaining" those who had helped him. A further grant was made November 9, of twenty pounds, "one half towards charges the last year."

In 1672,¹ the meeting-house was repaired, and enlarged "by

¹ In 1671, Rev. Thomas Gilbert, late pastor of the First Church of Topsfield died here, October 26, 1673. He came to this town on his arrival in New England. The following epitaph, differing somewhat with the copy in Mather's Magnalia, I found in a manuscript, written probably at the time of his death, and among papers collected by Dr. Morse, and kindly loaned by Richard C. Morse, Esq.

"Here is interred the body of the reverend, sincere, zealous, able, and faithful servant of Christ, Mr. Thomas Gilbert, borne at St. Andrews, in

new building without the limits" of the house; and in 1675, the galleries were rebuilt. The following vote appears in relation to the latter:

"February 1. Agreed then with John Fosdick and Nathaniel Frothingham, to provide all timber, and build three galleries, one in the front, and one on each side in the meeting-house; and to make two seats, one before the other, in the galleries, and to make a pair of stairs to each gallery, and to alter the lower stairs going up to the men's galleries, so as may be most convenient for an outlet; the side galleries to run from the front gallery home to the opposite wall; the town to find boards and nails, and to pay for the said work, when completely finished, forty-six pounds in town pay; and if it shall appear a hard bargain, twenty shillings more."

In May, 1672, Mr. Shepard preached the Election Sermon, which was much praised by his contemporaries. Extracts from it have been given (see page 162); the following shows the regard he felt for Education:—

"Let the schools flourish; this is one of the means whereby we have been, and may be still preserved from a wilde wilderness state, through God's blessing upon the same, and from becoming a land of darkness, and of the shadow of death. Cherish them therefore, and the college in especial: and accordingly, that there may be a seasonable (while affections are warm,) and a faithful improvement of the contribution of the new edifice there, and what else is needful for the encouragement and advancement of learning in that precious society; the fall and sinking whereof (which the Lord forbid) I should look at as presaging the ruin of this land also. Let it never want a benign respect for the flourishing of that dear nursery; lest otherwise there come to be either no ministry, or an illiterate (in that respect in former times accounted) a scandalous and insufficient ministry, neither burning nor shining lights."

In 1675, Rev. Joseph Browne, son of a prominent merchant of Salem, William Browne, was employed as an associate minister with Mr. Shepard: for, on the 23d of February, the town voted to hire for him "a new dwelling-house, stable and the pump," for

Scotland, Aug. 5, 1610. Some time pastor of the Church at Chedle, in Cheshire, in England. And afterward pastor of the Church at Eling, in Middlesex: from whence he was (the first of the ministers in England that suffered deprivation, in the cause of non-conformity anno 1662.) driven to New England, where he became pastor of the church at Topsfield: From whence he did (being wearied with many burdens of old age and of other sufferings,) remove into Charlestown, in order to his everlasting rest, which, in a short time from thence he departed unto, viz.: October 26, 1673. His beloved wife, Sarah Gilbert, (the daughter of Mr. Thomas Sharp, in Yorkshire,) and with whom he lived in the honorable estate of marriage, thirty-eight years, hath, to the memorial of her dear husband affixed this monument.

*Omnia prætereunt præter amore deum,
These things all pass forever (vain world away),
But love to God, this, this endures for aye."*

sixteen pounds a year. Rev. Daniel Russell, son of Richard Russell, who graduated at Harvard in 1669, preached also occasionally.

Mr. Shepard, to the close of his life, was sanguine as to the efficiency of force to suppress heresy. Sewall in his Diary has a passage that shows how he felt on this point, "December 18, 1676, Mr. Rowlandson and Mr. Willard came and visited my father. While they were here Mr. Shepard also came in, discoursed of reformation, especially of disorderly meetings of Quakers and Anabaptists. Thought if all did agree, i. e. magistrates and ministers, the former might easily be suppressed, and that then the magistrate would see reason to handle the latter, as to what it might injure the county in respect of England."

In 1677, Mr. Shepard visited one of his flock who was sick with the small-pox, caught the disorder, and died, December 22, in his forty-third year. His contemporaries wrote in glowing terms of his character. "He was," one of them writes, "a very holy man, much distinguished for his erudition, his various virtues, and winning manners; a learned theologian and eminent preacher: in his faith and life a true bishop: a meritorious promoter of the cause of letters, having been a watchful guardian of Harvard College, and a primary fellow of the academical government." "The whole country was filled with lamentations upon his decease:" and "many expressed their feelings in the language of one, (President Oakes,) of the many elegies bestowed upon him."

"Next to the tears our sins do need and crave
I would bestow my tears on Shepard's grave."¹

The following epitaph was engraved upon his tomb-stone, which, though extravagant, affords evidence that he was held in the highest esteem and affection by his contemporaries:

"D. O. M. S.
Repositæ sunt hic Reliquiæ Thomæ Shepardi,
Viri Sanetissimi,
Eruditione, Virtute, Omnigenâ, Moribusq; suavissimis Ornatissimi;

¹ Rev. Thomas Shepard left a widow, one son, who succeeded him as pastor, and two daughters, Anna and Margaret. Anna, born Sept. 8, 1663, married Daniel Quincy, and their son John, born June 1, 1685, was the person after whom John Quincy Adams was named. (See Buddington's History, p. 219.) She was his maternal ancestor. After Mr. Quincy's death, which was in 1690, she married Rev. Moses Fiske of Braintree, — his second wife.

Theoligi Consultissimi,
 Concionatoris Eximii :
 Qui Filius fuit Thomæ Shepardi Clarissimus,
 Memoratissimi Pastoris olim Ecclesiæ Cantabrigiæ ;
 Et in Ecclesia Caroliensi Presbyter docens ;
 Fide ac Vitâ Verus Episcopus :
 Optimè de Re Literariâ Meritus :
 Quâ Curator Collegii Harvardini vigillantissimus ;
 Quâ Municipii Academici Socii Primarius.
Τὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ Ζητωρ.
 In D. Jesu placidè obdormivit, Anno 1677. Dec. 22.
 Ætatis suæ 43.
 Totius Novangliæ Lachrymis Defletus ;
 Usq; et Usq; Deflendus.”

“ Let Fame no longer boast her antique things,
 Huge Pyramids and Monuments of kings :
 This cabinet that locks up a rare gem,
 Without presumption may compare with them.
 The sacred reliques of that matchless one
 Great Shepard, are enshrin'd below this stone.
 Here lies entomb'd an heavenly orator,
 To the great King of Kings ambassador :
 Mirror of virtues magazine of arts,
 Crown to our heads and Loadstone to our hearts :
 Harvard's great son, and father too beside,
 Charlestown's just glory and New England's pride :
 The church's jewel, Colledge's overseer,
 The clergy's diadem without a Peer :
 The poor man's ready friend, the blind man's eyes,
 The wandring wildred soul's conductor wise :
 The widow's solace, and the orphan's father,
 The sick man's visitant, or cordial rather :
 The general benefactor, and yet rare
 Engrosser of all good ; the man of prayer :
 The constant friend, and the most cheerful giver,
 Most orthodox divine and pious liver ;
 An oracle in any doubtful case,
 A master-piece of nature, art and grace.
 In this bed lye repos'd his weary limbs ;
 His soul's good company for Seraphims.
 If men be dumb in praising of his worth,
 This stone shall cry, for shame ! and set it forth.”

President Oakes delivered a Latin Oration before the Alumni of Harvard on the occasion of his death, and composed an Elegy upon him of fifty-two stanzas. It commences as follows :

“ Oh ! that I were a Poet now in grain !
 How would I invoke the Muses all
 To deign their presence, lend their flowing Vein ;
 And help to grace dear Shepard's Funeral !
 How would I paint our griefs, and succours borrow
 From Art and Fancy, to limn out our sorrow !

Now could I wish (if wishing would obtain)
 The sprightliest Efforts of Poetick Rage,
 To vent my griefs, make others feel my pain,
 For this loss of the Glory of our Age.

Here is a Subject for the loftiest Verse
 That ever waited on the bravest Hearse.

And could my Pen ingeniously distill
 The purest Spirits of a sparkling wit
 In rare Conceits, the quintessence of skill
 In Elegiack Strains ; none like to it :
 I should think all too little to condole
 The fatal loss (to us) of such a Soul.

Could I take highest flights of Fancy, soar
 Aloft ; If Wits Monopoly were mine :
 All would be much too low, too light, too poor,
 To pay due tribute to this great Divine.
 Ah ! Wit avails not, when th' Heart's like to break,
 Great griefs are 'Tongue-ti'ed, when the lesser speak.

Away loose rein'd Careers of Poetry,
 The celebrated Sisters may be gone ;
 We need no Mourning Womens Elegy,
 No forc'd, affected, artificial 'Tone,
 Great and good Shepard's Dead ! Ah ! this alone
 Will set our eyes abroad, dissolve a stone.

Poetic Raptures are of no esteem,
 Daring Hyperboles have here no place,
 Luxuriant Wits on such a copious 'Theme,
 Would shame themselves, and blush to shew their face.
 Here's worth enough to overmatch the skill
 Of the most stately Poet Laureat's quill.

Exube'rant Fancies useless here I deem,
 Transcendent vertue scorns feigned Elogics :
 He that gives Shepard half his due, may seem,
 If Strangers hear it, to Hyperbolize.
 Let him that can, tell what his virtues were,
 And say, this Star mov'd in no common Sphere.

Here need no Spices, Odours, curious Arts,
 No skill of Egypt, to Embalm the Name
 Of such a Worthy : let men speak their hearts,
 They'l say, He merits an immortal Fame.
 When Shepard is forgot, all must conclude,
 This is prodigious ingratitude.

The twenty-second stanza is as follows :

Art, Nature, Grace, in him were all combined
 To show the world a matchless Paragon,
 In whom of radiant virtues no less shine,

Than a whole constellation ; but he's gone !
 He's gone, alas ! down in the dust must lie
 As much of this rare person as could die." ¹

The Church were not united in choosing a successor to Mr. Shepard. A short time after his death, it gave a call to Rev. Joseph Brown, and the committee appointed to communicate it, were instructed to inform him, that the church "had an eye to Mr. Shepard, (the son of the late pastor,) "for office work in convenient time," and to request him to "draw him on to preach as speedily as might be." It appears to have been the intention to settle Messrs. Brown and Shepard as colleagues ; but the former, after giving a negative answer, died May 9, 1678. ²

For a short time the pulpit was supplied with transient ministers. When not quite twenty years of age, Mr. Shepard preached (May 19, 1678,) his first sermon, from the text "He is my Father's God and I will exalt him." Mather says, "He discoursed with a very charming, solid and serious gravity;" and the church were so much pleased with the sermon, that they invited him to preach again "in order to office." Another candidate, Rev. Daniel Russell, was proposed at a church meeting on Sunday, June 9, but was warmly opposed. After several meetings and much re- crimination, the church, July 22, voted to call both the candidates, Mr. Shepard and Mr. Russell.

On the succeeding Sunday the congregation remained after ser-

¹ This was printed at Boston in 1677, in a pamphlet of sixteen pages, with a mourning title-page, and a poetic epistle to the Reader, commencing:

"Reader ! I am no Poet ; but I grieve !
 Behold here, what that Passion can do !
 That fore'd a Verse, without Apollo's leave,
 And whether th' Learned Sisters would or no.
 My Griefs can hardly speak : my sobbing Muse
 In broken terms our sad bereavement rues."

² Felt's Salem, p. 248 and Farmer. There may be found a large collection of papers in relation to the church proceedings on this occasion, in Mass. Hist. Collections, Vol. XXXI. pp. 248. 264.

One of them is entitled "A Brief Narrative of some of the most considerable Passages of this Church, and their several committees acting since the death of our dear and reverend Teacher, Mr. Thomas Shepard, &c." It makes ten pages of the Collections, and is a sketch of the church debates, &c., from May 19, 1678, to November 5. It was a question, simply, of personal preference, and in deciding it, the "spirits" of the members were much "raised." The church's doings were called "irregular," "out of the way of God," — "rash and unreasonable;" and at one meeting, a prominent member, after pronouncing the whole proceedings "unreasonable and unseasonable," left the house.

vice to request the candidates to accept the calls, and afterwards to hear their answers. Mr. Shepard, in reply, July 29, "Thankfully acknowledged the church's and town's love to his honored father and himself, and gave them very good encouragement that they might enjoy his help." Mr. Russell replied Sept. 15, "That he was willing to help them at present in the work of the ministry."

Those members unfriendly to the call of Mr. Russell continued their opposition, and an ecclesiastical council, composed of some of the distinguished men of the Colony, considered the case. The result is not recorded. Mr. Russell¹ died in January, 1679, and Mr. Shepard was ordained as pastor May 5, 1680; the town voting him a salary of one hundred pounds a year, with the usual allowance, ten shillings, for the sermons preached by transient ministers.

Mr. Shepard was ordained by Mr. Sherman, of Watertown, and received the right hand of fellowship from President Oakes. He preached his own Ordination Sermon, and took his text from Hebrews, xiii. 20, "That great shepherd of the sheep." Another sermon was preached on this occasion from Ezekiel, xxxiii. 7: "Son of man I have set thee a watchman;" at the conclusion of which, preserved in Mather, the young preacher was earnestly and affectionally commended to the congregation. "Pray for him in particular," the preacher said, "and that every day! Who knows what God may do for you, in him and by him, as in and by his father before him? Let it be your prayer that he would take of the spirit that was in his father and grandfather, who were both of them great men in their generation, and bestow thereof a double portion upon him."

Thomas Shepard was born July 5, 1658, and graduated at Harvard College in 1676. Mather details at length his early piety, virtues and diligence in study. His attainments in learning gained him an early admission into college, and "raised great hopes in good men concerning him." His father, to guide his

¹ Rev Daniel Russell was the son of Richard, see p. 145. His wife was Mehitable, (called Mabel,) daughter of Samuel Willy, of Hartford. She married Rev. Isaac Foster, son of William Foster, of this town, and minister of Hartford, who died Aug. 22, 1682. The widow married a third time Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, the successor of Mr. Foster. The daughter of Daniel and Mehitable Russell, Mehitable, married Rev. John Hubbard, minister of Jamaica, Long Island. Com. of Sylvester Judd, Esq. Dr. Lowell has an Elegy written on the death of Rev. Daniel Russell, and a few of his MS. sermons.

academic life, gave him a paper of instructions (preserved in Mather); and it is recorded that he made the heart of his father to rejoice by his exemplary attendance upon them.

Though Mr. Shepard was not twenty-two years of age when he was ordained pastor of the church, yet in the words of Mather, "he made the most judicious of his people pass this judgment upon him, that he was no novice. And such an example was he in word, in conversation, in civility, in spirit, in faith, in purity, that he did let no man despise his youth." "By the gravity of his deportment he kept up his authority among all sorts of persons, and by the courtesy of it he won their affection." He was a diligent student, a faithful pastor, and a sincere Christian. "The Lord encouraged his holy labors by making of such additions unto his church, as few churches in the country for the time had the like." Mather has preserved an interesting account of his studies, his domestic duties, and his religious views. His ministry, however, was a short one. On Friday, June 5, he was indisposed, but continued his labors through Saturday, preparing for the Sabbath, when the Lord's Supper was to have been administered. In the evening his illness increased so rapidly that he said to his wife, "I would gladly have been once more at the table of the Lord, but I now see I shall no more partake thereof, until I do it after a new manner in the kingdom of Heaven. On Sunday, Cotton Mather visited him, to whom he said, "My hopes are built on the free mercy of God and the rich merit of Christ, and I do believe if I am taken out of the world, I shall only change my place: I shall neither change my company nor my communion. And as for you, sir, I beg the Lord Jesus to be with you to the end of the world." He was overheard after this, often praying for the widow church he was to leave behind him. He died that night, June 7, 1685, and was buried two days after with much parade, — the governor, magistrates, and many of the neighboring ministers being present.

The church remained without a pastor until the emigration of the Rev. Charles Morton. He was born at Pendavy, in the county of Cornwall, about 1626. His father, Rev. Nicholas Morton, was of an ancient family at Morton, Nottinghamshire, and was ejected for

¹ Mr. Shepard married Mrs. Mary Lynde, widow, July 27, 1682. Her maiden name was Anderson. She married Samuel Heyman, and died in 1717, aged 66.

non-conformity in the reign of Charles I., then minister in Southark, where he died.

When Mr. Morton was about fourteen years of age, his grandfather, a zealous royalist and churchman, sent him to Oxford, "where he was very studious, and at the same time zealous for the rites and ceremonies of the Church." While fellow of this college, he gained a high reputation for his proficiency in mathematics and general scholarship. During the civil wars, he observed, that the more virtuous part of the nation favored the cause of Parliament, and the profligate sided with the king; and this led him to apply himself seriously to the controversy between the Prelatist and the Puritan. He determined to embrace the cause of the latter.

He began his ministry at Blisland, in Cornwall County, where, as a conformist, he lived for several years, but was ejected by the Act of Uniformity of 1662. He then retired to a small tencement of his own in the Parish of St. Ives, and preached privately to a few people in a neighboring village, until the fire of London in 1666, by which he sustained great losses. His private affairs then required his residence in London.

Soon after this, Mr. Morton's friends persuaded him to establish an academy for the instruction of youth at Newington Green, near London. This institution, under his guidance, acquired great and deserved celebrity. "He had," Dr. Calamy writes, "a peculiar talent of winning youth to the love of virtue and learning, both by his pleasant conversation, and by a familiar way of making difficult subjects easily intelligible."¹ At this time Dissenters were excluded from the National Universities, and this institution furnished the best education that class had it in their power to give to their sons. Many ministers and others, like Defoe, celebrated in after life, were educated here. When this great writer was reproached for "his mean Dissenter's education," he zealously defended his early discipline and his able instructor. Besides philosophy and history, the languages and the sciences, theology and politics, he says that Mr. Morton made them thorough English scholars; "more of us excelled in that particular than of any school of that time." In this situation, Mr. Morton, spent twenty years of his life.

The influence of this Puritan Academy was marked by its enemies; and Mr. Morton was much harassed by processes from the

¹ Non Conformist Memorial, Vol. I. p. 348.

Bishops' Courts. He was a lover of political liberty, and regarded with sympathy and pride the rising commonwealths of the New World. "He always gave a mighty character of New England;" and when, a contemporary says, at length he was obliged to leave off teaching, his reputation was such here that many desired him to be president of Harvard College. The following letter written by Mr. Morton in England, to Increase Mather, of Boston, shows the feelings with which Mr. Morton came to this country:—

Rev. Sir :

OCTOBER 10, 1685.

"Yours of August 4th received, with the repeated invitation of Mr. Nowell.¹ I much doubt I shall hardly answer the expectations raised of me. But if, when I come, I am not found *par negotio*, I shall, without the least regret, give place to my betters. What obstructions I have now met with, that I come not with Captain Jenner, my nephew, (the bearer) will inform you. I am willing, if God please to accept me, to serve him in any capacity that I may. I have sent (as a pledge of my good will to your affairs) this branch of my family to prosecute his studies in your college, having begun with us about two years since; which time, if he can perform the exercises belonging to his standing, he hopes will be allowed him towards a degree. He is indeed defective in the Tongues, especially the Hebrew, and therefore craves a little indulgence in that respect, for a time, until his industry, with God's blessing, shall have conquered that difficulty. In this, as in other things, I must needs bespeak your favor towards him, as a token of your kindness to me. I cannot claim the acquaintance which your letter intimates, for though I well remember, that about the year 1659, I travelled from the west to London, yet I cannot recall what company I had in that journey. I had two brs. (Brothers,) both tall black men, and cheerful company, both ministers, who came from the west about the same time; possibly it might be one of them; one was the father of this young man, the other a minister in Ireland. This I remember, that I knew one of your name, who sometime preached in Oxford, and came from N. E. But though we never knew one the other according to the flesh, it may well suffice, if we are both known of God, have communion in one Spirit, meet at the Throne of Grace here, and in a better world hereafter.

"I am glad to read in your letter, your absolute denial of that imputed and imposed folly, whereby some one is pleased to blast your reputation and note you with a black dash. I shall not be wanting to do you right in making the falsehood known, as I have opportunity. I thank you for your intended kindness of N. E. books; as also, for your catalogue of graduates and questions, which I received. Please to accept a trifle which my nephew will present you with. The Lord in mercy preserve the interest of his Gospel in your country, and order what may concern his own glory, either with or without the presence of,

"Your affectionate Brother

"and Servant in our Lord,

CHARLES MORTON."

"Pray sir please to give encouragement, and assist by your direction, Mr. John Dunton, bookseller, who is son-in-law to Rev. Dr. Annesly, my

¹ Samuel Nowell, of this town, son of Increase Nowell.

much esteemed friend, and one who has greatly deserved of the Church of Christ.¹

Mr. Morton landed in this town in July, 1686. He arrived, however, at an inauspicious period. The old Charter had fallen; Dudley was president, and Andros was expected. His obnoxiousness to the ruling powers in England, rendered his elevation to the presidency, either impossible or unadvisable; and he accepted a call of this church to be their pastor. He was ordained Nov. 5.

The services were, to the congregationalists, of a novel character. Mr. Morton called the occasion "an induction;" it was one of the earliest instances of installation in New England. Though the forms were endured, yet they were "not agreeable to those who had been brought up in the rigid congregationalism of the first settlers." Judge Sewall, a spectator, writes of them as follows:—

"Mr. Morton is ordained the pastor of the church at Charlestown; propounded to the church and to all if any had to object; then the church's vote was had. Mr. Mather gave him his charge. Mr. Allen, Moody, Willard, prayed. Mr. Morton's text was out of Rom. 1. 16. Took occasion to speak of the 5th of November very pithily, and said the just contrary to that epistle was taught and practiced at Rome. Mr. Mather spoke in praise of the congregational way, and said were he as Mr. Morton, he would have hands laid on him. Mr. Moody, in his prayer, said though that which would have been grateful to many, (viz.: laying on of hands,) was omitted, or to that purpose. I dined about three or four o'clock at Mr. Russell's."

CHAPTER XXII.

Customs of Olden Time. — Government for 1684. — Municipal Regulations. — Sunday. — Lecture Day. — Church Services. — Baptisms. — Marriages. — Funerals. — Thanksgivings. — Holidays. — Rejected Festivals. — Administration of Justice. — Punishments. — Furniture. — Dress. — Foreign Trade. — Home Trade — Manufactures. — Money. — Post Office. — Travelling. — Slaves — Progress of Society.

This chapter¹ will contain details illustrative of the social customs of the inhabitants at the period of the fall of the First

¹ The original of this letter is in Prince's Ms. Collection, in Mass. Hist. Cabinet, p. 59.

² The authorities consulted in the preparation of this chapter are far too numerous to be all cited. Wood, 1637 and Letchford (1640) are too early

Charter. Then the primitive fathers of the town had nearly passed away, and a generation, moulded by the circumstances of their pioneer condition, began to play their parts. What there is peculiar to the New England character had become firmly rooted, and at least partially developed. Hence, if there were materials for it, Charlestown would afford, at this time, a picture of a community acting in an independent spirit, electing its officers, managing its internal affairs, and yet connected with a general organization; of a community in which individualism was allowed to a large extent, for the times, in business and politics, and yet where public order was rigidly maintained, — enjoying the worldly success that is the fruit of manliness, shrewdness and industry, and yet elevating far above it moral and intellectual progress. This picture is common in America now, — it was rare, if not unexampled (except in New England) in the world then.

Though the organization of Malden and Woburn had deprived the town of a large part of its territory, yet it was still too extended for one local government, including as it did, Stoneham and a portion of Medford. Its officers, in 1684, were; Selectmen,¹ James Russell, Laurence Hammond, Richard Sprague, John Call, John Phillips, Joseph Lynde, Thomas Graves: Constables, Nathaniel Heyman, Jacob Hurd, John Simpson, John Whittemore: Surveyors of damnified Goods, Zechariah Long, John Phillips, Richard Sprague: Clerks of the Market, William Clough, Richard Austin: Packer of Fish and Flesh, Samuel Hunting: Corder of

to quote; and Josselyn in his last visit, (1663) is scanty in materials. Hutchinson, Chapters IV. and V., and Neal, Chapter XIV. Hist. of New England, have been used. Chalmers, in his Political Annals, has valuable matter, but chiefly political. Felt, in his History of Ipswich and Salem, has given much on the manners and customs. Still this chapter has been drawn chiefly from contemporaneous documents; mostly MSS., to be found in the Mass. Archives, Probate Records and Court Records. The subject is important, for Chalmers writes, Annals, p. 677, "the customs of a free people are a part of their liberty;" but it is difficult. In competent hands it would make a valuable volume.

¹ In 1658 the town voted, "that if any inhabitant of this town shall fail in not attending Town meetings upon the usual warning given, that then every inhabitant for every such defect shall forfeit and pay the sum of eighteen pence, unless the excuse shall be judged reasonable by the Selectmen." In 1668 the Selectmen agreed that if any one of their Board did "not meet at the time appointed for meeting by the major part of the Selectmen," he should pay "three-pence for each hours defect;" unless he could give "a rational excuse approved by the major part of the Selectmen; and to pay for his dinner in case provision be made."

Wood, John Damon : Culler of Staves, Joseph Kettle : Sealers of Hides and Leather, John Damon, Samuel Dowse : To search into the middle price of Wheat, John Fowle, John Cutler : Culler and Measurer of Boards and Timber, Samuel Lord : Culler of Fish and Measurer of Salt and Coal, Michael Long : Surveyors of the Highways, James Miller, Thomas Welch, John Knight, Andrew Stimpson, Timothy Cutler, Richard Stowers. These officers were elected in March, "at a general meeting of the inhabitants." The Selectmen afterwards appointed sixteen Overseers of the Fences of the eight Town Fields; Two Overseers for the Common, and Four Common Drivers: Thomas Lord, Town Treasurer and Town Messenger : Michael Lord, Inspector of Youth on Lord's Days and other Days. At a meeting of the "Inhabitants and Freemen," in June, Laurence Hammond, Thomas Graves and John Phillips were chosen Commissioners. John Newell was "Recorder." The previous year (1683) fourteen Tythingmen were chosen.¹

This list shows that there was, in 1684, substantially the same municipal officers as to-day. The Records furnish a glimpse of many of the town customs. The bell was rung at five o'clock in the morning and at eight in the evening.² The Herdsman, from April to October, an hour after sunrise, blew his horn from the Town Hill to collect the herd, and drove them "to the best feeding places on the common." The Overseers of the Fields kept them clear of strange beasts, and looked after broken fences. The Surveyors kept the streets free from rubbish, and on Sundays and Lecture Days, from Swine. The selectmen, in addition to other duties, narrowly watched the children, that they were

¹ The Town Records are lost, — evidently torn out, — from September 29, 1681, to October 5, 1686 : and from this date to April, 1689, the proceedings only fill five leaves.

² The people were obliged to be in their houses, generally, at nine o'clock. Josselyn, in his description of Boston, thus describes Boston Common : "On the South there is a small but pleasant Common, where the gallants, a little before sunset, walk with their marmalot madams (as they do here in Moor-Fields) till the nine o'clock bell rings them home to their respective habitations ; when presently the constables walk their rounds to see good orders kept, and to take up loose people." This is copied by Sellers, whose Tract printed in London in 1682, was accompanied by a curious Map of New England, finely executed. The descriptions are taken from previous writers. That of Charlestown is Johnson's, copied page 119. A copy of this rare work is in Harvard College Library.

educated and catechised; and if parents neglected these duties, so that their offspring were growing up "incapable of any usefulness in their generation," the Selectmen presented such parents at the county court, and their children were provided for. The Tythingmen watched the gamblers, tiplers, night-walkers and Sabbath-breakers. The Town Messenger sharply eyed all visitors, strangers in town, and gave "speedy notice to the Selectmen of their names, whence they came, and where they lodged." Dwelling houses were stately inspected to see if "supplied with sufficient ladders:" and if flame was observed "to blaze out at the top of a chimney," the householder was fined. The Poor were provided for by the Selectmen, who (1678) delegated their power to the Town Treasurer, to relieve them at his discretion. The Bellman began, "about twelve o'clock at night" his watch, to sound an alarm of danger; and as he walked from Deacon Stitson's, "to the gate at the Neck," at intervals he rang his bell and cried the hour of the watch.

Sunday was a day of unwonted gravity of deportment. The period from sunset on Saturday night, until Monday morning, was regarded as sacred to the service of God. Laws were passed from time to time to prevent its profanation; and these related to the abuses of "children playing in various places;" of "youth, maids and other persons, uncivilly walking in the streets and fields;" of persons, both on Saturday night and Lord's day night, after sunset, "sporting and drinking in ordinaries;" of neglecting public worship; "of doing servile work," "not of piety, of charity or of necessity;" of travelling "either on horseback, or on foot, or by boat," to an unlawful meeting. Penalties were imposed and exacted for all these offences.¹

¹ One of the offensive things done by the government of Sir Edmund Andros was the interruption of the strict observance of the Sabbath. Judge Sewall thus notices celebrations on this day:—

"1686, Saturday, Sept. 25. The Queen's Birth-day is celebrated by the Capts of the Frigate and sundry others at Noddle's Island. King and Council's Proclamation of Nov. 6, last, was published by beat of Drum through the Town, to hinder the making Bonfires in the Town however. Went with their Boats to the Ships and Vessels and caus'd them to put out their Ancients. Many Guns Fired — a kind of Tent set up at the Island and a Flag on the top on't. Made a great Fire in the Evening, many Hussas. Sabbath the 26. Mr. Willard expresses great grief in his Prayer for the Profanation of the Sabbath last night."
"1686 - 7, Sabbath, Feb. 6, between half hour after eleven and half

Lecture Days were appointed very early in the Colony; in this town the lecture was on Friday, and though most probably coeval, in date, with the foundation of the Church, yet the earliest mention I have met of it is in 1657. The custom was kept up, here, over a century. On this day there was a sermon delivered, which was more particularly devoted to expositions of Scripture, and of the leading articles of the christian faith. It was a day of general interest, when many flocked from the neighboring towns to hear a favorite preacher; and hence it was made a great day for punishments. Andros was deposed on one of these lecture days.

The services at Church were substantially similar to those of the congregational churches of to-day, excepting that the Scriptures were not read¹ and there was no choir or instrumental music. The hymn was read, line by line, the deacons pitched the tune, and the congregation sang. At this time the "Bay State Psalm Book" was in use in the New England churches. The men, women and boys sat in separate seats, the deacons in a pew directly in front of the pulpit, and the town messenger tended the hour-glass.

The religious ceremonies that were supposed to tend against a spiritual worship were rejected. Two sermons, printed here, and levelled against ten of the chief prevailing "idols," show the feeling of the times. The first "idol" named, the surplice with the rest of "that Popish wardrobe of superstitious garments, hoods, tippets, rochets, &c.," was such "a master-idol," "that it

hour after twelve at Noon many scores of great Guns fired at the Castle and Town, suppose upon account of the Kings entering on the third year of his Reign. — This day the Lord's Supper was administered at the Middle and North Meeting Houses. The rattling of the Guns during almost all the time gave them great disturbance. 'Twas never so in Boston before." Com. by Rev. Samuel Sewall.

¹ Letchford states that the Scriptures (1640) were read in the churches. If so the custom declined: for sermons were preached about 1700 to prove the necessity of reviving it. Rev. William Holmes, in a Discourse printed in Boston in 1720, "Concerning the Publick Reading of the Holy Scriptures by the Lord's People, in their religious assemblies." In a letter addressed to Judge Sewall, he says, "Why this practice should be discontinued by any of the disciples of Jesus, I see no reason: I am persuaded it cannot be alleged to be any part of our reformation from Popish Superstition." And in the sermon, p. 29, he says: "What though it be alleged against us by some, that we are bringing in a new practice, contrary to the received custom and usage of the country wherein we live."

sanctified as it were, all other idols. The second idol was the sign of the cross in baptism, so gross and palpable, that some who could "swallow down all the rest, the very organs and all," "could not digest it." The third was kneeling at the Lord's Supper; the fourth, bowing to the altar, and setting the communion table altar-wise; the fifth, bowing at the name of Jesus, and the sixth "Popish holidays." The seventh idol was the custom of consecrating churches, for there was no warrant in the New Testament "to sanctify any one place more than another." Organs and cathedral music made the eighth Idol; for the Scriptures, "Let all things be done unto edifying," and "I will sing with the spirit and I will sing with the understanding also," "cashiered and excluded them out of the gospel worship:" "The chanters and choristers are barbarians to all the people, for they play and sing nobody knows what, so that the understanding cannot edify by it." The ninth superstition was the Book of Common Prayer, "a grand idol of the Church of England;" and a church government by Bishops was the tenth.¹

Baptisms were administered in the Meeting-house, soon after birth, and in most cases were not delayed after the next Sunday: and there are instances where the little stranger of a Sabbath morning, was seen at the baptismal font at church in the afternoon. This privilege was opened by the half-way covenant to nearly the whole population; and an authority of 1680, in stating the number of births in the Massachusetts Colony at from four to five hundred annually, says that most of the children, except those of anabaptist parents, were baptized.

Marriages in England were solemnized only by clergymen; a law was enacted here that none but magistrates, or persons especially authorized, should marry, — one of the cases in which the colonists legislated directly contrary to the laws of England. It was not lawful to make a "motion of marriage" to a maid without the consent of her parents, or in their absence of the county court;² and the parties were obliged to be published three times in some public place for fourteen days. Much account was made

¹ Sermons by Samuel Mather, with a Preface by M. I. No date, but printed before 1685.

² In 1652 there was a case of a fine for this offence of five pounds. The offender pleaded that he was a stranger in the country, and ignorant of the law, and had abated fifty shillings.

of weddings, when cake and wine, mirth and frolic, abounded; in some instances express provision was made in wills for the expenses attending them. So prevalent was the hilarity of these joyous occasions, that (1719) their "riotous irregularities" were rebuked by the Boston ministers in their "testimony against evil customs." A proclamation, dated May 29, 1686, authorized ministers to marry, and by degrees the people called upon them instead of the magistrates. Rev. Charles Morton is the first clergyman of this town who solemnized marriages.¹

Funerals were of an anomalous character. As religion occupied so much of the life of the people, it would be natural to suppose that religious services were conspicuous at burials. But the Pagans buried their dead with songs of triumph, and the Catholics prayed for the souls of the departed; and to avoid idolatry and popery, the Puritan tolerated no prayer² or service at a funeral, and only, perhaps, formal religious conversation. But public officers, as ministers and magistrates, and the wealthy, were buried with great parade. Large numbers assembled at the house of mourning. Crape, scarfs, hat-bands, gloves and rings, were distributed to the chief mourners. A procession, marshalled by persons bearing staffs, halberts and other badges of authority, clothed

¹ In a few cases before this time, Episcopalian and French Protestant Clergymen solemnized marriage. Judge Sewall writes — "1685, Sept., Laurence Vandenbosk, French minister, marries Sylvester and Widow Gillam; though he had promised the court to do no more such things, this about the beginning of 7th, (September) is since gone to New York. 1686, May 18, a great wedding from Milton, and are married by Mr. Randolph's chaplain, at Mr. Shrimptons, according to the service book, a little after noon, when prayer was had at the town-house. Was another married at the same time. The former was Vose's son. Borrowed a ring. 'Tis said they having asked Mr. Cook and Addington, and they declining it, went after to the President (Andros,) and he sent them to his Parson."

² It has been stated (Tudor's Letters, p. 112) that the first prayer made by a congregational minister at a funeral was when Dr. Mayhew was buried in 1766. This is incorrect. The earliest instance I have met with is August 19, 1685, at the funeral of Rev. William Adams, of Roxbury. Judge Sewall of this date writes, "Magistrates there, Deputy Governor, Mr. Stoughton, Dudley, Richards, Cook. Four of our class, viz. Mr. Thatcher, Bowles, Norton, Self. I took one spell of carrying him. Is laid in Mr. Lusher's tomb. Mr. Wilson, minister of Medfield, prayed with the company before they went to the grave." Com. by Rev. Samuel Sewall. The first instance Sewall knew of the Common Prayer Book being used at a burial, was in August, 1686. Holmes Annals, Vol. 1. p. 421.

with mourning, walked at the tolling of the bell to the grave, — the friends carrying the body. If the corpse was a female, the women walked first, — if a male, the men.¹ All this parade did not pass off without an entertainment, which was often expensive, in which wine, cider, and strong drink were conspicuous. This custom run through society; and even a pauper could not be interred with propriety by the town without sundry gallons of “green wine,” and gloves. Of course burials were not allowed on the Sabbath day, except in some places by special leave of the justice of the peace. The passion for a great funeral, in spite of discouragement, and even of legal prohibition, prevailed down to the time of the Revolution; when the journals abound with notices of families, which, to encourage economy, patriotically avoided expensive mourning apparel and funerals; or if they used gloves and other mourning, were careful that it was of “American manufacture.”²

Thanksgivings were coeval with the foundation of the Colony, and were appointed on unusual occasions of rejoicing, public or private. Fasts were equally common, and were suggested by any great calamity in prospect, or which had taken place, whether an earthquake or a disease, — whether danger threatened the charter, or “worms threatened a famine.”

Holidays were numerous, perhaps more so, than they are to-day; and though free from the pageants and pastimes used in the old world to keep the people in subjection, were undoubtedly marked by great hilarity. The most general, in this community, were the Election Days. On the general election of governor and magistrates,

¹ Felt's Ipswich, p. 3. Ipswich appointed a committee on the occasion of a public funeral, to “look to the burning of the wine and the heating of the cider.” See also his *Annals of Salem*, p. 329.

² Two instances will serve to show how expensive funerals were in the olden time. One, that of Captain Richard Sprague, who died in 1703. Among the charges, there were for gloves, £ 68. 12s: and “gloves for Bess, negro, 2s 6d:” for gloves and hatbands, £ 3. 2s: for black serge and crape, £ 2. 16s: for crape to cover the leading staff, halberts, &c., 14s 1d: for rings, £ 41. 6s 1d: for wine, £ 15. 10d. Total, £ 147. 16s.

The other instance was in 1774, the funeral of Rev. Hull Abbott, buried at the expense of the town. Some of the charges were; for twelve gold rings, £ 8: Lisbon Wine, Malaga Wine, W. I. Rum, £ 5. 16s 8d: Lemons, Sugar, pipes and tobacco, £ 3. 8s 6d: Gloves, £ 40. 1s 6d: Death's head and cross bones, 15s.

the people collected to hear a sermon and see a parade, and the authorities dined in public. The Artillery Election furnished another occasion for a sermon and parade. At this period there was a rival to the Ancient and Honorable, the Middlesex Artillery, which paraded in this town and Cambridge. The ministers intimate that on these days there was more sport than Military Discipline: "as if," one writes, "they were days to meet on, to smoke and carouse, and swagger and dishonor God with the greater bravery. O make a business of it and not a play."¹ Commencement-day was early a favorite holiday, when the people "were as cheerful among their friends as the English were at Christmas."² Court Days were regarded partly as holidays. Ordinations were not of such frequent occurrence as they are to-day, and custom would hardly allow the minister to commence his life-labor with a congregation, without a season of feasting and rejoicing; nor did the festivities close until evening, when the people had a "call" and frolic. In 1716 the Boston ministers denounced the abuses of these days, especially "the unbecoming actions" of the evening. And in the busking frolics there was so much revelling as to call forth an admonition from the same source. Pope-day, November Fifth, the anniversary of the Gun-Powder treason, was thus early celebrated, sometimes by a sermon, but oftener by evening bon-fires and salutes. An early allusion to this once noted custom, is in 1662, when it is named as "a day of Public Thanksgiving," when in this town, and in the evening, after nine o'clock, "sundry young persons" gathered into companies, tumbled down an old house, pulled up fences, kindled bon-fires, and "shot off gns."³ In 1685, Judge Sewall wrote in Boston, on this anniversary, "although it rained hard, yet there was a bon-fire made on the common."⁴

Many of the holidays of England were rejected because they were looked upon as of immoral tendency, or of Pagan or Popish

¹ Urian Oakes's Sermon preached Sept. 10, 1677.

² Neal, in 1700, History of New England.

³ Middlesex County Court Record, Dec. 16, 1662. ⁴ In a notice of the Thursday Lecture, Nov. 5, 1685, Sewall says the Preacher "mentioned not a word in Prayer or in Preaching that I took notice of with respect to Gunpowder Treason." The next year, 1686, the day was observed in Boston by religious services. He says, "One Mr. Clark preached at the Town House: speaks much against the Presbyterians in England and here." Com. from Rev. S. Sewall.

origin. The Christmas holidays were regarded as but a continuation of the festivals of the Pagans and those who observed them by "forbearing labor, feasting, or any other way,"¹ were liable to a five-shilling penalty. Candlemas-day had "superstition written on its forehead."² Shrove-Tuesday was the heathen's shrove-tide, when the Pagan Romans made little cakes as a sacrifice to their Gods," and "the heathen Greeks made pancakes as to their idols;" and hence to single out that day to make pancakes in "was an heathenish vanity." The custom of drinking healths was of the same origin; and that of making new year's gifts, was another "paganish rite:" for on the first of January the god Janus was worshiped. The Drama was anathemized: "Baptized persons are under obligation to renounce all the pomps of satan, and therefore to abhor and abandon stage plays, which have a principal part in the pomps of the devil." May-day was proscribed, with its May-poles, garlands and games, for it was the Pagans Floralia, when there were dances and plays in memory of the harlot Flora. At this period a May-pole was talked of in this town: "It is an abominable shame," Increase Mather exclaims, October 30, 1686, "that any persons in a land of such light and purity as New England has been, should have the face to speak or think of practicing so vile a piece of heathenism." Dancing was condemned as tending to immorality. But in spite of restrictions it would be indulged in: "the last year (1685) promiscuous dancing was openly practiced and too much countenanced in this town," (Boston.) I. Mather wrote, and to check it, he printed his tract entitled "An arrow against profane and promiscuous dances." These practices were all strictly rejected by the primitive fathers. "I can remember the time," he writes, in 1686, "when for many years, not so much as one of all these superstitious customs was known to be practiced in this land;" and they hoped their posterity would never introduce them. "Ask such of the old standers as are yet living if it were not so," he continues. But now they were "growing evils." "Alas!" he concluded in despair, "that so many of the present generation have so early corrupted their

¹ Colony Laws, 1672, p. 58; repealed in 1682.

² The quotations in the text are taken from Increase Mather's curious "Testimony against several Profane and Superstitious Customs, now practiced by some in New England," &c. Printed in London, 1687.

doings. Methinks I hear the Lord speaking to New England as once to Israel: 'I planted thee a noble vine, wholly a right seed. How art thou turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine unto me!'"

The notices of games and sports of the early settlers are meagre. Cards, dice, and other games of chance, were rejected as constituting an appeal to God on trivial occasions. In the inventories of estates of persons of property there often is a "bird-piece" or a "fowling-piece;" and a colonial law of 1647 made it a common liberty for any man to fish and fowl in "the great ponds lying in common," and "to pass and repass on foot through any man's propriety for that end." A law like this, so contrary to the English game laws, would naturally encourage these manly recreations.

Under the First Charter, justice was administered chiefly by the county courts—held by magistrates living in the respective counties. They met alternately in this town and in Cambridge; and their jurisdiction extended to "all causes, civil and criminal, not extending to life, member or banishment." There was a court, called commissioners for small causes, whose jurisdiction was confined to each particular town. The selectmen were made competent to try cases within the jurisdiction of a magistrate; and issue execution and enforce judgment. Causes, in this town, were heard mainly by the county court and the selectmen, and from these tribunals there was an appeal to the court of assistants. For many years attorneys at law found but poor encouragement. A law of 1663 excluded practising lawyers from a seat in the General Court.

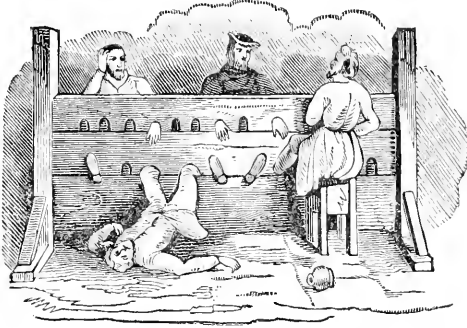
The Punishments customary in England were common here, though the criminal code was far milder than that of any other country. The Gag and the Ducking Stool were provided, in a law of 1672, for Railing and Scolding: all persons convicted of the evil practice were to be "gagged, or set in a Ducking Stool, and dipt over head and ears three times in some convenient place of fresh or salt water, as the court judged meet."¹ The Duck Stool was an instrument of ancient date, used, more especially, to punish unquiet women. It was sometimes a strong-backed chair, fixed with a rod and a lever. An old poem, entitled

¹ Colony Laws of 1672.

“The Ducking Stool” proves that the Court was orthodox in its requirements:—

“Down in the deep the stool descends,
But here at first we miss our ends;
She mounts again, and rages more
Than ever vixen did before.
So, throwing water on the fire,
Will make it but burn up the higher.
If so, my friend, pray let her take
A second turn into the lake,
And, rather than your patience lose,
Thrice and again repeat the dose.”¹

Scolds were also punished by having their tongues put into a cleft stick. The Stocks stood in the market-place, now the square. The framework will be better understood by the annexed cut, than



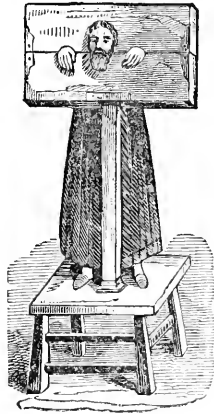
by a description. It was much used and several times repaired; a sentence (1677) by the selectmen for “drinking to excess,” shows that one hour’s sitting in the stocks could be compromised by paying 3s. 4d., money. The whipping-post stood in the market-place and was frequently used. A few cases will show the kind of offences that were expiated by the lash. The selectmen sentenced Theophilus Marsh “to have five lashes on his bare back for crying in the streets, publicly,

That he that will cozen, cheat and lie,
May go to Goodman Candish and learn by and by.”

and John Johnson “for contumacious carriage in the meeting-house on the Lord’s Day,” to be whipped ten stripes or pay a fine of ten shillings. The County Court sentenced Ursula Cole to be

¹ Quoted in Brande’s Popular Antiquities.

whipped, or pay a fine of five pounds for reviling Rev. Messrs. Symmes and Shepard, saying "she had as live hear a cat mew as them preach." The Stool of Repentance was a high seat in the middle alley of the meeting-house, on which culprits, for heinous offences, besides being fined and imprisoned, were obliged to sit on Lecture-days with a paper on their heads on which their offence was written. Wearing a halter was another punishment; there are cases, of early date, in which the General Court ordered persons to wear one for years. The Cage stood on the north side of the church, and was built in 1677, twelve feet square, under the direction of the county court. It was repaired in 1705. This was the punishment of Sabbath breakers, who were put into it on Lecture-days, and subjected to the gaze and taunts of the people. The Pillory was in use until after the Revolution: this stood in the



market-place; and culprits were commonly treated with lemons, eggs and other offensive missiles, from the crowd. Military punishments, for contempt of officers, were riding the wooden horse, sitting in the Bilboes, or lying neck and heels.¹ Branding and maiming, the House of Correction, and the Gallows, were modes of punishment. I have not met with an instance of an execution in Charlestown under the First Charter.

The Puritans, however stoical their idea of life, however strict their laws, however in earnest in spiritual things, were not the un-

¹ Law of 1672, May 15.

social people they are sometimes represented. The inventories of their estates prove that they did not neglect the comforts, and even luxuries of life. There was no lack of variety in their household establishments. The kitchens were provided with pewter, tin, brass, and earthen cooking utensils in abundance, conspicuous among which was that now obsolete roasting apparatus, the Jack. The Pantries were stocked with fruits, preserves, and wines from abroad, and every variety of fish and flesh known to-day. The "Halls," "Parlors" and "Porches" contained costly furniture, among which were Olive-wood tables, Turkey and Persian carpets, Turkey wrought chairs, window hangings, mantel-tree ornaments, brass andirons, pictures, maps and clocks. The chambers were supplied with feather-beds, satin and silk quilts, curtains and warming-pans. The wealthy owned large amounts of plate.

The costume varied, in style, as to-day. But the dress of the wealthy was rich and showy. The full dressed gentleman appeared in a coat of broadcloth or scarlet, with plaited and wadded skirts that reached below the knee, and were set off with wires. It had a narrow hem at the neck, full sleeves, with the cuffs reaching above the elbow, and wristbands fringed with lace. An embroidered band lay around the top, tied in front with tassels. Gold and silver buttons were spread over it in profusion. The vest was fringed with lace. The small-clothes were supplied with puffs of ribbon or "points" at the knee, large buckles ornamented the shoes, and a sword hung by the side. The full dressed belle appeared in a gown of silk or satin, of full breadths, long and with a trail, liberally supplied with flounces and spangles, trolloped and kept up by means of hoops. It was low in the neck, with short sleeves, but large and slashed. The hair was covered with a lace head-dress, from which hung a profusion of curls, and over it a fine piece of cloth was sometimes thrown, showing a little of its border on the front. She wore an embroidered apron, fringed with lace, gloves, shoes ornamented with lace, and a profusion of jewelry on the ears, neck, wrists and fingers.¹

This gaudy apparel, though frowned upon by ministers in their sermons, was allowed in persons of competent estates, or of liberal

¹ Rev. J. B. Felt contributed a curious series of papers on costumes to the Worcester Spy.

education. But none, even thus early, felt themselves doomed to poverty or obscurity, or to wear homely clothes; and all were rather disposed to make their wardrobe at least as costly as their purse could buy. In the view of the Court, however, it was "intolerable that men and women of mean condition should take upon them the garb of gentlemen, by the wearing of gold and silver lace, or buttons, or points at their knees, or to walk in great boots; or women of the same rank to wear silk or tiffany hoods, or scarfs."¹ Hubbard preached, that, "Whatever is not according to order is very indecent; i. e. for the peasant to equal the prince, or imitate him in garb and in gait, or for the handmaid to imitate her mistress;" and he regarded such things as a "forerunner of sad confusion."² And the Synod of 1679 regarded "pride in respect to apparel, especially in respect to servants and the poorer class of people," as one of the evils that brought upon New England the judgments of God. But neither the Law, the Pulpit, nor the Synod could suppress the love of dress; and the officers sometimes met with home arguments as they executed their duty. A Woburn farmer, called to account for extravagance, answered "That he thought it no sin for his wife to wear a silk hood, and silk neck, and he desired to see an example before him."³ If the laws on this subject indicate that some of our ancestors had a lurking love of the distinctions of rank they left behind them in England, the manner in which they were disregarded shows, also, that there was no place for them in this community.

The Foreign Trade of the town was undoubtedly large for the time. Business, however, as it is to-day, was intimately connected with Boston, and I have found but few facts on this subject. The Town Records contain evidence that, for many years, there was a large export of horses from here; and the inventories of several merchants show that they were largely engaged in commerce. In spite of Parliamentary laws, a thriving, direct trade was carried on with the West Indies and the greater part of Europe. In 1673 a British vessel was in Boston three months; and the captain wrote to England that ships came in daily from Spain, France, Holland, and the

¹ Laws of 1651 and 1662. Fines of ten and twenty shillings were imposed. The latter law is severe upon tailors for making garments for children or servants, contrary to the order of their governors.

² Election Sermon.

³ Rev. Samuel Scwall.

Canaries, bringing wines, linens, silks and fruits, and received the produce of the Colonies in exchange, which they carried to these kingdoms without going to England. The complaints made to England respecting the evasion of the Acts of Trade, induced the General Court to establish a Naval Office, and James Russell of this town was appointed to take charge of it.

The Home Trade was done chiefly in stores, which presented a good assortment of articles. Of Dry Goods there were cotton, striped and blue linen, Turkey mohair, green say, black say, grey-serge, red-serge, broadcloth, fine Kent linen, Irish stockings, red and yellow taffety, dowlas, muffs, straw hats, bone-lace, band-strings, ribbons, silks, silver-buttons, gimp-buttons, thread-lace, pins, horn-combs, gloves, table-napkins and tape. Of Hardware, there were ivory-handled knives, scissors, thimbles, pad-locks, spring-locks, files, nails, brass-ware, tin-ware, pewter-ware, and tools for the various branches of agriculture and mechanical trades. Of Groceries there were sugars, cinnamon, nutmegs, indigo, starch, figs, raisins, currants, pepper, ginger; but no tea or coffee.

The allusions to manufactures, in the Town Records, are scanty, and, up to this period, (1686,) are also few in the documents of the times. "Some manufactures there are amongst them, but not a twentieth part of what the country have need of. Most of their clothing, both as to woollen and linen, they have from England."¹ The iron works at Lynn are well known. Petitions were presented for encouragement to individuals to commence various species of manufacture, such as "a Powder Mill," "making pitch, tar, and turpentine," "tanned leather." Spinning was encouraged in the towns. Ship-building had already become an extensive business.

It deserves remark, that business was kept free from many of the tolls, taxes, fees, restrictions and monopolies that were so common in England. The General Court attempted, in a few cases, to interfere with it; as when it prescribed the manner in which certain articles should be manufactured, or prohibited individuals from carrying on two trades at the same time,² or regulated the prices of merchandize and labor; and later the shrewd forestallers,

¹ Letter to a Person of Quality, London, 1689. The original of that tract is in Hutchinson, MSS. Coll., and also printed in Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXXI. p. 93. ² In 1698 a tanner could not be a shoemaker.

as they pocketed their profits, were obliged to face the frown of an indignant community. Still industry and enterprise were kept, in the main, free from restrictions; individuals engaged in such pursuits as their tastes or interests dictated, and changed them as often as their circumstances required. And even when the British Parliament declared it to be a common nuisance for the Colonists to manufacture certain articles, the people,—according to John Adams,—disregarded the edict. “No cause,” Albert Gallatin has remarked, “has contributed more to the prosperity of the country than the absence of those systems of internal restriction and monopoly, which continue to disfigure the state of society in other countries.”

The wealthy families owned one or more slaves, and these were variously prized in inventories, £ 15 and £ 25. In 1678 a vessel brought about fifty into Boston, mostly women and children, who were sold from £ 10 to £ 20 each. It was estimated that in 1680 there were about 120 in the Massachusetts Colony.

The circulating medium of the Colony was partly specie and partly “Country Pay.” The mint established in 1652 coined twelve-penny, six-penny and three-penny silver pieces, and continued its operations until the period of the fall of the old charter. The General Court, to prevent washing and clipping, ordered the coin to have on each side a double ring, and on one side Massachusetts, with a tree in the centre—on the other side New England and the year of its being issued. The symbol of a Pine Tree was a favorite with Massachusetts. Its State Flag bore it, and it was under such colors that the Bunker Hill Battle was fought. The Country Pay consisted of the various kinds of produce that were made receivable for public rates; and there was often a wide difference between this sort of money and cash. The government was generally accommodating: Andros, greedy for fees, allowed Hingham to pay its taxes in Milk Pails.¹

There was no Post Office in town until after this period; probably the house used in Boston for the deposit of letters, served for this purpose. In 1677 a petition represented that the letters were often thrown upon the Exchange (Boston) and important ones were frequently lost. Mr. John Hayward, the scrivener, was appointed by the General Court to convey letters accord-

¹ Felt's History of Mass. Currency.

ing to their direction. A general letter office was established in 1691. Under date of May 31, 1690, John Knight of this town was appointed "Post."

The facilities for travelling were few. The most common method was on horseback, when a man would take a lady companion on a pillion, behind him. The more wealthy probably owned a few coaches: in 1668 there is mention of one being in Boston, when Mr. Davenport and his family entering the town "were sheltered in a coach of Mr. Searl's, who went to meet him."¹ The inventories of this period name "coach-chairs" (value £ 15). The "caravans" mentioned in the records of the General Court, Mr. Felt supposes, were the "Stage Wagons" used to carry passengers down to the time of the Revolution. In 1716 there was a "Carriage" or Stage Coach, running between Boston and Newport.²

To conceive of society, at this period, it must be remembered, that no tea was used, if coffee, but rarely, and if potatoes, only in small quantities. There were no concerts, scientific lectures or newspapers — no insurance companies or banks. A dancing school had been set up — it is stated — but put down. It may be curious to notice the introduction of these things. Tea and coffee, after 1700, became articles of trade, but for a long time were but sparingly drank. Potatoes after 1733, came slowly into general use. In 1744, there was in Boston, "a fine concert of Music at Fanueil Hall," for the benefit of the Poor, "and the thing took so well that the profits were at least two hundred pounds clear of all charges." After Franklin's renowned Electrical discoveries, E. Kinnersley, in 1751, gave two lectures in Fanueil Hall, "on the newly discovered Electrical Fire," with numerous experiments, which are specified at length. The tickets of admission were half a dollar. A newspaper was printed in 1704. The first Insurance Office in America was opened in Boston, in 1724, by Joseph Marion, which was kept by the same person, in 1748, when another is mentioned. It appears to have been for Marine risks. An emission of paper money was authorized in 1686, and a Bank in 1714. In 1723, a Dancing Master was patronized, and even allowed to advertise an exhibition — the "public dancing to begin at five o'clock.

¹ Felt's MSS.

² Ib. Salem, p. 316.

I have not met, in these early times, any allusion to an association in this town for benevolent objects, or for intellectual improvement; the former were, most probably, carried on through the organism of the church, and the latter was left to the common schools and the college. It seems needless to remark on the value placed upon education, from the simplest rudiments to the highest attainments, where society did its duty so faithfully in these respects. So watchful were the public authorities of the Common Schools, that, in 1691, Charlestown was presented to the County Court for its neglect, while it was in search of a competent teacher, and only saved itself from a penalty by a quick bargain;¹ so clearly were their tendencies seen by the favorers of monarchy, that Randolph wrote in 1686, "We want good schoolmasters, none being allowed here but of ill principle; and till provision be made to rectify the youth of this country, there is no hope that this people will prove royal;"² and so general was their influence, that Neal, in 1700, asserts that there was "hardly a child of nine or ten years old throughout the whole country, but can read and write, and say his catechism."³

But the cultivation, the refinement of the time, must not be placed too high. When the strictness with which morals were watched over is considered, it seems difficult to account for the indelicacy of some of the public spectacles; those, for instance, of a Lecture-day in the Square. The courts frequently appointed punishments to be administered on these days; and after lecture was over, it was rather a common exhibition than a rare one, for a woman, for a heinous offence, to stand for hours on an elevated platform, or stool, in the most public places, with a label on her having her crime written on it in large letters; or worse still, for her to be whipped (one sentence reads thirty lashes) on her bare flesh, in the presence of a concourse of people. There was something radically wrong in the moral sentiment of a community, when it tolerated such corrupting scenes. Still it would be unjust to lay this to the exclusive door of the Puritans. This mistaken requirement of justice was inherited and general; and it was the great principle they were, for the first time, naturalizing in society, namely, that

¹ Hutcheson's Coll., p. 553.

² Middlesex Records.

³ Neal's New England, p. 613.

of an elevated individualism, that was destined in time to correct it.¹

I have lingered, perhaps too long, on early colonial times. But they were times, when, through the favor of neglect from the mother country, the people enjoyed their peculiar customs, their local politics, their stern faith, in substantial independence. From the first, they had refused to ask favors of Parliament from a fear that the policy would lead Parliament at length to comprehend them in its laws;² and hence, of themselves, they subdued the wilderness, and conquered the Savages into peace. In spite of desolating wars, the country prospered as no country had ever prospered before. Leading minds identified this prosperity with a maintenance of the churches in their purity; and were inclined to measure this purity by continued strictness in the Puritan ritual, and a continued reverence for the persons of magistrates and ministers. But intellectual freedom rebelled against too stern a discipline; and as they noticed the changes time was silently producing, they pronounced them to be evidences of decay, and uttered their protest.

A little while after 1660, according to Prince, there began to appear a decay, and in 1670, it "grew visible and threatening." Oaks in 1673, asked, "What means that disgust some men have against the very name and rule of authority, (truly so called,) in the eldership, against councils and synods, and the decisive power thereof." Hubbard, in 1676, saw the root of "disorders of all sorts" in that spiritual pride that was "too evident in the conceitedness of men's gifts, of their privileges, liberties and estates;" "the sin of the professing part of the country as well as of others." Willard, in 1680, declared, that unless the tendency of his time was checked, "Religion would languish and the power of godliness fail." In 1683, the complaint was, "that New England was not to be found in New England;" and Torry printed his "Plea for the life of Dying Religion." Willard, in 1700, asked, "What tokens are on our children, that it is like to be better hereafter." Higginson and Hubbard put forth in 1701, a testimony against prevalent "declensions and corruptions." Mather, in 1702, published his tract, entitled

¹ This mode of punishment continued until after the Revolution; so long does a custom linger after the general sense of the community condemns and even revolts at it.

² Gov. Winthrop under 1640.

“The Glory departing from New England;” and in 1721, in mourning the changes going on, used the words, “O! that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears.” Twenty years after, Prince declared things had been growing worse and worse ever since. Such phrases may be easily increased.

But the noble-minded men, who thus yearned for a true glory for New England, did not read aright the signs of their times. What they called decay, was in reality progress. The decline of intolerance, and the growing dislike of forms, were symptoms of new life for Religion; the reverence paid to magistrates deepened into that respect for Law, that lies at the root of the New England character; while the kindling idea of liberty acquired strength in every debate of a local community, in every protest against royal prerogative, until at length it burst forth into Colonial Union and Political Independence.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1686 to 1692. Sir Edmund Andros. — Land Titles. — A Petition for Confirmation. — Grant to Charles Lidgett. — Remonstrance of the Town. — Joseph Lynde's Deposition. — Riots. — A May Pole. — Charles Morton's Sermon, — his accusation before the Council, — his Trial. — The Guns carried away. — Revolution of 1689. — Action of Charlestown. — New Government opposed — Laurence Hammond, — meeting of his company, — his address. — A press-gang. — Elective Rights. — Courts opposed. — Proceedings of the Council — Richard Sprague. — Address to the King, — comment on it. — A second Address: comment on it. — Fines of the County Court. — Submissions. — Morton's Letter.

CHARLESTOWN, from 1686 to 1692, was in a state of much excitement. Its citizens felt the burden of arbitrary power, and engaged in the daring work of effecting its overthrow. But the revolutionary measures, and the principles that justified them, were not approved by some of the citizens; and hence arose an exciting controversy, carried on by opposition to the new government, addresses to the crown, and sharp pamphleteering. As this controversy was connected with the principles of liberty, it is deemed proper to dwell upon it considerably in detail; for the Revolution of 1689 was the forerunner of that of 1775.

In May, 1686, the First Charter was superseded; and on the 20th of December, Sir Edmund Andros commenced his administration as Governor of New England. King James authorized him to appoint a Council, and in concert with it to make laws, lay taxes, control the militia, — in a word, to rule New England. Popular representation was abolished. Even town meetings were not allowed, except for the annual choice of officers; to assemble for other purposes was sedition or riot. "There is no such thing as a town in the whole country," remarked Andros. His commission was full; and until April 18, 1689, his despotism was complete.

The course adopted with respect to titles to lands was one of the arbitrary measures. It was given out, that, on the forfeiture of the charter in 1684, all lands reverted to the crown, and that the owners, to hold them legally, must take out patents of confirmation from the new government. Forms were prescribed for this; first a petition from the land-holder, then an examination by a committee, next a survey, and then a patent. Fees were demanded at every step; and these in some cases, were enormous; an estate not worth £200 had more than £50 demanded in this way.¹

To avoid a costly and vexatious controversy with the new government, many persons petitioned for the confirmation of their lands. One from a citizen of this town is as follows: —

"To his Excellency, Sir Edmund Andros, Knight, Captain General, Governor-in-chief, and Vice Admiral of his Majesty's Territory and Dominion of New England in America.

"The Humble Petition of Samuel Ballatt of Charlestown, Shipwright, Sheweth:

"That your Petitioner for valuable considerations hath purchased of sundry persons, several pieces or parcels of ground within the bounds of Charlestown, on which are several houses, warehouses and wharves — built and erected, the bounds and limits whereof, will appear by his several deeds and conveyances for the same, and the which he hath for many years been in the quiet and peaceable possession and enjoyment of, and being desirous so to continue under his majesty — humbly prays your Excellency to grant him his majesty's Patent of confirmation for the same under such moderate quit rent or acknowledgment as to your Excellency shall seem meet.

And your Petitioner shall ever pray.

SAMUEL BALLATT."

The commons of several of the towns were seized and given to Andros's supporters.² One of them, Col. Charles Lidgett, petition-

¹ The Revolution in New England Justified, p. 25.

² A narrative of the miseries of New England.

ed for a part of the fine tract, now Somerville, between the Ten Hills Farm and Cambridge, that had been recently lotted out; and a notice of this petition was served on the town authorities. In answer, the inhabitants immediately sent to him "seven substantial reasons in writing thereunto," with other "cogent arguments," why the land should not be given away. The tract was however surveyed and laid out by Mr. Wells; and though "there were divers land marks" showing the bounds of the proprietors, yet, without further hearing, it was confirmed, August 1, 1687, to Lidgett. He next prosecuted the rightful owners for cutting wood from it, and served a writ of intrusion upon a small farm belonging to James Russell, that had been improved fifty years. These irritating proceedings appear to have been resisted, and hence further prosecutions. An account says, that Lidgett, by pleading his patent rights, carried the cases, and bound over some "that did not say or do any thing, and had them out of one county into another, backwards and forwards several times;" and at last execution was granted "against them for twenty-odd pounds," and then they were imprisoned. The account concludes, "Oh, wonderful injustice."¹

Palmer, in his vindication of Andros's government, has a lame defence of this proceeding. He denied 1st, that Charlestown had a legal claim to this land, and 2d, says,

'It cannot be consistent with the interest of new plantations, that two or three hundred thousand acres of land should be taken up by a small number of people, who are not capable of improving one tenth part of it, and the rest lie vacant under the notion of commons, when persons of ability, equally concerned, would improve it, but cannot, because they are less numerous than the poorer sort of the town, whose advantage it is the lands should so lie, and who manage their affairs by majority of voices. And if the tract of land which Charlestown pretends to, were proportionally divided, Col. Lidgett's share (they themselves being judges) would have exceeded the grant.'²

A few days later, August 10, 1687, a patent, produced in Council, was "allowed and approved" "for a farm in Charlestown, called Ten Hills, containing nine hundred acres to Lt. Col. Charles Lidgett at ten shillings per annum quit rent."³

¹ Mass. Archives. I have not been able to find the remonstrance of the town. None of the documents of the period are on the town records.

² Palmer's Vindication, p. 30.

³ Council Records. This farm, in 1677, was deeded by Winthrop's heirs to Elizabeth Lidgett.

A deposition of Joseph Lynde,¹ a leading citizen, gives a good view of the petty tyranny of the times:—

“Joseph Lynde of Charlestown in the county of Middlesex in New England, being fifty-three years of age, testifieth and saith, that in the year 1687, Sir Edmund Andros the governor of New England did inquire of him said Lynde what title he had to his lands, who shewed him many deeds for land that he the said Lynde possessed, and particularly for land that said Lynde was certainly informed would quickly be given away from him, if he did not use means to obtain a patent for it. The deed being considered by Sir Edmund Andros, he said it was worded well, and recorded according to New England custom or words to the same purpose. He further inquired how the title was derived, he said Lynde told him, that he that he bought it of, had it of hisfather-in-law in marriage with his wife, and his said father from Charlestown, and the said town from the general court grant of the Massachusetts Bay, and also by purchase from the natives. And he said, my title was nothing worth if that were all. At another time after shewing him an Indian deed for land, he said, their hand was no more worth than a scratch with a bear’s paw, under-valuing all my titles, though every way legal under our former charter government. I then petitioned for a patent of my whole estate, but Mr. West deputy secretary told me I must have so many patents as there were counties that I had parcels of land in, if not towns. Finding the thing so chargeable and difficult I delayed, upon which I had a writ of intrusion served on me in the beginning of the summer 1688; the copy whereof is in the Charlestown men’s complaint, and was at the same time with that of Mr. James Russell’s, Mr. Sewall’s and Mr. Shrimpton’s; it being for the same land in part that I shewed my title unto Sir Edmund Andros as above, being by myself and those I derived it from possessed, inclosed, and improved for about fifty years, at which time I gave Mr. Graham attorney general three pounds in money, promising that if he would let the action fall I would pay court charges, and give him ten pounds, when I had a patent completed, for that small parcel of land, that said writ was served upon me for, which I did because a Quaker that had the promise of it from the governor, as I was informed in the governor’s presence, should not have it from me, said Lynde, having about seven acres more in the same common field or pasture, about a mile from this forty-nine acres, near unto the land said governor gave unto Mr. Charles Lidgett, of divers of my neighbors, which I coneluded must go the same way that theirs went, and therefore though desired to be patented by said Lynde with the forty-nine acres, he could not obtain a grant for it. About the same time Mr. Graham attorney general asked said Lynde what he would do about the rest of his land, telling him the said Lynde that he would meet with the like trouble about all the rest of his lands, that he possessed, and were it not for the governor’s going to New York at this time, there would be a writ of intrusion against every man in the colony of any considerable estate, or as many as a cart could hold, and for the poorer sort of people said Sir Edmund Andros would take other measures, or words to the same purpose. Said Lynde further saith, That after judgments obtained for small wrongs done him, triable by your own laws before a jus-

¹ This Deposition has been very incorrectly printed. It is copied in the text from the Mass. Archives, Vol. XXXV. p. 169.

tice of peace, from whom they allowed no appeals in such cases, he was forced out of his own county by writs of false judgment; and although at the first superior court in Suffolk, the thing was so far opposed by judge Stoughton as illegal, as that it was put by, yet the next term by judge Dudley and judge Palmer, said Lynde was forced to answer. George Farewell attorney before that, saying in open court in Charlestown, that all causes must be brought to Boston in Suffolk, because that there were not honest men enough in Middlesex to make a jury to serve their turns, or words to that purpose; nor did Suffolk, as appeared by their practice, for they made use of non-residents in divers cases there. I mention not my damage though it is great, but to the truth above written I the said Lynde do set to my hand.

JOSEPH LYNDE.

Boston, January 14, 1689-90.

Juratus coram me,

JOHN SMITH, Assistant."

James Russell, son of the late Treasurer, another prominent citizen, was obliged to pay three pence per acre for a patent for Long Island, in Casco Bay, — an estate left him by his father and for several years improved by Captain Davis. Mr. Russell was informed that if he did not take out a patent for it, Mr. Usher should have it.¹

But the citizens had other causes of complaint. In May, 1687, there was a riot in town between some of the crew of the frigate "King Fisher" and some of the inhabitants. One of the constables, Timothy Phillips, "commanded the King's peace in the King's name," whereupon the captain of the frigate, wrested his staff from him, and made a pass at him. A little later there was another riot here with the crew of the Rose frigate, when Nathaniel Adams, another constable, and "some of his neighbors" were stabbed. The constables waited on Sir Edmund Andros, related the circumstances and asked for advice. Adams deposed: "Hereupon he fell into a great rage, and did curse us, saying, 'd---n you, you deserve to be indicted,' and called us ill names, and threatened to send us to jail. Addressing Phillips, Andros said; 'Look to yourself and have a care, for you are marked men — never come to trouble me more with any such stories.'" ²

There were also disturbances and riots here connected with the introduction of Episcopacy, and the sports of the old country. The former, always disagreeable to the rigid congregationalists, was made doubly offensive by the arrogant and tyrannical course of Randolph in relation to forcing a support of it. On the

¹ Russell's Deposition is printed in *Revolution in N. E. Justified*, p. 24.

² Depositions in Mass. Archives.

other hand, the ministers called the Episcopal clergyman, "Baal's Priest," and Episcopal prayers, "leeks, garlick, and trash." In 1686 the Liturgy began to be used at funerals; and when, in May, 1687, a soldier was thus buried in this town, "a disturbance grew," Sewall writes, "by reason of Joseph Phipps standing with his hat on as the parson was reading the service." At another time a company from Boston came over here, and "riotously pulled down whole church windows."¹ Again, a May-pole was set up, probably by those who favored the church of England. In May, 1687, it was cut down; and it was noised about that Samuel Phipps, "being a selectman," "led or encouraged the watch to cut it down." "Now," Sewall writes, May 25, "a bigger is set up with a garland upon it;" but I find no further allusions to it.²

These proceedings, with the arbitrary imposition of taxes and execution of fees, produced a deep feeling of discontent. This was shared by the talented and patriotic minister of the town; and in accordance with custom, he made, probably, the sad condition of the country his theme on the regular Lecture Day, — September 2, 1687. The sermon has not been preserved. But Doctor John Clark informed Andros that Mr. Morton had uttered, in its delivery, "several seditious expressions;" and Randolph's letters characterize him as "a rank independent" and a "promoter of anti-monarchical principles:" indications that Morton, who had suffered from the tyranny of the old world, did not spare that of the new.

The paper³ that Dr. Clark presented to Andros containing the seditious language was read in the Council, November 19, when the informer and the offender were summoned to appear the succeeding Wednesday. On that day, November 24, Mr. Morton was examined about his expressions, "part whereof he denied and seemed to evade or excuse the other part." Then Dr. Clark was examined, who affirmed the truth of his report "upon his oath." The Council then ordered "That the said Charles Morton be bound over to appear at the next Superior Court in five hundred pounds, and that he be prosecuted for the same by information on his majesty's behalf."⁴

¹ Vindication of New England, p. 21. ² Sewall's MSS. ³ I have not met with this document. ⁴ Council Records, copies of which, in admirable style, have recently been procured from London by the State.

Mr. Morton accordingly appeared before the Superior Court, held in this town, and desired that he might "then make answer or be acquitted;" but at the request of Andros's counsel, George Farwell, "the hearings and the bond were continued to the next court at Charlestown." But previous to the session of this court, Mr. Farwell gave notice in writing, that the case would be tried January 31, 1688. This court was to be holden in Suffolk county; and hence the documents of the time are severe upon the government for ordering a trial in a county where the offence was not committed: for summoning him to another court, one of them says "to answer to the false report of a single false reporter in all respects contrary to law." One of the most prominent citizens, Joseph Lynde, deposes that Farwell said in open court in this town, "That there were not honest men enough in Middlesex to make a jury to serve their turns."

Mr. Morton, through his counsel, Anthony Checkley, appeared, Jan. 31, 1688, and plead that the action ought not to be brought before that court, 1. Because he was only under bonds to appear at Charlestown Court. 2. Because the venue was laid in Middlesex, and from thence must come the venire facias. 3. "Because the defendent is under no precept of our Lord the King, nor under any obligation or recognizance, but where the fact is said to be done and his recognizance obligeth him:" 4. Because he had neither a legal nor a timely notice: "For these reasons," the plea reads, "the defendant declineth at this time and in this place, to plead to the matter of the information, which he hopeth he may do by law without reflection upon either the honored court, jury or informer."¹

In addition to the charge against the officers of summoning Mr. Morton out of his county, there is that of packing the jury. One juryman was summoned who lived two hundred miles distant, and was Mr. Morton's bitter enemy; and another was not a householder. Several of the pamphlets of the time allude to the case; and those of the popular side speak of it as a causeless and malicious prosecution. Though the defendant was acquitted,² the trial, judging from other cases, must have been perplexing and ex-

¹ Morton's Plea is preserved in Mass. Archives.

² Vindication of New England, p. 10.

pensive. It gained for Mr. Morton, however, the affection of the people and made him prominent among his associates of the ministry. Randolph charges them with being the "chief promoters of the rebellion" that ensued: "All things," he wrote the next year, "are carried on by a factious rabble animated and encouraged by the crafty ministers."

But few entries were made on the town books in 1688: one of them reads as follows:—

"At a meeting of the Selectmen, May 15, 1688, it was then ordered that it be entered in the town book that Mr. Bantam, his Majesty's governor of the port or block house at Boston, did on the ninth day of this month carry away the great guns (from the battery in this town) viz. three sakers, and three **** with a whole culverin,—they being all iron guns with a quantity of shot appertaining to them."

These measures prompted the people to resistance. On the 18th of April, 1689, upon a rumor that the Prince of Orange had landed in England, the people of Boston and vicinity affected a revolution. "About two of the clock (the Lecture being put by) the town was generally in arms, and so many of the country came in, that there were twenty companies in Boston, besides a great many that appeared in Charlestown that could not get over, (some say fifteen hundred)."¹ Andros, and some of his friends, among whom was Col. Lidgett, were imprisoned. Captain Richard Sprague of this town led his company in Boston on this occasion.²

A government was instituted entitled "A Council for the safety of the People and Conservation of the Peace." On the 2d of May, this Council recommended an assembly of representatives to be convened; and on the 9th sixty-six delegates met, and called another meeting on the 22d,—recommending each town to express its views on the public affairs. Those of Charlestown were expressed as follows:—

"The Inhabitants of Charlestown, convened this 21st day of May, Anno Dom. 1689, do declare as followeth:—

"That, forasmuch as our dependence (under God) is upon the Crown and Government of England: and that God hath wonderfully succeeded the high and noble undertakings of his Highness the Prince of Orange, for the suppression of popery, and advancement of the protestant religion in that and the neighboring nations: We being willing and desirous also to reap with them the benefit of so great a blessing; and that we may join our prayers with theirs unto the God of our salvation; we do desire the honoured Council, now in being at Boston, may be continued for the

¹ Byfield's Account.

² Vindication of New England.

conservation of the peace in the present exigent. And that the militia may be so settled and disposed as that all orders issuing from the Council for our peace and safety, may be by all men readily and duly obeyed, until it shall please God, in his abundant mercy towards us, to settle us under such a government, as shall be for his glory, the prosperity of this people, and correspondent with the wisdom of the government of England: for which we desire heartily to pray and humbly to wait.

The above written was voted by the Inhabitants of Charlestown, nemine contradicente.

As attests,

LAUR. HAMMOND,
JACOB GREEN, Senior,
JOHN CUTLER, Senior."¹

The representatives of fifty-four towns assembled on the 22d, — and forty of the towns were in favor of a re-assumption of the old Charter.

The next proceeding of this town is recorded as follows. "At a legal meeting of the inhabitants of Charlestown, June 17, 1689, it was fully voted, that all officers then chosen should stand in their offices no longer than till the first of March, that the town might come to their former order in those matters."

At this meeting town officers were elected, — among them Samuel Phipps, who had been a selectman, commissioner and recorder, was chosen constable. The following is the next record :

"At a meeting of the Selectmen of Charlestown June 19, 1689, it was then ordered that the following should be entered into the Town Book :

"Boston, June 13, 1689. At the convention of the governor and council and representatives of the Massachusetts Colony, it is declared, that all the towns in this jurisdiction may, as they shall see meet, respectively make choice of constables, selectmen, and other town officers as they were wont to do before the change of the government in May, 1686, according to the laws of this Colony then in force, and the persons so chosen are hereby empowered to act in their several places accordingly."

A few of the citizens, some of them sustaining high offices, opposed the subsequent proceedings. They had sworn allegiance to the Crown of England, and could not regard the government, established by the people, as legitimate, so long as it lacked the sanction of royal authority. Hence they refused to acknowledge it.

Captain Laurence Hammond was one of these citizens. He had been town-clerk, a selectman, a clerk of the court under Andros, and was commander of one of the military companies. By a vote of the Convention, the officers in power, May 12, 1686, were declared to be restored to their places. Although this order

¹ Mass. Archives, Vol. CVII.

secured to Captain Hammond his office, yet his known opposition to the new government appears to have prompted many of his company to desire a new election of officers. At their request the members, "warned by beat of drum," assembled, July 2, at eight o'clock; when the captain inquired "what they desired a meeting for?" One of the company replied that "The act or order of the Council would inform him." This order was then read, when the Captain asked, "Whether they were willing to proceed according to the Council's act?" No direct answer was given, and after some delay, the order was read a second time, and the question put again. Another member, a private, asked: "If he (Hammond) were to continue in captain, by what commission would he hold his place, whether by Sir Edmund's or his former commission received before 1686?" The captain replied, "He came not there to answer their impertinent questions;" and again declared that he stood by the order, and decided that the company had the liberty of choosing officers "only to such places as were vacant" by the terms of the order. Several then said, "They would not be debarred of their liberty." Capt. Hammond declared that if the company would not adhere to the words of the order, but choose new officers, "He would have no hand in it." He then handed an address to "Ensign Call" and left the company. He alluded, at the commencement, to his being chosen Lieutenant in 1668 by the company, and his appointment of captain upon the death of Richard Sprague: he said the former was prompted by a "strange kind of fancy or affection they bore towards him;" and that his chief inducement to accept the latter was "the company's entire affection for him:" and concluded as follows:—

"I say your love hath been the cause thereof, which I have at least apprehended to be real, by manifold demonstrations, all which may be comprised in these two, viz.: Your ready and orderly obedience to my directions and commands, and your long bearing with and covering of my many infirmities, which have attended me in the execution of my place. Evident it is, other motives or encouragements I have had none, to oblige my continuance in this service twenty-one years. Trouble and charge are appendages of such places, of which I have had my share. Nothing but love hath been the cement between us hitherto, and so long as love, unity and concord were maintained among us, it did outweigh all other discouragements.

"But now observing a discontented, factious, censorious, unreasonable and mutinous spirit to spread among us, and the old, peaceable, rutable, genuine spirit to languish (though I am satisfied in the fidelity and good

humor of the generality of the officers, and do hope well concerning the major part of the soldiery) I am discouraged from bearing any longer command among you. And forasmuch as the Governor and Council with the representatives, have granted you the liberty of the choice of your own officers, I do advise you to make choice of such who may be duly qualified to promote the public good, and whom you can love, honor and obey; and forasmuch as change is desirable to mankind and, that I may no longer stand in your way, nor in the way of some other person more meet and able to be your leader than ever I have been, or am like to be, I do hereby declare myself to be free and discharged from that place and office I have for so long a time borne among you. And as I have hitherto maintained a true love and respect for you all, so shall it remain and continue in my more private capacity, which shall at all times appear as occasion shall offer in any way within my power except that of command; and as we have for so long a time been united in love, so it is my desire we may part in love. Wishing you and your officers may always unite in love, for the peaceable and effectual carrying to an end all your public affairs for the Glory of God and the public good, which shall be the continual prayer of

Your true friend, lover and fellow at arms,

July 2, 1689.

L. HAMMOND.¹

After this address was read, the majority determined to proceed to the nomination of officers, and Capt. Hammond's friends, protesting against the proceeding, withdrew. The company then nominated John Phillips, Esq., for Captain; Captain John Call, Lieutenant, and Samuel Kettle, Ensign. The dissenting members, however, petitioned for a new nomination, which was granted; when Captain Hammond, Nathaniel Dowse, Lieutenant, and Nathaniel Rand, Ensign, were nominated by two-thirds of the votes. This choice was not allowed by the Convention; but it passed a vote confirming those officers in commission May 12, 1686, which left Capt. Hammond in command.

It was a time of war with the Indians, and on the 22d of August he received an order "to impress twelve able men out of the two companies of this town," to appear at Woburn on the 28th inst., at noon. Six men were impressed by Capt. Hammond's order, who, under various pretences, refused to serve. "Nor," he wrote, "could other men be found, the noise of a press having frightened most men capable of service out of the town." One of his corporals, after impressing two men, refused to make a legal return of them. "Whereupon," the Captain says, "I ordered the impressing of him, which is done; judging it but reasonable, that he

¹ Mass. Archives.

that will not do his duty as an officer, should serve as a private soldier." ¹

Another transaction, of a civil nature, shows the independent spirit of the town, and the tenacity with which it clung to its liberties. It elected Samuel Phipps, a graduate of Harvard, to the office of constable; and the only way in which he could legally avoid serving, was to pay a small fine. This he refused to do, but, August 9, 1686, complained of the town's action to the government, and asked release from the fine on the ground that he was a master of arts and kept a grammar school. The government, "judging it unreasonable and not customary to choose persons so qualified and improved" to serve in this capacity, excused Mr. Phipps, and ordered the town to make another choice. This was a direct interference with its elective rights; and the inhabitants, August 13, resolved not to comply with the order, and assigned their reasons in the following petition,² too long, perhaps, to insert, but too curious to abridge:—

"To the Honored Governor and Council and Representatives sitting in Boston.

"We the inhabitants of Charlestown being duly convened this 13th day of August, 1689, in return to an order of the Governor and Council bearing date the 9th instant, for our proceeding to the choice of another person to the constable's office in our town, instead of Mr. Samuel Phipps, who by said order is said to be dismissed, do humbly offer our reasons for not proceeding according to the tenor of said order as follows:—

"1. We apprehend it to be just and reasonable that when two parties are concerned in any controversy to be determined by lawful judges, the pleas and allegations of each party ought to be first heard and duly considered, whereby the whole truth may appear before judgment can regularly pass upon the case: we wonder not that Mr. Phipps hath made his own case good when there was none to respond.

"That Mr. Phipps was sometime student at the College and had the degree of Master of Arts confirmed upon him, we deny not. But that therefore it is unreasonable (as the order saith) for him to be chosen to, and to serve in the office of a constable, we cannot conceive:

"1. Because no law we know of exempts him therefrom. 2. Because other men under the same circumstances have been chosen and served or fined to the same office—instances whereof can be produced in Boston. 3. If Masters of Arts will take up secular employments and become secular men; as merchants, adventurers, common traders, shop-keepers, and will accept of other civil offices, as selectman, town recorder, town treasurer, &c., why may they not be chosen and serve as constables (which

¹ The men impressed were Zechariah Johnson, Jacob Waters, John Simpson, Sen., Hopewell Davis, John Lowden, John Kettle. — Mass. Archives.

² This Petition is in Mass. Archives.

is an honorable place) who, reaping the same benefits, ought to help bear the same burdens with other men of the same employments.

“That this is applicable to our present subject, all that are acquainted with the person and his communications need no further evidence.

“True it is, some years since under a pretence of applying himself to the ministry, he was by ourselves dismissed from the same office of a constable to which we had chosen him : but finding it to have been no other but a pretence, we are not willing to be again deluded.

“Moreover, if the instructing two or three youths in a private way in his house, as his other occasions will permit (for his private benefit) in grammar learning, at the desire of their friends, will give him the reputation of keeping a grammar school, so be it. In like manner may any other man, that hath skill in the Latin tongue in vacant hours do. But we conceive except he were chosen by the town, or settled by authority in a just and regular way of keeping a public grammar school, he can therefore be no more exempted from serving in the office of constable than any other ingenious person who may privately instruct youth in any part of the doctrine of the mathematics ; which deservedly claims an honorable esteem among men.

“2. We judge it unreasonable and neighboring upon oppression to impose all burdensome, unprofitable and difficult offices upon men of the lower rank in a town ; while others, who are, or would be esteemed, some of the first in the town, shall bear no burden, when no law or just reason can excuse them.

“3. If the laws made in former years by the General Court be now in force, we plead the law Titled Townships, Sect. 4. And a later law made in March, 1680, to warrant our choice, which liberty we are not willing to part with.

“4. This town being a haven for shipping, and exposed to riots and routs by rude strangers frequenting the same, as woful experience hath lately shown, we conceive it necessary, especially under our present unsettlements, that our head constable should be a man of more than ordinary parts, for the discreet management of himself upon such occasions for keeping the peace, &c. We therefore have made choice of Mr. Phipps as a meet person (we hope) for such a service ; whose personal business and employment can be no more a bar thereunto than the employments of other men.

“Finally. We cannot yet believe that the honored Convention (after due consideration of the premises) will debar us of our just liberties allowed us by law, especially when arbitrary government hath been so lately condemned, and do hope our not attending the above cited, but adhering to our first choice, will admit of no other construction, than an innocent pleading and maintaining our said liberties, which is the uttermost of our design, wherein not this town alone but all others are concerned.

“Submitting ourselves to all your lawful and just determinations, we are yours and the country’s servants.

“Signed in the name, and by the order of the inhabitants of Charlestown.

JOHN FOWLE,
ANDREW STIMSON,
Constables.”

The opposition to the new government produced great excitement in the Colony. The convention declared, July 4, 1689, that ‘all courts of judicature, as formerly held within this Colony,’

should be holden at such times and places as were provided in a law in reference to them "until further settlement." Acting under such authority, James Russell appointed a court at Cambridge on the first Tuesday in October. Thomas Graves objected to this proceeding in the following "writing."

"The writing delivered to James Russell of Charlestown, Esq., by Thomas Graves, Esq., Judge of their Majesty's inferior Court of Pleas, and one of their Majesty's Justices of the Peace within the County of Middlesex.

"To James Russell, of Charlestown, Esq., to be communicated to any others that are in like manner with yourself concerned herein.

"SIR, — Forasmuch as I am credibly informed, that yourself with some other pretended magistrates, intend on the first Tuesday in October next, to meet together at Cambridge to keep a pretended Court of Judicature, not having any authority from our Sovereign Lord and Lady, King William and Queen Mary, enabling you so to do, I therefore, considering the obligation lying upon me, by the commissioner of the peace for this county of Middlesex, as also by a commission to be judge of the inferior court of pleas in said county, both from the Crown of England; neither of which (although I have by the late tumults, not yet stilled, been hindered from executing the power therein to me committed) is yet legally vacated, or superseded; I can do no less to show my loyalty to the Crown of England than to signify unto you that any such meeting can be looked upon no otherwise than as contrary to the peace of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, King William and Queen Mary, their crown and dignity; and therefore, I must, on their Majesties' behalf, warn you, that you presume not to assemble at Cambridge, or any other place within this county, for any such unlawful purpose aforesaid; but that you do at all times bear good faith and allegiance to their sacred Majesties, as you will answer the contrary at your peril.

"Dated at Charlestown, this 21st day of September, in the first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, King William and Queen Mary, Anno Dom., 1689." ¹

This course was sanctioned by Captain Richard Sprague, Captain Laurence Hammond, Deacon John Cutler, and his son, John Cutler, Jr., — all leading citizens. On the 23d of September there was a town meeting in reference to it, the proceedings of which, however, are not on the records. The above named citizens were complained of to the Council, for "misdemeanors" at this meeting, and for publishing this "seditious writing," and summoned to appear before it. Judge Graves, and the others, met the Council September 24. The writing was read to them, and "Mr. Bradstreet, (governor,) made a speech to Mr. Graves." The answer of the latter was in the following terms: —

"As to the paper delivered to Mr. James Russell, I judge I did but my

¹ The People's Right of Election.

duty in it, and therefore cannot in conscience recede from it, and I shall be ready to answer King William and Queen Mary whensoever they or any authorized from them shall call me to an account for the same. I am sworn to the Crown of England, and yourselves have proclaimed King William and Queen Mary to be the rightful sovereigns of the realms and territories belonging thereunto, and therefore I cannot own any lawful authority in any until I be legally informed that they have commission from their sacred Majesties.

THOMAS GRAVES."¹

The offenders, Graves, Hammond, and the two Cutlers, were ordered to give a bond of one hundred pounds for their appearance at the Middlesex Court, or be imprisoned. They declined to enter into bonds, and were imprisoned by confinement to their houses. The town was full of excitement about this subject: "men of Charlestown and several towns thereabouts," — a letter of October 25, says, "threaten to pull down the jail if they put them (Graves, &c.) in."² It was reported that this "was the most ill-affected, distracted and divided town in the country."³ The government ordered Sprague, Hammond and Cutler to be deprived of their commands in the militia; and Captain Sprague was even expelled from the House of Representatives. The precept issued to the town, October 4, for a new choice, was as follows: —

"To the Constables of Charlestown :

"Whereas Captain Richard Sprague has rendered himself incapable of serving their Majesties as a representative, by his contemptuous carriage against this government, for which he is excluded this house : You are therefore forthwith to signify to your town that they have liberty to choose another meet person to serve in his place.

Boston, October 4, 1689.

EBENEZER PROUT,
Clerk of the Representatives."⁴

In the fall, this party sent to England the following Address :

"To the King's most excellent Majesty.

"The humble Address of sundry your Majesty's subjects, inhabitants in Charlestown.

"We, your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, being deeply sensible of the admirable blessings, by the Almighty's providence, bestowed on your Majesty and all your subjects, in making your Majesty the true defender and maintainer of the protestant religion and the laws and liberties of the English nation, and placing you upon the throne of these kingdoms, do return our hearty and unfeigned thanks to God for his great goodness therein. And in all humility offer to your Majesty our duty and allegiance with our continued prayers for your Majesty's long, happy and prosperous reign over us. That as the sun gives heat and warmth to the utmost parts of the earth, so we may be influenced and cherished by your Majesty's grace and favor, and be made partakers of those com-

¹ The People's Right of Election.

² Felt's MSS.

³ Vindication of New England, p. 19.

⁴ Mass. Archives.

mon benefits which your Majesty's great clemency and goodness distributed to all your subjects.

"We cannot but truly lament the great disorder and confusion these parts are brought into by the rash and inconsiderate actions and designs of a disaffected prevailing party amongst us, who, upon strange and groundless pretences, did in the month of April past seize and imprison the person of the governor, several members of the council, the judges, justices and several other principal officers and ministers, and take into their possession and command your Majesty's several forts and garrisons, disband your forces, and thereby wholly subvert and overthrow the government established by your Majesty's predecessor, discharging and hindering all other officers from the further observance and executing of their respective offices, and setting up and placing instead thereof several scenes and representations of government and jurisdiction as uneasy and unsafe for your Majesty's subjects as unwarrantable for them to act. Whereby not only some of us but many other your Majesty's good subjects are brought under great hardships and inconveniences for maintaining and asserting your Majesty's right and sovereignty here (which by many is too much disregarded) and refusing to comply with their exorbitant, irregular and arbitrary actings and proceedings. Having hearts full of duty and loyalty to your Majesty, we chose rather to continue faithful under our sufferings, though to our considerable damage, besides the great loss and spoil and inconveniences that this whole country in general hath already sustained and is likely to sustain thereby, the particulars whereof are too tedious here to relate.

"And as we are fully satisfied we can have no redress or relief herein under God, but from your Majesty's abundant goodness and compassion, which, in all dutifulness, we humbly implore may be extended toward us. And that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to afford your favor and protection to your Protestant subjects here, in settling such form and method of government over them as in your great wisdom shall be thought most proper and agreeable for your Majesty's service, and the good and welfare of your subjects, that they may not be wholly estranged from and denied the benefit of the laws of England. And that all persons holding the fundamentals of faith and order may be amicably treated and according to the rules of Christian charity. The which alone can heal our breaches and compose our disorders, and save us and others your Majesty's subjects from being a prey to our French and Indian enemies, who in this present posture of affairs, have too great advantages against us.

"We humbly beg your Majesty's gracious acceptance of this our Address, being from persons wholly devoted to your Majesty's service in all duty and obedience. And who account it their greatest happiness to be esteemed really they are,

Your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects.

THOMAS GRAVES,	RICHARD SPRAGUE,
RICHARD HOOPER,	JNO. CUTLER, JR.,
TIMOTHY HAWKINS,	JERAHMEEL BOWERS,
SAMUEL WHITMORE,	JOHN JACKSON,
ANDREW MITCHELL,	WM. RICHARDSON,
JOHN ROBINSON,	THOMAS WELD, JR." ¹

¹ This Address, from the Mass. Archives, appears to be a copy. The original was probably sent to England. In the copy here, the christian name of Bowers, and the surname of Weld, Jr., are not given. I have supplied them from MSS. loaned me by Mr. Felt.

The following comments on this Address are from a pamphlet issued by the popular party : —

“This address is an accusation of the country for the rashness and inconsiderateness committed in the revolution : and after some other scurvy flashes and reflections, which were at leisure to deal with, they should have their due, they come at last to petition that they might not be estranged from the laws of England. The meaning of all which is easy to be interpreted ; in short they like not Charter Government, and let them abound in their own sense. As for the plantations having some things diverse from the laws of England, it is no more than all the other English plantations in America may have affirmed of them. We could never learn that New England varies from any laws of England, that would be proper, or were by the King and Parliament intended for such a country. However, this Address is subscribed by Thomas Graves, late judge of the county court ; Richard Sprague, late captain of the trained band, who appeared at the head of his company to assist in the above mentioned revolution in the day thereof ; and ten more, of which one was a Sir Edmund’s captain, one is in our copy subscribed Bowers, without a christian name, and no wonder if he be a Quaker. We suppose it is that Quaker who was one of Sir Edmund’s setters, and begged of him his neighbor’s lands, that lay as convenient for him as Naboth’s vineyard did for Ahab ; that Quaker who with a brutish bawling used to disturb christian assemblies, and more particularly one just as they were entering on the celebration of the Lord’s Supper. We shall not count it worth while to trouble the world with particular characters of the other subscribers : most of them have on some account or other labored under infamy ; and several of them are of that congregation who owned that other address, there of the Church of England, here inhabitants of Charlestown, where in they discover their very good will to wound and rend that honest country in as many capacities as they can. And why all inhabitants of Charlestown ; are not at least four of the twelve inhabitants of other towns ! Must they scum Watertown and Cambridge also, for a panel of twelve honest men and true, to pack a Charlestown jury, for condemning New England’s Charter privileges ! This is strange ; but the strangest of all is, that any men of reputation (such as Mr. Graves and Mr. Sprague) should mingle themselves in any design, with such a lewd, sorry, shabby and obscure crew !”¹

In a short time the party opposed to the revolutionary proceedings, sent a second Address to the Crown, not naming William or Mary. It commenced as follows : —

“To the King’s most Excellent Majesty. The humble address of divers of the gentry, merchants and others, your Majesty’s loyal and dutiful subjects, inhabiting in Boston and Charlestown, and places adjacent, within your Majesty’s territory and dominion of New England in America.”

After representing the distressed state of the country it concluded : —

“Dread Sovereign : We, your poor, loyal, distressed subjects, there-

¹ Vindication of New England, p. 19.

fore heartily supplicate your royal favor to be extended towards us, in commiserating our lamentable estate, and that you will be graciously pleased to take us into your immediate care and protection, and send us such speedy relief and assistance, as in your princely wisdom shall seem most meet, to save us and ours, together with your Majesty's interest in these parts, from total ruin."

This Address was afterwards printed in a pamphlet in London, together with a letter dated "Charlestown, Nov. 22, 1690, signed L. H., — undoubtedly Laurence Hammond. It will be noticed that the document does not say which sovereign was addressed, — whether King James or King William. A severe criticism on the Address and Letter was printed, the same year, in London, entitled "The Humble Address of the Publicans of New England, to which King you please. A Publican is a creature that lives upon a commonwealth."¹ This pamphlet speaks in the following manner of the "Commonwealth Notions" that, the British spies alleged, and not incorrectly, were growing rapidly in New England :

"But the great cry of our Publicans, and by which they would scare us out of our wits, is, a commonwealth, a commonwealth; nay, we dare not speak, act, write, work, nor sit still, for fear of a commonwealth: One would wonder what should occasion all this fear, distraction and disorder in our Publicans about a commonwealth; but to do them right, they have more cause to be at their wit's end, when they think, hear or speak of a commonwealth, than every one thinks; for those state chemists have been hard at work, ever since the days of that mighty hunter Nimrod, to invent a perfect perpetual tyranny; and commonly when they have e'en just done it, to about the same degree Agrippa was a Christian; one unhappy accident or other comes over it; and necessitates one extremity to produce another, and so all blows up into a commonwealth. This has happened to them not once nor thrice, but so many thousand times, that they are now grown hairbrained, and quite beside themselves; and their many and surprising frights have brought them into a continual fancy, that every house, town, island, county, colony, plantation, ship, or any thing they hear, see, or speak of will presently turn to a commonwealth. And to say the truth on't, its no wonder they are in this pickle about it, for they have been longer at work upon it, and met with far more disappointments, than all the projectors of the philosopher's stone, and maleable glass have ever done."²

In December, Captain Sprague and John Cutler, Jr., were arraigned before the Middlesex county court for publishing the "Seditious Libel," forbidding the courts to assemble: the former was acquitted, but the latter was found guilty, and sentenced to

¹ I have not met with the letter signed L. H. The Criticism on it is in the Boston Athenæum.

² The Humble Address of the Publicans of New England, &c., p. 13.

pay a fine of twenty pounds. Captain Hammond, who had been appointed Recorder, refused to give up the records in his possession, — alleging that no authority from William and Mary had ordered them to be given up. This opposition, however, ceased when the Crown authorized the Colonial authorities to continue the government. The submission of Captain Hammond and Deacon Cutler was made in the following letter : —

“To the Honored Governor and Council sitting in Boston.

“HONORED GENTLEMEN : It having pleased his Majesty to authorize and empower you to continue your care in the administration of the government and keeping the peace in this his Colony of the Massachusetts. In obedience to his Majesty whose subjects we are, we do cheerfully submit ourselves thereunto. And do therefore now apply to your honors, humbly praying that what hath been by us done in the vacancy of such authority may not now be imputed to us a contempt of authority, or a factious breach of the peace. For God, who is the searcher of hearts, He knows, and we are sure doth acquit us from any such purpose or design, the guilt whereof we have always dreaded and abhorred.

“Let, we pray you, an almost three months' confinement to our houses, and many other damages attending the same, together with this our serious promise (which will be to us as binding as a bond) to demean ourselves for the future as good subjects to their Majesties and their government here, and peaceably towards all men, expiate for the faults you judge we have committed, and that you will cause to cease any further prosecution of us for the same, and that we may have free liberty to attend our occasions.

“However we have been represented by some, and reputed by many (in this hour and hurry of temptation and distraction, which doubtless ought on all hands to be considered) we are and ever shall be true lovers of our country, and shall heartily pray for, and otherwise endeavor, as we are able, by all lawful ways, the promoting the weal and prosperity thereof, both in Church and in State.

“Praying that all your councils may terminate in the glory of God and the peace and settlement of his afflicted people here, we are

Honored gentlemen, their Majesties faithful subjects
and your humble servants,

LAUR. HAMMOND,
JOHN CUTLER, SEN.”¹

In March, 1690, John Cutler, Jr., tendered his submission; and there was attached to it the name of his father. They stated that their opposition was at a time “Wherein the spirits of men were much discomposed, and many rash, indeliberate things were done;” and expressing their “entire good will to the peace and establishment of this people,” asked to be released from the fine

¹ Mass. Archives, Vol. XXXV. No date is attached to this letter, but it was probably written about Dec. 1689.

that had been imposed. In aid of this petition, Rev. Charles Morton sent to the Convention this letter:—

“MARCH 11, 1689–90.

“HON'D SIRs: It becomes one in my place to promote (as I am able) the peace of my neighbors, and therefore I hope you will pardon the boldness of this Address. I understand Mr. John Cutler, Jr., has presented an humble petition to the Hon'd Court for the remission of his fine and dropping his appeal. I am well persuaded that 'tis not for the destruction but reformation of any person, that you impose at any time legal penalties. And therefore where the end is attained (and the case will bear it) mercy rejoiceth over judgment. He has professed to me, that, as he hath not joined with any to petition against the present government, or a change thereof for a general governor or otherwise, so he will make it his care to demean himself for the future in such manner, as shall give no just occasion of offence. But will quietly attend his own business according to his private station in peace and love among his neighbors. And as to the public, that he will not meddle farther than he shall be regularly called thereunto. And then he shall be ready to do his utmost for the public good. How far the proceedings already past may serve to caution others, or prevent future disturbances in the management of the government, I must leave to your honors' wisdoms; yet please to permit me (ut amicus curie) to suggest a few things to your consideration. The man won by kindness may be worth the having. He has adventured far into the country's service, and may again upon called thereunto. The fine being so considerable may make a great hole in a small estate, which must maintain a growing family. And while I speak to Christian magistrates, I may be bold to intimate my hopes that it will not a little conduce to the success of my ministry, (to the glory of Christ) if I may have the honor to be an effectual intercessor for my people's ease. You may please to communicate these my thoughts according to your prudence. And as I beg pardon for another I must crave the same for myself, that I have made thus bold with you.

“That the God of Heaven will direct and bless your affairs, and happily settle this poor country, is the daily supplication of

“Your honor's well wisher and humble servant,
CHARLES MORTON.”¹

In 1691,² the political excitement in town appears to have subsided, and in 1692 a new charter was obtained from England. Captain Hammond in a short time removed to Boston. Captain Sprague was on the Board of Selectmen, and until his death continued to represent the town in the General Court. Deacon Cut-

¹ Mass. Archives.

² A few items, illustrative of the times, have been reserved for a note. When Andros landed, in 1686, the guns of the battery were fired on a signal from the Boston Town House. In 1686, Sept. 13th, Rev. Cotton Mather preached a sermon before the Artillery Company of this county, on which occasion the President and Deputy President were present. This Company Sewall writes, “had like to have been broken up, the animosity being so high between Charlestown and Cambridge men about the

ler served also in the latter capacity. Thomas Graves a physician died soon after (1697), universally respected for his learning and talents. Although these citizens did not approve of the proceedings subsequent to April 18th, yet Sprague and Hammond were classed by Randolph, in 1681, as of the popular party, or "faction," against whom he exhibited "articles of high misdemeanor,"¹ and the heads of which, in 1682, he proposed to prosecute and fine "for their treasons."² Samuel Nowell, of this town, a prominent citizen who went to England, about 1685, Randolph also characterizes as "a late factious preacher."³

All these citizens, with Lynde, Russell, Phillips and Morton, stand out, in the annals of the times, and deserve to be remembered by posterity, as strong defenders of the constitutional rights of the colony.

The revolutionary proceedings, so indicative of the daring spirit of the Colonists, and of their love of liberty, were regarded, not only with astonishment, but alarm. They suggested the inference (in 1689) that those who justified them designed "to cast off their dependence and obedience to the crown of England;" and it was said "that this would end in the utter ruin of the English interest here," and leave the colonies "a prey to all nations, when the wild beast shall pass by and tread down the thistle."⁴ This charge continued to be made as often as the spirit manifested in 1689, was exhibited. In 1701 the Lords of Trade declared "The independence the colonies now thirst after is notorious;" Quarry wrote home in 1703 that "Commonwealth Notions improve Daily;" and it was said in print in 1705, "The colonists will in process of time, cast off their allegiance to England, and set up a government of their own."⁵

place of training. In 1687, Feb. 25th, Andros visited this town, on which occasion there was a military display—"an extraordinary meeting of the militia, — when the government paid "for beer and cider given to the drummer and soldiers" of the town. The General Court held a session in this town, March, 14th, 1690, on account of the small pox being in Boston. On the 6th of July, 1689, the government ordered "a watch and ward to be kept up" at the causeway, at the Neck, "to examine all Indians travelling to or from the town," and "to search their baskets or other carriage for powder."

¹ Hutch. Collection, p. 526.

² *Ib.*, p. 535.

³ *Ib.*, p. 535.

⁴ *The People's Right to Election* (1689) p. 14.

⁵ Bancroft, Vol. III. p. 108.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1692 to 1764. — Witchcraft. — Cary's Narrative. — Attack on Billerica. — Col. Lynde's Expedition. — Town Expenses. — Execution in Charles River. — Town Clock. — School House Controversy. — New Meeting House. — The Lecture Hour. — Bridge over Charles River. — Inoculation. — Fire Engine. — Insurance Office. — Stoneham. — Paving. — Town's Income. — Ministerial House. — Court House. — Riot. — Illumination. — Burglary. — Punishment. — The Town in 1741. — A Potter's Kiln. — A Comet. — Bounty to Soldiers. — Sale of Pews. — Foresters. — Private School. — Slaves. — Small Pox. — A Spinning School. — Fish Market. — French Neutrals. — Impressment. — An Execution. — Minister's Salary.

CHARLESTOWN, for seventy years, affords but few materials for a continuous narrative, either in its civil or its ecclesiastical history. Yet the short and simple annals of this period are well worthy of notice; for they afford glimpses of the social life of the community, show the gradual increase of municipal conveniences, and reflect the folly or the wisdom of the times.

1692. This year was a memorable one in the History of New England, signalized as it was by the prosecutions and executions for the imaginary crime of witchcraft. The prisons in the vicinity, — those of Boston, Cambridge, and Salem, — were crowded with supposed witches. "All the securities of society were dissolved. Every man's life was at the mercy of every other man."¹ None, however pure in life, however beloved in society, were safe from accusation. A member of one of the most respected families in town, — Mrs. Cary — was arrested. The narrative of her husband, Nathaniel Cary, this year at the head of the Board of Selectmen, and afterwards a representative, gives so interesting a view of her arraignment, her treatment in prison, and escape, and is so illustrative of the times, that it is inserted entire.

"I having heard some days, that my wife was accused of witchcraft, being much disturbed at it, by advice we went to Salem-Village, to see if the afflicted did know her; we arrived there 24th May, it happened to be a day appointed for examination; accordingly soon after our arrival, Mr. Hathorn and Mr. Curwin, &c. went to the Meeting-house, which was the place appointed for that work, the minister began with prayer, and hav-

¹ Upham's Lectures, p, 26.

ing taken care to get a convenient place, I observed, that the afflicted were two girls of about ten years old, and about two or three other, of about eighteen, one of the girls talked most, and could discern more than the rest. The prisoners were called in one by one, and as they came in were cried out of, &c. The prisoner was placed about seven or eight feet from the justices, and the accusers between the justices and them; the prisoner was ordered to stand right before the justices, with an officer appointed to hold each hand, lest they should therewith afflict them, and the prisoner's eyes must be constantly on the justices; for if they looked on the afflicted, they would either fall into their fits, or cry out of being hurt by them! after examination of the prisoners, who it was afflicted these girls, &c. they were put upon saying the Lord's Prayer, as a trial of their guilt; after the afflicted seemed to be out of their fits, they would look steadfastly on some one person, and frequently not speak; and then the justices said they were struck dumb, and after a little time would speak again; then the justices said to the accusers, which of you will go and touch the prisoner at the bar! Then the most courageous would adventure, but before they had made three steps would ordinarily fall down as in a fit; the justices ordered that they should be taken up and carried to the prisoner, that she might touch them; and as soon as they were touched by the accused, the justices would say, they are well, before I could discern any alteration; by which I observed that the justices understood the manner of it. Thus far I was only as a spectator, my wife also was there part of the time, but no notice taken of her by the afflicted, except once or twice they came to her and asked her name.

“ But I having an opportunity to discourse Mr. Hale (with whom I had formerly acquaintance) I took his advice, what I had best to do, and desired of him that I might have an opportunity to speak with her that accused my wife; which he promised should be, I acquainting him that I reposed my trust in him.

“ Accordingly he came to me after the examination was over, and told me I had now an opportunity to speak with the said accuser, viz. : Abigail Williams, a girl of eleven or twelve years old; but that we could not be in private at Mr. Parris's house, as he had promised me; we went therefore into the alehouse, where an Indian man attended us, who it seems was one of the afflicted; to him we gave some cider, he shewed several scars, that seemed as if they had been long there, and shewed them as done by witchcraft, and acquainted us that his wife, who also was a slave, was imprisoned for witchcraft. And now instead of one accuser, they all came in, who began to tumble down like swine, and then three women were called in to attend them. We in the room were all at a stand, to see who they would cry out of; but in a short time they cried out, Cary; and immediately after a warrant was sent from the justices to bring my wife before them, who were sitting in a chamber near by, waiting for this.

“ Being brought before the justices, her chief accusers were two girls; my wife declared to the justices, that she never had any knowledge of them before that day; she was forced to stand with her arms stretched out. I did request that I might hold one of her hands, but it was denied me; then she desired me to wipe the tears from her eyes, and the sweat from her face, which I did; then she desired she might lean herself on me, saying she should faint.

“ Justice Hathorn replied, she had strength enough to torment those persons, and she should have strength enough to stand. I speaking something against their cruel proceedings, they commanded me to be silent, or else I should be turned out of the room. The Indian before mentioned,

was also brought in, to be one of her accusers ; being come in, he now (when before the justices) fell down and tumbled about like a hog, but said nothing. The justices asked the girls, who afflicted the Indian? They answered she (meaning my wife) and now lay upon him ; the justices ordered her to touch him, in order to his cure, but her head must be turned another way, lest instead of curing, she should make him worse, by her looking on him, her hand being guided to take hold of his ; but the Indian took hold of her hand, and pulled her down on the floor, in a barbarous manner ; then his hand was taken off, and her hand put on his, and the cure was quickly wrought. I being extremely troubled at their inhuman dealings, uttered a hasty speech [That God would take vengeance on them, and desired that God would deliver us out of the hands of unmerciful men.] Then her Mittimus was writ, I did with difficulty and charge obtain the liberty of a room, but no beds in it ; if there had, could have taken but little rest that night, she was committed to Boston prison ; but I obtained a Habeas Corpus to remove her to Cambridge prison, which is in our county of Middlesex. Having been there one night, next morning the jailor put irons on her legs (having received such a command) the weight of them was about eight pounds ; these irons and her other afflictions, soon brought her into convulsion fits, so that I thought she would have died that night. I sent to intreat that the irons might be taken off, but all intreaties were in vain, if it would have saved her life, so that in this condition she must continue. The trials at Salem coming on, I went thither, to see how things were there managed ; and finding that the Spectre-evidence was there received, together with idle, if not malicious stories, against people's lives, I did easily perceive which way the rest would go ; for the same evidence that served for one, would serve for all the rest, I acquainted her with her danger ; and that if she were carried to Salem to be tried, I feared she would never return. I did my utmost that she might have her trial in our own county, I with several others petitioning the Judge for it, and were put in hopes of it ; but I soon saw so much, that I understood thereby it was not intended, which put me upon consulting the means of her escape ; which through the goodness of God was effected, and she got to Rhode Island, but soon found herself not safe when there, by reason of the pursuit after her ; from thence she went to New York, along with some others that had escaped their cruel hands ; where we found his excellency Benjamin Fletcher, Esq., governor, who was very courteous to us. After this, some of my goods were seized in a friend's hands, with whom I had left them, and myself imprisoned by the sheriff, and kept in custody half a day, and then dismissed ; but to speak of their usage of the prisoners, and their inhumanity shown to them, at the time of their execution, no sober Christian could bear ; they had also trials of cruel mockings ; which is the more, considering what a people for religion, I mean the profession of it, we have been ; those that suffered being many of them church members, and most of them unspotted in their conversation, till their adversary, the Devil, took up this method for accusing them.

NATHANIEL CARY."

1693. The Witchcraft spell was not broken until this year. One of the remarkable trials took place in this town, January 31, at the session of the Superior Court. The reputed witch, Sarah Daston, was seventy or eighty years old ; and the rumor spread that " If there were a witch in the world, she was one," for she had been " so accounted of" for many years. A large number

thronged to hear the trial. A multitude of witnesses testified against her, who detailed the accidents or illnesses, that, during twenty years, had happened to them after quarrels with her. The Spectre-Evidence was not used, and the Jury, to their credit, brought in a verdict of "Not Guilty," although it was affirmed that there was more evidence against her than served to convict at Salem. Judge Danforth, however, admonished her in the words, "Woman, woman, repent; there are shrewd things come in against you." She was remanded to prison for her fees, where, in a short time, she expired.

There is no allusion to Witchcraft on the town records; but Rev. Charles Morton counselled and acted with those who urged the prosecutions. This remark, however, is not designed as a reflection upon this eminent character. His belief in it was in common with that of many of the distinguished men of his time, both in this country and in England. In the latter, it was so prevalent, that some of the towns even paid the infamous witch-discoverers for their services in proving persons to be witches;¹ and more persons were put to death there in a single county, and in a short space of time, than suffered in all New England.²

1694. "The favorite coin of our ancestors, Felt writes, the Pine Tree money, was still so plenty, that £675 of it had been recently ordered for remission to Sir Henry Ashurst in London."³

1695. The Indians, at the instigation of the French, renewed their wars; and this year two persons living in Haverhill were wounded by them, and an attack was made on Billerica on the 5th of August. The surprise of the latter was accompanied with the common acts of Indian warfare; in one family, that of John Leviston, his mother-in-law and five young children were killed, and his oldest daughter carried into captivity. Fifteen persons were either killed or taken. While this part of Middlesex county was in a state of alarm, Col. Lynde of this town received a commission to pursue the Indians; but so effectually had they concealed their flight, even tying up the mouths of their dogs with wampum to prevent their barking, that all efforts to find them proved unavailing.⁴ Col. Lynde presented the following official account of his expedition:—

¹ See page 117 of this work.

³ Felt's Mass. Currency, p. 51.

² Hutchinson, Vol. II. p. 42.

⁴ Farmer's Billerica.

“ Aug. 23, 1695. Receiving commission from the Honorable William Stoughton, Lieutenant Governor, Commander-in-chief, over all the province of Massachusetts, with instructions for his Majesty’s service in the county of Middlesex : pursuant whereunto, I went that night to Billerica, where I found about three hundred men in arms from Woburn, Reading, Malden, Medford, Charlestown, Cambridge, Watertown, under conduct of Major William Johnson ; Major Jeremiah Swaine ; Major Wade ; Capt. William Greene ; Capt. John Greene ; Lt. Remington ; Lt. Haman ; Capt. Gerfield ; Sergeant Bond and Mr. Sherman.

“ That night we marched to the river of Merrimack, guarded the fords there, being three between Andover and Chelmsford, with about forty men at each ford, and with about one hundred men encamped that night at Prospect Hill, that lies between Chelmsford and the river, on the northern side of the great swamp ; leaving the remaining forces to guard the town. As soon as it was light, on the 24th of August instant, we sent men to the top of the said hill, where we had a view of the said swamp, and the country far about, but could discover no fire anywhere. Thence we proceeded to range the woods between Andover and Chelmsford, but finding no sign of our enemies, we rendezvous at a place called Sandy Pond, about eight miles from Billerica eastward ; from whence about eleven of the clock that day we went to the great swamp, dismounted half our men, the other half taking their horses. We caused the men on foot to pass through the swamp in a rank, each man at distance as much as was convenient, appointed to rendezvous again at Prospect Hill. Major Johnson with about forty men compassing the swamp on the west side, and myself with the rest of the soldiers on the east side. Our men on foot, with much difficulty having got through the swamp, gave us account that they saw a new track and smelt Indians in one place, but did not judge by their track there were above two, having again rendezvous about four o’clock, afternoon, near Prospect Hill, having before noon ranged the woods belonging partly to Andover and Chelmsford to the eastward of Prospect Hill, we proceeded to range the woods towards Chelmsford ; rendezvousing again near the time of sun-setting at the chief-fording place on the Merrimack below Hunt’s garrison ; where I advised with all our officers. Having no prospect of doing service against the enemy ; considering the evil that had accrued by drawing off all forces at once, I left a guard of ten men to guard that ford, under the direction of Hunt and Foster of Billerica, until the 29th day of August, instant, at night, and then to be dismissed without further order. Marching then up to Billerica town in diverse parties, we rendezvous at the Ordinary, where, paying off the army with thankful acknowledgments for their ready and willing services, — at their request, I dismissed them according to their desires, to make the best of their way home, which without doubt they attended ; though with difficulty, by reason of the darkness of the night. So concluding,

I am, sir, your servant,

JOSEPH LYNDE, Lt. Col.”

“ Dated at Charlestown, Aug. 25, 1695.”

“ P. S. We have left about five hundred of bread in the hands of Capt. Danforth, who was not so prudent in the disposal of some of what was spent, as in my way home I was informed, as he should have been. I directed him at my coming away to preserve what was left until further order.

Yours as above,

J. L.”¹

¹ Mass. Archives, Vol. LI, p. 41.

1696. The guns taken from the Battery in 1687, were, on the petition of the selectmen, in March, 1690, ordered to be restored; and the Court abated the town its proportion of two single country rates to compensate it for the damage done to the Battery, and towards repairing it. But all the guns were not replaced until this year (1696); when efficient measures were taken to rebuild this ancient fortification. An order of Lieutenant Governor Stoughton authorized Colonels Phillips and Lynde "to cause the inhabitants to work by turns" on it. Three sakers that had been carried away and were mounted in Boston, and another piece of ordnance taken at Port Royal, were ordered to be delivered to the chief military officers of this town.

The town-house was repaired this year. New sills were put under it; new posts put in the turret; a new belfrey made; and the platform repaired. Samuel Griffin was the carpenter, who was to have for his "work and stuff done and completed workmanlike, five pounds and ten shillings, besides 15d. per foot for the sill in the garret."

1697. At a town-meeting, March 1st, it was voted "that the publishing of banns of matrimony should be on Lecture-days, or any other public times, and not restrained to Sabbath-days only." A great chair and a new school bell were purchased for the School-house.

1698. Judge Sewall, in his Diary, has the following chronicle of the state of the ice in Charles river, in February of this year. "February 19, I go over the ice and visit Mr. Morton, who keeps his bed. 21st I rode over to Charlestown on the ice, then over to Stower's (Chelsea), so to Mr. Wigglesworth. The snow was so deep that I had a hard journey, — could go but a foot pace on Mystic river, the snow was so deep. 26th. A considerable quantity of ice went away last night, so that now there is a glade of water along by Governor's island, about as far as Bird island. 28th. A guard is set upon Charles river to prevent persons from venturing over on the ice for fear of drowning; and the ferrymen are put upon cutting and clearing the ice, which they do so happily, that I think the boat passeth once a day."

1699. The warrants for town-meetings at this period did not always specify the subjects to be acted upon as definitely as they

do at the present time. One issued this year, May 5, was expressed as follows: "then ordered the town clerk to sign the warrant to warn the freeholders to meet the 22nd inst., May, to choose representatives, and several other concerns of the town." "The Worshipful James Russell, Esquire," was often chosen Moderator.

1700. At the Annual town-meeting, March 4, Voted, "That all the waste land belonging to the town on the north side of Mystic river should be divided, and laid out equally to every person an equal share that hath been an inhabitant of this town six years, and is twenty-one years old, and the like share to all widows, householders, that have been six years inhabitants."

The selectmen, November, 12th, granted Capt. Nathaniel Byfield, Esq., Capt. Andrew Belcher, and company, liberty "to set up such a furnace or kiddle for melting tallow, in order to making candles in the house on the wharf late the possession of Lieut. Randolph Nichols."

On the 17th of January, Sewall writes; "A great fire broke out at Charlestown, last night, though very rainy. Three houses burnt; viz.: the Widow Cutler's and two more.

1701. At the annual meeting in March, it was voted, "That if there should be a county school settled by the General Court, that this town would raise forty pounds in order to providing for it, if it be settled in this town."

1702. The town raised this year for the poor £ 20; for repairing the meeting-house and school-house £ 20; for high-ways £ 20; for bell-man £ 11; for town treasurer £ 4; for town clerk £ 2; for selectmen's expenses £ 5 and enough to make the school-master's salary £ 40.

1703. The battery was again repaired, and money was paid, for aprons for the great guns, for plank for the platform, spikes, &c. It was customary for the selectmen to post "the middle price of wheat:" in 1696 it was posted at eight shillings a bushel—this year (1703) it was four shillings and six-pence.

1704. A report was accepted, Dec. 25, in relation to the town's rights to the Land of Nod, and an action commenced against trespassers. See page 111.

The following vote shows the care the town took to obtain qualified teachers. The selectmen appointed, Dec. 29th, Samuel Hey-

man, Esq., Capt. Samuel Phipps, and Mr. Joseph Whittemore to be a committee, in the name of the selectmen, to inquire of Mr. Brattle and the fellows of the college, concerning Mr. Wissell, whether he was a fit man to be a schoolmaster for the town, — information from some persons having been given “of his worth and qualifications for said service.” The report was favorable; and Mr. Peleg Wissell was engaged to “teach children to write, cypher, and perfect them in reading English, and to teach them and instruct them in grammar learning.”

This year there was in this community one of those public exhibitions that were common to the times, but which a higher civilization regards with horror. On the 13th of June seven persons were condemned to the penalty of death in Boston for robbery and murder committed on the high seas. Up to the hour of the execution, the ministers were indefatigable in their offices to the wretched men. They preached and prayed with them every day; and, in addition, catechised them, and gave them “many occasional exhortations.” On the day of execution, June 30th, “pursuant to the death-warrant,” the Provost Marshal and his officers, the constables, and “forty musketeers” guarded the criminals as they walked from the prison to Scarlet’s wharf, — the silver ore they had stolen being carried before them. They “were crowded and thronged on all sides with multitudes of spectators.” They went, from Scarlet’s wharf, by water, to the gallows, which had been erected in Charles river, on Boston side. It is not necessary to detail the prayers of the ministers or the dying speeches of the pirates. One was reprieved on the gallows, but six suffered the dreadful penalty of the law.¹

1705. The selectmen, March 12, agreed “with David Ray to be bellman, to go about the town with his bell every night from eleven o’clock until five in the morning, to keep watch for alarums and fires, and give timely notice thereof; and for his faithful performance of said work, it is agreed he shall receive sixteen pounds out of the town treasury, if he continue in said service, and faithfully perform it one whole year from the twenty-seventh day of November, last past, which he hath promised and agreed to do,

¹ Hand-bill issued at the time: the gallows was probably erected, and the pirates buried at low water mark.

except a military watch should be commanded." The town bell was rung daily, from March, at five o'clock in the morning and eight in the evening; and on Sabbath-days, &c. for meetings.

1706. At the annual meeting, the town voted to prosecute the town of Malden for its neglect in not assisting to repair the Battery. In 1708 other repairs were made, and Malden then agreed to pay of the whole expense, (thirty pounds) nine pounds in sleepers for the platform.

1707. Joseph Whittemore, in a petition, stated that "the country road leading to Cambridge is very narrow and crooked" opposite land shortly to be his, and offered to straighten it by giving in land and taking "a small dark corner of land" belonging to the town. The request was granted.

1708. At a town meeting it was voted to grant Edward Sheath permission to set some posts in the Training Field, "to make ropes on, provided it be not offensive to the neighborhood." The selectmen agreed this year with Mr. Ivory "to mend the pulpit and fix it to Mr. Bradstreet's satisfaction."

1709. At this period it was customary for the town, through the selectmen, to grant permission to influential citizens to build pews in the meeting-house. This year Capt. William Rowse, who had purchased of one of the heirs, an interest in the late Capt. Thomas Russell's pew, complained that he "was something disturbed by others taking up part of the same pew." The selectmen confirmed the pew to Capt. Rowse, on condition that he allowed the children of Mr. Russell to occupy it.

1710. The selectmen approbated for inn-holders, Ruth Wyer, Mrs. Trumble, Mrs. Mabel Jenner, Mrs. Ruth Waite, William Patten, and Benjamin Frothingham; and for retailers out of doors, Edward Emerson, Mrs. Sarah Newell, Elizabeth Newell, Mrs. Mehitable Cutler, Nicholas Lawrence, Thomas Harris, Seth Sweetser, and Calvin Galpine.

1711. The following record of May 11, shows the town expenses for this year:—

"Voted, The several sums hereafter mentioned, to be raised by way of vote on the Polls and Estates in Charlestown, to defray the necessary charges of the town for the year ensuing, viz. :—

For the Schoolmaster's Salary,	£40 0 0
For the Minister's House Rent, :	10 0 0
For Town Clerk's and Town Treasurer's Salary,	7 0 0

For the Bellman ringing the Bell, and sweeping the Meeting House, &c.	£10	0	0
For Relief of the Poor,	35	0	0
For Repairing the Meeting House, Town House, and School House,	10	0	0
For Selectmen's expense,	7	0	0
For Payment of last year's Representative,	7	10	0
For Repairing Highways,	20	0	0
For Hiring Bulls, &c.,	10	0	0
For a Bellman for the night, and more if the Selectmen see necessity of it,	16	0	0
			£172 10 0

Nothing appears on Record relative to the salary of the minister; but there is, in a previous year, an allusion to contributions for this object; and in 1721, forty pounds were raised "for minister's arrears."

1712. It is an indication of the enterprise of the time that it was proposed to build a bridge over Charles river, at the Old Ferry. The General Court Records, under the date of March 20, contain the following record:—

"The Council declare they are ready to promote the attainment of so beneficial a work as the bridge projected, and judge the best method to bring it to pass, is for private gentlemen to undertake and carry on the same; and for their encouragement, that a toll be forthwith granted and set by the act of the General Assembly;—such as shall be judged reasonable, to be paid for man, horses, and other beasts, carts, carriages and coaches; leaving to the College their interest and revenue of the Ferry there, to be duly paid from time to time, with the advance of forty shillings per annum thereto, for the term of fifteen years next after the erecting of said bridge, without any advance or increase after the end of the first fifteen years; and that in case the projection be attempted and fail, the river and harbor be put in good condition as at present."

The town voted in May, five pounds to place "poor children at such woman's schools as shall be allowed of by the selectmen;" "such children whose parents are not able to bring them to school." The teacher having requested that regulations might be made about the town school, it was voted, "That whereas the school being thronged with so many small reading children that are not able to spell or read as they ought to do, by reason of which Latin scholars, writers and cypherers cannot be duly attended and instructed as they ought to be," Capt. Samuel Phipps and Mr. Jonathan Dowse were chosen "inspectors and regulators of that matter."

1713. The town voted, at the annual meeting, "that they would have a town clock to be kept in the town house, and to be procured at the charge of the town;" and a committee was raised to buy it.

This year several citizens made contributions towards building a new school-house, one offering a bell, others lime, bricks, paint, and stone, and one "a raising dinner;" and the town, in May, voted fifty pounds for this purpose. But a controversy arose about its location. The committee chosen to build it, selected the spot "where the cage stood," a site north of the meeting-house. But this invasion of the old place of punishment was warmly opposed. A town-meeting was called, July 14, to act upon the matter, when it was voted "to null all the votes concerning the building of the new school-house." To this, twenty-six citizens recorded their dissent, and to the whole action of the meeting. A new meeting was called August 17; when it was voted to build on the Hill, near the old house. The first committee then declined; and the selectmen built one "thirty feet long, twenty feet wide, twelve feet stud, one floor of sleepers, and one floor of joist aloft." The bills were approved February 14, 1714, — the cost was £104. 4. 11. The undertaking was evidently a considerable one for the day. The salary of the grammar master, at this period, was fifty pounds, and four pounds were voted "to pay for teaching children to write among our inhabitants near Reading."

1714. The following Post Office advertisement appeared May 31, in the Boston News Letter: —

"These are to give notice to all persons concerned, that the Post Office in Boston is opened every Monday morning from the middle of March to the middle of September, at seven of the clock, to deliver out all letters that do come by the post till twelve o'clock. From twelve to two o'clock being dinner time, no office kept. And from two o'clock in the afternoon to six o'clock, the office will be open to take in all letters to go by the southern and western post, and none to be taken in after that hour, excepting for the eastern post, till seven at night."

1715. At the annual March meeting, the town voted "that the selectmen should draw up something to prevent forestalling and engrossing provision before it is brought into the town, and present the same to his Majesty's justices of the quarter sessions for Middlesex, — desiring their confirmation thereof, and establishing it as a by-law for the town."

William Cutlove was admitted an inhabitant "and had liberty to set up a still-house without the Neck."

1716. The town voted (by paper votes) June 21, 1715, to build a new meeting-house, and that "it should stand as near the old one as can be, or where the old one stands, with such additions

of land as shall be needful for it." A committee of eleven were chosen to build it, viz.: Col. John Phillips, Capt. Joseph Lynde, Capt. Nathaniel Carey, Capt. Samuel Phipps, Capt. Charles Chambers, Capt. Jonathan Dowse, Capt. Michael Gill, Doct. Thomas Graves, Capt. Samuel Frothingham, Mr. Daniel Russell, and Mr. Nathaniel Frothingham. This committee were instructed to collect what they could "by voluntary subscriptions," in aid of this work. The house was raised June 20, and used for public worship August 5. The committee reported, May 20, 1717, that the house was finished; the cost, £ 1899. 3. 10, and that the contributions amounted to £ 1925. 3. 0. It was seventy-two feet long, fifty-two feet wide, and had two galleries.¹

The Boston News Letter of August 27, 1716, contains the following advertisement, —

"This is to give notice, that at the house of Mr. George Brownell, late schoolmaster in Hanover street, Boston, are all sorts of millinery works done; making up dresses, and flowering of muslin, making of furbelow'd scarfs, and quilting, and cutting of gentlewomen's hair in the newest fashion; and also young gentlewomen and children taught all sorts of fine works, as feather-work, filigree and painting on glass, embroidering in a new way, Turkey work for handkerchiefs two ways, fine new fashion purses, flourishing and plain work, and dancing cheaper than ever was taught in Boston, brocaded work for handkerchiefs, and short aprons upon muslin, artificial flowers worked with a needle."

1717. The town voted this year to "make the Causeway at the Neck," and that the committee should "have liberty to dig gravel for said work any where in the town's land, provided they damnify no man in his property, nor the king's, or town's ways." Sixty pounds were voted in May and sixty pounds in September for this purpose.

Much controversy occurred at this period as to which town should be the shire-town of the county, Charlestown or Cambridge. Judge Sewall writes, June 12, that there was a hearing before the Council. "Mr. Auchmuty pleaded very well for Charlestown. His first discourse was very well worth hearing. Mr. Remington alleged and proved for Cambridge very pertinately and fully." On the 13th the Council decided in favor of Cambridge. The next day there was a spirited contest in the House of Deputies on

¹ Judge Sewall writes, under date of June 20, 1716, "I went over to Charlestown in the morning, and drove a pin in Charlestown meeting-house, in the corner post next Mr. Bradstreet's. Gave an Angel (a gold coin). I sat in the nearest shop and saw them raise the third post towards the Ferry, from the corner post. Gave me a cool tankard."

the question of concurring with the Council. Sewall writes: "Could not tell by lifting up the hands, — were fain to divide the House. They for Cambridge went to the north side, — they for Charlestown to the south. Cambridge had forty-six — Charlestown forty-one."

1718. On the decease of a pauper, the following vote was passed by the selectmen: "Ordered Nathaniel Dowse, Treasurer, to provide for Joseph Fenton's funeral, a coffin, a grave, eight pairs of gloves, six gallons of good wine, and to get a pall, and bells ringed for his interring by five of the clock the next day."

The sum of three pounds was voted for a school on Mystic side; eight pounds for one in the precinct near Reading, and sixty pounds for the grammar schoolmaster.

1719. At the annual March meeting, a motion was made by Col. Gill "for having the Lecture at Charlestown to begin an hour sooner than heretofore: i. e. at eleven o'clock," which was passed, and the Hon. Jonathan Dowse, Esq., and Col. Michael Gill were appointed "to treat with the ministers, and to signify to them the town's consent" to have the Lecture begin at this hour.

1720. The project of building a bridge was renewed this year, and the town voted to instruct its representatives "to promote the building of a bridge over Charles river at the place where the Ferry is now kept, viz.: from between Mr. Gees and Hudson's Point to the landing place on this side, where the ferry boats generally land their passengers, and at no other place."

1721. At a town-meeting, August 14, after hearing the petition of "sundry inhabitants on the north side of Mystic river, who desired to be set off from this town to Malden," it was unanimously voted that the request "should not be granted." The petitioners applied, in 1723, to the General Court, and the town, May 8, appointed a committee "to answer to the petition."

At a meeting, Sept. 27, it was voted that the town should take out its proportion of the last £50,000, loan, being £1135, and Henry Phillips, Ebenezer Austin, and John Fowle were appointed trustees to receive it. Of this money, £135 were appropriated to build a house and barn at Lynn, on the town's farm; £100 to supply the necessities of such as should have the small-pox; £900 to loan to citizens at five per cent. interest, — no person to have more than £30, — no one less than £10.

The town this year suffered from the ravages of the small-pox, and the selectmen, Dec. 25, directed the sexton not "on any account whatsoever, without order from them, to toll above three bells in one day for the burial of any persons. It being represented to them a discouragement to those persons sick of the small-pox. Among those who died of it were Rev. Joseph Stevens, one of the ministers of the town, and nearly all his family.

1722. The selectmen paid for a pauper who died of the small-pox, besides watching and attendance, £4. 12. 0; for gloves at the funeral, 28s.; for one gallon green wine, 6s. 6d., and one gallon of sweet wine, 6s. 6d.

At the annual March meeting the following vote was passed:—

"Voted, that no inhabitant of this town do presume to receive or entertain in their houses, any person or persons whatsoever in order to receive the small-pox by inoculation, or otherwise, on pain or penalty of twenty shillings, the one half for the use of the poor of said town, and the other half to him or them that shall inform and prosecute the same. And likewise the same penalty of twenty shillings to be paid by any person or persons intruding themselves into said town, and found under the operation as aforesaid, to be recovered and disposed of as aforesaid."

1723. The selectmen, Feb. 8, "gave out a warrant to the constables of this town to warn a free negro, called Robin, at Daniel Greene's, to depart out of town."

1724. The town voted to raise thirty pounds to "buy an engine,"—the first one it owned; to buy a bell for the school-house,¹ and build a belfry; to appropriate two acres of its farm "at the Wood-end," for "a training-field and burying-place;" to pull down the old watch-house; to choose a committee to act with the county committee to locate the new prison on the Town-house Hill.

This year the first insurance office established in America was opened in Boston by Joseph Marion, notary public. In 1748 this person advertised that it "was still held and kept by him at his office, where money upon the bottoms of ships and vessels may be obtained for a reasonable premium; which affair of merchandise, as well as other clerkship, the trading part and others, may be by him furnished with fidelity and despatch."²

1725. The amount raised to defray the expenses of the town this year was £334. The schoolmaster's salary, the largest item, was £80; the relief of the poor and the highways, £70 each.

¹ The next year Mr. Daniel Russell presented the free school with a new bell.

² Boston Weekly News, Nov. 3, 1748.

Captain Benjamin Geary and fifty-three others petitioned that they might be set off for a township, (afterwards Stoneham); and William Paine and seventeen others, that they might be set off to Malden. The town voted not to grant either petition. An agreement, however, was made with the Stoneham petitioners, and the General Court, December 1, 1725, passed the following act :

“ In the House of Representatives: Whereas, the town of Charlestown, within the county of Middlesex, is of great extent and length, and lies commodiously for two townships, and the northerly part thereof being competently filled with inhabitants who labor under great difficulties by their remoteness from the place of public worship; and the said northerly part have thereupon made their application to the said town, and have likewise addressed this Court, that they may be set off a distinct and separate town, and the inhabitants of Charlestown, by their agents, having consented to their being set off accordingly, and a committee of this Court having viewed the northerly part of the said town of Charlestown, and reported in favor of the Petitioners :

“ *Resolved*, That the northerly part of the town of Charlestown be erected into a separate and distinct township, by the name of And that the bounds and limits of the said town of be according to the agreement made by and between the agents, for and in behalf of the said town of Charlestown and the petitioners of the northerly part thereof, and that all the lands and meadows within the said town of shall be and remain to such uses and appropriations as are in the said agreement made and no other, and that the petitioners have leave to bring in a bill for erecting the lands within the bounds aforementioned into a separate and distinct township by the name of accordingly.”

1726. The town leased Joseph Frost the southerly side of Penny Ferry for twenty-five years, at five shillings a year, and the northerly side to Samuel Sweetser for the same sum; both agreeing to maintain good ways to low water mark, and to keep good boats to accommodate the travel over the ferry.

The project was suggested this year of building a bridge over this ferry (where Malden bridge is), but the town voted in the negative in relation to it.

The inhabitants of Medford petitioned the town that the lands on the north side of Medford river might be added to their town, which was dismissed. The town also raised a committee to oppose a petition presented to the General Court, praying that a portion of territory might be set off to Malden; and another to answer the petition of Medford. The Malden petitioners were successful; and the General Court, June 7, 1726, passed the following act :

“ On the petition of Joses Bucknam, Jacob Wilson, and Jonathan Bar-

ret on behalf of the town of Malden, and that part of the town of Charlestown on the north side of Mystic river, praying as entered Dec. 23, 1725. In Council read again, together with the answer of the town of Charlestown, and the same being duly considered, ordered, that the inhabitants of Charlestown within the limits described in this petition, with their estates, and the lands belonging to the inhabitants of Malden within the same limits, be set off from the said town of Charlestown and joined to the town of Malden to all intents and purposes whatsoever; provided that the ferry called Penny Ferry, with the profits thereof, remain to the said town of Charlestown, and that the way on the north side lately purchased by Charlestown lay open for the use of the said ferry."

The taxes of the town this year were:—

"Town Rate,	. . . . .	£431	9	8
County Rate,	. . . . .	18	18	1
Province Tax,	. . . . .	310	4	10
Total,	. . . . .	£790	12	7."

1727. The town voted fifty pounds to pave Fish-street, commencing at the little bridge by the ferry, and to extend until the sum be expended.

This year there were in the town four hundred and twelve ratable polls, and thirty-five not ratable; of these fifty-two were at sea.

A record was made of the income of the town. This was classed as "The towns, the free school, and the poor." The town's income was: rents of four farms, £77; five lots of land, £2. 7. 6; White Island, £0. 16. 0; horse pasture, £0. 15. 0; Penny Ferry, £10. 0; money at interest, (£246), £14. 15. 2; and three lots of land of which the rent is not stated. The poor's income was: rent of Lynn farm, £9; house bequeathed by Capt. Sprague, £18; money at interest, (£218. 10), £13. 2. 2; the free school's income was: rent of Lovell's island, £17; School lot, £5; School Marsh, £1. 10. 0; money at interest, (£357. 10), £21. 9; and Souhegan farm and two lots, the rent of which is not given.

1728. In May it was voted to build an almshouse,—the first one erected in the town. It was located in the square, "fourteen feet from the county house, lately built," and was fifty feet long, thirteen feet wide, and thirteen feet stud, with eight fire rooms. It cost £251, of which £108. 4. 6 were raised by contributions.

The town voted "That no hucksters, or other person whatsoever shall, within the town of Charlestown, buy, contract or bargain for any sort of grain, meal, butter, fowl, mutton, veal, pork, eggs, or any other sort of provision, while it is bringing between

Cambridge, Medford, and deacon Jonathan Carey's, except persons that live between said places, for their own family's use, before two of the clock in the afternoon " on penalty of 20s. for each offence.

1729. The town voted that it would not " keep the bellman to go in the night the year ensuing." In the newspapers the article of " fresh New York flour " is advertised ; tea, coffee, and chocolate were common in the stores.

1730. An appropriation, for several years, continued to be made for paving. The only two streets that were partly paved at this time, were Main-street and Joiner's-street. This year £ 60 were raised for this purpose.

Governor Belcher appointed commissioners to examine the forts and batteries ; who reported, December 21, that on the 12th they " went to the battery in Charlestown and found the works there entirely laid waste, but are of opinion that the said battery be rebuilt in the same, or in some more convenient place." The inventory of the stores was as follows : 6 cannon, 3 eighteen pounders and 3 eight pounders ; 65 eighteen pound shot and 10 chain shot ; 4 sponges, 2 worms, 2 ladles, 4 rammers, 10 handspikes, 10 linch stocks ; an old shattered flag.

On September 17, the General Court granted to Charlestown £ 100 it having " been sorely visited with the small-pox, which occasioned great distress " for " some months past."

1731. A petition, signed by Capt. Joseph Whittemore and others, was presented to the town, praying " for a spot on the Common to set a meeting-house on." This project, however, was abandoned.

1732. At the annual town-meeting, in March, voted, " That Mr. Stephen Badger, Jr., be desired to read and set the psalms in the meeting-house in the time of public worship," and that " he be excused his poll-tax so long as he officiates in said work."

1733. The town built " a ministerial house " for the accommodation of Rev. Hull Abbott, fifty feet long, nineteen feet wide, and eighteen feet high, with a gambrell roof, with three stacks of chimneys, and a room ten feet square at the back side for a study.

1734. The town, at the annual meeting, March 4, 1733, voted to be at one half the expense towards building a new court-house,

the present one standing "in a very cold and uncomfortable place;" and appointed "Richard Foster, Jr., Esq., Capt. William Wyer, Capt. Ezekiel Cheever, Mr. Isaac Parker, and Capt. Samuel Frothingham," a committee to communicate this vote to the next Middlesex "court of general sessions of the peace." The latter agreed to pay one half the expense of building one in the Charlestown market-place, provided that the said half did not exceed £ 400, and that the town appropriated the land on which it was built to the county's use forever. The town raised, at the May meeting in 1734, £ 400 for this purpose. The committee appointed to do this work, reported July 14, 1735, that the whole expense amounted to £ 939. 17. 4; four hundred pounds of which had been paid by the county treasurer, and "twenty pounds by Daniel Russell as a gift." The court-house was fifty feet long. One hundred pounds were raised this year to pave the market-place.

At a meeting of the selectmen, June 17, voted, "Whereas it hath been customary for years past to raise money by contributions to present to our reverend ministers withal, for their fire-wood; Ordered, that the town Clerk be directed to desire the deacons to inform the congregation thereof, that so it may be upon the next sabbath."

1735. The town purchased a new fire-engine—the second one in town—and raised £117. 25. 9, to pay for it. Daniel Russell and Thomas Jenner gave forty pounds, in addition, towards the purchase.

1736. There was a controversy concerning the proceedings of the annual March meeting. Much time was spent in debate respecting the construction of a recent law relating to the qualification of voters; and before the moderator was chosen the selectmen decided that "such who had a ratable estate amounting to the value of twenty pounds should be admitted to vote." Under this decision, the choice of officers was made. But this was not acquiesced in. The selectmen petitioned the General Court to confirm the proceedings of the annual meeting; while the dissatisfied citizens, also, stated their objections. Both parties "were admitted into the House and fully heard." The decision of the General Court was, that the meeting was irregular, and that "the proceedings be deemed null and void." It ordered the selectmen for 1735, to call a new meeting. One was accordingly held March

31, when the same selectmen, that were elected at the first meeting, were re-elected, and most of the other officers.

The town voted to raise twenty-five pounds to establish a school without the Neck. It is the first notice of a school in this section of the town.

On June 11, at a town-meeting, a petition was read of William Dickson and others, of the westerly part of the town, praying "that the town would dismiss them with their lands from any charge for the future to the support of the gospel ministry in this town." It was voted "that the said petition be dismissed, for that the ministers of Charlestown are supported by a free contribution, of which the said petitioners pay no part."

The selectmen passed the following vote: —

"Whereas, complaint being made that some ill-minded persons on the evenings of the 20th and 21st inst. last past, a great number of stones and brickbats was thrown into the windows and doors of the dwelling-house which the Rev. Mr. Hull Abbot lives in, which endangered their lives and limbs, and which much damaged the windows, all which being against the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, and against the laws of this province, in that case made and provided. Then was a warrant directed to the constables of the town to keep a watch to the number of six men each and every night until further order."

There was a great day of rejoicing on account of the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess of Saxe-Gotha. The Boston Evening Post says of Charlestown: "The town-house was finely illuminated, as also the dwelling-houses of persons of the first rank."

1737. At the March meeting it was "put to vote by yea and nay, whether Capt. Samuel Henly and Capt. James Flucker may have liberty to purchase a privilege in the meeting-house, on the back of the men's seats below, to build a pew for conveniency of their families." Yeas, 28 — nays, 25.

1738. At the May meeting, a petition was presented from a number of citizens of this town, and of Medford, praying that several tracts of land might be added to Medford; and one from Stoneham praying that "the five ranges and half of wood lots lying between Stoneham and Medford might be added to Stoneham." Both petitions were refused by the town.

In August, a robber was convicted of stealing from a dwelling-house in this town in the night; and on Friday, Sept. 16, after hearing "in the morning a sermon suitable to his circumstances,

from Job, xxxi. 14," was executed in the afternoon at Cambridge.

A project was entertained of establishing a ferry, or of building a bridge, from "the copper works" in the westerly part of Boston, to the farm of Hon. Spencer Phipps, in Cambridge. At a special meeting the town voted to oppose both of these plans, and to instruct a committee if they saw fit, to petition the General Court for liberty to "receive subscriptions" to build a bridge "from Charlestown to Boston."

1739. At the March meeting the town refused to grant "a piece of land upon the Common just without the Neck, suitable to set a meeting-house upon for a number of the inhabitants, who are desirous to have one there." The petition for this privilege is in the hand-writing of John Alford.

1740. An elaborate Report, dated May 12, on the finances of the town was put on record. The town's income from land and money was £ 196. 19. 10. The free school's income was £ 71. 4. The poor's income was £ 97. 2. 2. Total, £ 365. 6. The report states that the annual charge for the support of the poor and the school was about £ 800. A large number of citizens petitioned for a town-meeting to see whether the town taxes must be paid in land bank, or manufactory bills.

The Boston Evening Post, of July 7, states that "Capt. Cheever of Charlestown had discovered the villains that broke open his sugar-house about a fortnight ago, and they prove to be three negro fellows of this town, (Boston) who have made a confession of the whole affair." A subsequent number of this newspaper gives the sequel of this case and of another: —

"This morning about seven o'clock, John Hayes, a noted thief, received twenty stripes at the public whipping-post, for business done in the way of his profession, which were faithfully laid on. And much about the same time, the three negro fellows who broke open Capt. Cheever's and Mr. Gooch's sugar-houses, some time since, were tickled at the said post in a very easy and genteel manner, to the praise of the polite executioner, and encouragement of other negroes to deserve the like honor."

A Boston merchant advertised, as just imported, "A neat assortment of Broad cloths, German: Serges Long Ells: Duroys: Hair & Worsted Plush Honey Combs: Shalloons: Tammeys Fustians: Striped Hollands: Florettas: Russels: Buttons & Mohair: & Shirt Buttons."

1741. Oldmixon, in his *History*,¹ furnishes the following description of this town : —

“Charlestown, the mother of Boston, is much more populous than Cambridge, and exceeds it much in respect of trade, being situated between two rivers, Mystic river and Charles river, and parted from Boston only by the latter, over which there is a ferry so well tended, that a bridge would not be much more convenient, except in winter, when the ice will neither bear nor suffer a boat to move through it. Though the river is much broader about the town, it is not wider in the ferry passage than the Thames between London and Southwark. The profits of this ferry belong to Harvard College in Cambridge, and are considerable. The town is so large as to take up all the space between the two rivers. ’Tis beautified, with a handsome large church, a market-place by the river side, and two long streets leading down to it. The inferior court is kept here the second Tuesday in March and December, and the superior the last Tuesday in January. Capt. Uring writes that “Charlestown is divided from Boston by a large navigable river, which runs several miles up the country. It is near half as big, but not so conveniently situated for trade, though capable of being made as strong, it standing also on a peninsula. ’Tis said one thousand vessels clear annually from these two towns only, more than from all the European Colonies in America not in English hands.”

1742. The town voted, July 12, to receive two hundred pounds appropriated by the General Court towards building a fortification in town, and to request the Governor to order it in such place as he shall see fit. A committee reported to the town in favor of a “platform and breastwork, one hundred and twenty feet front.”

The selectmen ordered that “Mr. William Hopping and company, who have the care of the water engines, be desired to repair the town’s engine with iron tire to the wheels, and Mr. Lemmon’s engine with new cog-wheels; and also provide a new ladder, two fire-hooks and poles, for the town’s service.”

At a meeting of the selectmen, and Jonathan Dowse and Joseph Lemmon, Esquires, “two of his Majesty’s justices for the county of Middlesex, Mr. Thomas Symmes was granted liberty to erect a Potter’s kiln on his own land near his dwelling-house.”

1743. Mr. Isaac Royal presented the town one hundred pounds, and the latter, May 10, voted to appropriate it towards building a new ministerial house. Mr. Royal was representative, and gave for several years the amount of his pay to the town. He also gave in 1745, £80 to the School at the Neck.

The town paid forty-three shillings for making a pair of stocks.

¹ Vol. I. p. 192.

The selectmen, September 5, passed the following vote:—

“Ordered that the town treasurer pay unto the Hon. Ezekiel Cheever, Esq., the sum of fifteen pounds, to be by him delivered unto the chiefs of the three fire enginemen, belonging to Boston, for their forwardness and assistance at the late fire in this town, and that they have the thanks of the selectmen (in behalf of the town) for their seasonable help.”

A fire society—the Ancient Fire Society—was formed in this town, November 8; it is the first notice of an institution of the kind in town I have met with.

A tavern was kept near Medford bridge, owned by Isaac Royal, having the sign of Admiral Vernon. The advertisement read:

“Any persons before-handed, so as to lay in a good stock of liquors and other necessaries for a tavern, may meet with proper encouragement from Isaac Royal, Esq.” The next advertisement is that a person “has a handsome mourning coach, with a pair of good horses, to let out to any funeral at ten shillings, old tenor, each funeral.”¹

1744. In February the journals note the appearance of a Comet, which was so large and bright as to be seen in the daytime “with its lucid train.” It was a time when the eloquent Whitfield and his contemporaries were preaching; and the Post says: “It gives much uneasiness to timorous people, especially women, who will needs have it, that it portends some dreadful judgments to this our land.” The editor was rather disposed to regard it, if it made people more just and frugal, as “the most profitable itinerant preacher and friendly new-light that had yet appeared.”

The town voted to repair the almshouse, enclose it “with a suitable fence, to extend from the southwesterly corner of the prison fence, as far as the school-house or highway, and so on a square;” and to use it for a workhouse.

At a meeting of the selectmen, “Capt. John Codman (by order of the Hon. Col. Spencer Phipps, Esq.) moved, that they provide a stock of powder for one hundred and eighty-five men, being the number of listed soldiers under his command.”

1745. A legal meeting was called, February 14, on a petition of forty-seven of the citizens, at the court-house, “to know what encouragement” the town would give to induce men to enlist, and

¹ Boston Evening Post, Nov. 21.

“proceed in the intended expedition against Cape Breton, under Mr. Bartholomew Trow,” who had orders to raise a company. It was voted to raise, by a tax, twenty shillings as a bounty to each man who enlisted; and Mr. Samuel Dowse offered to advance “the money aforesaid for the aforesaid service,” and “stay for the same until the tax be made and collected.”

1746. The records contain notices of citizens sent this year to the workhouse, and of the purchase of oakum to keep them in employment. John Chamberlain was appointed “assistant or master” of it, and the chief direction was placed under the overseers of the poor. Regulations were drawn up by the selectmen for the government of the workhouse, and accepted at the annual meeting in March, 1747.

1747. Under date of October 12, Joseph Calef, leather-dresser, of this town, advertised that his house had been broken open, and “one dozen yellow sheep skins, one dozen cloth colored thin skins for gloves, ten sheep-skins, cloth colored, for breeches, very much upon the red,” and one hundred pounds, had been stolen.

A committee appointed to build and sell pews in the meeting house, reported that they had received £ 716, for the sale of pews. The highest sum any brought was £ 144, — the lowest £ 124. The money thus obtained, after paying the heir of Rev. Joseph Stevens for a pew for the use of the ministry, was appropriated to repair the meeting-house.

The town, for several years, endeavored to get “a machine to weigh hay with.” It raised this year two hundred pounds to pay “Nathaniel Wales of Boston,” for one to be “completed every way as good” as one lately erected at Roxbury. James Bradish agreed to take care of it for one half of the earnings.

1748. An addition of £ 100 was made to the salary of the grammar school-master, the school-house was repaired, and a committee, — Mr. Thaddeus Mason, Capt. Ebenezer Kent, Mr. Samuel Bradstreet, Capt. Edward Sheafe, and Mr. James Russell, — were appointed to visit the school once, at least, a quarter, to examine it, and the children that were admitted to it.

Notwithstanding the by-laws made against forestallers they continued to increase. The following paragraphs from the Boston Evening Post show public feeling on this subject: —

“It has been computed, that there are above one thousand able bodied

men in the towns not far from Boston who have wholly left off labor, and are turned butchers, and forestallers; and that their practice is, to buy up, at any rate, cattle, sheep, calves, fowls, &c., (dead or alive) to sell out at an exorbitant price in Boston. This is a most pernicious practice, and a very growing evil, which it is high time some effectual methods were found out to prevent.

“Last week, one Mr. Kill-mad-Ox, a Roxbury butcher, having bought thirty-five sheep in a neighboring town, was driving 'em home to kill for this market; but being met by some of the faculty, they offered him forty shillings a-head more for the sheep than they cost him (£70. 6s.) knowing that Boston must pay for all at last; which he modestly accepted of and delivered 'em the sheep. Poor Boston! that lies at the mercy of such blood-hounds, — these dregs of human nature, — the very sweepings of the creation.”

1749. The selectmen “approved and allowed Mr. Matthew Cushing to keep a private school in this town to instruct youth in reading, writing, and cyphering, and other science, he having been recommended as a person of sober and good conversation.”

A fire broke out in a building owned by Captain John Codman, which consumed several shops. The loss was six thousand pounds old tenor.

The Boston Evening Post of October 30, has the following advertisement: — “To be sold by Samuel Henly, Ezekiel Cheever, Jr., and Francis Dizer, of Charlestown, a parcel of likely negro boys and girls just imported from Africa.”

1750. The town voted to maintain two schools within the Neck, — a grammar-school to be kept in the old town-house, and a writing-school in the school-house. Matthew Cushing was appointed the grammar-master, and Abijah Hart the writing-master, — each to have sixty pounds salary. The next year, however, there was but one school within the Neck, and Seth Sweetser was the master.

Mr. Eleazer Phillips of this town, in a letter to the Boston Evening Post, dated December 20, 1750, recommended the cultivation of silk. He stated that he brought eggs from Philadelphia, and procured two crops in a summer; and concluded by saying: “I believe we may easily raise enough to over-balance our trade to our mother country, and believe they would encourage it.”

1751. The county court applied to the town to appropriate a part of the lower floor of the court-house, ten feet wide and eighteen feet long, for an office in which to keep the county records. The town gave its consent.

Ebenezer Kinnersley, in a long advertisement, proposed to give

two lectures in Faneuil Hall, Boston, "On the newly discovered electrical fire." Twenty experiments were promised in the first lecture, three of which were as follows:—

"XVIII. The salute repulsed by the ladies' fire; or fire darting from a lady's lips, so that she may defy any person to salute her.

"XIX. Eight musical bells rung by an electrified phial of water.

"XX. A battery of eleven guns discharged by fire issuing out of a person's finger."¹

1752. The present method of dating commenced. Previous to this time the year was reckoned to begin March 25. Hence, on the town records there is a date of March 14, 1750, and the next one, April 1, 1751, — both 1751. The first date this year is January 6, 1752.

The small-pox raged in town this year. A vessel having the disease on board, arrived in November, 1751, and a citizen on the 9th was sick with it. The selectmen took prompt means to prevent its increase, by removing the patient to "Penny Ferry House," on the north side of Mystic river. Others, however, caught the disorder, and "high fences" were placed across the streets near the infected houses, and "a flag hung out according to law." But the disease baffled all efforts to check it; and for months the records are full of notices of what was done for the poor, the sick, and the dead. The bells ceased to be tolled at funerals, and in some cases burials were made at midnight. That the people without the Neck might vote, without danger, "with their brethren," a town-meeting was called, June 9, at the house Jabez Whittemore. It was adjourned "to the Common under the great tree." The selectmen, August 20, ordered, "That no persons in the town presume to inoculate themselves, or any of their families," without their consent. In September the disease abated; and on the 14th the selectmen allowed the sexton "to ring and toll the bell as usual." A contribution for the poor, during this distressing season, of £ 43. 11. 7 was received from Watertown.

1753. The selectmen ordered, January 5, "that it be advertised in two of the newspapers, that the public may be informed that the inhabitants of this town are all well of the small-pox, and the houses well cleansed."

The Boston Gazette, of January 16, 1753, has the following interesting communication:—

¹ Boston Evening Post of October 7.

“SIR — That the public may be acquainted with the state of the case, respecting the late visitation of Providence by the small-pox in Charlestown, and that a revenue of glory may be given to God, through the thanksgivings of many, for the singular gentleness and moderation of that malignant disease among us. You are desired to insert the following account of it in your next paper.

“It stands thus: 624 persons have been visited with it, from its beginning in May, 1752, to its removal in December following. Of these, 317 have had it in the natural way, and 307 had it by inoculation. In the natural way, 17 have died, which (without descending to fractions) is about 1 in 18, or 5 in 100. In the inoculated way 5 died, which is about 1 in 61, or 1 and almost two-thirds in 100. And the proportion of all that died, to the whole number visited in both ways, is about 1 in 28. N. B. Of the above there were 47 negroes and 1 Indian, and not one of them died with it.

“There were 85 that remained within the Neck, that were not visited with it. And about 355 removed out of the town to escape it, and but two of them died while absent; both of which went away under the languishments of a consumption.

“The bill of mortality then amounted to but 65, near to which it commonly arose in other years: and when other epidemical sicknesses have prevailed among us, it has been augmented much above it.

“So that the mercies of the Lord herein, have been distinguishingly great to us, as well as to our neighbor town: may the riches of divine patience and goodness lead us all to repentance.”

Charlestown, January 15, 1753.

Thomas Symmes, in behalf of the deacons of the church, petitioned the General Court for liberty to burn about thirty-five pounds, old tenor, of broken bills of credit collected for the support of public worship, “which by accident had been eaten by rats” so that their exact value could not be ascertained; and prayed for an allowance of this amount out of the public treasury. The court allowed six pounds for them, and ordered them burnt.

A tax was levied for several years on carriages to support a linen manufactory in Boston. From the returns of this rate, it appears there were in this town this year, one chariot, thirteen chaises, and seventy-one chairs. There were not so many assessed in the four succeeding years. In 1757 there were taxed for this purpose, in this Colony, six coaches, eleven chariots, three hundred and twenty-six chaises, and nine hundred and seventy chairs.

1754. Petitions were read in town-meeting from Cambridge and Medford, praying that certain lands belonging to this town might be set off to those towns. The town adopted answers to these petitions, and appointed a committee to present them to the General Court. Stoneham also prayed for a portion of this town. An old document, without date, states that Cambridge asked for

twelve hundred acres, and Medford twenty-eight hundred acres. The Medford petitioners were successful. A track lying on the north and south side of Mystic river was set off to that town; and Charlestown was relieved from the charge of maintaining any part of the bridge standing over Mystic river, and the Causeway on the north side of this river.

The town, March 4, voted "that the old town-house be improved for a spinning-school;" and the sum of fifty pounds, old tenor, and no more, to repair the same for that purpose." At a meeting, May 30, Hon. Daniel Russell, chairman of the committee of the spinning-school, stated to the town the progress that it had made, and the encouragement to proceed further; and presented the town "with the thanks of the society or undertakers" for what had been done.

At a town-meeting, October 14, a proposed "Excise Bill on spirituous liquors, and also his Excellency's speech relative thereto," were read; when it was voted, unanimously, to oppose the bill, and the representative was instructed "to use his utmost endeavor that the same do not pass." Governor Shirley, who had denounced the bill as inconsistent with the natural rights of every family, was thanked "for his paternal care of his government." The object of the proposed law was not to restrict the sale of liquors, but to collect a tax on the consumers of it; and one provision of it authorized the collector to require every householder to return, under oath, the quantity used in his family that had been purchased of a licensed dealer.

1755. The town appropriated one hundred pounds for the purpose "of building fish-market houses on the town's lands on Wiloughby Creek," near the old Ferry.

The selectmen voted, May 19, "that they would all wait on Madam Temple, to return thanks in behalf of the town for her late husband, Robert Temple, Esq., his donation of £ 20, L. M., to the ten poorest widows in this town."

The selectmen received, November 24, a notification from a committee, appointed by the General Court, respecting the French Neutrals, — inhabitants cruelly removed from their homes in Nova Scotia, and distributed among the Colonies. The proportion of Massachusetts was about one thousand, and of this town, twelve. The selectmen ordered them, "for the present, put into

the workhouse and supplied with necessaries." It was agreed that each selectman should have the care of them a week at a time.

An extraordinary execution took place this year. Captain John Codman, of this town, an active military officer and respected citizen, had three negro domestics, Mark, Phillis and Phæbe, who poisoned him by arsenic. Mark procured the drug and the females administered it. Phæbe, said to have been the most guilty, became evidence against the others, and was transported to the West Indies. The Boston Evening Post, of September 22, contains the following account of the execution :—

" Thursday last, in the afternoon, Mark, a negro man, and Phillis, a negro woman, both servants to the late Captain John Codman of Charlestown, were executed at Cambridge for poisoning their said master, as mentioned in this paper some weeks ago. The fellow was hanged, and the woman was burned at a stake about ten yards distant from the gallows. They both confessed themselves guilty of the crime for which they suffered, acknowledged the justice of their sentence, and died very penitent. After execution, the body of Mark was brought down to Charlestown Common, and hanged in chains on a gibbet erected there for that purpose."¹

1756. Twenty-two citizens petitioned that, in case there was hereafter an impress of men ordered, this town would obtain its quota by a tax, " as a more just and equitable way than had formerly been used."

1757. The town sold the horse-pasture, situated at Moulton's Point, for £ 70 to Captain Samuel Henly.

A town-meeting was held, March 10, relative to enlisting men for " the intended expedition " of Lord Loudon, when it was voted unanimously, " at least 123 voters " being present, to " allow a sum not exceeding ten pounds, lawful money, besides the province bounty " to such persons as enlisted. It was also voted to raise £ 44, old tenor, to reimburse Messrs. Codman and Townsend for money advanced by them " for the last impress of men in this town." The sum of £ 825, old tenor, was appropriated for the men enlisted under Lord Loudon. The names of the men that enlisted were, Thomas Lord, Thomas Edes, Samuel Baker, Abraham Edes, Benjamin Peirce, Joseph Leathers, Thomas Orgin, Barret Rand, John Sherman, Joseph Rand, Jr., William Symmes, Nathan Bullen.

¹ Dr. Bartlett's Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. XXII. p. 167. He says the place where Mark was suspended was " on the northerly side of Cambridge road, about a quarter of a mile above our peninsula, and the gibbet remained till a short time before the Revolution."

1758. The town voted to apply to the General Court for liberty for a lottery to raise money to pave the highway or "county road," Main-street, "from the pavements and upwards to the Causeway," at the Neck. In their petition, this street was represented to be in a bad condition.

Eight leather buckets were bought for the town's engine, located near Cape Breton tavern. There were three fire-engines, manned by twenty-four men. Governor Pownal excused the latter by a special order, from doing military duty during the time they belonged to the engines.

The town voted, April 17, that eight dollars be paid to each man that enlisted in the Canada expedition, — not exceeding the number called for, forty-eight.

1759. The First Parish of Cambridge, for the third time within ten years, asked the General Court to annex a portion of this town adjoining it to Cambridge to pay minister's taxes. The town opposed this petition by a strong remonstrance, signed by Edward Sheaffe, Jr., John Foye and Ebenezer Kent. It is too long to insert entire. In reference to the prospects of the town, it stated: —

"That the circumstances of this town are growing worse every day by a decay in trade, occasioned by great and heavy losses at sea, so that the number of tons of shipping owned in this town is little more than half as many as when we answered Cambridge second petition. Also by an increase of many poor widows,¹ occasioned by the death of our seafaring men, many of whom died in a miserable captivity in this war, especially those taken in the service of this government in the Snow Prince of Wales; so that the sum raised for the support of the poor this year (though higher than in any former years) will not answer that end by more than fifty pounds, L. M. Add to this, that since the second petition aforesaid this Honorable Court set off from this town to the town of Medford, as many acres of land as now remain within our contracted limits. These distressing circumstances prevent our doing what we apprehend equal for our reverend ministers — the sum we pay them being no way equal to what is paid by the First Parish in Cambridge to the Rev. Mr. Appleton. The number of widows, the particular causes of our distressed circumstances, have been so lately laid before this Hon. Court (to which, if need be, we refer) we think it needless to say more on this head."

The committee say in reference to the support of public worship:

"That although the practice in this town, at present, is to pay our reverend minister's salary by a voluntary contribution, we are very apprehensive that if our circumstances continue to decay, or our reverend ministers should require a competent support, we should be obliged to come to the disagreeable method of taxing our people; and shall then have occasion

¹ In 1753 there were one hundred and thirty-one widows within the Neck.

for every acre of land now within the very contracted limits of this town to enable us to support the gospel among ourselves."

Near the conclusion the committee remark : —

"Your respondents are not conscious that we, or our ancestors, have ever done any thing to offend the government, or to induce this Honorable Court to reduce this town in such a manner, that from its being the second town settled in the Old Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, and one of the largest in this county, to be one of the smallest in the whole province."

In a Diary kept in this town there is the following record : —

"Men that went from Charlestown upon the expedition, 1759 : sailed from the Castle 24th of April.

Capt. Thomas Cheever,	Lieut. John Trumbull,	Joseph Rand, Jr.,
Richard Kettle,	Nath'l Rand, Jr.,	Joseph Frothingham,
Soloman Phipps,	Tho. Brazer,	Stephen Sweetser,
Robert Standley,	Samuel Ellis,	Edmund Peney,
Nathaniel Lamson,	James Manning,	Anderson Linch,
James Peirce,	Jacob Rhodes,	John Hollowman,
Wm. Gibson, Jr.,	Wm. Dunlap,	Thos. Capon,
Isaiah Tufts,	Samuel Trumbull,	John Kettle,
Robert Smith,	Benjamin Dowse,	John Flinn,
Joshua Hooper,	Joshua Scottow,	Monroe."

The guns at Castle William and the Battery at Boston and Charlestown were fired, Sept. 22, upon receiving the news of a victory being gained by Prince Ferdinand.

1760. The subject of the salary of the ministers was often brought before the town. The money was raised by tax (see page 160) but a few years ; and then down to the present time by voluntary contribution. This was taken up in the church, and sometimes fell short of the sum the town agreed to give them, when the selectmen officially notified the deacons, and they stated the deficiency to the congregation. This year a new method appears to have been proposed ; for a committee, of which Richard Cary was chairman, was appointed to wait upon each church-goer, and see what he would "put into the contribution box each Sabbath ;" and the town in May, authorized the deacons to give the ministers "equally between them" what money was collected the day previous, and present an account of the collections at the annual meeting. The weekly contributions received "by the box" from March 22, 1752, to May 12, 1760, were £ 9059. 4. 7 ; from May 12, 1760, to May 18, 1761, were £ 1590. 18. 4 ; from May 25, 1761, to May 10, 1762, were £ 1513. 15. 6 ; and in 1763 were £ 1356. 14.

The town voted to build an engine-house "on the Green before Cape Breton Tavern," near the Bunker Hill House.

The Boston News Letter of July 17, 1760, contains a long ad-

vertisement in relation to the "Scheme of a Lottery," which the town had permission to make to raise money for paving the highway in this town from the Ferry to the Neck. The managers were James Russell, Caleb Call, Isaac Foster, Nathaniel Rand, David Newall, Samuel Kent and Jabez Whittemore. It may be curious to read the plan of "Charlestown Lottery, No. One." It was described as follows:—

"It consists of 6000 Tickets, at two dollars each, 1255 of which are benefit tickets of the following value, viz.:

1 Prize	of	1000	Dollars, is	1000 Dollars.
1 "	"	500	" "	500 "
2 Prizes	"	250	" are	500 "
15 "	"	100	" "	1500 "
12 "	"	50	" "	600 "
12 "	"	40	" "	480 "
10 "	"	20	" "	200 "
202 "	"	10	" "	2020 "
1000 "	"	4	" "	4000 "

1255 Prizes, amounting to 10,800 Dollars.
4745 Blanks.

6000 Tickets at 2 Dollars each is 12,000 Dollars.
To be paid in Prizes 10,800 "

Remain, 1200 Dollars,
to be applied to the purpose aforesaid."

The managers stated that "as gold as well as silver will be received for tickets, the prizes will be paid off in like manner. They also stated:

"As this lottery is formed for a public benefit, the way being a considerable part of the year extremely foundurous, miry and bad, the most difficult to pass with carriages of any between the Ferry and Portsmouth, and calculated so much in favor of adventurers, the managers doubt not of a speedy sale of the tickets, and that they shall be able to draw in a short time."

There was a great fire in Boston, in the spring, and under date of April 4, it is stated that "the money collected on the public Fast for the sufferers by the late great fire at Boston, was £664. 14s."

1761. At the May meeting the money voted for town expenses was as follows:—

	L. M.	Old Tenor.
School within the Neck, . .	£ 66. 13. 4	500
School without the Neck, . .	24 .	180
Town Treasurer's salary, . .	10 .	75

Town Clerk's salary,	10	. 75
Highways,	20	. 150
Contingent charges,	80	. 600
Supply for the Poor,	186. 13. 4	1400
Looking after the Clock, . .	1. 10 0	11. 5
Public Buildings and Repairs, .	13. 6. 8	100
Sexton and Town Messenger, .	8. 13. 4	65
Sundries,	29. 6. 8	220

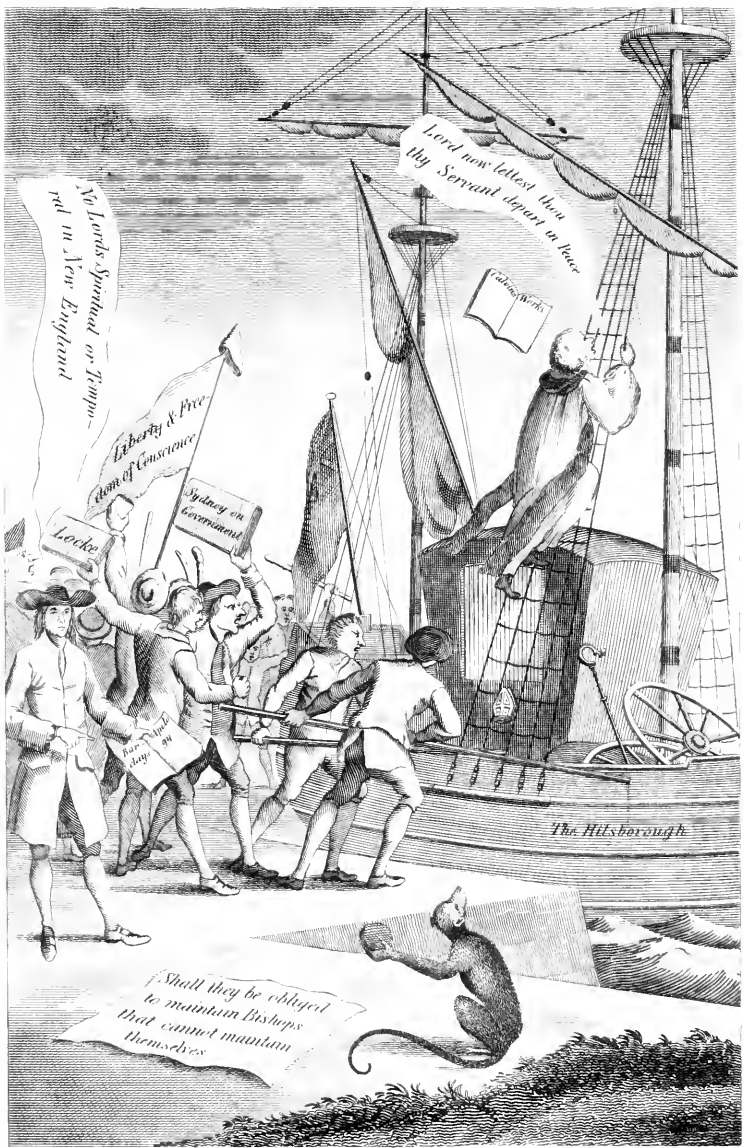
£ 450. 3. 4 £ 3376. 5

1763. The wife of one of the ministers, Rev. Hull Abbott, died this year, and the selectmen voted to bury her at the expense of the town, and to conform to former precedents in this town of the like nature. It was also voted, that if inhabitants of other parishes should think themselves aggrieved by a tax for this purpose, that their proportion should be abated. The sum raised for the funeral was £ 414. 4. 10. old tenor: or £ 55. 4. 7. lawful money.

1764. The small-pox was in Boston, and the selectmen, March 19, ordered "the Crier by crying it through the town, notify the inhabitants to have their chimneys swept, as their being on fire, if the small-pox spreads, may be of dangerous consequence." At a special town-meeting it was voted, that the selectmen may give liberty to the inhabitants to inoculate, if the small-pox comes into this town." At another meeting, April 4, it was voted to permit "the inhabitants to go into inoculation for themselves and families," to begin "next Saturday afternoon;" and that "none, either inhabitants or strangers, be inoculated in this town after the 25th of this month." The distemper did not rage with its usual violence, and the town-clerk soon advertised in the Boston journals that the town was free from it.

An important change was made in the public school this year. The school-house was repaired, and the old town-house fitted suitable for a new school-room; and instead of an usher, William Harris, the father of the late venerable Dr. Thaddeus Mason Harris, was appointed "to instruct in writing and cyphering." The town records have the following account:—

"August 20, 1764. This day the selectmen, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Prentice, and some other gentlemen of the town, visited the school, and after good advice given the children, and solemn prayers to God for his blessing, they gave Mr. William Harris the care of the writing-school." Seth Sweetser, the town clerk, was the reading-master.



An Attempt to land a Bishop in America

Printed by G. W. Child, No. 10, South Street, New York.

CHAPTER XXV.

1764 to 1771. The Revolution and the Towns. — Acts of Trade. — Stamp Act. — Riots in Boston. — Proceedings of the Town. — Repeal of the Stamp Act. — The Indemnity Question. — Acts of 1767. — Non-Importation Policy. — Boston Convention. — Day of Fasting. — Domestic Manufactures. — Ninety-two and Forty-five. — Opposition to Bishops. — Renewal of the Non-Importation Agreement. — Proceedings in relation to Tea.

WE have reached the most important and interesting period of American History, that of the Revolution. The towns acted a memorable part in this great event. They were the nurseries of that independent spirit which so often manifested itself in the Provincial Legislature, and which naturally arrayed itself against commercial monopoly and parliamentary supremacy. Their tendency was early seen by the advocates of royal prerogative. Hence royal instructions opposed their increase, and hence the protest of Hutchinson (1757) against the incorporation of Danvers.¹ But the patriots gloried in their existence; and through their local councils, their legal meetings, presented dangerous political measures to the mind of every citizen. In discussions elicited in this way, an intelligent public opinion was created, concentrated, immovably set against oppression, and directed in the incipient stages of organized resistance. And it is but bare justice to admit, that these little councils were equal to this all-important work. "If within the Continental Congress, patriotism shone more conspicuously, it did not there exist more truly, nor burn more fervently; it did not render the day more anxious, or the night more sleepless; it sent up no more ardent prayer to God for succor; and it put forth, in no greater degree, the fulness of its effort, and the energy of its whole soul and spirit, in the common cause, than it did in the small assemblies of the towns."² The citizens of Charlestown, whether tested by their individual, or by their corporate acts, manifested a patriotism equal to the demands of the time.

¹ Hutchinson's Mass., Vol. III. p. 53.

² Daniel Webster.

They were united to their noble neighbors of Boston by the ties of kindred, of politics, of suffering and of a common charity ; and there was not a measure, however bold, devised by the patriots of Faneuil Hall, that was not cordially supported by those of Bunker Hill. Surely the moral heroes of these little assemblies deserve no less remembrance, than those other heroes who labored so nobly on the battle-field.

The reader is referred to other works for the general history of the Revolution ; for the notices of it, in these pages, must necessarily be confined to such statements as may be considered proper to give an intelligible view of the action of the town.

The resistance to the pretensions of Great Britain commenced by opposition to the revenue system. The journals of the year 1764, abound with memorials and documents showing its injustice, and with notices of the increase of domestic manufactures and of frugality. One of the prevailing evils was the expensive customs at funerals ; and in September, the Boston Gazette announced that reform in this respect had been “ introduced in the town of Charlestown, and that at a recent funeral the relations all attended without any mourning dress.”

The Stamp Act, passed March 22, 1765, was intended to go into operation November 1.¹ But popular feeling manifested itself against it on the 14th of August, in Boston, by burning in effigy the stamp distributor, demolishing the proposed stamp office, and in other tumults. In detailing the proceedings of this memorable day, the Boston Gazette of August 19 says : —

“ We are told that the concourse on Wednesday evening was far from consisting wholly of the inhabitants of this metropolis, many having come from Charlestown, Cambridge and other adjacent towns. The truth of which may possibly be hereafter discovered by the vigilance, industry and zeal of the Attorney General.”

On Monday, August 26, the most alarming outrages were committed in Boston. In writing of them, (Sept. 2) the Gazette remarked : “ Most people seem disposed to discriminate between the assembly on the 14th of this month and their transactions, and the unbridled licentiousness of this mob, — judging them to proceed from very different motives, as their conduct was most evidently

¹ The selectmen for the year 1765 were, Edward Sheaffe, David Cheever, Richard Devens, John Harris, John Soley, Samuel Kent, Peter Tufis, Jr. The representative, Edward Sheaffe.

different." The anniversary of the former was observed for many years by the sons of liberty; the proceedings of the latter were unsparingly denounced.

A petition to the selectmen, signed by a number of citizens,¹ stated that some of the inhabitants of this town were threatened, and requested them to call a meeting to see "what method the town would take to prevent any mischief being done them." A meeting was held on the 28th of August, and after choosing Capt. Edward Sheaffe moderator, the following votes were unanimously passed.

"Voted, That this town has the utmost detestation and abhorrence of the outrage committed at Boston on Monday evening last, in the violent assault then made on the dwelling-houses of several of the inhabitants there by a riotous assembly of persons unknown.

"Voted, That whereas there is reason to fear that the like disorders may be committed in this town, that therefore the magistrates and selectmen of the town be and are hereby desired to use their utmost endeavors to prevent the same.

"Voted, That the inhabitants of this town will be aiding and assisting the magistrates, military officers and selectmen in preventing and suppressing any such riotous disorder, and to the utmost of their power oppose any attempts that may be made against the persons or properties of any of this town.

"Voted, That such persons as are exempted by law from watching, be desired to take their turn with such as are obliged by law, who being present, promised to take their turn.

"Voted, That the eight o'clock bell don't ring at present, and that when the bell jingles, it shall be to notify the inhabitants that it is apprehended there is a mob coming, and that they will directly come to the court-house, with arms and ammunition, viz. : a good firelock, one-fourth pound of powder and at least six bullets."

But while the town was ready to repress outrages, it was not disposed to countenance, in any way, the Stamp Act. On the 11th of September another petition² was presented to the select-

¹ This petition is in the hand-writing of James Russell, and was signed by

James Russell.	Richard Cary.	Peter Edes.
James Miller.	Nathan Adams.	John Hancock, Jr.
Samuel Cary.	Isaac Rand.	Joseph Rand.
Samuel Henly.	Isaiah Edes.	Timo. Austin.
James Bradish.	William Kettell.	Caleb Call.
Joseph Lynde.	Thomas Gardner.	Nathaniel Rand.
R. Temple.	Ezekiel Cheever, Jr.	Isaac Foster.

² This petition was signed by

J. Miller.	Nathan Adams.	John Hay.
William Goodwin.	John Hancock, Jr.	James Fosdick.
Jno. Austin, Jr.	David Wait.	Samuel Conant.
Nathaniel Austin.	Samuel Larkin.	James Brazier.

men, requesting a meeting to see if the town would give "instructions to their representative for his conduct in the approaching session of the General Court." At a meeting on the 17th, Edward Sheaffe being the moderator, it was voted to instruct the representative; when "some of the inhabitants" offered a document "ready prepared." This was not approved of, and Seth Sweetser, Isaac Foster, Nathan Adams, Caleb Call and Samuel Conant were appointed a committee to draw up another. The meeting then adjourned to the 20th, at which time the following instructions were reported to the town: —

"This being a time when several acts of parliament have a direct tendency to distress the trade and commerce of this province, and in our opinion to deprive us of our rights and privileges granted by royal charter, and which we are entitled to, as free-born subjects of Great Britain. And in particular the Stamp Act which has thrown the province and the whole continent into confusion, and which as we apprehend, will lay not only an unconstitutional but an insupportable tax on the colonies, and will strip us of our most valuable liberties, as it admits of our properties being tried by a court of Admiralty, without a jury, even in such controversies that arise from internal concerns.

"Wherefore we think it our duty in this critical conjuncture of our public affairs to direct you as representative, to be so far from countenancing or assisting in the execution of the aforesaid act, that you endeavor that such remonstrances may be made to the King and Parliament as may be likely to procure the disannulling thereof as soon as possible; and that you be assisting in every proper step that may be taken for the removal of the heavy burthens on our trade.

"And as the province is greatly impoverished by the war and decay of trade, we desire you to take special care that the public moneys be used with the utmost frugality, and that no money be drawn out of the treasury and applied to such uses as may tend rather to destroy the liberties of the people, than to promote their interest.

"As to any other matters, though of less consequence, that may come before the House, we doubt not but you will conduct yourself in such a manner that the best interest of the province in general, and the town you represent, in particular, may be promoted."

This firm document, for the period, was "read several times" and accepted. It was voted that a copy be given to the represent-

Isaac Rand.	Joseph Hopkins.	Nathaniel Gorham.
Jona. Bradish.	John Codman.	Caleb Symmes.
Nathaniel Rand.	William Conant.	Ezekiel Cheever, Jr.
Nicholas Hopping.	Isaiah Edes.	Nathaniel Dowse.
Samuel Dowse.	Nathaniel Frothingham.	Thomas Harding.
Timo. Anstin.	John Larkin.	Edward Goodwin.
John Goodwin.	Benjamin Hurd.	Edward Goodwin, Jr.
Nathaniel Sheaffe.	Bartholomew Trow.	John Foye.
William Wyer.		

ative, and that the original be kept in the clerk's office.¹ It was also voted that "the committee insert in the public prints what they may think proper relating to the instructions." The following paragraph was all that was printed:—

"Charlestown, Sept. 20, 1765. The freeholders and other inhabitants met by adjournment, and gave instructions to their representative for his conduct in the Great and General Court of this Province, relative to the Stamp Act, the burdens on trade, and frugality of the public moneys."

The intelligence, received in September, of a change in the British Ministry, the Boston Gazette remarks, "was received with extraordinary joy,—far exceeding even that on the conquest of Canada." The morning after its reception was ushered in with the ringing of bells, and in this town there were, in the evening, bonfires and illuminations.

The prominent question of 1766² was, whether the General Court should grant compensation to the sufferers in the riots of August, 1765. The subject was pressed upon it at the January session, but the representatives doubted whether they had "authority to make their constituents chargeable" with these losses. And the subject was referred to the October session, that the towns might act upon it.

Meantime the intelligence of the repeal of the obnoxious Stamp Act caused a delirium of joy in the Colonies. The 19th of May was set apart in this town for public rejoicings. The day was ushered in by the ringing of bells and a display of colors on board the shipping. "At noon," according to the Boston Gazette, "the Independent Company belonging to Castle William mustered, and discharged the cannon at the Battery; and in the afternoon the same company met at the Long Wharf, where a number of the principal gentlemen of the town assembled, and the following toasts were drank, viz.:

"The King and British Parliament.

"Mr. Pitt and all our friends in England, who have exerted themselves in favor of the Colonies.

"Peace and harmony to this government, and a wise improvement of this happy event.

¹ This document is not copied into the town records.

² The selectmen and the representatives were the same as for the year 1765.

“ All the true sons of liberty on this continent, who have wisely and nobly distinguished themselves upon this very important occasion.

“ At every toast seven cannon were discharged, and in the evening the houses of the town were beautifully illuminated. In short, the whole was conducted with the greatest decency, and every countenance discovered the sincerest joy upon the reestablishment of our happy privileges.”

In this era of good feelings and on the anniversary¹ of the memorable 14th of August, the town passed the following vote :

“ Voted, That the representative for this town use his endeavors in the General Court, that the sufferers in the town of Boston in the late troublesome times, have a consideration made them out of the public treasury (upon their applying in a Parliamentary way) for what it shall appear they have really lost.”

Another town-meeting was held on this subject, November 21, when James Russell was moderator. A Bill then pending in the General Court, indemnifying the sufferers and providing for a free pardon to the rioters, was read. The town-clerk concluded the record in the following manner :

“ Then it was put to vote by the moderator whether the bill was agreeable to the town, and voted in the affirmative.

“ Voted, or rather more properly speaking, it was said, that the bill be left to the representative of the town to act upon it as he shall think for the public benefit.”²

The rejoicings on the repeal of the Stamp Act were soon over. Parliament, asserting the right of “ binding the Colonies in all cases whatsoever,” passed the acts of 1767,³ imposing duties on paper, glass, painters' colors and teas ; establishing a general civil list ; a custom-house office, and board of commissioners. These measures were pronounced unconstitutional and aroused resistance ; and patriots before the close of the year exulted that “ the trump

¹ At the first celebration of this day, the following regular toasts were given : “ Detestation of the villainous proceedings on the 26th of August last.” “ May the everlasting remembrance of the 14th of August serve to revive the dying sparks of liberty whenever America shall be in danger.” — *Boston Gazette*.

² This year, on June 28, the saw, leather and grist-mills in this town were burnt.

³ The selectmen for 1767 were Edward Sheaffe, David Cheever, John Soley, Samuel Kent, John Codman, William Conant, Thomas Robbins. This year Lovell's Island was sold by the town to Elisha Leavit of Hingham, for £ 266 13s. 4d.

of freedom and independence sounded again throughout this continent." The policy adopted to meet this new attack on colonial rights, was to make the British merchants and manufacturers feel it, and thus to enlist them in their favor; and this by discouraging foreign importations and promoting domestic manufactures.

It was at this time that a home herb was found to supply the place of tea. The Massachusetts Gazette, of November 5, states that "a certain herb, lately found in this Province," begins "to take place in the room of green and bohea tea, which is said to be of a very salutary nature, as well as a more agreeable flavor; that it was called Labrador;" and that immense quantities of it grew all over New England.

A town-meeting was held, November 17, to take measures "to encourage industry and frugality, and also the manufactures of this province, and thereby do all that in them lies to recover this people from the difficulties they labor under, occasioned by the great decay of trade and the consumption of sundry superfluous articles among us." After choosing James Russell the moderator, Edward Sheaffe, Isaac Foster, Samuel Kent, John Soley and Benjamin Hurd were appointed a committee to take the subject into consideration, and report at an adjournment of the meeting. On Friday, Nov. 20, the day on which the new act was to take effect, the citizens again assembled. The committee reported, that it was "for the advantage of this Province in general, and this town in particular, to do what in them lies to promote industry, economy, and manufactures among them, and thereby prevent the fatal consequences that may follow a contrary conduct;" and recommended the following votes:—

"Voted, That this town will by all prudent and legal means encourage the several manufactories that now are, and the setting up of all others that may be judged useful for the Province and lessen the use of all superfluities among us. And not purchase any of the following articles imported from abroad, viz.: loaf sugar, cordage, anchors, chaises and carriages of all sorts, horse furniture, men's and women's hats, apparel ready made, especially leather breeches, household furniture, gloves, men's and women's shoes, sole-leather, sheathing and deck nails, gold and silver and thread lace of all sorts, gold and silver buttons, wrought plate of all sorts, diamond, stone and paste ware, snuff, mustard, clocks and watches, silver-smiths' and jewellers' ware, broadcloths that cost more than ten shillings per yard, muffs, furs, and tippets and all sorts of millinery ware, starch, women's and children's stays, fire-engines, china-ware, silk and cotton velvets, gauze, pewterers, hollow ware, linseed oil, glue, lawns, cambrics, silks of all sorts for garments, malt liquor and cheese.

“ Voted, That this town will strictly adhere to the late regulation with respect to funerals, and will not purchase any gloves, but such as are manufactured here, nor buy any new garments upon such occasion but what shall be absolutely necessary.”

The committee recommended the following agreement (which was adopted) to be subscribed : —

“ Whereas this Province labors under a heavy load of debt incurred in the course of the late war, and the inhabitants by reason thereof, must be for some time subject to very burdensome taxes, and our trade has for some years been in the decline, and is now under great disadvantages, our medium very scarce and the balance of trade against us. And we the subscribers being sensible that it is absolutely necessary, in order to extricate ourselves out of these distressed circumstances, to promote industry and economy, and manufactures among ourselves, and by these means prevent the unnecessary importation of several articles from abroad, and do what in us lies to preserve our country from ruin do therefore promise and engage to and with each other, that we will encourage the use and consumption of all articles manufactured in any of the British Colonies in America, and more especially in this province ; and that we will not, from and after the 31st day of December next, during the space of eighteen months next ensuing, purchase any of the articles, (mentioned in the report of the committee) ; and that we will strictly adhere to the late regulations with respect to funerals (as voted by the town) ; and will not use any gloves but what are manufactured here, nor purchase any new garments upon any such occasion but what shall be absolutely necessary.”¹

The town appointed David Cheever, John Codman, and Timothy Austin a committee to get this paper “ filled up as soon as possible.”

The year 1768² was memorable for the arrival of troops in Boston ; and the patriots of that town, Sept. 14, sent a circular to other towns, signed by the selectmen, proposing that “ A Committee of Convention ” should convene, to devise measures suitable for that “ dark and difficult season.” This proceeding was regarded by the royalists as an offence of a very high nature, subjecting all who obeyed it to the penalties of the law. This town, however, promptly responded to the call. At a meeting, Sept. 19, after the Boston circular had been read, it was unanimously voted to choose a “ Committee,” and Edward Sheaffe was selected.

¹ This form was transmitted from Boston. The Boston Gazette of May 4, 1767, has the following paragraph. Thursday last, Richard Hodges, John Newingham Clarke and Magnus Mode, for money-making, stood one hour in the pillory at Charlestown, had one of their ears cut off, and received twenty stripes each, pursuant to their sentence the preceding week.

² The selectmen for 1768 were Edward Sheaffe, Caleb Call, John Codman, William Conant, Thomas Robbins, John White, Peleg Stearns ; and Edward Sheaffe was representative.

It was then "voted, unanimously, to have a day of fasting and prayer in this town, to implore the Supreme Governor of the world for guidance and direction to the people of this province in such a time as this." And three of the selectmen, and the two deacons, having ascertained that it would be agreeable to the ministers, it was appointed for the next day. On these occasions it was customary to have regular services in the church. In one of the towns this year the text preached from was: "Is Israel a servant; is he a home born slave? Why is he spoiled?"

In a few days after this Convention was held, September 28, two regiments of troops landed in Boston amidst the sullen silence of the people. The narrative of the proceedings that followed, however, does not belong to the history of this town. The Boston News Letter of Oct. 6, 1768, states that the inhabitants of Charlestown unanimously agreed not to use any more tea; and the Massachusetts Gazette, November 3, announced, "on the best authority," that most of the inhabitants had totally banished the offensive drug.

The next notice may require illustration. It was for printing the North Briton, Number 45, that Wilkes was apprehended in England; and when royal instructions commanded the Massachusetts legislature to rescind its circular Letter recommending united action by the Colonies, ninety-two members voted against complying with the command. These numbers were considered auspicious and became watch-words. They were standing toasts and were combined in every imaginable manner.¹ Hence the following information was printed, November 21, in the Boston Gazette. "On Tuesday, the 8th instant, Forty-five women belonging to Charlestown, waited on the Rev. Mr. Abbott, one of the ministers there, and spun for and presented him with Ninety-two skeins of thread, which, it is said, will be sufficient to make fine linen for half a dozen shirts. And on Tuesday last, the same ladies made the same present to Mr. Prentice, the other minister of that town;

¹ The following is one of the instances in the Boston Gazette of Jan. 30, 1769. "A gentleman of the Presbyterian persuasion, aged just forty-five, was, on Sunday last, married to a Quaker lady of great fortune of the same age; it is also remarkable that this happy gentleman is her forty-fifth suitor. They are determined to name their first son Forty-Five, and their first daughter Ninety-Two."

at both which places they were agreeably and genteelly entertained with the productions of this country."

The same paper also says, that "one of the daughters of liberty in Charlestown after suiting herself in a Boston store to articles she wanted to purchase, inquired whether the shop-keeper sold tea? She was answered in the affirmative, upon which she ordered the articles to be put back, being determined, as the inhabitants of that town had universally left off drinking tea, she would purchase nothing where it was sold."

There was no prominent political measure in 1769¹ to call for corporate action on the part of the town. But the patriotic fire was not allowed to die away. The policy of discouraging foreign imports and of encouraging domestic production,² was perseveringly adhered to. "We hear," the Boston Gazette of April 24, says, "that the inhabitants of the truly patriotic town of Charlestown have unanimously come into an agreement not to eat or even suffer any lamb to be dressed in their families, till the first of August next. An example worthy of the imitation of every other town in this His Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay." In October a chest of tea, imported contrary to the agreement of the merchants, was taken to Marblehead and there offered for sale; but was soon replaced in the store in Boston. The same paper of October 23, says that the person who carted the tea to Marblehead, "being at a husking frolic at Charlestown last Thursday evening, as soon as discovered, was turned out of the company with the greatest marks of contempt."

The Gazette, of November 6, contains the following account of one of the unjustifiable excesses of the time:—

"Last Thursday afternoon a young woman from the country was decoyed into one of the barracks in town, and most shamefully abused by some of the soldiers there. The person that enticed her thither, with promises of disposing of all her marketing there (who also belonged to the country) was afterwards taken by the populace and several times ducked in the

¹ The selectmen for 1769 were Isaac Foster, William Conant, John Codman, Nathaniel Gorham, Peleg Stearns and Nehemiah Rand; and Edward Sheaffe was representative. When Governor Bernard embarked for England there was a bonfire on the heights of this town.

² The Weekly News Letter of Nov. 23, 1769, says, "An elegant coach in the modern taste was finished last week for an honorable gentleman here. It was made by Captain Paddock, and the workmanship is judged to be as complete and as good as any one ever imported."

water at one of the docks in town. But luckily for him, he made his escape sooner than was intended. However, we hear that after he had crossed the Ferry to Charlestown, on his return home, the people there being informed of the base part he had been acting, took him and placed him in a cart, and after tarring and feathering him (the present popular punishment for modern delinquents) they carted him about town for two or three hours, as a spectacle of contempt and warning to others from practising such vile artifices for the delusion and ruin of the virtuous and innocent. He was then dismissed."¹

A jealousy of Episcopacy was early entertained in this Colony, and was kept alive by the attempt of the Church of England to extend its dominion here. Though its forms were disagreeable to the Congregationalists, it was the power that endeavored to impose them, on which their eyes were steadily fixed. Hence, whenever the project of sending a bishop to the Colony was entertained, it met with stern resistance. At this period, from 1760 to 1770, it was seriously proposed. The patriotic Dr. Mahew wrote, in 1761, to Mr. Hollis in England: "We are apprehensive, that there is a scheme forming for sending a bishop into this part of the country, and that our governor, (Bernard) a true churchman, is deeply in the plot." Hollis, in Dec., 1763, remarked in a letter to Dr. Mahew, "You cannot be too much on your guard, in this so very important an affair." The controversy ran high at this time about it; and this year (1769) the resolute opposition to it was represented in the Political Register — an English publication, — by a plate which well exhibits the spirit of the time. This opposition was so efficient, that Dr. Franklin wrote home in February, 1769, that the design of sending a bishop over was dropped.

¹ There were frequent collisions this year, in Boston, between the citizens and the troops. The following Epitaph, copied from the stone, in the Granary burial-yard, by Dr. N. B. Shurtleff, probably relates to an occurrence of this kind: —

"ELISHA BROWN
of Boston,
who in Oct'r 1769, during 17 days,
inspired with
a generous Zeal for the LAWS,
bravely and successfully
opposed a whole British Regt.
in their violent attempt
to FORCE him from his
legal Habitation.
Happy Citizen when called singly
to be a Barrier to the Liberties
of a Continent."

In 1770¹ the political excitement grew more intense. On the 5th of March the British troops fired on the people of Boston, and on the next day a large part of the population of this town visited King-street to see the blood of the victims. The British Parliament removed the duties on all articles except tea. Throughout this year the patriots urged the non-importation policy, which, at length spread through the Colonies. It was their object to make it stringent and efficient.

A petition,² dated February 9, requested the selectmen to call a meeting to see what measures the town would take to prevent the purchase of "any goods of such persons as import them contrary to the agreement of the merchants, or of selling such goods as have been so purchased." The selectmen added to the warrant, to see what method the town would take "to prevent the use of foreign tea in this town for such a term of time as may be agreed upon."

The meeting was held on February 12, and Edward Sheaffe was moderator. A committee, namely, Isaac Foster, Edward Sheaffe, Nathan Adams, Richard Devens, William Conant, Nathaniel Gorham, and John Frothingham, were instructed to inquire whether any inhabitants of the town had "imported, or bought, or sold goods contrary to the agreement of the merchants of Boston;" to "prepare such resolves on the above affair as they should judge proper "for the action of the town; and to report at an adjournment of the meeting. It was also "voted, that the above commit-

¹ The selectmen chosen March 5, 1770, when "Hon. James Russell, Esq.," was moderator, were Isaac Foster, Samuel Kent, William Conant, John Codman, Nathaniel Gorham, Peleg Stearns, Nehemiah Rand. Edward Sheaffe, on May 14, was chosen representative.

² This petition was signed by the following inhabitants :

Edward Sheaffe.	Josiah Harris.	William Calder.
Edward Goodwin.	William Ford.	John Harris.
Richard Devens.	John Austin, Jr.	Tho's Rand.
Batry Powers.	William Goodwin.	David Wood, Jr.
Timothy Goodwin.	Ebenezer Breed.	Thomas Wood.
Benjamin Goodwin.	Nathaniel Sheaffe.	Abram Snow.
Seth Sweetser.	Joshua Hooper.	Samuel Hutchinson.
Benjamin Hurd.	Nathaniel Austin.	Nathaniel Frothingham.
Joseph Hopkins.	Francis Dizer.	Caleb Symmes.
John Larkin.	William Capen.	Stephen Miller.
Samuel Conant.	Nath'l Phillips.	Jartho. Trow.
Thomas Frothingham.	Eliphelet Newell.	David Wait.

tee consult with the selectmen of Boston, or any other persons, whether there can be no other method gone into, than that which hath been already taken, to prevent the use of foreign tea among us." And Nehemiah Rand, Nathaniel Frothingham and John Larkin, 2d, were chosen a committee to obtain the names of "such inhabitants as had determined to leave off the use of foreign tea in their families;" and also such as refused to comply, and "lay the same before the town at the adjournment of the meeting."

The meeting was continued February 15, when the committee of inquiry reported as follows:—

"We inquired of all the merchants and traders aforesaid, and have received answers from most of them, that they have not directly nor indirectly imported or purchased any goods contrary to the agreements of said merchants, and that they are determined they will not.

"And from others of them, viz.: Mrs Abigail Stevens, who declares she purchased of one of the importers to the amount of about £ 600, old tenor; Joseph Lynde, Esq., about £ 200; Mrs. Sarah Bradstreet about £ 100; and Mr. Nathaniel Austin about £ 300; and Mr. Ebenezer Breed about £ 241, (these two last of Capt. William Barber) in the space of about eight months past: that all the goods remaining unsold they are willing to deliver up, to be stored till a general importation shall take place, if the town shall require it; and that they will neither import nor purchase any goods contrary to the agreement of the merchants."

The town accepted the report, and voted that the goods were of so small quantity it was not necessary to store them; and that no further notice be taken of the affair. The following preamble and votes relative to the non-importation agreement were adopted:

"Whereas, The principal merchants and traders in the town of Boston and other trading towns, within this province and throughout this continent, have from principles (as we believe) truly patriotic, entered into articles of agreement not to import any British goods (a few articles excepted) until the act of Parliament, imposing duties on tea, glass, paper, &c., for the express purpose of raising a revenue in the Colonies, be repealed. And notwithstanding every lenient and kind method has been used to induce all the merchants and traders to come into this salutary measure; yet some there are, who being without any feeling for a country, to whom they owe all the importance they may think themselves to be of, and being also destitute of every sentiment of humanity, have not only refused to comply with, but daringly stand out and continue to counteract the benevolent and salutary intentions of the merchants and traders aforesaid, in thus striving to help us out of our present distress, and have thereby done all in their power to subject millions of truly loyal British subjects, which overspread this wide and extended continent, to bondage and ruin.

"Therefore, Voted, That we will not, by ourselves or any for or under us directly or indirectly, purchase any goods of the persons hereafter mentioned, viz.: John Bernard, James McMasters, Patrick McMasters, John Mein, Nathaniel Rogers, William Jackson, Theophilis Lillie, John Taylor, and Ame and Elizabeth Cummings, all of Boston; Israel Williams,

Esq., and Son of Hatfield, and Henry Barnes of Marlboro; nor will we have any intercourse with them, or with any person whatsoever that shall purchase goods of either of them after the date hereof, until a general importation takes place.

“Voted, That we will not use any foreign tea ourselves nor suffer it to be used in our respective families.

“Voted, That we will use our best endeavors to encourage and support the merchants, &c., in their non-importation agreement, to whom this town vote their thanks for their constitutional and spirited measures pursued by them for the good of this province.”

Measures were taken to make the action of the town efficient. Isaac Foster, Richard Devens and John Codman were appointed a “committee of inspection” to take care that the resolves “be complied with.” Having ordered the proceedings to be published and transmitted to the committee of inspection of the merchants in Boston, the meeting adjourned.

But neither public resolves, jealous inspection, nor the temptations of the patriotic Labrador tea, could banish from the social circle the favorite drug. A son of liberty, of this town, promised to the Boston Gazette, (February 5,) “by next week,” a list of every person in Charlestown who used the baneful herb. But this did not accomplish the purpose, and more stringent measures were adopted. On the 19th, a number of persons requested a meeting to see whether the town would “vote against purchasing any goods whatsoever of any person who sells tea.” At the meeting, March 5, James Russell was moderator, and after voting “that the moderator speak his mind about the article of tea,” a committee was raised to consider “what was proper to be done in the affair, and report before the meeting breaks up.” Their report was not accepted. It was then “voted that Deacon Frothingham, Edward Sheaffe and Nathaniel Frothingham be a committee to wait on the sellers of tea, and desire them to leave off selling that article, as it would be a means to promote the public good; and also to wait on any persons they think use tea, and desire them to deny themselves for the sake of the public; and that they acquaint the selectmen of Boston of this vote of the town.” The meeting was adjourned until the 15th; but the committee not being then ready to report, the meeting was again adjourned to the 24th. At that time the committee were directed “to go to the sellers of tea in this town and inquire whether they would sign against selling tea until the revenue acts are repealed.” They reported “that they had been with all the sellers of foreign tea in this town, that they

knew of, and that they readily signed against selling it till a general importation or sale takes place." Meantime, while this committee were engaged in calling upon the traders, Seth Sweetser, Richard Devens and Nathaniel Gorham were appointed "to draw up some suitable vote for the town to pass." Their report was unanimously accepted. After a preamble, which states that "the sellers of tea" have "engaged under their hands" not to buy or sell any of that commodity, it was "voted, that if any persons whether traders or otherwise, should counteract the generous and patriotic agreement of the above traders, we will withhold all commercial dealings with them, and look on them as enemies to this much injured country." Isaac Foster, Richard Devens, and John Codman, were appointed "a committee of inspection" to see that "the above agreement be punctually complied with, and also to inspect any importers of goods, &c., contrary to the agreement of the merchants." The proceedings of this meeting closed with the following characteristic vote. "Voted, that Edward Sheaffe, John Frothingham, and Nathaniel Frothingham, be a committee to see whether there be any sellers of tea that have been forgotten, and get them to sign, and report at the next general meeting; and that they likewise put the above vote relative to the buyers and sellers of tea in the public prints; and that they give a copy of it to the selectmen of Boston."¹

The opposition to the revenue acts, by enforcing the non-importation policy, was so general this year, that, a letter written in May states, with the exception of one colony, "the spirit of liberty runs pure, clear, and uncontaminated through the vast continent of North America." The proceedings of this town were so vigorous, that, at a celebration by a number of "despisers of tyranny," in Boston, they elicited the following sentiment: "Charlestown, Roxbury, and all the towns who have nobly exerted themselves in the cause of freedom."²

¹ At a town-meeting, July 5, it was voted to take up a contribution in the church for the poor widows of Marblehead; £ 175, old tenor, were collected.

² The Gazette of March 26, 1770, says: "Last Tuesday, Henry Lloyd Esq., set out on a journey to New York, Philadelphia and the southern colonies. And it was observed that that gentleman's whole apparel and horse furniture were of American manufacture. His clothes, linen, shoes, stockings, boots, gloves, hat, even wig and wig call, were all manufactured and made up in New England. An example truly worthy of imitation."

CHAPTER XXVI.

1771 to 1774. The contest in 1771. — Edward Sheaffe's Letter. — Military Parade. — Boston Letter. — Instructions to Representative. — Reply to Boston. — The Tea and East India Company. — Town Meeting. — Resolves. — Destruction of the 'Tea. — Petition for a Town Meeting. — Agreement of Tea Dealers. — Resolves. — Burning of Tea.

THE journals of 1770, the life-like mirrors of the times, abound with evidences of high political excitement, while those of 1771¹ indicate a calm in the public mind. The non-importation policy had become void; few praised the virtues of Labrador tea, while "choice bohea and souchong" were peaceably advertised and sold and used; and even the talismanic numbers ninety-two and forty-five ceased to stir the popular heart. Hutchinson remarked of "this calm interval," that "commerce was never in a more flourishing state:" that the public debt was nominal and taxes were light; in a word, that "in no independent state in the world could the people have been more happy than they were in the government of the Massachusetts Bay."² He assured the ministry that every thing was quiet. It was however an ominous quiet. Patriots had firmly resolved to contend unto death for an abstraction; and, in a year, the machinery of the American Revolution was in full operation, only to cease its motion when it had worked out its sublime result.

In the spring Hutchinson became governor of Massachusetts, on which occasion Edward Sheaffe, of this town, a prominent patriot, whose name is often found on the Journals of the General Court, associated on the most important committees with Samuel Adams, Otis, and Hancock, addressed to him the following letter:

SIR: The public office I hold in the government, but more especially the great regard I have for your Excellency's person and merit, would

¹ In 1771 the selectmen were Samuel Kent, William Conant, Nathaniel Gorham, Nehemiah Rand, David Wood, Nathaniel Frothingham, and Peter Tufts, Jr. Edward Sheaffe and Nathaniel Gorham were representatives.

² Hutchinson's Hist. Mass., Vol. III. p. 351.

have made me (had health permitted) very gladly to have embraced the joyous occasion which offered yesterday, and personally to have paid my duty to your Excellency on your being proclaimed chief Governor of this Province. I therefore beg leave in this way, heartily to congratulate you, upon the honor done by our most gracious Sovereign by this appointment. And as you abound in every qualification, necessary for the discharge of so important a trust, I am confident you will make use of them, not only for the honor of your Royal Master, but also for the good and happiness of the people over whom he has placed you: and that you will use your interest, and influence, to restore and preserve to them their truly constitutional rights and liberties, which certainly must be as dear to you as to any in the province. And may this be the happy time, and your excellency the happy instrument, in bringing about that union and confidence between the mother State, and this as well as the other Colonies, which is so absolutely necessary for the well-being and prosperity of both countries.

“I am, sir, your Excellency’s most dutiful

“and most obedient humble servant.

“EDW’D SHEAFFE. 1

“*Charlestown, March 16, 1771.*”

In 1772² spirited appeals were made to arouse attention to military discipline, because, it was said, there were such vast warlike preparations making among the nations of Europe! The call was promptly responded to by this town. The Boston Gazette of October 19, says: “We cannot but mention the performances of the militia of Charlestown the last Thursday, which were regular, spirited, and highly entertaining to a great concourse of people of all ranks from this and the neighboring towns. A fort was erected on an eminence in the common, defended by cannon, and mortars with mock bombs. Part of the militia representing an enemy’s army, commanded by Lieut. Harris, was driven from the town by the English army, under the command of Capt. William Conant; and after various engagements and skirmishes, driven to the redoubt or out-work of their fort, which being soon taken and their cannon turned against them, they were obliged at length to take shelter in the fort, which was also regularly attacked; and after a long and vigorous defence, stormed and taken, the enemy first blowing up their magazine. There were a number dressed in the true Indian taste, who exhibited the Indian art of war with great activity, and to the great diversion of the spectators. After taking the fort

¹ Mass. Archives. Mr. Sheaffe, then representative, died soon after, much lamented.

² In 1772 the selectmen were, Nathaniel Gorham, David Wood, Nathaniel Frothingham, Peter Tufts, Jr., Stephen Miller, John Stanton, and James Garduer. Nathaniel Gorham was representative.

with great activity the Indians were brought to the town. The manual exercise, evolutions, marches, siege of the fort, &c., were performed to as great acceptance, perhaps, as any thing of the kind by our common militia, and were greatly to the honor both of officers and privates. There were more than one hundred and twenty men under arms and not the least accident happened, though between two and three barrels of powder were expended."

A duty of three-pence a pound was continued on tea; and a new subject of discussion arose in the provision made for the payment of the salaries of the governor and the judges, which were made dependent on the crown. Boston was the first town to sound the alarm, and its proceedings, at a meeting held November 22, 1772, were of the highest moment. On motion of Samuel Adams, a committee of correspondence was created; an elaborate report on the rights of the colonists as men, as christians, and as subjects, and on their violations, was accepted; and "a letter of correspondence to the other towns" was adopted. This letter called upon the towns to "stand firm as one man," to open "a free communication" of sentiment with Boston, and expressed a confidence, that regard to themselves, and the rising generation, would not suffer them "to doze, or sit supinely indifferent, on the brink of destruction, while the iron hand of oppression was daily tearing the choicest fruit from the fair tree of liberty." This was the beginning of that internal organization, by committees of correspondence, that spread through the towns and the colonies, and constituted the first stage of the American Revolution.¹

A town-meeting, to respond to the action of Boston, was held on December 7, 1772. Richard Cary was moderator; and Isaac Foster, Seth Sweetser, Richard Cary, Richard Devens, and Isaac Foster, Jr., were appointed a committee to prepare instructions to the representative, and to consider the Boston Letter. At the adjournment, December 28, the following document, after being "read again and again," was adopted:—

"To Mr. Nathaniel Gorham, one of the Honorable House of Representatives in this Province:

"SIR—Being chosen by us, the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Charlestown, to the important trust of a Representative, we

¹ The Boston Proceedings on this memorable occasion make a pamphlet of forty-three pages. It is worthy of remark that the meeting was thinly attended.

rely on your paying proper attention to our advice and instructions, whenever we think fit to offer such, as we judge conducive to the public good, which we now do, not from any diffidence of your ability or distrust of your integrity, but that at this critical time, your hands may be strengthened and your mind eased, by knowing the sentiments of your constituents.

“It being reported, and we fear not without foundation, that salaries are annexed, by order of the Crown, to the officers of the Honorable Justices of the Superior Court in this Province, whereby they are made entirely independent of any grant from our great and General Court. This step (if really taken) requires the attention of every person subject to their jurisdiction, who hath life or property depending, and is an innovation of most dangerous consequence. As nothing can be of more importance to the happiness of any people, than the absolute independence of those who are to pass finally on their lives and properties, so nothing can make our Honorable Justices of the Superior Court more absolutely dependent, than their receiving their salaries at the sole will of that power, with whose substitute their commissions originate, and without whose consent they cannot be dismissed, be their administration ever so glaringly corrupt; — which has a tendency to check the true spirit of liberty in this Province — to prevent a free inquiry into the violations of our excellent constitution, which have been and we fear may still be made — manifestly calculated to bribe such judges as may be capable of being bribed — secure their decision in favor of a corrupt administration, or by withholding the salaries, cause them to resign, and their places filled with such persons as will answer their purpose. In order to prevent these, and other dangerous effects, which may follow from the absolute dependence of the judges upon the crown for their support, we advise and instruct you, to exert yourself that the salaries of the Honorable Justices of the Superior Court, be raised so as to be adequate to their important stations and services, and as independent of both prince and people as possible.

“We would not be understood, that the foregoing is the only grievance we have to complain of. There are many more that might be pointed out. At present we shall mention only these. The first and greatest grievance, and indeed the foundation of almost all the rest, is the raising a revenue, by an Act of the British Parliament, from the Colonies, without their consent, and applying it contrary to their approbation. To possess the fruits of his labor in security, is the greatest happiness man can enjoy; to be deprived of them against his consent, the greatest oppression; but to see them applied towards supporting, in indolence and luxury, persons inimical to our constitution, is such insult, joined to oppression, as may well justify all our complaints.

“The extension of the jurisdiction of the Courts of Vice-Admiralty is another grievance which we apprehend is of most dangerous consequence.

“Great as these grievances are, our distress is increased by reflecting on an act, passed in the last session of the British Parliament, entitled “an Act for the better preserving His Majesty’s Dock-yards, Magazines, Ships, Ammunition and Stores;” an act in the framing of which our legislature had no share, and which strikes at the greatest of blessings, personal security to the innocent; — as it exposes the lives and fortunes of the most virtuous, to the low revenge of any who are vile enough to be guilty of perjury, or so abandoned as to sacrifice an honest man to secure the favor of some powerful patron; which we have the greater reason to fear, as by this act the accused may be removed for trial, to any county in England, where he, by being a stranger, loses that benefit which would arise from his good reputation was the trial by a jury of the

vicinity. One of the justest complaints against the Inquisitorial Court in Romish countries, is the apprehending persons suddenly upon suspicion, and conveying them to places where they can have no assistance from their friends in making their defence. And in our opinion, nothing in any Protestant country approaches nearer to an inquisition, than the powers granted in the late act.

“ Since this is our alarming situation, and every thing dear to us as men, and British subjects, is held in trembling suspense ; since the fate of unborn millions may be depending ; it is our special advice and instruction to you, at this time of danger and distress, that you exert your utmost endeavors in every constitutional way, in the General Court, to procure a speedy redress of all our grievances, and a restoration of that happy harmony, which lately subsisted between Great Britain and her Colonies.

“ But above all, we advise and caution you against giving your consent to any measure which may seem like recognising the power assumed by the British Parliament ; or in the least preclude us or our posterity from asserting our rights as men and British subjects.

“ We wish you success in your endeavors, and we cannot but flatter ourselves (from the late happy change in the American Department) you will meet with.”

No reply to the Boston Letter was reported, and Seth Sweetser, Nathaniel Gorham and Richard Devens, were appointed a committee to prepare one, and “ present it to the town at eight o'clock ;” at which time the following Letter was adopted : —

“ CHARLESTOWN, DEC. 28, 1772.

“ To the Committee of Correspondence of the town of Boston :

“ GENTLEMEN : — The selectmen of this town, at a meeting legally assembled the 7th of this inst., Dec., communicated a letter which they have received from you by order of your town.

“ We desire you, gentlemen, to acquaint the inhabitants of the town of Boston, at their meeting, that, viewing ourselves equally interested with them in the common cause of natural and constitutional liberty, do return them our thanks for the vigilance and activity so often exerted by them, for the general safety. That the aforesaid letter with the annexed pamphlet, containing their sentiments upon matters of general concernment, has been considered by us, and that it gives us pleasure to receive the thoughts of our brethren, upon the situation of public affairs at this alarming season. We agree with them, that our rights are in many instances broken in upon and invaded, and that it is our desire and intention to cooperate with our brethren in every part of the province, in all proper and legal measures, for the recovery of such as are wrested from us, and for the security of such as we still enjoy, sincerely hoping, that the all-wise God will direct to such measures as shall be effectual for that purpose.

“ SETH SWEETSER, Town Clerk.”¹

This letter was acknowledged by the Boston Committee of Correspondence in the following manner :

“ BOSTON, JANUARY 1, 1773.

“ GENTLEMEN : — We have received your obliging letter of the 28th of December last, and shall, according to your desire communicate the same

¹ These two documents were printed in the Boston Gazette of Jan. 4, 1773.

to this town at their next meeting. It must give them pleasure to be assured that the respectable town of Charlestown, who so justly consider themselves equally interested with us in the common cause of natural and constitutional liberty, have manifested their full approbation of the proceedings of this town at this alarming period.

“Should the sentiments of this whole people be expressed relative to the dangerous dependency of Governor, Judges, &c., upon the Crown for their salaries to be paid out of taxes raised without the consent of the people who pay them, and the extension of the jurisdiction of Admiralty Courts, much good must grow out of it — perhaps the deliverance of this great continent from SLAVERY.

“The change in the American Department may have at first been flattering to us, but when we take into consideration, the late extract of a letter from the Earl of Dartmouth to the Governor of Rhode Island, requiring the execution of a commission so abhorrent from the principles of every free government, our expectations from the change must be totally annihilated.

“Who would submit to a power, that for crimes, real or suggested, committed in the body of a county, should arrest men, and free men, and force them from their friends and connections within the vicinity, and from the jurisdiction to which they of right belong, to a distant country for trial!

“We are with great regards to the town of Charlestown,

“Gentlemen, your most humble servants.

“Signed by direction of the Committee for Correspondence in Boston.

“WILLIAM COOPER, Clerk.

“To Mr. Seth Sweetser, Town Clerk, to be communicated to the town of Charlestown.”

In 1773 the earliest Revolutionary action of the town was on June 7, in town-meeting. A letter was received from Boston, transmitting an account of the proceedings of the House of Burgesses of Virginia in March, when a committee of correspondence was chosen. The letter congratulated the town “upon the acquisition of such respectable aid as the ancient and patriotic province of Virginia, the earliest resolvers against the detestable Stamp Act.” These documents were ordered to be recorded.¹ This

¹ The Boston Journals this spring, acknowledge the aid which citizens of this town rendered at large fires in Boston. The Gazette of March 1, 1773, says: “We are desired to mention, that the inhabitants of this town gratefully acknowledge the kind assistance afforded them in the times of fire by the inhabitants of Charlestown, particularly in this last, by being so early over with their engines, &c., and for their activity during the whole time of the fire; and assisting those that were in distress until the danger was entirely over.”

The Massachusetts Spy of April 8, 1773, in giving the details of a fire in Boston, which broke out on the 4th, in a building belonging to Alexander Edwards, and destroyed the “Sandemanian meeting-house,” says: “The engine from Charlestown, esteemed the best in America, with a number of people from that town, with their usual activity, came over very expeditiously to assist at the fire, and were very serviceable.”

action shows the importance which the far-seeing statesmen of the time attached to an extension of the plan of committees of correspondence.

The British government were determined to assert the right to tax the Colonies, and the East India Company were desirous of providing a market for the immense quantity of tea in their warehouses; and therefore a compromise, with respect to the duty, was agreed to by these parties, that promised to secure a profit to the Company and a revenue to the ministry. In August, the Company were authorized to export their tea, free of duty in England, to all places whatsoever; which left them liable to pay the three-pence duty in the Colonies. Cargoes were soon on their way to the various ports of the latter.

This was the crisis of the Revolution, and it was met boldly, regardless of consequences. On the 28th of November the ship *Dartmouth*, with some of the tea on board, arrived in Boston; and until December 16, the period was one of intense anxiety. Though citizens of Charlestown thronged to the great meetings¹ in Boston, where Samuel Adams, Hancock, and Quincy, were the leading spirits, and their committee was in frequent council at Faneuil Hall on the momentous question, and a few of them aided in destroying the tea, yet a detail of these interesting proceedings belongs more properly to a history of Boston. It was the time, if ever, for other towns to manifest courage, firmness, and a determination to stand by the metropolis.

On the 24th of November a large number of citizens, "being afresh alarmed with report of a large quantity of tea soon to be imported into this Province by the East India Company," petitioned for a meeting to see whether the town would "choose a committee of correspondence" to consult with other committees in reference to the adoption of proper measures under the "critical and distressing circumstances." The meeting was held on the 27th, Captain Isaac Foster was moderator, and it was unanimously voted to choose a committee of correspondence. The fol-

¹ Hutchinson, who is long and minute on this period, remarks of one of these meetings: "A more determined spirit was conspicuous in this body than in any of the former assemblies of the people." "The form" of a town-meeting was assumed, the selectmen of Boston, town-clerk, &c., taking their usual places; but the inhabitants of any other towns being admitted, it could not assume the name of a "legal meeting of any town."



lowing were elected "by written votes;" Isaac Foster, Peter Edes, John Frothingham, Richard Devens, David Cheever, Nathaniel Frothingham, John Codman, Isaac Foster, Jr., and William Wyar; who were instructed to report the proper measures to be adopted at an adjournment of the meeting.¹ On the first of December the town again met, but the committee were not prepared to report. On the 4th, twelve days before the tea was destroyed, the committee presented to the town, the following preamble and resolves, "which were read over and over again, and unanimously accepted," and ordered to be made public.

"When we, His Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the inhabitants of this town, reflect on the glorious attachment of our ancestors to liberty; an attachment so strong as to induce them (during the tyranny of the Stuarts) to quit their native homes and seek for freedom in the howling wilderness of America. When we consider that this once inhospitable desert, has by their labor and at the expense of their blood and treasure been brought to its present flourishing situation. When we contemplate our strong attachment to the person and family of our most gracious Sovereign, and recollect that harmony and mutual affection which lately subsisted between our parent State and the Colonies, the restoration of which we most ardently wish; we cannot but have our minds most deeply affected, and our fears greatly alarmed at the encroachments on our rights and privileges, by the British administration's raising a revenue from Americans without their consent; and it adds to our mortification to see the money thus raised under the specious pretence of supporting government, applied not only in supporting pensioners and placemen in independency, whose talents are from mercenary views employed by false representations in making the most unhappy difference between the mother country and her Colonies, but also in maintaining in idleness and luxury an infamous set of spies, pimps, informers, &c., with many of whom the sole qualification is a total unfitness for any honest calling. Our alarms are increased by the East India Company in Great Britain, sending their tea for sale here while sub-

¹ The following were the petitioners for this meeting:

Isaac Foster.	Jonathan Bradish.	Henry P. Sweetser.
Samuel Henley.	David Wood, Jr.	Joseph Austin.
John Austin.	Stephen Gorham.	Samuel Swan.
Eleazer Dows.	Samuel Austin.	William Ford.
Nathan Adams.	Thomas Larkin.	Thomas Wood.
David Wait.	William Goodwin.	Josiah Harris.
Nathaniel Austin.	Eleazer Larkin.	Josiah Harris, Jr.
Richard Cary.	John Frothingham.	Joseph Hopkins.
John Codman.	Peter Edes.	Samuel Conant.
Isaac Foster, Jr.	John Austin, Jr.	Samuel Larkin.
Caleb Call.	Nehemiah Norcross.	Benj. Bunker.
Richard Devens.	Thomas Rand, 2d.	John Larkin.
John Larkin.	Benjamin Wood.	John Stevens.
Battry Powers.	Isaiah Edes.	John Harris.
Eben'r Breed.	Richard Boylston.	

ject to a duty — a measure evidently tending to facilitate the destructive designs of administration upon us: and two ships with said tea being arrived, we think it our duty, to take every proper step to prevent the impending ruin, and do therefore pass the following resolves.

“1. *Resolved*, That it is one of the natural rights of man to dispose of the fruits of his honest industry himself.

“2. *Resolved*, That every British subject in special in whatever part of the extensive British Empire he is settled, has eminently by our happy constitution, as well as by nature, the sole right to dispose of his property either by himself or his representative.

“3. *Resolved*, That some violent attacks have been made by administration on the rights and privileges of British subjects in the Colonies. That the retaining the duty on the tea for the express purpose of raising a revenue in America, and empowering the East India Company to send their tea here for sale whilst subject to said duty, is a striking instance of their determination to persevere in these attacks, and thereby reduce us to the most abject state of wretchedness and slavery.

“4. *Resolved*, That whoever shall be directly or indirectly concerned in landing, receiving, buying or selling said tea, or importing any tea from Great Britain while subject to duty, is an enemy to America and ought to be treated accordingly.

“5. *Resolved*, That we highly approve the wise, vigilant, and steady conduct of our brethren, the inhabitants of Boston, at this alarming crisis, and beg their acceptance of our most cordial thanks for the same.

“6. *Resolved*, That we will be ready on all proper occasions, in conjunction with our oppressed American brethren, to risk our lives and fortunes in support of those rights, liberties, and privileges, with which God, nature, and our happy constitution have made us free.”

The adjournments of the meeting, the solemn character of the resolves, indicate that the citizens felt the importance of the occasion. The committees of correspondence could not succeed in sending the tea back, and were determined that it should not be landed; a party disguised as Indians, on December 16, emptied it into the dock, — three hundred and forty-two chests. “This,” Hutchinson, then the governor, remarked in his History, “was the boldest stroke which had yet been struck in America.” The patriots, far and near, received the news with every demonstration of joy.¹ Tea imported by private persons afterwards shared the same fate. The Boston Gazette of March 14, relates in the following manner the clearance of a quantity: —

“His Majesty, Oknookortunkogog, King of the Narragansett tribe of Indians, on receiving information of the arrival of another cargo of that

¹ A letter, dated Philadelphia, Dec. 28, 1773, says: “The news of destroying the tea at Boston was received here on Tuesday last with the ringing of bells, and every sign of joy and universal approbation; and at our meeting yesterday, it was proposed for the sentiments of our people, who voted it the most perfect approbation, with universal claps and huzzas.”

cursed weed tea, immediately summoned his council at the Great Swamp by the river Jordan, who did advise and consent to the immediate destruction thereof, after resolving that the importation of this herb, by any persons whatever, was attended with pernicious and dangerous consequences to the lives and properties of all his subjects throughout America. Orders were then issued to the seizer and destroyer-general, and their deputies, to assemble the executive body under their command, to proceed directly to the place where this noxious herb was. They arrived last Monday evening in town, and finding the vessel, they emptied every chest into the great Pacific ocean, and effectually destroyed the whole (twenty eight chests and an half.) They are now returning to Narragansett to make report of their doings to his Majesty, who we hear is determined to honor them with commissions for the peace."

It was while these great events were transpiring, on the 22d of December, that the following petition was presented to the selectmen :—

“ CHARLESTOWN, DEC. 22, 1773.

“ To the selectmen of the town of Charlestown.

“ Gentlemen: The truly respectable body assembled in Boston last week, having resolved that the use of tea is improper and pernicious: and recommended to every town in this province, the appointment of committees of inspection, to prevent this detested tea from coming into any of our towns. We the subscribers, duly attentive to their advice, and not willing to be the last in this glorious struggle for American Liberty, beg you would call the town together as soon as possible, that some measures may be taken, effectually to prevent the consumption of an article, equally destructive to our natural and political constitutions.

Josiah Harris.	Samuel Larkin.	Caleb Call.
Peter Edes.	John Harris.	John Larkin.
James Bradish.	Joseph Hopkins.	William Leathers, Jr.
John Codman.	John Austin.	Nathan Adams.
John Frothingham.	Ebenezer Breed.	Benjamin Hurd.
David Cheever.	Richard Devens.	David Wait.
Louis Foyes.	Jno. Stevens.	William Wyer.”
Battry Powers.	Nathaniel Austin.	
Isaac Foster, Jr.	Isaac Foster.	

Three days afterwards, December 25, the dealers in tea entered into the following agreement :—

CHARLESTOWN, DEC. 25, 1773.

“ We, the dealers in and sellers of tea in this town, taking into our consideration the present alarming designs and attacks upon our rights and privileges, and considering how essentially the said designs may be carried into execution by the sale of tea, while subject as it now is to an American duty by the authority of the British Parliament: Have, upon mature deliberation, unanimously resolved and agreed, that we will not after this day, directly or indirectly, by ourselves or any for or under us, buy or sell or suffer to be used in our families any tea, until the duty is repealed.

“ And whereas some of us may have more tea on hand than others, in order that the loss may fall equally, voted, That the same be bought at the joint expense of this Company and destroyed.

“Also voted, That three of the gentlemen present be a committee to inform some of the principal tea sellers in Boston and Medford of these resolutions, and desire their influence, that similar measures may be taken by the dealers in this article in their respective towns.”¹

A town meeting was held on the 28th of December, Captain Isaac Foster, moderator. The Records state that the meeting was very full, and that the following resolves were unanimously passed :

“1. Considering the advantages that will result to this community (in every point of light) from the disuse of India tea, we will not by ourselves, or any from or under us, buy or sell, or suffer to be used in our families, any such tea till the British act of Parliament, imposing a duty on the same, shall be repealed.

“2. That a committee be chosen to collect from all the inhabitants of this town, all the tea they may have by them, and that such persons as shall deliver up the same to said committee be paid by the town the price it cost them. And that the tea so collected, be destroyed by fire on Friday next, at noon-day in the market-place.

“3. That Messrs. Isaiah Edes, Samuel Conant, Caleb Call, Benjamin Hurd, Samuel Wait, Battry Powers, and David Wood, Jr. be the committee for the purpose above mentioned.

“4. That the above named persons be a committee of inspection to see that all the foregoing votes be fully complied with.

“5. That if any of the inhabitants of this town shall do any thing to counteract or render ineffectual the foregoing votes, they are not only inimical to the liberty of America in general, but also show a daring disrespect to this town in particular.

“6. That the committee of correspondence for this town confer with the committee of correspondence for the town of Boston, and desire their influence, that similar measures may be taken in their town.

“7. That the above proceedings be published in the newspapers.”

The resolves of the town were carried into effect. The Boston Gazette of January 3, 1774, stated, that “The inhabitants of Charlestown, agreeably to an unanimous vote of said town the Tuesday preceding, on Friday last voluntarily brought all their tea into the public market-square, where it was committed to the flames, at high noon-day, an example well worthy of imitation.” On the 20th the Committee presented the following report of their doings to the selectmen:—

“CHARLESTOWN, JAN. 20, 1774.

“GENTLEMEN :—This is to signify to you that the committee chosen by the town to collect the tea, have received from the several persons under-named the several quantities, and at the several prices set against their respective names, and have burnt the same agreeable to the vote of the town, viz. : from

Abigail Stevens,	1 1-2 a 4s.	per lb.	£0. 6. 0.
John Stevens,	1 3-4 a 4s. 4d.	“	0. 7. 7.

¹ Boston Gazette, Dec. 27.

Samuel Rand,	1-4 a 5s. 4d. per lb.	0. 1. 4.
James Bradish, Jr ,	6 oz. a 6s. "	0. 2. 3.
William Conant,	4 1-2 a 5s. 2d. "	1. 3. 3.
John Odin,	3 3-4 a 5s. 4d. "	0. 17. 4.
Mrs. Paine,	3-4 a 5s. 4d. "	0. 9. 4.
James Hill,	1 3-4 a 5s. 4d. "	0. 9. 4.
John Smith,	7 3-4 a 5s. 4d. "	2. 1. 4.
David Wait,	2-4 a 5s. 4d. "	0. 2. 8.
Daniel Manning,	1-4 a 6s. "	0. 1. 6.
Isaiah Edes,	3 a 5s. 4d. "	0. 16. 0.
		<hr/>
		£ 6. 12. 7.
To paying the crier,		0 2. 0.
		<hr/>
		£ 6. 14. 7.

“ In behalf of the committee,
ISAIAH EDES.

“ To the selectmen of the town of Charlestown.”

Tea was burned, this month, in other towns with parade. In Newburyport a party of both sexes, assembled on town-hill for this purpose, at which, the journals stated, the ladies took as much pleasure in feeding the patriotic bonfire “ as they would in sipping so baneful a commodity;” and some was burned in King-street, Boston, “ amidst the loud acclamations of a vast concourse of people.” The patriotic Paul Revere, in one of his engravings, here slightly altered, exhibited the spirit of the times.



CHAPTER XXVII.

1774 to 1775. The Contest in 1774. — Boston Port Bill, — its effect on Charlestown. — Resolve of the General Court. — Donations. — Committee of Correspondence. — Letter to Falmouth. — Town Meeting. — Letter to Boston. — Removal of the Powder. — The People at Cambridge. — Alarm of the Country. — Submissions. — Removing the Guns. — Letter to Sharon and Salisbury. — Resolves of Provincial Congress. — Reading Contribution. — Committee on Donations. — Town Meetings. — Close of Corporate Action.

IN 1774 the contest came to a crisis. The British ministry, exasperated by the failure of their plans, levelled severe measures against Boston and Massachusetts. But their cause became a common cause, and the journals were filled with the patriotic resolves of the towns, and after town-meetings were prohibited, of the counties, in support of Boston. A General Congress convened on the 4th of September; a Provincial Congress on the 7th of October. Before the close of this memorable year the authority of the established officers and of the courts, ceased; public opinion became the governing law; and under an organization ordained by the people, the necessary work commenced of securing ammunition, collecting stores and regulating the militia. "Our hemisphere threatens a hurricane;" wrote a royal governor.

The Boston Port Bill, the punishment parliamentary wisdom devised for the destruction of the tea, went into operation on the first day of June, at twelve o'clock, though vessels in port were allowed fourteen days to depart. This measure, enforced by a fleet and an army, not only cut off the foreign trade of Boston, but prohibited all water carriage to it. No goods could be taken over the Ferry without liability to seizure. In the regulating acts of this period, was a clause prohibiting town-meetings, after the first day of August, without permission obtained from the Governor or Lieutenant Governor, except the annual ones for the choice of officers.

Charlestown, then of great commercial importance, was intimately connected, in business, with Boston; and hence this high-

handed measure bore with equal severity upon the two towns. Here rents declined; the stores were closed; trade was suspended; the laborer was deprived of employment and the poor of bread; gloom and distress pervaded the community.

The ministers expected this measure would intimidate and divide the Colonists, — it called forth the widest sympathy and produced a closer union. The day the Bill took effect was observed as one of mourning; public buildings were hung with emblems of distress; muffled bells tolled from morning to night; and there were fasting and prayer.¹ Then poured into Boston, from all parts of the country, tokens of sympathy, assurances of support, and exhortations to firmness. The General Court, convened at Salem, published severe resolutions against the Governor in the journals of June 13; and on the 17th the Governor sent by his secretary, a proclamation to dissolve it. The door of the chamber of the House of Representatives was found shut. While the galleries were cleared and the door locked, and the secretary, perhaps, was pronouncing on the stairs, the legal dissolution of royal government in Massachusetts, the following preamble and resolve were passed: —

“Whereas the towns of Boston and Charlestown are at this time suffering under the hand of power, by the shutting up the Harbor by an armed force, which in the opinion of this House is an invasion of the said towns, evidently designed to compel the inhabitants thereof to a submission to taxes imposed upon them without their consent: and whereas it appears to this House that this attack upon the said towns for the purpose aforesaid, is an attack made upon this whole Province and Continent, which threatens the total destruction of the liberties of all British America:

“It is therefore resolved, as the clear opinion of this House, that the inhabitants of the said towns ought to be relieved; and this House do recommend to all, and more especially the inhabitants of this Province, to afford them speedy and constant relief in such way and manner as shall be most suitable to their circumstances, till the sense and advice of our sister Colonies shall be known: In full confidence that they will exhibit examples of patience, fortitude and perseverance, while they are thus called to endure this oppression, for the preservation of the liberties of their country.”

The response to this call was noble. The flood-gates of a patriotic charity were wide opened. The most generous dona-

¹ In Hartford, June 1, “The bells began to toll early in the morning and continued until evening; the town-house was hung with black, and the edict affixed thereto; the shops were all shut, and their windows covered with black and other ensigns of distress.” — *Boston Gazette*.

tions, consisting of supplies of every description, poured into Boston, coming even from Canada, from Carolina and beyond the mountains of Virginia. They were accompanied with letters and resolves speaking the firmest language. "Unanimity must be the great leading star;" one said from Carolina. So prompt was the action, that the Boston Gazette, July 18, 1774, stated, that "A whole continent is now awake and active; one spirit animates the whole; and all unite in prayers to the Supreme Disposer of events that the liberties of America may yet be preserved."

At this period the Committee of Correspondence of this town were in frequent consultation with other similar committees in the neighborhood, and in correspondence with other towns. There are extant letters to and from Woburn, Lincoln, Sharon and Salisbury, Falmouth, Boston and Cambridge. Some of these letters exhibit, in so marked a degree, the firmness of the town and the spirit of the times, as to demand insertion.

A letter from Falmouth, dated July 1, 1774, stated that its citizens proposed to adopt there "the non-importation covenant formed at Worcester;" that the town had a meeting, and "after serious consideration and debate, voted to write to the towns of "Boston, Charlestown, Newburyport, Marblehead, Gloucester and Salem," "to know their minds" about it; and that "they very generally approved of the Worcester Plan," yet think they "should be too forward if they should adopt it before hearing from the above named towns." It was signed "Samuel Freeman, Clerk."

The committee, in replying to this letter, stated, that all their dependence, under God, was upon A FIRM UNION OF THE COLONIES, and recommended a suspension of action until the result of a CONTINENTAL CONGRESS was known. This letter is as follows:

"CHARLESTOWN, JULY 9, 1774.

"GENTLEMEN:—Your favor of the first instant has been received and duly attended to by us. In order to furnish you with the best information in our power that the time would admit of, respecting the disposition of the inhabitants of this town upon the present alarming situation of our public affairs, we desired and obtained an immediate interview with the selectmen upon the subject matter of your letter, and have the pleasure to inform you, that our opinion is confirmed by theirs, that the people of this town have a firm attachment to their rights and liberties, and with indignation and abhorrence view the many infringements made and making upon them, and are disposed to take every measure in their power for the recovery of those which have been wrested from us, and for the support

and preservation of those we still enjoy. The covenant you refer to in your letter, we have also received; and in answer to your request we would inform you, that it is, in the opinion of the selectmen and ourselves, the general sense of this town, that all our dependence under God is upon a firm union of the colonies; and viewing themselves as they have been viewed by the late honorable House of Representatives, in the same situation with the town of Boston, it has been thought that patient, silent suffering on their part, while they relied on the divine blessing, and the active zeal of their pitying brethren in all the other towns, was most for the public good. They therefore think it expedient for them to suspend any measure respecting the covenant, until the result of the general continental congress shall be known, which result, we have no doubt, will be very generally adopted here. It is with pleasure we embrace this opportunity of corresponding with you. And wishing the constant attendance of the divine blessing upon your and all our endeavors for the public safety,

“We are with much respect,

your most obedient humble servants.

“In the name and by the order of the Committee of Correspondence.

ISAAC FOSTER, junior Clerk.”

“To the Committee of Correspondence for the town of Falmouth.”

At a town-meeting, July 30, it was voted that the selectmen, the overseers of the poor, and the committee of correspondence, be a committee to confer with the town of Boston relative to this town's proportion of the donations: or as the warrant expresses it, “to receive the proportion of the generous and charitable donations that have been or may be made, by our compassionate neighbors in this and the other American Governments, to relieve the poor in Boston and this town under their distressing circumstances.” The same committee were instructed to report “upon the proper ways and means” to dispose of the donations. A letter from the town of Boston was read and ordered to be recorded; and the committee of correspondence were instructed to confer with the same committee of Boston respecting the subject matter of it, and report at the adjournment.

This circular letter, of the inhabitants of Boston, was dated July 26. It alluded to their previous efforts to warn their brethren “of approaching danger;” to the recent parliamentary measures; to their situation while suffering “a double weight of oppression,” and concluded in the following words: “to you we look for that wisdom, advice, and example, which giving strength to our understanding and vigor to our actions, shall with the blessing of God, save us from destruction. Looking up to Heaven, and under Divine direction, to our brethren in the country and on the continent for aid and support, and with earnest prayer for a happy issue out of our great troubles, we are your friends and

brethren." This is a remarkable letter, full of solemn eloquence, and well suited to the time. At an adjournment of the town meeting, August 8, Nathaniel Gorham, Seth Sweetser, and Isaac Foster, Jr. were appointed a committee to prepare an answer to it. This committee, on the 12th, reported the following draft, which was read "three several times" and adopted:—

"FRIENDS, BRETHREN, AND FELLOW-SUFFERERS:—Your letter of the 26th of July past, has been received and read in a legal town-meeting, and ordered to be recorded.

"We are sensibly affected by the increase of our public calamities, and condole with you that those persons who are attempting to sacrifice the rights and liberties of America, to the gratification of their own pride, avarice and malice, have had art and weight enough to turn the course of ministerial vengeance, more immediately upon you: but at the same time we think it happy for America, that you are placed in the front rank of the conflict, and with gratitude acknowledge your vigilance, activity and firmness in the common cause; which will be admired by generations yet unborn.

"The acts of parliament you refer to, now arrived, and the baneful effects of which begin to appear, we view with the utmost indignation and abhorrence, to prevent the operation of which, we think, ought to be the care of every honest and good man.

"The conduct of our late worthy and honorable House of Representatives relative to our Superior Court Judges, their impeachment of the Hon. Peter Oliver, Esq., for his accepting a salary from the crown, as chief justice of this province, and the uniform spirited conduct of the several grand jurors through the province on this occasion, we highly applaud.

"A most alarming crisis in our public affairs is at hand, and most earnestly we pray the Author and Giver of every good and perfect gift, to endue you with that wisdom which is profitable to direct to such measures as may be most for His glory and the lasting happiness of us and our posterity.

"The military forces encamped in your town we conceive to be most dangerous to all our rights and liberties, but rely much on your cool, moderate, and undaunted behaviour in this difficult situation. Be prudent, but determined, resolute, asserters of the rights of mankind in general, and of the charter-rights of this province in particular. Persevere in the glorious cause of liberty you are engaged in. You may be sure of all the assistance we can give you. Let us all, as is our duty, unite in constant, fervent prayers to Almighty God, our father's God, who is wonderful in council and mighty in working, for his direction to take, and assistance in prosecuting such measures as have a tendency to extricate us out of our difficulties, and then we may humbly hope our endeavors will be crowned with success.

"We are your friends and brethren,

the inhabitants of the town of Charlestown.

"By order of the town.

SETH SWEETSER, Town Clerk."

At this meeting the committee laid before the town the proceedings of Boston relative to apportioning the donations. That town voted unanimously, that the poor of the "sister town of Charles-

town," who were suffering under the operation of the Port Bill, was "equitably entitled to share in the donations," and further voted that the committee be directed to apply seven per cent. of the amount received, for this town.

In July and August the political excitement rapidly increased, and the breach between the patriots and the loyalists, the whigs and the tories, daily became wider. The newspapers chronicle faithfully the rising spirit. Multitudes, of both sexes, sign a solemn league and covenant against the use of British goods; the country pours forth its patriotic donations; straw for the troops is burnt — boat loads of brick for Gage are sunk — mechanics refuse to build barracks; one, for years, had mowed his royalist neighbor's hay, — now "the honest man's scythe would not cut tory grass," and another's "oxen would not plough tory ground;" able essays demonstrate that the King's authority has ceased, that the people are in a state of nature, and at liberty to incorporate themselves into an independent State;¹ good men in the metropolis "pant for the field in which the fate of their country is to be decided;"² and "the country people are firm, looking to the last extremity with spirit."³

Governor Gage, while the public mind was in this state of excitement, ordered his grenadiers to disperse a town-meeting at Salem, and the civil officers to arrest the committee who called it. On the first day of September His Excellency unconsciously summoned a public meeting which he did not think expedient to order his troops to dissolve.

It was customary to store in the powder-house on Quarry Hill, in this town, (now Somerville) the powder belonging to the towns and the Province. On the 23d of July the selectmen of this town authorized two of its board, Nathaniel Frothingham and Nehemiah Rand, to receive, and receipt for, this town's stock. Other towns did the same; the last town which withdrew its stock, was Medford, on the 27th of Aug. This fact was communicated to

¹ Essex Gazette, and Boston Gazette of August 15.

² This language is uttered in a letter, signed by JOSEPH WARREN, September 1, in behalf of the Boston Committee of Donations. "There was a time when some good men among us were insensible of their danger, and seemed to prefer obscurity to action; but the late manœuvres of tyranny have roused them from their lethargy, and they now pant for the field in which the fate of our country is to be decided." — *MS. Letter.*

³ Boston Gazette, Aug. 15.

Governor Gage, when he immediately resolved to transfer the balance of the powder, "the King's powder," to Castle William.

On the 31st of August he ordered General Brattle, the military officer of this district, to deliver to Sheriff Phipps the powder and two field-pieces recently procured for the Cambridge regiment. This order was complied with. On Thursday morning, Sept. 1, about half past four, two hundred and sixty troops under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Maddison, embarked at Long Wharf, Boston, in thirteen boats, sailed up Mystic river, landed at Temple's farm (the Ten Hills), marched to the powder-house, and removed all the powder in it, two hundred and fifty half barrels, to Castle William. Meantime, a detachment from this corps went to Cambridge and carried away the two field-pieces.

Intelligence of this transaction spread like wild-fire through Middlesex county; and in the evening the people gathered in great numbers, provided with arms, ammunition and provisions, determined to check, in some way, the power that was thus clandestinely depriving them of their defence, and openly menacing them with destruction. They took one night for deliberation. A few, however, "mostly boys and negroes," went to Cambridge in the evening, surrounded the Attorney General's house, and the Gazette stated, "being provoked by the firing of a gun from a window, they broke some glass, but did no more mischief."

Early on Friday morning, a body of thousands of substantial citizens, leaving behind their arms and ammunition, and provided only with sticks, went to Cambridge Common. On seeing the concourse, the Cambridge Committee sent an express to the Committee of Charlestown, who notified that of Boston; and the two Committees promptly proceeded to Cambridge. When they arrived at the scene of action, Judge Danforth, who had accepted office under the Regulating Act, was addressing the body from the steps of the court-house. He expressed his great mortification to find a step taken by him, at his advanced age, so disagreeable to his county, and assured them that he had resigned his seat at the Council Board, and never again would accept any office inconsistent with the Charter rights of his country. He then delivered a written certificate to this effect. Judge Lee made similar statements and gave a similar resignation. These proceedings were voted satisfactory; and "The Body" then declared, on motion, their abhorrence of mobs, and of the destruction of private property.

Col. David Phipps, high sheriff of the county, then appeared before the Committee, and complained that people had spoken hardly of him for the part which he had acted in delivering the powder to the troops. The committee candidly considered his case, and reported to the people that he was excusable, as he had acted in conformity to orders from the Commander-in-chief. Col. Phipps then delivered to "The Honorable Body" a declaration that he would issue no more precepts under the Regulating Act, and would recall the Venires which he had sent out under it. This was also accepted as satisfactory to "The Body."

Hon. Thomas Oliver, Lieutenant Governor and President of the Council, hesitated. He had been apprized, early in the morning, by Charlestown men, that a large body of people were on their way to Cambridge; and when they came by his house he addressed them and gave them advice. He was thanked for it, and assured that the Body were "no mob, but sober, orderly people." He next, by request, about eight o'clock, when there was a report that troops were marching to disperse the meeting, rode to Boston and held a conference with Governor Gage, — informing the latter that "the vast concourse was not a mad mob, but the freeholders of the county." He was assured by General Gage that no troops would be ordered out. On his return, he repeated what he had before stated, namely, "that as the commissions of Lieut. Governor and President of the Council, seemed tacked together, he should undoubtedly incur his Majesty's displeasure if he resigned the latter and pretended to hold the former." While he begged that he might not be pressed to incur that displeasure at the instance of a single county, he assured the committee, that in case the mind of the whole Province, expressed by a Congress or otherwise, appeared to be in favor of his resignation, he would by no means act in opposition to it.

These assurances seemed satisfactory to the committee, who were preparing a report to this effect to deliver to the Body, when Commissioner Hallowell rode through the town on his way to Boston. The sight of so obnoxious a person "so inflamed the people, that in a few minutes above one hundred and sixty horsemen were drawn up and proceeding in pursuit of him on the full gallop." Members of the committees as promptly followed the horsemen. "Captain Gardner of Cambridge first began a parley with one of

the foremost, which caused them to halt till he delivered his mind very fully in dissuasion of the pursuit, and was seconded by Mr. Devens of Charlestown, and Dr. Young of Boston." Their argument was, that the object of the Body's attention that day seemed to be the resignation of unconstitutional counsellors, and it might introduce confusion if other matters were "brought upon the carpet." "In a little time the gentlemen dismounted their horses and returned to the Body." Commissioner Hallowell, still pursued by one person, drove with all speed to Boston, went to the camp, and reported what he had seen. The camp was soon in motion. It was hence inferred, by patriots, that the troops were preparing to march to Cambridge. The alarm was given to Dr. Roberts, at Charlestown Ferry, who carried an express to Cambridge. The intelligence was instantly diffused; the people collected their arms; horsemen were despatched for more certain advice; "a greater fervor or resolution probably never appeared among any troops." The report was soon contradicted, the Body became calm, and resumed with spirit the business of the day.¹

At this stage, in the after part of the day, an eye-witness has minutely described the scene. Two thousand persons were formed regularly in lines before Lieut. Gov. Oliver's house, and there were as many more bystanders. "There was no tumult but an awful stillness" among the people. The business was done by the committee in the presence of the Body. Governor Oliver had with him a few friends and his family; and still declined to accede to the demands of the committee. "But a weighty spirit began to show itself by some gentlemen and officers nearest, pressing through the gate, into the Governor's yard with (the not as yet violence yet with) marks of earnestness and importunity, which the Governor and his friends saw was at length become irresistible." He delivered his resignation, — signed, he stated, in "compliance with the commands of about four thousand people," which was read along the lines, at proper distances, till all heard it; and, about sunset, the solemn silence was changed to general expressions of satisfaction, and the Body dissolved.²

But the alarm, occasioned by the removal of the powder, spread

¹ Boston Gazette Sept. 5, 1774, where this meeting is termed "the Body."

² Stiles's MSS., kindly loaned by Henry Stevens, Esq. The papers in Force's Tracts, of this date, have been consulted.

through the country. The bells were rung and beacon fires were kindled on the hills. It was reported to Col. Putnam, at Pomfret, Connecticut, on the 3d of September, that when the powder was taken, six men were killed and many wounded; that Boston was cannonaded, and the people were universally rallying to their relief. The Colonel sent a letter with such intelligence, by express, to Philadelphia, and it had the effect to alarm nearly the whole Colony of Connecticut on Sunday. The letter was read in two-thirds of the congregations; services were suspended; men left the church for the camp;¹ and on that day, it was estimated twenty thousand men, from that one Colony were on their march to relieve Boston.² The roads were alive with "armed men rushing forward, some on foot, some on horseback; at every house women and children were making cartridges, running bullets, making wallets, baking biscuit, crying and bemoaning, and at the same time animating their husbands and sons to fight for their liberties."³ Six thousand men were on their way from the single county of Worcester⁴ in this State; and Dr. Stiles records in his Diary that, had not the report been contradicted, on the succeeding morning, thirty thousand men under arms, would have congregated at the point of danger.

The Regulating Act at this period, was broken into fragments that could not be gathered up. Not an officer, from the Governor to a Justice, was allowed to act under it. Hon. Thaddeus Mason, of this town, a firm patriot, had been clerk of the county court thirty-eight years, and under the act, issued warrants to the constables to return jurors. On the 2d of September, he stated to the public the circumstances under which he issued them, and acknowledged his error "with much higher pleasure and satisfaction" than he felt "in signing the unconstitutional warrants;" and he called upon his friends to bear witness that he had been "steady, uniform, and persevering" in his opposition to parliamentary supremacy, and "utterly abjured, abhorred, and detested" the late cruel Acts. John White also, of this town, had signed the Address to Hutchinson on his departure, and in a document dated Sep-

¹ Stiles's Diary.

² History of Norwich.

³ Stiles's Diary — from a person who passed through the towns to Boston.

⁴ Lincoln's Worcester, p. 96. Governor Gage wrote to Lord Dartmouth Sept. 25, "The whole country was in arms and in motion."

tember 3, asked forgiveness for his conduct. The journals contain many such documents at this period. ¹

The removal of the powder by Governor Gage, suggested to the patriots of this town, the removal of the guns of the old battery to a place of safety. But this work was difficult of execution. A ship of war was lying off the fort, and the *Lively* in the ferry; and noise at the battery could be heard on board the vessel. The enterprise was attempted by citizens of the town, and successfully executed in the night—those engaged in it, hearing on ship-board the cry of all's well, as they silently took away the guns. Some of them were secreted on school-house hill, under stable dirt. The British officers searched for them closely, an inhabitant stated in a petition—"peeping everywhere to find them out." "The gunner of the *Lively*" asked him if "he knew what were done with them?" "I told him I thought he knew me better than to ask such a question, and begged from that time he never would come to my house." The search proved ineffectual, and the guns were used in the ensuing contest. General Gage asked, Sept. 12, the delegates of Suffolk county, "why were the guns removed privately in the night from the battery in Charlestown?" The delegates, in reply, referred significantly to the seizure of the powder and the field-pieces, the orders for additional troops, and the disposition of the ships of war.²

At this time, about September 20, General Gage purchased of a Mr. Scott, a quantity of warlike stores; and wrote to the ministry, (Sept. 25,) that "Boston artificers had undertaken his work;" namely, building barracks. The people were so incensed against Scott, that he was glad to escape with his life. Other ominous signs appeared, and on the 27th of September, the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Dr. Joseph Warren, President, sent to this town the following summons:—

"GENTLEMEN:—Our enemies proceed with such rapidity, and execute their measures so successfully by the assistance of enemies in this and the

¹ The Boston Gazette of Sept. 5, states, "on Saturday afternoon the *Lively* frigate of 20 guns, came to her moorings in the ferry way between Boston and Charlestown.

² After diligent inquiry, I have been able to ascertain the names of only three of the party who were engaged in this work—Timothy Thompson, William Calder, and William Lane. The latter, of Boston, states in a petition, that he had been helpful, "from the demolition of the Stamp Office, to the bringing off the cannon from Charlestown."

neighboring towns, that we are constrained to request your presence and advice immediately. Matters of such extreme importance now claim your attention, that the least delay may prove fatal. We therefore entreat your company at Fanueil Hall, at five o'clock this afternoon, with such committees in your neighborhood, as you can influence to attend on so short a notice.

“ We are your friends and fellow countrymen,

“ NATH'L APPLETON,

“ per order of the Committee of Correspondence.

“ Boston, Tuesday, September 27, 1774.

“ The Committee of Correspondence of Charlestown.”

Among the proceedings of this session, consisting of the committees of several of the towns, was a resolve against furnishing supplies to the troops. After a preamble, commencing, “ whereas the inhabitants of the towns of Boston and Charlestown, by the operation of the detested and oppressive Port Bill, are now suffering unspeakable distresses, arising from the entire prohibition of commerce,” the resolve declared all to be enemies to the country, who should furnish the troops “ with labor, lumber, joist, spars, pickets, straw, bricks, or any materials whatsoever,” which might furnish aid to annoy the inhabitants. It was also resolved to appoint committees of observation in this and the neighboring towns.

The towns of Sharon and Salisbury, Connecticut, in a joint letter of condolence and inquiry, addressed to Charlestown, and dated 22d September, 1774, asked, Whether the present necessities of the town “ were pressing, or whether their donations would not be more agreeable next spring;” invited “ a frequent correspondence relative ” to public matters, and concluded as follows: “ while we deeply commiserate your sufferings in the common calamity, we equally applaud and revere your virtuous obstinacy in a great cause, alike involving every individual in an extensive and populous continent.”

The Committee in reply, assured their distant friends, that they would sooner abandon all their temporal interests, than by treachery or cowardice, betray the rights of all America! The following is its letter:—

“ CHARLESTOWN, OCT. 5, 1774.

“ GENTLEMEN: Your kind favor of the 22d ult. was received by us with the most grateful sensations. Suffering as we are with our worthy brethren at Boston under the accumulated load of ministerial vengeance, nothing but the humane, the tender, sympathising pity and generous assistance of all the friends to American Liberty throughout this extensive continent could have supported us. Placed as we are by Providence in the front rank of this glorious contest we do not repine. Even when uncertain of

the liberal aid we have met with, we had no thought of submitting ; much sooner would we have abandoned our houses, our estates, and all our temporal interest, than by our treachery, or cowardice, have betrayed the rights of all America. We thank you for your generous intentions toward us, and would inform you, that whatever donations are sent, either to Boston or Charlestown, they are put into common stock and shared in a proportion agreed on by the two towns. Our present necessities are very pressing, as we have a tedious winter before us, and have as yet received but a small part of what our generous friends intend for us. It is with the greatest pleasure we accept your invitation to a frequent correspondence, and shall always gladly communicate to you every thing of a public nature that we think worth your notice. We have now enclosed you a printed copy of the resolves of this county at a meeting of delegates from every town and district in it, which, with very little variation, appears to be the sense of the Province in general. We cannot learn that many poor people have removed from Boston or Charlestown. The propriety of sending the women and children out of said towns is now under consideration, and will, we suppose, be determined by the Provincial Congress, which meets on the 11th of this month. As soon as we are possessed of their determination, we will communicate it to you. Relying on the benevolence of our countrymen, if we are reduced to the dire necessity of taking such a step, that they will receive our helpless women and children into their kind protection.

“ We are your friends and

“ fellow sufferers in the common cause.

“ In the name of and by order of the Committee of Correspondence.

“ ISAAC FOSTER, JR., Clerk. ¹

“ To the towns of Sharon and Salisbury.”

Meantime the provisions of the Port Bill were rigidly executed. A severe winter was before the inhabitants, but this prospect did not repress their patriotic spirit. The Boston Gazette stated that on pursuing, on the 4th of November, a person who had been guilty of breaking the peace, in this town, “ a barrel and bag of tea were stumbled upon, which were immediately carried to the training field and committed to the flames.” Further search was made and enough tea found to fill a large hogshead. “ This was conveyed to a place called the Green, before Cape Breton Tavern, and a quantity of fagots laid round it, they were set on fire and the whole were consumed. Every thing was conducted with such stillness and order, that many people there knew nothing of it until the next morning.” The quantity destroyed was between four and five hundred pounds. ²

¹ This letter, and other letters from the Committee, are copied from MSS. in the Cabinet of Mass. Hist. Society.

² The selectmen for 1773, 1774 and 1775 were, Nathaniel Gorham, Nathaniel Frothingham, Nehemiah Rand, Peter Tufts, Jr., John Stanton, James Gardner, Stephen Miller. Nathaniel Gorham was representative.

The Provincial Congress, on the 30th of November, passed a vote of thanks to the other Colonies for their "free and generous contributions" to Boston and Charlestown; and declared them to be convincing proofs "of the firm attachment of all the Colonies to the glorious cause of American Liberty." And, on the 6th of December, it adopted the following preamble and resolve:—

"The operation of the cruel and iniquitous Boston Port Bill, that instrument of ministerial vengeance, having reduced our once happy capital and the neighboring town of Charlestown, from affluence and ease to extreme distress; many of their inhabitants being deprived of even the means of procuring the necessaries of life; from all which they have most nobly refused to purchase an exemption by surrendering the rights of Americans; and although the charitable donations from the other Colonies and several towns in this Province, have, in a good measure, relieved their immediate necessities while their approbation has animated them to persevere in patient suffering for the public good, yet as the severity of winter is now approaching, which must greatly add to their misery; and there has been no general collection for them in this Colony, we hold ourselves obliged, in justice, to contribute to their support; while they, under such a weight of oppression, are supporting our rights and privileges.

"It is therefore *Resolved*, That it be recommended to our constituents, the inhabitants of the other towns, districts and parishes, within this Province, that they further contribute liberally to alleviate the burden of those persons, who are the more immediate objects of ministerial resentment, and are suffering in the common cause of their country; seriously considering how much the liberty, and consequently the happiness, of ourselves and posterity, depend, under God, on the firmness and resolution of those worthy patriots."

Doctor Isaac Foster, Richard Devens and David Cheever, were appointed a committee to transmit this "Brief" to the ministers in the Province to be read in the churches. This action gave fresh impulse to the donations. In some instances the supplies were received with much parade. A letter, dated Charlestown, January 14, 1775, relates, in the following manner, the arrival of contributions from two towns: "While servile placemen, pensioners and expectants, are employing their venal pens in support of a system of tyranny, the honest yeomanry of this Province are joining our compassionate brethren of the other Colonies in giving substantial proofs of their attachment to the common cause of America. The week past has afforded several instances of their readiness to relieve their distressed friends at this severe season. I will mention only two, as they happened to arrive in this town. On Tuesday last the inhabitants of Lexington sent sixty-one loads of wood and some money, as a present to the poor sufferers by the Boston Port Bill; and on Thursday last the first and third Parishes

in Reading sent twenty-seven loads of wood, some money, and some grain, for the same purpose. On one of the sleds was hoisted the Union Flag, with the following inscription in its centre:—

“ TO THE WORTHY INHABITANTS OF BOSTON AND CHARLESTOWN.

“ Ye noble patriots ! constant, firm and true,
Your country's safety much depends on you ;
In patient suffering greatly persevere,
From cold, from famine, you have nought to fear ;
With tender eye the country views your wo —
With your distress will her assistance grow ;
Or if (which Heaven avert) some fatal hour
Should force you from your homes, by tyrant power —
To her retire — with open generous heart
All needful aid and comfort she'll impart :
Gladly she'll share the wealth by Heaven bestown
With those, for her, who've sacrificed their own.”

There are living witnesses of these scenes. The trains of sleds were gaily decorated with flags and emblems; the citizens lined the streets and received them with hearty and repeated huzzas. Nor were the committees allowed to depart without being entertained at one of the patriotic taverns — on this occasion at Captain Nathan Adams's — at the expense of the town.

The committee on donations consisted of Nathaniel Gorham, Nathaniel Frothingham, Nehemiah Rand, Peter Tufts, Jun., John Stanton, Stephen Miller, James Gardner, Edward Goodwin, John Larkin, 2d, David Wait, Thomas Wood, Isaac Codman, Isaac Foster, Peter Edes, John Frothingham, Richard Devens, David Cheever, John Codman, Isaac Foster, Jr., William Wyer. It met at the house of Capt. Nathan Adams, on the 1st of August, and organized by the choice of Isaac Foster, chairman, and Seth Sweetser, clerk.

I have the journal¹ of this committee, containing full details of its action until its last adjournment, April 5, 1775. It at first met once a week at Capt. Adams's tavern, and among other arrangements, made provision to give employment to the poor. It determined to carry on the nail business, to lay out brick-yards, to buy wool, and employ people “ in carding, knitting, and spinning ;” to buy leather, and to hire shoemakers ; to buy old junk, and employ persons to pick oakum, and to build a vessel. The wages were 18s. old tenor a day—one half in provision, the other half in

¹ I am indebted to Mrs. Boylston for this interesting manuscript.

cash, and an allowance of "half a pint of rum each day, and sugar in proportion." The products, and such portions of provisions as were not wanted were sold, and the money distributed to the most necessitous. No meal was allowed to be sold for "horses or hogs;" the price of flour was "seven pounds for 9s.; 3 1-2 pounds for 4s. 6d., and a single pound three coppers;" butter at 5s., and no family was allowed to have over three pounds. The annual Thanksgiving was duly noticed, but not more than 8s. L. M., was given to any one family. No glove makers were relieved, as they were not sufferers by the Port Bill; and January 4, it was voted to make no grant "to any person that consumed foreign tea in his family," and that every suspected person who applied should be critically examined. In March and April, 1775, the applications were numerous. At a sitting, April 5, forty-three were relieved; when it was voted to adjourn for a fortnight, to meet at 5 o'clock, P. M. This is the last record; the hour fixed for the adjournment, was the time the troops were returning from Concord, on the memorable nineteenth of April.

It will be recollected that town meetings, after August 1, were prohibited. Governor Gage, early in the month, summoned the Boston selectmen to the Province House, and announced his intention to enforce the law. In Salem he ordered his troops to disperse a meeting. Yet the citizens of this town, for the eight succeeding months, held meetings and carried on their patriotic action as usual; the Regulating Act prohibited the calling of meetings, but was silent as to adjournments! And hence the citizens continued their legal meeting of July 30, until the ensuing March. This meeting, it has been stated, was adjourned to August 8, and again to August 12. The proceedings have been detailed. It was next adjourned to August 26. At this adjournment the donation committee were authorized to commence the nail business, and to make brick; when John Harris offered sufficient clay in his pasture at Moulton's Point, free of charge, to make twenty thousand brick. After presenting the thanks of the town to Mr. Harris for his generous donation, the moderator adjourned the meeting to Sept. 9. At this meeting of Sept. 9, the patriotic proceedings of the county convention at Concord, August 30 and 31, were acted upon and ordered to be spread upon the records. They fill four pages, but relate rather to the history of the county than to the town.

The meeting was then adjourned to Sept. 26. At this time a legal meeting was called to choose representatives, and after electing Nathaniel Gorham and Richard Devens, it was dissolved. Then the adjourned meeting of July 30, elected David Cheever and Isaac Foster, Jr., delegates to act in the Provincial Congress to be holden at Concord in October, and also authorized the two representatives to act in conjunction with them. The meeting was again adjourned to October 24, and then to November 21. At this adjournment "not being a full meeting," the clerk was directed to post up notifications desiring a general attendance — "there being matters of great importance to be laid before the town by the committees." The meeting was adjourned to the 26th. On this day, the following votes were passed:—

"Voted, That a committee be chosen to see the resolutions and determinations of the Grand American Congress, also such resolutions and determinations of the Provincial Congress as are already made public, be duly executed so far as relates to this town.

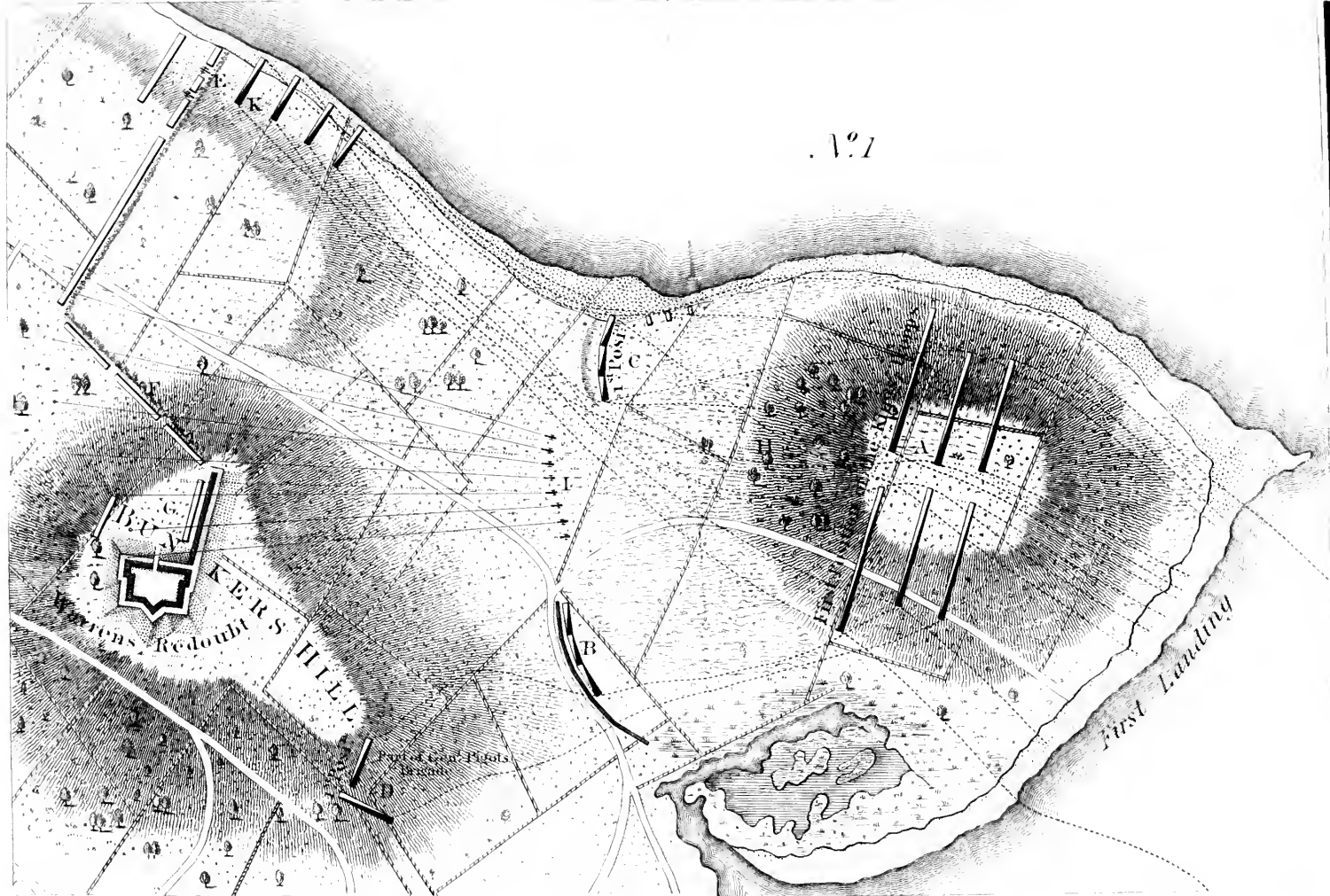
"Voted, That the committee consist of eleven persons, and that they be chosen by hand vote, — namely: Nathan Adams, Benjamin Hurd, William Ford, Caleb Call, Samuel Conant, John Harris, Nathaniel Austin, Louis Foye, Isaiah Edes, James Fosdick, Samuel Wait.

"Voted, That the Committee of Correspondence of this town be directed to use their influence with the Committees of Correspondence in the neighbor towns, that the prohibitions that withholds straw from the troops may be taken off.

"Voted, That such of the collectors of this town as are indebted to the Province pay the sums due from them respectively into the hands of Henry Gardner, Esq., of Stowe, agreeable to the directions of the Provincial Congress, and the town engage to indemnify them in case any loss or damage arise to them thereby."

After these important proceedings, this meeting was adjourned to December 10; when it was adjourned to December 22, and again to Thursday, December 29. The "committees having nothing to offer," the meeting was further adjourned to the first Monday in February. Another town-meeting was held on the 29th when the Address of the Provincial Congress was read and ordered to be recorded, and Nathaniel Gorham and Richard Devens were chosen delegates to the Provincial Congress in February. The July meeting was held by adjournment, on Feb. 6, and adjourned to the first Monday in March. Only one more town-meeting was held before the destruction of the town, which was on March 21, when David Cheever was chosen another delegate to the Provincial Congress.

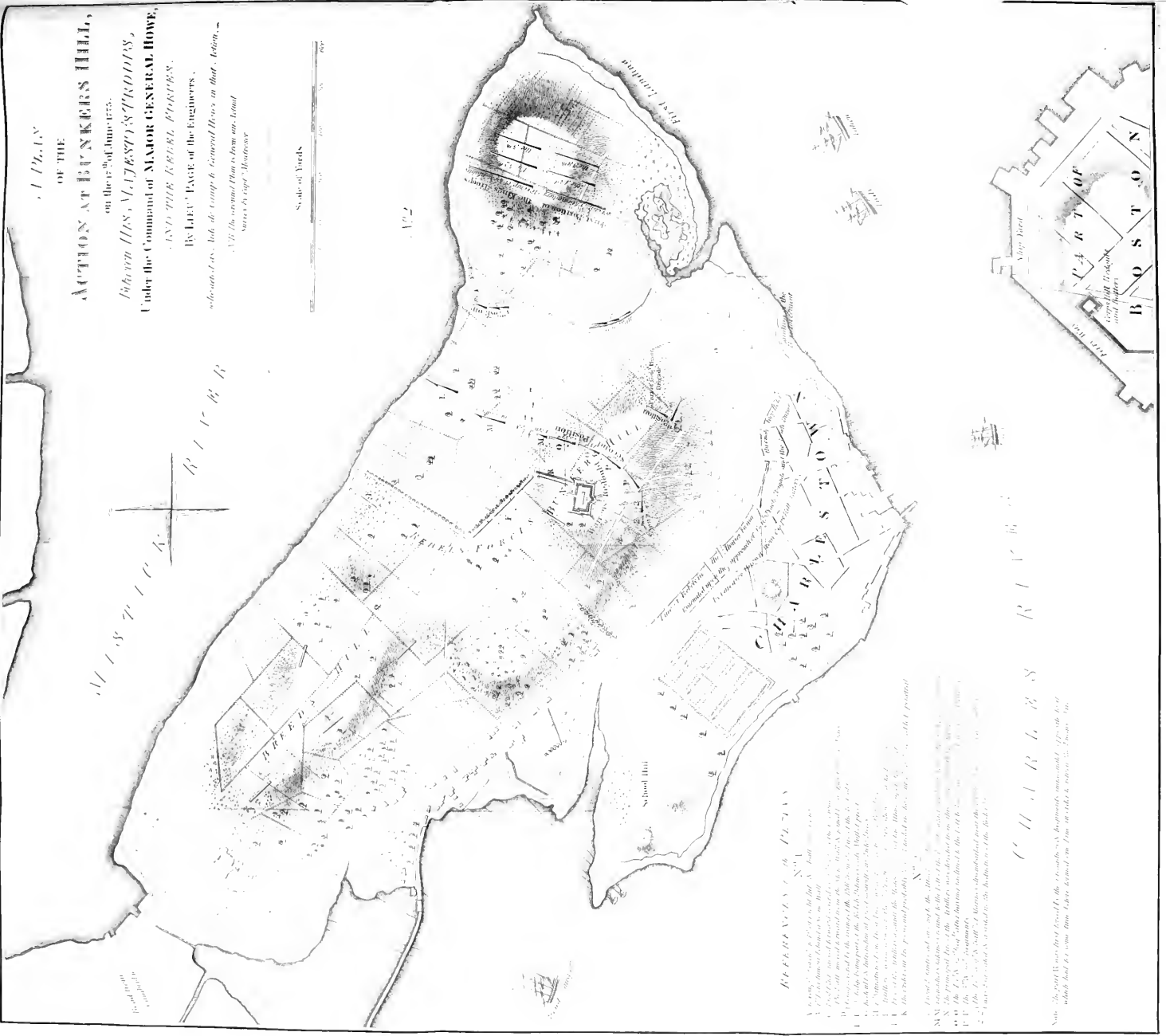
Nº 1



PLAN
OF THE

ACTION AT BUNKER HILL,
on the 17th June 1775.
Between HIS MAJESTY'S PRODIGES,
Under the Command of MAJOR GENERAL HOWE,
AND THE REBEL FORCES,
BY DEW' BAKER OF THE ENGINEERS.
whom the Rebels took at Camp & removed them in that Action.
As the several Plans shew an Island
taken by the Rebels.

Scale of Yards
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000



EXPLANATION OF THE PLAN

- A. The Rebels' camp on the 17th June 1775.
- B. The Rebels' camp on the 18th June 1775.
- C. The Rebels' camp on the 19th June 1775.
- D. The Rebels' camp on the 20th June 1775.
- E. The Rebels' camp on the 21st June 1775.
- F. The Rebels' camp on the 22nd June 1775.
- G. The Rebels' camp on the 23rd June 1775.
- H. The Rebels' camp on the 24th June 1775.
- I. The Rebels' camp on the 25th June 1775.
- J. The Rebels' camp on the 26th June 1775.
- K. The Rebels' camp on the 27th June 1775.
- L. The Rebels' camp on the 28th June 1775.
- M. The Rebels' camp on the 29th June 1775.
- N. The Rebels' camp on the 30th June 1775.
- O. The Rebels' camp on the 1st July 1775.
- P. The Rebels' camp on the 2nd July 1775.
- Q. The Rebels' camp on the 3rd July 1775.
- R. The Rebels' camp on the 4th July 1775.
- S. The Rebels' camp on the 5th July 1775.
- T. The Rebels' camp on the 6th July 1775.
- U. The Rebels' camp on the 7th July 1775.
- V. The Rebels' camp on the 8th July 1775.
- W. The Rebels' camp on the 9th July 1775.
- X. The Rebels' camp on the 10th July 1775.
- Y. The Rebels' camp on the 11th July 1775.
- Z. The Rebels' camp on the 12th July 1775.

COLLEGE BARRACKS

Note: The map is a plan of the battle of Bunker Hill, and is not a map of the city of Boston. The map shows the positions of the British and Rebel forces during the battle, and the movements of the British during the battle. The map is titled 'PLAN OF THE ACTION AT BUNKER HILL' and includes the names of the commanding officers and the cartographer.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1775. Military Preparations. — The Alarm Lists. — Marches of Troops into the Country. — Massachusetts declared to be in Rebellion. — General Gage resolves to destroy the Stores. — The British Officers. — Richard Deven's relation. — Expedition to Concord. — Firing near Prospect Hill. — Events in Charlestown. — Entrance by the Troops. — Distress of the Inhabitants. — Jacob Roger's Petition. — Assembling of an Army. — Charlestown threatened, and distress of the Inhabitants. — Their Removal. — Fortifications. — Exchange of prisoners. — Resolve to occupy Bunker Hill. — Description of Charlestown.

The period has been reached when the events that occurred in Charlestown are so intimately connected with general history, that it is difficult to select that which is merely local. A narrative, however, will be expected of the military transactions that occurred within its limits.¹

The British administration determined to enforce, at all hazards, complete submission to the Act altering the charter of Massachusetts passed in May, 1774, while the people resolved to resist its execution. Hence General Gage concentrated a strong force in Boston, and the patriots made efficient preparations for their defense. In the councils of this period, consisting of meetings of the committees of correspondence, of the committees of safety, of the county convention, and of the Provincial Congress, delegates of Charlestown bore an active part. The

¹ A narrative of the military transactions that took place within the limits of Charlestown, was prepared for this work from the printed authorities, on the supposition that the researches of others had exhausted the subject. On further reflection, however, it seemed more in accordance with the character of the preceding portion of the volume, to construct an account, as much as possible, from original authorities. On collecting them, the quantity of matter became embarrassing, and could not properly be put into a work of so local a character. Hence it has been prepared into an octavo volume of over four hundred pages, entitled, "History of the Siege of Boston and of the Battles of Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill. Also, an account of the Bunker Hill Monument. With Illustrative Documents." The reader is referred to this work for a fuller detail of the military transactions of 1775 and 1776, and for a fuller reference to the authorities.

firm support given by the Town to the patriot cause continued even after such support became hazardous. There is no allusion however on the records to any military preparation. Its early attention to this subject (see page 285) elicited praise from the leading patriots, and the absence of votes relative to "alarm lists" and military discipline, must be ascribed to its peculiar situation. The following record shows that its citizens did not neglect the call of the Provincial Congress, and shows who composed its "Minute men": —

Charlestown, December 2, 1774.

At a meeting of the Engine Men of the Town, at Captain Adam's, Voted, that the three companies be united in one body as exempts.

2. That the officers of said company where chosen to it, Captain Joseph Hopkins, Lieut. Nathaniel Frothingham, and John Austin, Ensign.

3. The three companies meet separately to learn to exercise.

4. That every man be provided with a good gun and bayonet, with a iron ramrod, in one month, on forfeiture of three shillings.

5. That Captain Joseph Hopkins and Lieutenant Frothingham, Ensign Austin, and Mr. Isaiah Edes, and Mr. David Wood, Jr., be a committee to wait upon the following gentlemen, to see whether they will join the body of the Engine Men, viz.

Mr. Richard Devens,
Mr. Nathaniel Gorham,
Mr. Benjamin Hurd,
Mr. John Hay,
Mr. Isaac Foster, Jr.,
Mr. Isaac Codman,
Mr. Benj. Swetser,
Mr. Thomas Goodwin,
Mr. Wm. Harris,
Mr. John Austin, 3d.,

Capt. Nath'l Adams,
Mr. Nath'l Rand,
Mr. John Stanton,
Mr. Samuel Conant,
Mr. David Wait,
Mr. John Larkin,
Mr. Samuel Rand,
Mr. Thomas Welsh,
Mr. John Beckham,
Mr. Lewis Foye.

No military event of importance occurred in the winter of 1774-5. Small detachments of the British army came out, occasionally, over the Ferry, marched into the country, and returned to Boston, and British officers were often seen in the streets. The patriots used every exertion to prevent collisions between the "alarm lists" and the Regulars, and a plan had been agreed upon to avoid hostilities as long as possible. This policy was put to a severe test by expeditions sent (January 23, 1775) to Marshfield, and (February 26) to Salem. The Committee of Safety, of whom Richard Devens of this town was a prominent member, and the Committee of Supplies, of whom David Cheever of this town was an active member, were busy in collecting stores at Concord for the support of an army, while reports were current that General Gage intended to destroy them.

As early as March fourteenth, couriers were engaged by the Committee of Safety to alarm the country in case this was attempted. The movements of the troops were narrowly watched. When a brigade (March 30) marched out in the direction of Jamaica Plain, the Charlestown committee received the following summons : —

Boston, March 30, 1775.

Gentlemen,—The alarming manœuvre of a large detachment of the army is the reason of our desiring your attendance at our chamber in Faneuil Hall to-morrow, at ten o'clock, A. M., in order to determine upon measures of safety. The wisdom of the joint committees has been very conspicuous. The fullest exertion of the same wisdom is absolutely necessary at this excited time. We therefore desire your punctual attendance.

We are, gentlemen,
Your friends and countrymen.
Signed, by order of the committee
of correspondence of Boston,
WILLIAM COOPER, Clerk.

To Committee of Correspondence for Charlestown.

In the early part of April it became more and more evident that the time for the last appeal was at hand. It was proclaimed in England that Massachusetts was in a state of rebellion; and the King gave assurances to Parliament that speedy measures should be taken to put the rebellion down. This was published (April 4) in the Boston Journals. The Provincial Congress took decisive measures, and among other acts, it sent (April 7) a circular to the local committees of correspondence, “most earnestly recommending” them to see to it that “the militia and minute men” be found in the best posture of defense whenever any exigence might require their aid, but at whatever expense of patience or forbearance to act on the defensive.

This warning was needed. General Gage having about four thousand troops in Boston, determined to destroy the stores collected at Concord. To prevent intelligence from reaching the country of the march of his troops, he ordered officers (April 18) to station themselves on the roads leading out of Boston. The following relation, by Richard Devens, shows what occurred in Charlestown during the evening. Messrs. Gerry, Orne, Lee and Watson, were members of the Committee of Safety or Supplies :—

“On the 18th of April, '75, Tuesday, the committee of safety, of which I was then a member, and the committee of supplies, sat at Newell's tavern, (the records of the committee of safety say Wetherby's,) at Menotomy. A great number of British officers dined at Cambridge. After we had finished the business of the day, we

adjourned to meet at Woburn on the morrow,—left to lodge at Newell's, Gerry, Orne, and Lee. Mr. Watson and myself came off in my chaise at sunset. On the road we met a great number of B. O. (British officers) and their servants on horseback, who had dined that day at Cambridge. We rode some way after we met them, and then turned back and rode through them, went and informed our friends at Newell's. We stopped there till they came up and rode by. We then left our friends, and I came home, after leaving Mr. Watson at his house. I soon received intelligence from Boston, that the enemy were all in motion, and were certainly preparing to come out into the country. Soon afterward, the signal agreed upon was given; this was a lantern hung out in the upper window of the tower of the N. Ch., (North Church) towards Charlestown. I then sent off an express to inform Messrs. Gerry, &c., and Messrs. Hancock and A. (Adams) who I knew were at the Rev. Mr. — (Clark's) at Lexington, that the enemy were certainly coming out. I kept watch at the Ferry to watch for the boats till about eleven o'clock, when Paul Revere came over and informed that the T. (Troops) were actually in their boats. I then took a horse from Mr. Larkin's barn and sent off P. Revere to give the intelligence at Menotomy and Lexington. He was taken by the British officers before mentioned before he got to Lexington, and detained till near day."¹

Colonel Smith, at the head of about eight hundred troops, landed this evening (18th) at Lechmere's Point between ten and eleven, reached Lexington about half past four on the morning of the memorable nineteenth of April, and after a skirmish with the minute men, pursued his march towards Concord. He reached that town about seven in the morning. After partially destroying the stores collected there, a skirmish, about ten, occurred at the North Bridge. At twelve he commenced his return to Boston. He was so severely attacked by the minute men that, had not Lord Percy met the harrassed and dispirited troops with a reinforcement about two o'clock in Lexington, the whole detachment must have been cut off. After a short halt the troops recommenced their march. There was sharp firing on West Cambridge Plain. From this place the British troops took the road that winds round Prospect Hill. When they entered this part of Charlestown their situation was critical. The large number of the wounded proved a distressing obstruction to their progress, while they had but few rounds of ammunition left. Their field-pieces had lost their terror. The main body of the provincials hung closely on their rear; a strong force was advancing

¹ Paul Revere was not taken until after he arrived at Lexington. He narrowly escaped being captured just outside of Charlestown Neck. See his Narrative. The relation in the text was found among the papers of Richard Devens, for a liberal use of which I am indebted to David Devens, Esq.

upon them from Roxbury, Dorchester, and Milton; while Colonel Pickering, with the Essex militia, seven hundred strong, threatened to cut off their retreat to Charlestown.¹ Near Prospect Hill the fire again became sharp, and the British again had recourse to their field-pieces. James Miller, of this town, was killed here. Along its base, Lord Percy, it is stated, received the hottest fire he had during his retreat. General Gage, about sunset, might have beheld his harrassed troops, almost on the run, coming down the old Cambridge road to Charlestown Neck, anxious to get under the protection of the guns of the ships of war. The minute-men closely followed them, but when they reached the Charlestown Common, General Heath ordered them to stop the pursuit.

Charlestown, throughout the day, presented a scene of intense excitement and great confusion. It was known early in the morning that the regulars were out. Rumors soon arrived of the events that had occurred at Lexington. The schools were dismissed, and citizens gathered in groups in the streets.² About ten o'clock, Dr. Warren, just out of Boston, rode on horseback through the town. He had received intelligence of the events of the morning, and told the citizens that the news of the firing

¹ Dr. Welsh, who was on Prospect Hill when the British went by, saw Colonel Pickering's regiment on the top of Winter Hill, near the front of Mr. Adams' house, the enemy being very near in Charlestown road. Washington writes, May 31, 1775: "If the retreat had not been as precipitate as it was, — and God knows it could not well have been more so, — the ministerial troops must have surrendered, or been totally cut off. For they had not arrived in Charlestown, (under cover of their ships,) half an hour, before a powerful body of men from Marblehead and Salem was at their heels, and must, if they had happened to be up one hour sooner, inevitably have intercepted their retreat to Charlestown." — Sparks' Washington, vol. II., p. 407.

Dr. Welsh said that cannon fired occasionally. The troops kept up a steady fire. A MS. letter of Mr. W. B. Shedd states that in a house now in Somerville, at the foot of Prospect Hill, a regular was found, on the return of the inmates, laying across the draw of a secretary, dead, having been shot through the window as he was pilfering.

² The late Dr. Prince, of Salem, used to relate, that as he was standing with a party of armed men at Charlestown Neck, a person enveloped in a cloak rode up on horseback, inquired the news, and passed on; but he immediately put spur to his horse, and the animal started forward so suddenly as to cause the rider to raise his arms, throw up the cloak, and thus reveal a uniform. The men instantly levelled their guns to fire, when Dr. Prince struck them up, exclaiming, "Don't fire at him — he is my friend Small, a fine fellow." It was Major Small, an express from the army, who got safe into Boston.

was true. Among others he met Dr. Welsh, who said, "Well, they are gone out." "Yes," replied the Dr., "and we'll be up with them before night." A large number seized their guns and went out to meet the British, and the greater part who remained were women and children. Early in the afternoon, Hon. James Russell received a note from General Gage, to the effect, that he had been informed that citizens had gone out armed to oppose his majesty's troops, and that if a single man more went out armed, the most disagreeable consequences might be expected. Judge Russell stood in front of his mansion house, in the present square, and read this letter to a crowd of anxious inhabitants. A spirited patriot exclaimed, with an oath, "I'll go out and fight the regulars, if Gage does burn the town." It was next reported, and correctly, that Cambridge Bridge had been taken up, and that hence the regulars would be obliged to return to Boston through the town. Many then prepared to leave, and every vehicle was employed to carry away their most valuable effects. Others, however, still believing the troops would return the way they went out, determined to remain, and in either event to abide the worst. Just before sunset the noise of distant firing was heard, and soon the British troops were seen in the Cambridge road. The inhabitants then rushed towards the Neck. Some crossed Mystic River, at Penny Ferry. Some ran along the marsh, towards Medford. The troops, however, soon approached the town, firing as they came along,—a lad, Edward Barber, being killed on the Neck, as he was standing at a window in a house at the corner of the road leading to Malden Bridge. The inhabitants then turned back into the town, panic-struck. Word ran through the crowd that "The Britons were massacring the women and children!" Some remained in the streets, speechless with terror; some ran to the clay-pits, back of Breed's Hill, where they passed the night. The troops, however, offered no injury to the inhabitants. Their officers directed the women and children, half-distracted with fright, to go into their houses, and they would be safe, but requested them to hand out drink to the troops. The main body occupied Bunker Hill, and formed a line opposite the Neck. Additional troops also were sent over from Boston. The officers flocked to the tavern in the square, where the cry was for drink. Guards were stationed in various parts of the town. One was placed at the Neck, with orders to

permit no one to go out. Every thing, during the night, was quiet. Some of the wounded were carried over immediately, in the boats of the Somerset, to Boston. General Pigot had the command in Charlestown the next day, when the troops all returned to their quarters.

There are many accounts of the arrival of the British troops in Charlestown. The Salem Gazette, April 25, says: "The consternation of the people of Charlestown, when our enemies were entering the town, is inexpressible; the troops, however, behaved tolerably civil, and the people have since nearly all left the town." Stiles, in his diary, April 24, 1775, writes: "In the afternoon of the same day, by order of General Gage, a proclamation was read to the inhabitants of Charlestown, purporting that he would lay that town in ashes if they obstructed the king's troops." Clark says: The firing continued, "with but little intermission, to the close of the day, when the troops entered Charlestown, where the provincials could not follow them, without exposing the worthy inhabitants of that truly patriotic town to their rage and revenge." Governor Trumbull, in his Letter, says:—"The heights of Charlestown afforded the astonished, dispirited fugitives, an asylum for the night; though even when so advantageously posted, their courage was not so much their protection as their cruelty, in threatening the destruction of the Town, in revenge of a new attack." De Berniere (British) writes: "At about seven o'clock in the evening we arrived at Charlestown. They kept up a scattering fire at us all the way. At Charlestown we took possession of a hill that commanded the town, the selectmen of which sent to Lord Percy to let him know that if he would not attack the town, they would take care that the troops should not be molested, and also they would do all in their power for to get us across the Ferry. The Somerset man of war lay there at that time, and all her boats were employed first in getting over the wounded and after them the rest of the troops. The pickets of 10th regiment, and some more troops, were sent over to Charlestown that night to keep every thing quiet, and returned next day."

A petition of one of the citizens, Jacob Rogers, presented to the Provincial Congress in October, 1775, presents so minute a detail of the events of the evening, that an extract from it is given. It was his brother-in-law, who was killed on the Neck.

Captain Rogers had been charged with supplying the British troops with refreshment: —

“As to my conduct the 19th of April: We were alarmed with various reports concerning the king’s troops, which put everybody in confusion. About ten in the morning I met Doctor Warren riding hastily out of town, and asked him if the news was true of the men’s being killed at Lexington; he assured me it was. I replied I was very glad our people had not fired first, as it would have given the king’s troops a handle to execute their project of desolation. He rode on.

“In the afternoon Mr. James Russell received a letter from General Gage, importing that he was informed the people of Charlestown had gone out armed to oppose his majesty’s troops, and that if one single man more went out armed, we might expect the most disagreeable consequences.

“A line-of-battle ship lying before the town; a report that Cambridge bridge was taken up; no other retreat but through Charlestown; numbers of men, women, and children, in this confusion, getting out of town. Among the rest, I got my chaise, took my wife and children; and as I live near the school-house, in a back street, drove into the main street, put my children in a cart with others then driving out of town, who were fired at several times on the common, and followed after. Just abreast of Captain Fenton’s, on the neck of land, Mr. David Waitt, leather-dresser, of Charlestown, came riding in full speed from Cambridge, took hold of my reins, and assisted me to turn up on Bunker’s Hill, as he said the troops were then entering the common. I had just reached the summit of the hill, dismounted from the chaise, and tied it fast in my father-in-law’s pasture, when we saw the troops within about forty rods of us, on the hill. One Hayley, a tailor, now of Cambridge, with his wife, and a gun on his shoulder, going towards them, drew a whole volley of shot on himself and us, that I expected my wife, or one of her sisters, who were with us, to drop every moment.

“It being now a little dark, we proceeded with many others to the Pest House, till we arrived at Mr. Townsend’s, pump-maker, in the training-field; on hearing women’s voices, we went in, and found him, Captain Adams, tavern-keeper, Mr. Samuel Cary, now clerk to Colonel Millin, quartermaster-general, and some others, and a house full of women and children, in the greatest terror, afraid to go to their own habitations. After refreshing ourselves, it being then dark, Mr. Cary, myself, and one or two more, went into town, to see if we might, with safety, proceed to our own houses. On our way met a Mr. Hutchinson, who informed us all was then pretty quiet; that when the soldiers came through the street the officers desired the women and children to keep in doors for their safety; that they begged for drink, which the people were glad to bring them, for fear of their being ill-treated. Mr. Cary and I proceeded to the tavern by the Town House, where the officers were; all was tumult and confusion; nothing but drink called for everywhere. I stayed a few minutes, and proceeded to my own house, and finding things pretty quiet, went in search of my wife and sisters, and found them coming up the street with Captain Adams. On our arrival at home, we found that her brother, a youth of fourteen, was shot dead on the Neck of land by the soldiers, as he was looking out of a window. I stayed a little while to console them, and went into the Main Street to see if all was quiet, and found an officer and

guard under arms by Mr. David Wood's, baker, who continued, it seems, all night; from thence, seeing every thing quiet, came home and went to bed, and never gave assistance or refreshment of any kind whatever. Neither was any officer or soldier near my house that day or night. The next morning, with difficulty, I obtained to send for my horse and chaise from off the hill, where it had been all night, and found my cushion stole, and many other things I had in the box. Went to wait on Gen. Pigot, the commanding officer, for leave to go in search of my children; found Doctor Rand, Captain Cordis, and others, there for the same purpose, but could not obtain it till he had sent to Boston for orders, and could not find them till next night, having travelled in fear from house to house, till they got to Captain Waters', in Malden."

As intelligence of the events of this memorable day spread through the country, the minute-men and individual volunteers, from every quarter, rushed to the neighborhood of Boston. In two days twenty thousand armed men had assembled. Charlestown, as well as Boston, became in a state of siege. Though the British troops (April 20) returned to their quarters, yet the peculiar situation of the town, added to the threats of the British commander, created the belief that it would be destroyed in case it was occupied by the Americans. At this time the British general and the Tories feared that the exasperated multitude would make an attack on Boston, while threats to this effect were passing from mouth to mouth, in the American camp. On the 21st General Gage sent to the selectmen a message, to the effect that if the American forces were allowed to occupy the town, or to throw up works on the heights, the ships would be ordered to fire on it. A midshipman on board the *Nautilus*, then lying in the river, about this time wrote as follows:—

"My situation here is not very pleasant, for I am stationed in an open boat, at the mouth of Charles River, to watch the Americans, who are busily employed in making fire-stages, to send down the stream to burn our ships. I have command of six men, and a six-pounder is fixed to the bow of our boat, which we are to fire to alarm the camp and fleet, as soon as we observe the fire-stages. The inhabitants of Boston are delivering up their arms, and leaving the town. The *Somerset*, of 74 guns, lays between Boston and Charlestown, which are only separated by a channel about a mile broad, and our ship lays about half a mile above her; and if she sees a particular signal hung out, she is to fire on Charlestown."

At a subsequent period, when an American detachment appeared on the heights, the British general renewed his threat. There is among the papers of Richard Devens the following memorandum:—

"This town was given up. Upon the appearance of some American troops on B. Hill, Gen. G. (Gage) sent over from B. (Boston) and threat-

ened the town that if (the) men were not removed from the hill he would burn the town. A committee from the T. (town) waited on the C. in chief, G. W., (commander-in-chief, General Ward,) informed him of the threat they had received from G. G., (General Gage,) and at the same time informed him that if it was for (the) good of the whole they would not object.¹

In consequence of these threats the town became nearly deserted. They who were able, removed much of their furniture into the country. The Provincial Congress had made provision for the poor of Boston who were unable to leave that town or to support themselves, and hence the following petition was presented relative to Charlestown. It bears no date, but was acted on in May. It gives a better idea of the condition of the town than any long description :—

To the Hon. the Provincial Congress now sitting at Watertown :

The Committee of the Town of Charlestown, appointed by the Congress to convey the Poor of Boston to the Towns in the country which are to receive them, beg leave humbly represent to this Congress, that the inhabitants of the Town of Charlestown who are able to get into the country, have generally left the Town, and there now remains a few people, who, by reason of their extreme poverty, are wholly unable to do any thing towards removing themselves from the extreme hazardous situation that they are now in ; and as the inhabitants who were able to render them any assistance, to make their lives more comfortable, have left the Town, their situation is truly deplorable. The Committee beg leave further to represent, that the distress under which the inhabitants of Charlestown now labor, flows from the same source with our brethren of Boston—and we have heretofore, in all the generous donations, been in proportion to our numbers so considered. The Committee therefore pray that they may be empowered by the Hon. Congress to provide for such poor as now remain in Charlestown by sending them to some Towns in the country to be provided for in the same manner as those of Boston.

NATHANIEL GORHAM, EDWARD GOODWIN JOHN FROTHINGHAM, JAMES BRADISH, JR.	}	Committee. ¹
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The prayer of this petition was granted. The same provision was made for the poor of Charlestown that was made for the poor of Boston. The towns in the interior were ordered to support them.

The American commanders endeavored to cut off all intercourse with Boston. Hence all travel into it through Charlestown was forbidden. A general order (May 6) prohibited the granting of permits to any persons even for the purpose of carrying in provisions. Another order, however, (13th) permitted Captain

¹ Mass. Archives.

Isaac Foster to carry in articles for the inhabitants. No one without a pass was allowed to go in. A few citizens went in to look after their effects, or to plant their gardens, or to mow their grass. But so hazardous was living in it considered, that on the 17th of June only one or two hundred remained out of a population of between two and three thousand.

Until after the Battle of Bunker Hill no fortifications were erected on Winter Hill or on Prospect Hill. A guard only appears to have been stationed on the latter, which was ordered there as early as April twenty-first. A breastwork was thrown up on the Cambridge road near the base of Prospect Hill. A joint committee (May 12) consisting of members of the Committee of Safety and of the Council of War, recommended the construction of strong works on Prospect Hill, Winter Hill and Bunker Hill, the object of them being to prevent sallies of the enemy out of Boston. A number of "fire boats" and other boats were built in this town at this period. Richard Devens was directed to secure them. The selectmen of Medford were also ordered to take a party of men to Charlestown Neck to launch them and carry them up Mystic River.

On the 13th of May, in the afternoon, all the troops stationed in Cambridge, except those on guard, marched under General Putnam, into Charlestown. They were twenty-two hundred in number, and their line of March was made to extend a mile and a half. They went over Bunker Hill, and also over Breed's Hill, came out by Captain Henly's still-house, and passed into the main street by the fish-market, near the old ferry, where Charles River Bridge is. They then returned to Cambridge. It was done to inspire the army with confidence. Though they went within reach of the guns of the enemy, both from Boston and the shipping, no attempt was made to molest them.

On the 6th of June an exchange of prisoners took place in this town, under the direction of Dr. Warren and Gen. Putnam. The procession was escorted by the Wethersfield company, commanded by Captain Chester. The American prisoners, captured on the 19th of April, were delivered by Major Moncrief, who landed from the Lively. An entertainment was provided at the house of Dr. Foster, where the British officers and the American officers spent several hours most agreeably. The Wethersfield company acquired much credit for their bearing on this occasion.

It had been reported that General Gage intended to move into the country, and the Council of War considered the expediency of anticipating his movements. The report of the committee relative to erecting works on the heights of Charlestown, was earnestly debated. On the most important measure, that of occupying Bunker Hill, there was much difference of opinion. General Putnam, Colonel Prescott, and other veteran officers, were strongly in favor of it, and chiefly to draw the enemy out of Boston on ground where he might be met on equal terms. They urged that the army wished to be employed, and that the country was growing dissatisfied with its inactivity. They felt great confidence in the militia. "The Americans," Putnam said, "were not afraid of their heads, though very much afraid of their legs; if you cover these, they will fight forever." Generals Ward and Warren were among those who opposed it, and chiefly because the army was not in a condition, as it respected cannon and powder, to maintain so exposed a post; and because it might bring on a general engagement, which it was neither politic nor safe to risk. It was determined to take possession of Bunker Hill, and also of Dorchester Heights, but not until the army should be better organized, more abundantly supplied with powder, and better able to defend posts so exposed.

The contemplated operations of General Gage, however, brought matters to a crisis. He fixed upon the night of June 18, to take possession of Dorchester Heights. Authentic advice of this was communicated—June 13—to the American commanders. The committee of safety, on the same day, ordered the general to procure an immediate return of the state and equipments of the several regiments. On the 15th, it resolved to recommend to the Provincial Congress to provide for an immediate augmentation of the army, and to order that the militia of the colony hold themselves ready to march on the shortest notice. Also, that it issue a general recommendation to the people to go to meeting armed, on the Lord's day, in order to prevent being thrown into confusion. The committee of safety then passed, on the same day, the following resolve:—

Whereas, it appears of importance to the safety of this colony, that possession of the hill called Bunker's Hill, in Charlestown, be securely kept and defended; and also, some one hill or hills on Dorchester Neck be likewise secured: therefore, resolved,

unanimously, that it be recommended to the council of war, that the above mentioned Bunker's Hill be maintained, by sufficient forces being posted there ; and as the particular situation of Dorchester Neck is unknown to this committee, they desire that the council of war take and pursue such steps, respecting the same, as to them shall appear to be for the security of this colony.

The committee then appointed Colonel Palmer and Captain White to join with a committee from the council of war, and proceed to the Roxbury camp for consultation. Also to communicate the above resolve to the council. To secure secrecy, this important resolve was not recorded until the nineteenth of June.

Charlestown in 1775 contained about four hundred buildings and a population of between two and three thousand. The natural features of the Peninsula have been somewhat altered by the inroads of improvement. It is about a mile in length from north to south, and its greatest breadth, next to Boston, is about half a mile, whence it gradually becomes narrower until it makes an isthmus, called the Neck, connecting it with the main land. The Mystic River, about half a mile wide, is on the east side ; and on the west side is Charles River, which here forms a large bay, — a part of which, by a dam stretching in the direction of Cobble Hill, is a mill-pond. In 1775 the Neck, an artificial causeway, was so low as to be frequently overflowed by the tides. The communication with Boston was by a ferry, where Charles River Bridge is, and with Malden by another, called Penny Ferry, where Malden Bridge is. Near the Neck, on the main land, there was a large green, known as The Common. Two roads ran by it, — one in a westerly direction, as now, by Cobble Hill, (McLean Asylum,) Prospect Hill, Inman's Woods, to Cambridge Common ; the other in a northerly direction, by Ploughed Hill, (Mount Benedict,) Winter Hill, to Medford, — the direct road to West Cambridge not having been laid out in 1775. Bunker Hill begins at the isthmus, and rises gradually for about three hundred yards, forming a round, smooth hill, sloping on two sides towards the water, and connected by a ridge of ground on the south with the heights now known as Breed's Hill. This was a well known public place, — the name "Bunker Hill" being found in the town records, and in deeds, from an early period. Not so with "Breed's Hill," for it is not named in any description of streets previous to 1775, and appears to have been called

after the owners of the pastures into which it was divided, rather than by the common name of Breed's Hill. Thus, Monument-square was called Russell's Pasture; Breed's Pasture lay further south; Green's Pasture was at the head of Green street.¹ The easterly and westerly sides of this height were steep; on the east side, at its base, were brick-kilns, clay-pits, and much sloughy land; on the west side, at the base, was the most settled part of the town. Moulton's Point, a name coeval with the settlement of the town, constituted the south-east corner of the peninsula. A part of this tract formed what is called, in all the accounts of the battle of Bunker Hill, "Morton's Hill." Bunker Hill was one hundred and ten feet high, Breed's Hill sixty-two feet, and Morton's Hill thirty-five feet. The principal street of the peninsula was Main-street, which extended from the neck to the ferry. A highway from sixteen feet to thirty feet wide ran over Bunker Hill to Moulton's Point, and one connecting with it wound round Breed's Hill. The easterly portions of these hills were used chiefly for hay ground and pasturing; the westerly portions contained fine orchards and gardens.

¹ This hill is called Green's Hill in a British description of the town in 1775. It has been often remarked that Breed's Hill has been robbed of the glory that justly belongs to it. It should be remembered, however, that the rail fence was at the base of Bunker Hill, and if not the great post of the day, here a large part of the battle was fought. Besides, the name Breed's Hill will not do near so well for patriotic purposes. Thus, in the "Declaration of Independence," a poem, the author writes:—

Dun clouds of smcke! avaunt!— Mount Breed, all hail!
There glory circled patriot Warren's head.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1775. Breed's Hill occupied. — Cannonade of the British. — They land at Moulton's Point. — American defences. — Bunker Hill Battle.

ON Friday, the sixteenth of June, the commanders of the army, in accordance with the recommendations of the committee of safety, took measures to fortify Bunker Hill.¹ Orders were issued for Prescott's, Fry's, and Bridge's regiments, and a fatigue party of two hundred Connecticut troops, to parade at 6 o'clock in the evening, with all the intrenching tools in the Cambridge

¹The account of the Battle of Bunker Hill, including documents relating to it, fills about an hundred and thirty pages of the "SIEGE OF BOSTON." The greater part of the notes, some of the text, and all of the documents, have been here omitted. A chronological notice of the authorities will be found in the appendix of that work.

The plan of the battle is by a British officer, Lieutenant Page, a notice of whom will be found in the subsequent pages. The groundwork of it is from an actual survey by the celebrated British engineer, Capt. Montresor. It is the only plan of Charlestown of so early a date. It is on the same scale as that published by Felton and Parker, in 1848, and the plans will be found to agree as to Main street, Bunker Hill street and other streets. The engraving for this work is the first American engraving. It is of the same size as the British engraving, and as to the outlines — streets, houses, trees, fences, line of fire and lettering — is an exact copy. It will be observed that the hills are not named correctly — Bunker Hill should be Breed's Hill. This plan was first published in 1776 or 1777, and the plate of it, with a few alterations in the lettering, was used by Stedman, in 1794, — without, however, any credit being given either to Montresor or to Page. Another plan of the battle was drawn by another British officer, Henry D' Berniere. The groundwork is certainly not so correct as that of Page. I have seen an old MS. copy of this plan, slightly varying in the streets from the engraved copies. This plan was first engraved in this country, in 1818, for the *Analectic Magazine*; and also for the *Port Folio*, with corrections by General Dearborn, in red lines. This plan forms the basis of Colonel Swett's sketch of the battle.

The view of the Town is engraved from an original MS. of 1775, found among a collection of MS. British plans of the battles of the revolution. I am indebted to Henry Stevens, Esq., for the use of it.

There are, in publications issued during the revolution, several pictures of the Battle, representing the attack on the Redoubt and the burning of the town. They are, however, so crude as to be of little value. The same remark may be made of the plans of the town to be seen on some of the maps of 1775. They are more curious than reliable.

camp. They were also ordered to furnish themselves with packs and blankets, and with provisions for twenty-four hours. Also, Captain Samuel Gridley's company of artillery, of forty-nine men and two field-pieces, was ordered to parade. The Connecticut men, draughted from several companies, were put under the gallant Thomas Knowlton, a captain in General Putnam's regiment.

The detachment was placed under the command of Colonel William Prescott, of Pepperell, who had orders in writing, from General Ward, to proceed that evening to Bunker Hill, build fortifications to be planned by Col. Richard Gridley, the chief engineer, and defend them until he should be relieved,—the order not to be communicated until the detachment had passed Charlestown Neck. The regiments and fatigue party ordered to parade would have constituted a force of at least fourteen hundred : but only three hundred of Prescott's regiment, a part of Bridge's, and a part of Frye's under Lieutenant Colonel Bricket, the artillery, and two hundred Connecticut troops, were ordered to march. Hence the number may be fairly estimated at twelve hundred. It was understood that reinforcements and refreshments should be sent to Colonel Prescott on the following morning.

This detachment paraded on Cambridge Common at the time appointed ; and after a fervent and impressive prayer by President Langdon, of Harvard College, it commenced, about nine o'clock, its memorable march for Charlestown. Colonel Prescott was at its head, arrayed in a simple and appropriate uniform, with a blue coat and a three-cornered hat. Two sergeants, carrying dark lanterns, were a few paces in front of him, and the intrenching tools followed in the rear. Col. Gridley accompanied the troops. They were enjoined to maintain the strictest silence, and were not aware of the object of the expedition until they halted at Charlestown Neck. Here Major Brooks joined them, and probably General Putnam and another general. Here Captain Nutting, with his company and ten of the Connecticut troops, was ordered to proceed to the lower part of the town as a guard. The main body then marched over Bunker Hill, and again halted for some time. Here Colonel Prescott called the field officers around him, and communicated his orders. A long consultation took place in relation to the place to be fortified. The veteran Colonel Gridley, and two generals, one of whom was General Putnam, took part in it. The order was explicit as to Bunker Hill,

and yet a position nearer Boston, now known as Breed's Hill, seemed better adapted to the objects of the expedition, and better suited the daring spirit of the officers. It was contended, however, that works ought not to be commenced at this place until Bunker Hill had been fortified, in order to cover, in case of necessity, a retreat. The moments were precious, and the engineer strongly urged the importance of a speedy decision. On the pressing importunity of one of the generals, it was concluded to proceed to Breed's Hill.¹ At the same time it was determined that works should be erected on Bunker Hill. When the detachment reached Breed's Hill, the packs were thrown off, the guns were stacked, Colonel Gridley marked out the plan of a fortification, tools were distributed, and about twelve o'clock the men began to work. Colonel Prescott immediately detached Captain Maxwell, of his own regiment, and a party, with orders to patrol the shore in the lower part of the town, near the old ferry, and watch the motions of the enemy during the night. General Putnam, after the men were at labor, returned to Cambridge.

Anxious to the patriot laborers were the watches of that starlight night. The shore in Boston, opposite to them, was belted by a chain of sentinels, while nearer still, British men-of-war were moored in the waters around them, and commanded the peninsula. The Falcon was off Moulton's Point; the Lively lay opposite the present navy yard; the Somerset was at the ferry; the Glasgow was near Cragie's Bridge; and the Cerberus, and several floating batteries, were within gunshot. This proximity to an enemy required great caution; and a thousand men, accus-

¹ The order was explicit as to Bunker Hill, and the Committee of Safety's account says, "by some mistake," Breed's Hill was marked out for the intrenchment. In Gray's letter, July 12, 1775, it is stated, "that the engineer and two generals went on to the hill at night, and reconnoitred the ground; that one general and the engineer were of opinion we ought not to intrench on Charlestown Hill (Breed's Hill) till we had thrown up some works on the north and south ends of Bunker Hill, to cover our men in their retreat, if that should happen; but on the pressing importunity of the other general officer, it was consented to begin as was done." That the best position was Breed's Hill, Judge Prescott says, was "Colonel Gridley's opinion, and the other field officers who were consulted, — they thought it came within his (Prescott's) orders. There was not then the distinction between Bunker Hill and Breed's that has since been made." Colonel Swett remarks there could be no mistake, and that the account meant to say, delicately, the order to fortify Bunker Hill was not complied with.

tomed to handling the spade, worked with great diligence and silence on the intrenchments; while the cry of "All's well," heard at intervals through the night by the patrols, gave the assurance that they were not discovered. Colonel Prescott, apprehensive of an attack before the works were in such a condition as to cover the men, went down twice to the margin of the river with Major Brooks to reconnoitre, and was delighted to hear the watch on board the ships drowsily repeat the usual cry. The last time, a little before daylight, finding every thing quiet, he recalled the party under Maxwell to the hill.

The intrenchments, by the well-directed labor of the night, were raised about six feet high, and were first seen at early dawn, on the seventeenth of June, by the sailors on board the men-of-war. The captain of the *Lively*, without waiting for orders, put a spring on her cable and opened a fire on the American works; and the sound of the guns, breaking the calmness of a fine summer's morning, alarmed the British camp, and summoned the population of Boston and vicinity to gaze upon the novel spectacle. Admiral Graves almost immediately ordered the firing to cease; but in a short time, it was renewed, by authority, from a battery of six guns and howitzers, from Copp's Hill, in Boston, and from the shipping.¹ The Americans, protected by their works, were not at first injured by the balls, and they kept steadily at labor, strengthening the intrenchments, and making inside of them platforms of wood and earth, to stand upon when they should be called upon to fire.

Early in the day, a private was killed by a cannon ball, when some of the men left the hill. To inspire confidence, Colonel Prescott mounted the parapet and walked leisurely around it, inspecting the works, giving directions to the officers, and encouraging the men by approbation, or amusing them with humor. One of his captains, understanding his motive, followed his example while superintending the labors of his company. This

¹ The following are the vessels that took part in the cannonade during the day:—

Somerset,	68 guns, 520 men.	Captain Edward Le Cras.
Cerberus,	36 "	" Chads.
Glasgow,	24 " 130 "	" William Maltby.
Lively,	20 " 130 "	" Thomas Bishop.
Falcon,		" Linzee.
Symmetry,	20 "	

had the intended effect. The men became indifferent to the cannonade, or received the balls with repeated cheers. The tall, commanding form of Prescott was observed by General Gage, as he was reconnoitring the Americans through his glass, who inquired of Councillor Willard, near him, "Who the person was who appeared to command?" Willard recognized his brother-in-law. "Will he fight?" again inquired Gage. "Yes, sir; he is an old soldier, and will fight as long as a drop of blood remains in his veins!" "The works must be carried," was the reply.

As the day advanced, the heat became oppressive. Many of the men, inexperienced in war, had neglected to comply with the order respecting provisions, while no refreshments had arrived. Hence there was much suffering from want of food and drink, as well as from heat and fatigue; and this produced discontent and murmurs. The officers urged Colonel Prescott to send a request to General Ward for them to be relieved by other troops. The colonel promptly told them, in reply, that he never would consent to their being relieved. "The enemy," he said, "would not dare to attack them; and if they did, would be defeated; the men who had raised the works were the best able to defend them; already they had learned to despise the fire of the enemy; they had the merit of the labor, and should have the honor of the victory."

Soon after this, the enemy were observed to be in motion in Boston. General Gage had called a council of war early in the morning. As it was clear that the Americans were gaining strength every hour, it was the unanimous opinion that it was necessary to change the plan of operations that had been agreed upon, and drive them from their newly erected works, though different views prevailed as to the manner in which it should be attempted. Generals Clinton and Grant, and a majority of the council, were in favor of embarking a force at the common, in Boston, and under the protection of their batteries, landing in the rear of the Americans, at Charlestown Neck, to cut off their retreat. General Gage opposed this plan as unmilitary and hazardous. It would place his troops between two armies,—one strongly fortified, and the other superior in numbers,—and thus expose it to destruction. It was decided to make the attack in front, and orders were immediately issued for the troops to parade. It was the consequent preparation,—dragoons galloping from their places of

encampment, and the rattling of artillery carriages,—that was observed at the American lines. Colonel Prescott, about nine o'clock, called a council of war. The officers represented that the men, worn down by the labors of the night, in want even of necessary refreshments, were dissatisfied, and in no condition for action, and again urged that they should be relieved, or, at least, that Colonel Prescott should send for reinforcements and provisions. The colonel, though decided against the proposition to relieve them, agreed to send a special messenger to General Ward for additional troops and supplies. The officers were satisfied, and Major John Brooks, afterwards Governor Brooks, was dispatched for this purpose to head quarters, where he arrived about ten o'clock.

General Ward, early in the morning, had been urged by General Putnam to send reinforcements to Colonel Prescott, but was so doubtful of its expediency that he ordered only one-third of Stark's regiment to march to Charlestown; and after receiving the message by Major Brooks, he refused to weaken further the main army at Cambridge, until the enemy had more definitely revealed his intentions. He judged that General Gage would make his principal attack at Cambridge, to destroy the stores. The committee of safety, then in session, was consulted. One of its most active members, Richard Devens, strongly urged that aid should be sent, and his opinion partially prevailed. With its advice, General Ward, about eleven o'clock, ordered the whole of the regiments of Colonels Stark and Read, of New Hampshire, to reinforce Colonel Prescott. Orders, also, were issued for the recall of the companies stationed at Chelsea.

During the forenoon a flood tide enabled the British to bring three or four floating batteries to play on the intrenchments, when the fire became more severe. The men-of-war at intervals discharged their guns,—the Glasgow, one account states, continued to fire all the morning. The only return made to this terrific cannonade was a few ineffectual shot from a cannon in the corner of the redoubt. About eleven o'clock the men had mostly ceased labor on the works; the intrenching tools had been piled in the rear, and all were anxiously awaiting the arrival of refreshments and reinforcements. No works, however, had been commenced on Bunker Hill, regarded as of great importance in case of a retreat. General Putnam, who was on his way to the heights

when Major Brooks was going to Cambridge, rode on horseback to the redoubt, "and told Colonel Prescott,"—as General Heath first relates the circumstance—"that the intrenching tools must be sent off, or they would be lost: the colonel replied, that if he sent any of the men away with the tools, not one of them would return: to this the general answered, they shall every man return. A large party was then sent off with the tools, and not one of them returned: in this instance the colonel was the best judge of human nature." A large part of the tools were carried no further than Bunker Hill, where, by General Putnam's order, the men began to throw up a breastwork. Most of them fell into the hands of the enemy.

In the mean time General Gage had completed his preparations to attack the intrenchments. He ordered the ten oldest companies of grenadiers and light-infantry, (exclusive of two regiments, the 35th and 49th, just arrived,) and the 5th and 38th regiments, to parade at half-past eleven o'clock, with ammunition, blankets, and provisions, and march by files to the Long Wharf. The 52d and 43d regiments, with the remaining companies of grenadiers and light-infantry, received similar orders to parade and march to the North Battery. At the same time the 47th regiment and 1st battalion of marines were directed to proceed to the battery after the former should embark, and there await orders. The remainder of the troops were directed to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning. The strictest attention to discipline was enjoined. Whoever should quit the ranks, or engage in plunder, was threatened with execution without mercy.¹ This force was put under the command of General Howe, who had under him Brigadier-general Pigot, and some of the most distinguished officers in Boston. He was ordered to drive the Americans from their works.²

About twelve o'clock the several regiments marched through the streets of Boston to their places of embarkation, and two ships of war moved up Charles River to join the others in firing on the works. Suddenly the redoubled roar of the cannon an-

¹ This account is taken from Adjutant Waller's (British) Orderly Book. A British letter, June 25, states that the troops embarked "at the Long Wharf, and at the North Battery." ² Stedman's History, vol. I, p. 126. I prefer the authority of the orderly book, and of contemporaries, in relation to the embarkation, to others.

nounced that the crisis was at hand. The Falcon and the Lively swept the low grounds in front of Breed's Hill, to dislodge any parties of troops that might be posted there to oppose a landing; the Somerset and two floating batteries at the ferry, and the battery on Copp's Hill, poured shot upon the American works; the Glasgow frigate, and the Symmetry transport, moored further up Charles River, raked the Neck.¹ The troops embarked at the Long Wharf and at the North Battery; and when a blue flag was displayed as a signal, the fleet, with field-pieces in the leading barges, moved towards Charlestown. The sun was shining in meridian splendor; and the scarlet uniforms, the glistening armor, the brazen artillery, the regular movement of the boats, the flashes of fire, and the belchings of smoke, formed a spectacle brilliant and imposing. The army landed in good order at Moulton's Point, about one o'clock, without the slightest molestation, and immediately formed in three lines. General Howe, after reconnoitring the American works, applied to General Gage for a reinforcement; and, while waiting for it to arrive, many of his troops quietly dined. It proved to many a brave man his last meal.

When the intelligence of the landing of the British troops reached Cambridge, there was suddenly great noise and confusion. The bells were rung, the drums beat to arms, and adjutants rode hurriedly from point to point, with orders for troops to march and oppose the enemy. General Ward reserved his own regiment, Patterson's, Gardner's, and part of Bridge's regiments, to be prepared for any attack on Cambridge, but ordered the remainder of the Massachusetts forces to Charlestown. General Putnam ordered on the remainder of the Connecticut troops. Colonel Gardner's regiment was directed to march to Patterson's station, opposite Prospect Hill. A large part of these forces, owing to various causes, failed to reach the lines.

¹ Joseph Pearce stated: "It was the heaviest cannonade previous to the landing." A Boston letter, June 25, says: The landing was covered by a heavy fire from the Lively and another man-of-war stationed off the North Battery, a large sloop and two floating batteries at Charlestown Ferry, the battery from Copp's Hill, a transport mounting twenty guns, lying a little higher up, and the Glasgow man-of-war." A British letter, June 23, states: "At the landing several attempted to run away, and five actually took to their heels to join the Americans, but were presently brought back, and two of them were hung up in terrorem to the rest."

About two o'clock in the afternoon intense anxiety prevailed at the intrenchments on Breed's Hill. The patriot band who raised them had witnessed the brilliant landing of the British veterans, and the return of the barges to Boston. They saw troops again filling the boats, and felt not without apprehension that a battle was inevitable. They knew the contest would be an unequal one,—that of raw militia against the far-famed regulars,—and they grew impatient for the promised reinforcements. But no signs appeared that additional troops were on the way to support them, and even the supply of refreshments that reached them was so scanty that it served only to tantalize their wants.¹ It is not strange, therefore, the idea was entertained that they had been rashly, if not treacherously, led into danger, and that they were to be left to their own resources for their defence. This idea, however, must have been dispelled, as characters who had long been identified with the patriot cause, who were widely known and widely beloved, appeared on the field, and assured them that aid was at hand. Such, among others, were Generals Warren and Pomeroy, who took stations in the ranks as volunteers. The enthusiastic cheers with which they were greeted indicated how much their presence was valued. General Putnam also, who had the confidence of the whole army, again rode on about this time, with the intention of remaining to share their labors and peril. He continued in Charlestown through the afternoon, giving orders to reinforcements as they arrived on the field, cheering and animating the men, and rendering valuable service.

The movements of the British, along the margin of Mystic River, indicated an intention of flanking the Americans, and of surrounding the redoubt. To prevent this, Colonel Prescott ordered the artillery with two field-pieces, and Captain Knowlton with the Connecticut troops, to leave the intrenchments, march

¹ Some of the depositions state that barrels of beer arrived. MS. petitions of 1775 state that teams were impressed to carry on provisions. Peter Brown, a private, June 25, 1775, wrote to his mother: "The danger we were in made us think there was treachery, and that we were brought here to be all slain. And I must and will venture to say there was treachery, oversight, or presumption, in the conduct of our officers."

Warren said that 2000 reinforcements would be down in twenty minutes—he came by them. Said he came to promote or encourage a good cause.—J. Pearce.

down the hill, and oppose the enemy's right wing. Captain Knowlton took a position near the base of Bunker Hill, six hundred feet in the rear of the redoubt, behind a fence, one half of which was stone, with two rails of wood. He then made, a little distance in front of this, another parallel line of fence, and filled the space between them with the newly cut grass lying in the fields. While Captain Knowlton's party was doing this, between two and three o'clock, Colonel John Stark, with his regiment, arrived at the Neck, which was then enfiladed by a galling fire from the enemy's ships and batteries. Captain Dearborn, who was by the side of the colonel, suggested to him the expediency of quickening his step across; but Stark replied, "One fresh man in action is worth ten fatigued ones," and marched steadily over. General Putnam ordered part of these troops to labor on the works begun on Bunker Hill, while Colonel Stark, after an animated address to his men, led the remainder to the position Captain Knowlton had taken, and they aided in extending the line of the fence breastwork. Colonel Read's regiment, about the same time, left its quarters at Charlestown Neck, marched over Bunker Hill, and took position near Colonel Stark, at the rail fence.

The defences of the Americans, at three in the afternoon, were still in a rude, unfinished state. The redoubt on the spot where the monument stands was about eight rods square. Its strongest side, the front, facing the settled part of the town, was made with projecting angles, and protected the south side of the hill. The eastern side commanded an extensive field. The north side had an open passage-way. A breastwork, beginning a short distance from the redoubt, and on a line with its eastern side, extended about one hundred yards north to a slough; and a sally-port, between the south end of the breastwork and the redoubt, was protected by a blind. These works were raised about six feet from the level of the ground, and had platforms of wood, or steps made of earth, for the men to stand on when they should fire. The rail fence has been already described. Its south corner was about two hundred yards, on a diagonal line, in the rear of the north corner of the breastwork. This line was slightly protected; a part of it, however—about one hundred yards—between the slough and the rail fence, was open to the approach of infantry. It was the weakest part of the defences. On the

right of the redoubt, along a cartway, a fence was made similar to the one on the left. The redoubt and breastwork constituted a good defence against cannon and musketry, but the fences were hardly more than the shadow of protection.¹

These defences were lined nearly in the following manner. The original detachment, under Colonel Prescott, except the Connecticut troops, were at the redoubt and breastwork. They were joined, just previous to the action, by portions of Massachusetts regiments, under Colonels Brewer, Nixon, Woodbridge, Little, and Major Moore, and one company of artillery — Callender's. General Warren took post in the redoubt. Captain Gridley's artillery company, after discharging a few ineffectual shot from a corner of the redoubt towards Copp's Hill,² moved to the exposed position between the breastwork and rail fence, where it was joined by the other artillery company, under Captain Callender. Perkins' company, of Little's regiment, and a few other troops, Captain Nutting's company — recalled from Charlestown after the British landed — and part of Warner's company, lined the cartway on the right of the redoubt. The Connecticut troops, under Captain Knowlton, the New Hampshire forces, under Colonels Stark and Reed, and a few Massachusetts troops, were at the rail fence. General Putnam was here when the action commenced, and General Pomeroy, armed with a musket, served here as a volunteer. Three companies — Captain Wheeler's, of Doolittle's regiment, Captain Crosby's, of Reed's regiment, and a company from Woodbridge's regiment — were stationed in Main-street, at the base of Breed's Hill, and constituted the extreme right of the Americans. Though this statement may be

¹ Page's and Bernier's Plans; Committee of Safety's Account; Depositions; Swett's History, pp. 20, 27; Dearborn's Account. Some who were in the battle state that the diagonal line between the breastwork and rail fence was entirely without protection,—others state that it was slightly protected. Page represents the same defence as at the rail fence; Bernier has here three angular figures, which, though not explained on the plan, indicate defences. Chester's letter confirms the statement in the text, and the British plans.

In a report in Mass. Archives, Captain Aaron Brown is named as having "behaved very gallantly,"—erected the platforms, and behaved with courage and good conduct in the whole affair."

² Seven or eight shot,—one went through an old house, another through a fence, and the rest stuck in the face of Copp's Hill.—Letter, July 5.

in the main correct, yet, such is the lack of precision in the authorities, that accuracy cannot be arrived at.¹ The Massachusetts reinforcements, as they came on to the field, appear to have marched to the redoubt, and were directed to take the most advantageous positions. In doing this, parts of regiments, and even companies, that came on together, broke their ranks, divided, and subsequently fought, in various parts of the field, in platoons or as individuals, rather than under regular commands.

Meantime the main body of the British troops, formed in brilliant array at Moulton's Point, continued to wait quietly for the arrival of the reinforcements. It was nearly three o'clock when the barges returned. They landed at the Old Battery, and at Mardlin's ship-yard, near the entrance to the navy-yard, the 47th regiment, the 1st battalion of marines, and several companies of grenadiers and light-infantry.² They, or the most of them, did not join the troops at Moulton's Point, but marched directly towards the redoubt. There had now landed above three thousand troops.³

General Howe, just previous to the action, addressed his army in the following manner :—

“ Gentlemen,—I am very happy in having the honor of commanding so fine a body of men ; I do not in the least doubt but that you will behave like Englishmen, and as becometh good soldiers.

“ If the enemy will not come from their intrenchments, we

¹ It is not possible to ascertain, from the known authorities, precisely the number of reinforcements that arrived on the field either before the action commenced, or in season to engage the enemy. Colonel Swett states, that previous to the action, Colonels Brewer, Nixon, Woodbridge, and Major Moore, “brought on their troops, each about 300 men ;” also, that “Colonel Little arrived with his troops,” and that Callender's artillery and Ford's company, of Bridge's regiment, arrived. The accounts of Little's regiment will serve to show the want of precision on this point. It consisted, (MS. returns,) June 15, of 456 men ; one company was in Gloucester, one in Ipswich, one at Lechmere's Point, and some at West Cambridge. Three companies—Perkins', Wade's, and Warner's—probably marched on, under their colonel. They scattered, and part went to the redoubt, part to the cartway south of it, part to the breastwork, and some to the rail fence, (MS. depositions.) One company, Lunt's, (MS. depositions, and Swett, p. 46,) did not arrive until near the close of the battle. Similar confusion exists in the accounts of other regiments.

² Stedman's History ; Gage's Account ; Letter, June 25, 1775.

³ Gordon says “near 3000 ;” contemporary MSS. say 3300.

must drive them out, at all events, otherwise the town of Boston will be set on fire by them.

“I shall not desire one of you to go a step further than where I go myself at your head.

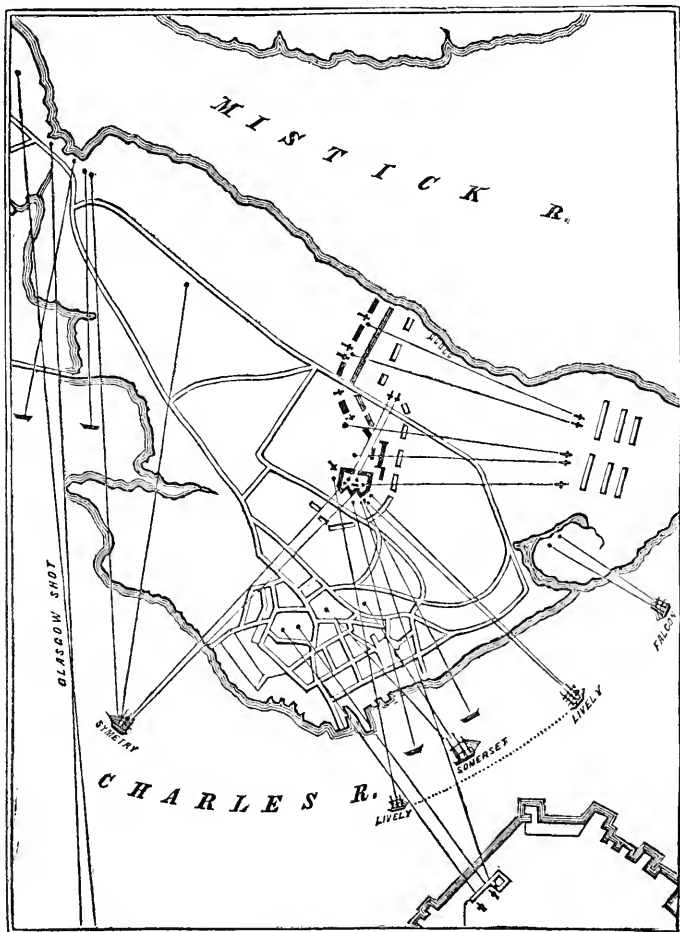
“Remember, gentlemen, we have no recourse to any resources if we lose Boston, but to go on board our ships, which will be very disagreeable to us all.”¹

Before General Howe moved from his first position, he sent out strong flank guards, and directed his field-pieces to play on the American lines. The fire from Copp's Hill, from the ships, and from the batteries, now centred on the intrenchments; while a furious cannonade and bombardment from Boston occupied the attention of the right wing of the American army, at Roxbury. The fire upon the lines was but feebly returned from Gridley's and Callender's field-pieces. Gridley's guns were soon disabled, and he drew them to the rear; while Callender, alleging that his cartridges were too large for his pieces, withdrew to Bunker Hill. Here he met General Putnam, who ordered him to return to the lines. Callender did not obey the general, and was soon deserted by his men. About this time Captain Ford's company, of Bridge's regiment, came on to the field, and, at the pressing request of General Putnam, drew the deserted pieces to the rail fence. Mean time, Colonel Prescott detached Lieutenant Colonel Robinson and Major Wood, each with a party, to flank the enemy. Both behaved with courage and prudence. No details are given, however, of their service. Captain Benjamin Walker, with a few men, probably of one of these parties, met with the British near the navy-yard, and fired upon them from the cover of buildings and fences. On being driven in, he passed with a few of the party to their right flank, along the margin of Mystic River, where he was wounded and taken prisoner. The greater part of his men, under a heavy fire, succeeded in regaining the redoubt.

The general discharge of artillery was intended to cover the advance of the British columns. They moved forward in two

¹ Clark's Narrative. Clark was a lieutenant in the marines. He says, after giving this address: “We then began to proceed to action, by marching with a quick step up the precipice that led to the provincial army.”

divisions,—General Howe with the right wing, to penetrate the American line at the rail fence, and cut off a retreat from the redoubt,—General Pigot with the left wing, to storm the breast-work and redoubt. The artillery, after playing a short time,



ceased, and General Howe was told that twelve pound balls had been sent with which to load six-pounders, when he ordered the pieces to be charged with grape. In advancing, however, the artillery was soon impeded by the miry ground at the base of the hill, and took post near the brick-kilns, whence its balls produced

but little effect. The troops moved forward slowly, for they were burdened with knapsacks full of provisions, obstructed by the tall grass and the fences, and heated by a burning sun ; but they felt unbounded confidence in their strength, regarded their antagonists with scorn, and expected an easy victory. The Americans coolly waited their approach. Their officers ordered them to reserve their fire until the British were within ten or twelve rods, and then to wait until the word was given. " Powder was scarce, and must not be wasted," they said ; " Fire low ;" " Aim at the waistbands ;" " Wait until you see the white of their eyes ;" " Aim at the handsome coats ;" " Pick off the commanders."

General Pigot's division consisted of the 5th, 38th, 43d, 47th, 52d regiments, and the marines, under Major Pitcairn. The 38th first took a position behind a stone wall, and being joined by the 5th, marched up the hill. The 47th and the marines moved from the battery where they landed directly towards the redoubt. The 43d and 52d advanced in front of the breastwork. The troops kept firing as they approached the lines. When Colonel Prescott saw the enemy in motion, he went round the works to encourage the men, and assured them that the red coats would never reach the redoubt if they would observe his directions. The advancing columns, however, having got within gunshot, a few of the Americans could not resist the temptation to return their fire without waiting for orders. Prescott indignantly remonstrated at this disobedience, and appealed to their often expressed confidence in him as their leader ; while his officers seconded his exertions, and some of them ran round the top of the parapet and kicked up the guns. At length the British troops reached the prescribed distance, and the order was given to fire ; when there was a simultaneous discharge from the redoubt and breastwork, that did terrible execution on the British ranks. But it was received with veteran firmness, and for a few minutes was sharply returned. The Americans, being protected by their works, suffered but little ; but their murderous balls literally strewed the ground with the dead and wounded of the enemy. General Pigot was obliged to order a retreat, when the exulting shout of victory rose from the American lines.

General Howe, in the mean time, led the right wing against the rail fence. The light-infantry moved along the shore of Mystic River, to turn the extreme left of the American line,

while the grenadiers advanced directly in front. The Americans first opened on them with their field-pieces (Callender's) with great effect, some of the discharges being directed by Putnam; and when the advancing troops deployed into line, a few, as at the redoubt, fired without waiting for the word, when Putnam hastened to the spot, and threatened to cut down the next man who disobeyed. This drew the enemy's fire, which they continued with the regularity of troops on parade; but their balls passed over the heads of the Americans. At length the officers gave the word, when the fire from the American line was given with great effect. Many were marksmen, intent on cutting down the British officers; and when one was in sight, they exclaimed, "There! See that officer!" "Let us have a shot at him!"—when two or three would fire at the same moment. They used the fence as a rest for their pieces, and the bullets were true to their message. The companies were cut up with terrible severity, and so great was the carnage, that the columns, a few moments before so proud and firm in their array, were disconcerted, partly broke, and then retreated. Many of the Americans were in favor of pursuing them, and some, with exulting huzzas, jumped over the fence for this purpose, but were prevented by the prudence of their officers.¹

And now moments of joy succeeded the long hours of toil, anxiety, and peril. The American volunteer saw the veterans of England fly before his fire, and felt a new confidence in himself. The result was obtained, too, with but little loss on his side.²

¹ Chester; Dearborn; Capt. Mann, of Reed's regiment, in his excellent account, (MS.,) agrees with Chester: "During the engagement, a portion of the company twice past the fence huzzaing, supposing, at the time, that we had driven the enemy."

A British letter, July 5, 1775, says: "Our light-infantry were served up in companies against the grass fence, without being able to penetrate;—indeed, how could we penetrate? Most of our grenadiers and light-infantry, the moment of presenting themselves, lost three-fourths, and many nine-tenths of their men. Some had only eight and nine men a company left; some only three, four, and five." Another British letter says: "It was found to be the strongest post that was ever occupied by any set of men."

² Judge Prescott's Memoir:—"Colonel Prescott said they (the British) had commenced firing too soon, and generally fired over the heads of his troops; and as they were partially covered by the works, but few were killed or wounded."

Colonel Prescott mingled freely among his troops, praised their good conduct, and congratulated them on their success. He felt confident that another attack would soon be made, and he renewed his caution to reserve the fire until he gave the command. He found his men in high spirits, and elated by the retreat. In their eyes the regulars were no longer invincible. General Putnam rode to Bunker Hill and to the rear of it, to urge on reinforcements. Some had arrived at Charlestown Neck, but were deterred from crossing it by the severe fire that raked it. Portions of regiments had reached Bunker Hill, where they scattered. Colonel Gerrish was here, and confessed that he was exhausted. General Putnam endeavored to rally these troops. He used entreaty and command, and offered to lead them into action, but without much effect. It is doubtful whether any considerable reinforcement reached the line of defence during the short interval that elapsed before a second attack was made by the British troops.¹

General Howe in a short time rallied his troops, and immediately ordered another assault. They marched in the same order as before, and continued to fire as they approached the lines. But, in addition to the previous obstacles, they were obliged to step over the bodies of their fallen countrymen.² The artillery did more service in this attack. It moved along the narrow road, between the tongue of land and Breed's Hill, until within three hundred yards of the rail fence, and nearly on a line with the breastwork, when it opened a severe fire to cover the advance of the infantry. The American officers, grown confident in the success of their manœuvre, ordered their men to withhold their fire until the enemy were within five or six rods of the works.³

¹ "In the interval between the first and second attack of the British on our lines, he (General Putnam) rode back to Bunker Hill, and in the rear of it, to urge on reinforcements,"—"Found part of Gerrish's regiment there, with their colonel."—Daniel Putnam's Letter, Oct. 19, 1825, MSS., confirmed by Samuel Basset, 1818, and others. "The men that went to intrenching over night were in the warmest of the battle, and by all accounts they fought most manfully. They had got hardened to the noise of cannon; but those that came up as recruits were evidently most terribly frightened, many of them, and did not march up with that true courage that their cause ought to have inspired them with."—Chester's Letter.

² It was surprising to see how they would step over their dead bodies, as though they had been logs of wood.—Rivington's Gazette.

³ Swett's History; Committee of Safety.

Charlestown, in the mean time, had been set on fire in the square, by shells thrown from Copp's Hill, and in the easterly part, by a party of marines from the Somerset. As the buildings were chiefly of wood, the conflagration spread with great rapidity. And now ensued one of the greatest scenes of war that can be conceived. To fill the eye,—a brilliantly appointed army advancing to the attack and storming the works, supported by co-operating ships and batteries; the blaze of the burning town, coursing whole streets or curling up the spires of public edifices; the air above filled with clouds of dense black smoke, and the surrounding hills, fields, roofs and steeples, occupied by crowds of spectators; to fill the ear,—the shouts of the contending armies, the crash of the falling buildings, and the roar of the cannon, mortars and musketry; to fill the mind,—the high courage of men staking not only their lives, but their reputation, on the uncertain issue of a civil war, and the intense emotions of the near and dear connections standing in their presence; and, on the other side, the reflection that a defeat of the regulars would be a final loss to British empire in America.¹ And yet, in strange contrast to this terrific scene, the day was calm and clear,—nature in its beauty and repose smiling serenely upon it all, as if in token of the triumphant end of the great conflict.

The burning of the town neither intimidated the Americans

¹ Burgoyne's Letter: Hon. Daniel Webster, in *N. American Review*, vol. vii., p. 226. The descriptions of this terrific scene are numerous. "A complication of horror and importance beyond anything that ever came to my lot to witness."—Burgoyne. "Sure I am nothing ever has or can be more dreadfully terrible than what was to be seen or heard at this time. The most incessant discharge of guns that ever was heard with mortal ears," &c.—Letter, June 24.

An eulogy on General Warren, printed in 1781, contains the following:—

"Amazing scene! what shuddering prospects rise!
 What horrors glare beneath the angry skies?
 The rapid flames o'er Charlestown's height ascend,—
 To heaven they reach! urged by the boisterous wind.
 The mournful crash of falling domes resound,
 And tottering spires with sparkles seek the ground.
 One general burst of ruin reigns o'er all;
 The burning city thunders to its fall!
 O'er mingled noises the vast ruin sounds,
 Spectators weep! earth from her centre groans!
 Beneath prodigious unextinguished fires,
 Ill-fated Charlestown welters and expires.

nor covered the attack on their lines. The wind directed the smoke so as to leave a full view of the approach of the British columns, which kept firing as they advanced. Colonels Brewer, Nixon, and Buckminster were wounded, and Major Moore was mortally wounded. In general, however, the balls of the British did but little execution, as their aim was bad, and the intrenchments protected the Americans. At length, at the prescribed distance, the fire was again given, which, in its fatal impartiality, prostrated whole ranks of officers and men. The enemy stood the shock, and continued to advance with great spirit: but the continued stream of fire that issued from the whole American line was even more destructive than before. General Howe, opposite the rail fence, was in the hottest of it. Two of his aids, and other officers near him, were shot down, and at times he was left almost alone. His officers were seen to remonstrate and to threaten, and even to prick and strike the men to urge them on. But it was in vain. The British were compelled again to give way, and they retreated even in greater disorder than before,—many running towards the boats. The ground in front of the American works was covered with the killed and the wounded.

So long a time elapsed before the British came up again, that some of the officers thought they would not renew the attack. General Putnam was on Bunker Hill and in the rear of it, urging forward the reinforcements. Much delay occurred in marching these to the field. Indeed, great confusion existed at Cambridge. General Ward was not sufficiently supplied with staff officers to bear his orders; and some were neglected, and others were given incorrectly. Henry Knox, afterwards General Knox, aided as a volunteer during the day, and was engaged in reconnoitre service. Late in the day General Ward dispatched his own regiment, Patterson's and Gardner's, to the battle-field. Col. Gardner arrived on Bunker Hill, when Putnam detained a part of his regiment to labor on the works commenced there, while one company, under Captain Josiah Harris, took post at the rail fence. Part of a regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Ward, arrived at a critical time of the battle. Other regiments, from various causes, failed to reach the lines. Major Gridley, of the artillery, inadequate to his position, with part of the battalion, marched a short distance on Cambridge road, then halted, and resolved to cover the retreat, which he thought to be inevitable. Col. Frye, fresh

from the battle, urged him forward ; but Gridley, appalled by the horrors of the scene, ordered his men to fire at the Glasgow and batteries from Cobble Hill. He also ordered Colonel Mansfield to support him with his regiment, who, violating his orders, obeyed. Captain Trevett, however, disobeyed his superior, led his company, with two field-pieces, to Bunker Hill, where he lost one of them, but drew the other to the rail fence. Colonel Scammans was ordered to go where the fighting was, and went to Lechmere's Point. Here he was ordered to march to the hill, which he understood to mean Cobble Hill, whence he sent a messenger to General Putnam to inquire whether his regiment was wanted. This delay prevented it from reaching the field in season to do any good. A part of Gerrish's regiment, under Mighil, marched from Cambridge to Ploughed Hill, where Adjutant Christian Febiger, a gallant Danish soldier who had seen service, took the command, called upon the men to follow him, and reached the heights in season to render valuable service. Three additional Connecticut companies, at least, under Captains Chester, Clark, and Coit, arrived in time to take part in the battle ; as did also Major Durkee, an old comrade of General Putnam's. Captain Chester marched on near the close of the engagement, while the British were coming up the third time. Three regiments were near him when he left Cambridge, which hastened forward in advance of his company ; but when Chester overtook them, at Bunker Hill, there was hardly a company in any kind of order. The men had scattered behind rocks, hay-cocks, and apple-trees. Parties, also, were continually retreating from the field ; some alleging they had left the fort with leave because they had been all night and day on fatigue without sleep or refreshment ; some that they had no officers to lead them ; frequently, twenty were about a wounded man, when not a quarter part could help him to advantage ; while others were going off without any excuse. Chester obliged one company, rank and file, to return to the lines.

While such was the confusion on Bunker Hill, good order prevailed at the redoubt. Colonel Prescott remained, at his post, determined in his purpose, undaunted in his bearing, inspiring his command with hope and confidence, and yet chagrined, that, in this hour of peril and glory, adequate support had not reached him. He passed round the lines to encourage his men, and as-

sured them that if the British were once more driven back they could not be rallied again. His men cheered him as they replied, "We are ready for the red coats again!" But his worst apprehensions, as to ammunition, were realized, as the report was made to him that a few artillery cartridges constituted the whole stock of powder on hand. He ordered them to be opened, and the powder to be distributed. He charged his soldiers "not to waste a kernel of it, but to make it certain that every shot should tell." He directed the few who had bayonets to be stationed at the points most likely to be scaled. They were the only preparations it was in his power to make to meet his powerful antagonist.

General Howe, exasperated at the repeated repulses of his troops, resolved to make another assault. Some of his officers remonstrated against this decision, and averred that it would be downright butchery to lead the men on again; but British honor was at stake, and other officers preferred any sacrifice rather than suffer defeat from a collection of armed rustics. The boats were at Boston; there was no retreat;—"Fight, conquer, or die!" was their repeated exclamation. A second reinforcement, of four hundred marines, under Major Small, had landed; and General Clinton, who had witnessed from Copp's Hill the discomfiture of the British veterans, and saw two regiments on the beach in confusion, threw himself into a boat, crossed the river, joined General Howe as a volunteer, and rendered essential aid in rallying the troops. The latter had lost their confident air, appeared disheartened, and manifested great reluctance to marching up a third time. The officers, at length, formed them for the last desperate assault. The British general had learned to respect his enemy, and adopted a wiser mode of attack. He ordered the men to lay aside their knapsacks, to move forward in column, to reserve their fire, to rely on the bayonet, to direct their main attack on the redoubt, and to push the artillery forward to a position that would enable it to rake the breastwork. The gallant execution of these orders reversed the fortunes of the day.

General Howe, whose fine figure and gallant bearing were observed at the American lines, led the grenadiers and light-infantry in front of the breastwork, while Generals Clinton and Pigot led the extreme left of the troops to scale the redoubt.

A demonstration only was made against the rail fence. A party of Americans occupied a few houses and barns that had escaped the conflagration on the acclivity of Breed's Hill, and feebly annoyed the advancing columns. They, in return, only discharged a few scattering guns as they marched forward. On their right the artillery soon gained its appointed station, enfiladed the line of the breastwork, drove its defenders into the redoubt for protection, and did much execution within it by sending their balls through the passage-way. All this did not escape the keen and anxious eye of Prescott. When he saw the new dispositions of his antagonist, the artillery wheeling into its murderous position, and the columns withholding their fire, he well understood his intention to concentrate his whole force on the redoubt, and believed that it must inevitably be carried. He thought, however, that duty, honor, and the interest of the country, required that it should be defended to the last extremity, although at a certain sacrifice of many lives. In this trying moment he continued to give his orders coolly. Most of his men had remaining only one round of ammunition, and few more than three rounds, and he directed them to reserve their fire until the British were within twenty yards. At this distance a deadly volley was poured upon the advancing columns, which made them waver for an instant, but they sprang forward without returning it. The American fire soon slackened for want of means, while the columns of Clinton and Pigot reached a position on the southern and eastern sides of the redoubt, where they were protected by its walls. It was now attacked on three sides at once. Prescott ordered those who had no bayonets to retire to the back part of it, and fire on the enemy as they showed themselves on the parapet. A soldier of noble bearing mounted the southern side, and had barely shouted, "The day is ours!" when he was shot down, and the whole front rank shared his fate.¹ But the defenders had spent

¹ Letter, June 22, 1775. A newspaper of 1775 states that young Richardson, of the Royal Irish, was the first to mount the parapet. In Clark's Narrative it is stated that the remains of a company of the 63d regiment of grenadiers were the first that succeeded in entering the redoubt. After Captain Horseford had been wounded, and Lieutenant Dalrymple had been killed, a sergeant took the command, made a speech to the few men left, saying, "We must either conquer or die," and entered the works. General Gage recommended the brave sergeant for promotion. — 2d Edition, p. 33.

their ammunition,—another cannon cartridge furnishing the powder for the last muskets that were fired; and its substitute, stones, revealed their weakness, and filled the enemy with hope. The redoubt was soon successfully scaled. General Pigot, by the aid of a tree, mounted a corner of it, and was closely followed by his men, when one side of it literally bristled with bayonets. The conflict was now carried on hand to hand. Many stood and received wounds with swords and bayonets. But the British continued to enter, and were advancing towards the Americans, when Colonel Prescott gave the order to retreat.

When the Americans left the redoubt, the dust arising from the dry, loose dirt, was so great that the outlet was hardly visible. Some ran over the top, and others hewed their way through the enemy's ranks. Prescott, among the last to leave, was surrounded by the British, who made passes at him with the bayonet, which he skilfully parried with his sword. "He did not run, but stepped long, with his sword up," escaping unharmed, though his banyan and waistcoat were pierced in several places. The retreating troops passed between two divisions of the British, one of which had turned the north-eastern end of the breastwork, and the other had come round the angle of the redoubt; but they were too much exhausted to use the bayonet effectually, and the combatants, for fifteen or twenty rods from the redoubt, were so mingled together that firing would have destroyed friend and foe. The British, with cheers, took possession of the works, but immediately formed, and delivered a destructive fire upon the retreating troops. Warren, at this period, was killed, and left on the field; Gridley was wounded; Bridge was again wounded; and the loss of the Americans was greater than at any previous period of the action. Colonel Gardner, leading on a part of his regiment, was descending Bunker Hill, when he received his death wound. Still his men, under Major Jackson, pressed forward, and with Cushing's, Smith's, and Washburn's companies, of Ward's regiment, and Febiger's party, of Gerrish's regiment, poured between Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill a well directed fire upon the enemy, and gallantly covered the retreat.

In the mean time the Americans at the rail fence, under Stark, Reed, and Knowlton, reinforced by Clark's, Coit's, and Chester's Connecticut companies, Captain Harris' company, of Gardner's

regiment, Lieutenant-colonel Ward, and a few troops, maintained their ground with great firmness and intrepidity, and successfully resisted every attempt to turn their flank. This line, indeed, was nobly defended. The force here did a great service, for it saved the main body, who were retreating in disorder from the redoubt, from being cut off by the enemy. When it was perceived at the rail fence that the force under Colonel Prescott had left the hill, these brave men "gave ground, but with more regularity than could have been expected of troops who had been no longer under discipline, and many of whom never before saw an engagement." The whole body of Americans were now in full retreat, the greater part over the top of Bunker Hill.

The brow of Bunker Hill was a place of great slaughter. General Putnam here rode to the rear of the retreating troops, and regardless of the balls flying about him, with his sword drawn, and still undaunted in his bearing, urged them to renew the fight in the unfinished works. "Make a stand here," he exclaimed; "we can stop them yet!" "In God's name form, and give them one shot more!" It was here that he stood by an artillery piece until the enemy's bayonets were almost upon him. The veteran Pomeroy, too, with his shattered musket in his hand, and his face to the foe, endeavored to rally the men. It was not possible, however, to check the retreat. Captain Trevett and a few of his men, with great difficulty and great gallantry, drew off the only field-piece that was saved of the six that were in the action. Colonel Scammans, with part of his regiment, and Captain Foster's artillery company, on their way to the field of battle, reached the top of Bunker Hill, but immediately retreated. The whole body retired over the Neck, amidst the shot from the enemy's ships and batteries, and were met by additional troops on their way to the heights. Among them Major Brooks, with two remaining companies of Bridge's regiment. One piece of cannon at the Neck opened on the enemy, and covered the retreat.

The British troops, about five o'clock, with a parade of triumph, took possession of the same hill that had served them for a retreat on the memorable nineteenth of April. General Howe was here advised by General Clinton to follow up his success by an immediate attack on Cambridge. But the

reception he had met made the British commander cautious, if not timid; and he only fired two field-pieces upon the Americans, who retreated to Winter Hill, Prospect Hill, and Cambridge. Similar apprehensions were entertained on both sides respecting the renewal of the attack; the Americans at Winter and Prospect Hills lay on their arms, while the British, reinforced by additional troops from Boston, threw up during the night a line of breastwork on the northern side of Bunker Hill. Both sides, however, felt indisposed to renew the action. The loss of the peninsula damped the ardor of the Americans, and the loss of men depressed the spirit of the British.

Colonel Prescott, indignant at the absence of support when victory was within his grasp,¹ repaired to head quarters, reported the issue of the battle, already too well known, and received the thanks of the commander-in-chief. He found General Ward under great apprehensions lest the enemy, encouraged by success, should advance on Cambridge, where he had neither disciplined troops nor an adequate supply of ammunition to receive him. Colonel Prescott, however, assured him that the confidence of the British would not be increased by the result of the battle; and he offered to retake the hill that night, or perish in the attempt, if three regiments of fifteen hundred men, well equipped with ammunition and bayonets, were put under his command. General Ward wisely decided that the condition of his army would not justify so bold a measure.² Nor was it needed to fill the measure of Prescott's fame. "He had not yet done enough to satisfy himself, though he had done enough to satisfy his country. He had not, indeed, secured final victory, but he had secured a glorious immortality."³

¹ Judge Prescott writes: "Colonel Prescott always thought he could have maintained his post with the handful of men under his command, exhausted as they were by fatigue and hunger, if they had been supplied with sufficient ammunition, and with bayonets. In their last attack the British wavered under the first fire of the Americans, and if it could have been continued, he felt confident they would have been repulsed, and would never have rallied again."

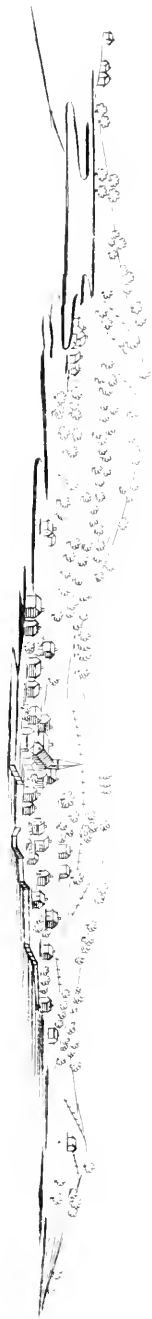
² Prescott's Memoir.

³ Colonel Swett's History, p. 49.

CHAPTER XXX.

1775. Character of the Bunker Hill Battle. — Prescott. — Putnam. — Warren. — Pomeroy. — Moses Parker. — Willard Moore. — Thomas Gardner. — Colonel Stark. — Major McClary. — Thomas Knowlton. — Numbers engaged. — Time of the engagement. — Losses. — British officers. — The Redoubt. — British criticism. — The destruction of the Town.

No engagement of the revolution possesses an interest so deep and peculiar, or produced consequences so important, as the battle of Bunker Hill; and no other engagement is involved in so much obscurity, perplexity, and controversy. It is remarkable on many accounts; — in being the first great battle of the contest; in the astonishing resistance made by inexperienced militia against veteran troops; in the affecting character of its prominent incidents; in the sublimity of its spectacle; and in its influence on the politics of the day, and the fortunes of the war. It proved the quality of the American soldier, drew definitely the lines of party, and established the fact of open war between the colonies and the mother country. It was a victory, with all the moral effect of victory, under the name of a defeat. And yet, at first, it was regarded with disappointment, and even with indignation; and contemporary accounts of it, whether private or official, are rather in the tone of apology, or of censure, than of exultation. The enterprise, on the whole, was pronounced rash in the conception and discreditable in the execution; and a severe scrutiny was instituted into the conduct of those who were charged with having contributed by their backwardness to the result. No one, for years, came forward to claim the honor of having directed it; no notice was taken of its returning anniversary; and no narrative did justice to the regiments that were engaged, or to the officers who were in command. Passing events are seldom accurately estimated. The bravery, however, of those who fought it was so resolute, and their self-devotion was





so lofty, as at once to elicit, from all quarters, the most glowing commendation, and to become the theme of the poet and the orator; and as time rolled on, its connection with the great movement of the age appeared in its true light. Hence the battle of Bunker Hill now stands out as the grand opening scene in the drama of the American Revolution.

Such was the want of subordination and of discipline in the American army, that its commanding officers felt that it was not prepared for such a conflict. Efficient military command, in such a state of things, was impossible. Hence the proceedings throughout the day were characterized by great confusion. The evidence on this point, early and late, is uniform and decisive, and it relates both to transactions at Cambridge and at Charlestown. During the battle, the influence of Colonel Prescott over his men preserved order at his position, but in other parts of the field the troops fought rather in platoons, or individually, — companies entirely losing their order, — than under regular commands; and in some instances, where superior officers attempted to exercise authority, their orders were openly disregarded. Even the orders of General Ward were but feebly carried into effect. Much of this delinquency must be placed at the door of inefficiency on the part of some of the officers; but much of it also must be ascribed to an absence of the principle of subordination, from the generals to the lower officers.

It is from this cause — the want of subordination, and the confusion — that it is a question whether there was a general authorized commander in the battle. Had the army been fully organized, and had the rank of the officers been established, such a question could not have arisen. It is not one of recent origin, for there was the same perplexity on this point, immediately after the battle, that exists now; and inquiries in relation to it elicited equally unsatisfactory answers. The orderly book of General Ward not only is silent on it, but contains no orders for the conduct of the enterprise. Nor is this deficiency entirely supplied by any contemporary document. Yet it is from authorities of this character that a correct conclusion must be drawn.¹ They clearly warrant the decision, that the original detach-

¹ The evidence in relation to the question of command, with additional particulars relative to Prescott, Putnam, and Warren, may be found in the account of the battle in the *Siege of Boston*.

ment was placed under the orders of Colonel Prescott, and that no general officer was authorized to command over him during the battle. He was detached on a special service, and he faithfully executed his orders. He filled at the redoubt, the most important post, the duty of a commanding officer, from the hour that ground was broken until the moment it was abandoned. He detached guards to the shores, directed the labor of the works, called councils of war, made applications to General Ward for reinforcements, posted his men for action, fought with them until resistance was unavailing, and gave the order to retreat. General officers came to this position, but they did not give him an order, nor interfere with his dispositions. When General Warren, for instance, entered the redoubt, Colonel Prescott tendered to him the command, but Warren replied that he had not received his commission, and should serve as a volunteer. "I shall be happy," he said, "to learn from a soldier of your experience." Colonel Prescott, therefore, was left in uncontrolled possession of his post. Nor is there any proof that he gave an order at the rail fence, or on Bunker Hill. But he remained at the redoubt, and there fought the battle with such coolness, bravery, and discretion, as to win the unbounded applause of his contemporaries, and to deserve, through all time, the admiration and gratitude of his countrymen.

General Putnam exhibited throughout that bravery and generous devotion that formed a part of his nature. Though of limited education, fiery, and rough in speech, he was a true patriot, and a fine executive officer. He was in command of the Connecticut troops stationed in Cambridge, and shared with them the peril and glory of this remarkable day. In a regularly organized army his appearance on the field, by virtue of his rank, would have given him the command. But it was an army of allies, whose jealousies had not yielded to the vital principle of subordination; and he was present rather as the patriotic volunteer than as the authorized general commander. He exercised an important agency in the battle. He was received as a welcome counsellor, both at the laying out of the works and during the morning of the engagement. Besides being in the hottest of the action at the rail fence and on Bunker Hill, — fighting, beyond a question, with daring intrepidity, — he was applied to for orders by the reinforcements that reached the field, and he gave orders

without being applied to. Some of the officers not under his immediate command respected his authority, while others refused to obey him. But no service was more brilliant than that of the Connecticut troops, whom he was authorized to command. And that he was not as successful in leading the Massachusetts troops into action ought, in justice, to be ascribed neither to his lack of energy nor of conduct, but to the hesitancy of inexperienced troops, to the want of spirit in their officers, and to the absence of subordination and discipline in the army. He did not give an order to Colonel Prescott, nor was he in the redoubt during the action.

General Warren exerted great influence in the battle. Having served zealously and honorably in the incipient councils that put in motion the machinery of the revolution, he had decided to devote his energies to promote it in its future battle-fields. He was accordingly elected major-general on the 14th of June, but had not received his commission on the day of the battle. Though he is understood to have opposed the measure of occupying so exposed a post as Bunker Hill, yet he avowed the intention, if it should be resolved upon, to share the peril of it; and to the affectionate remonstrance of Elbridge Gerry he replied: *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*. On the 16th of June he officiated as president of the Provincial Congress, passed the night at Watertown, and though indisposed, repaired on the morning of the 17th to Cambridge, where he threw himself on a bed. When he learned that the British would attack the works on Breed's Hill, he declared his headache to be gone; and, after meeting with the committee of safety, armed himself and went to Charlestown. A short time before the action commenced, he was seen in conversation with General Putnam, at the rail fence, who offered to receive his orders. General Warren declined to give any, but asked "Where he could be most useful?" Putnam directed him to the redoubt, remarking, that "There he would be covered." "Don't think," said Warren, "I come to seek a place of safety; but tell me where the onset will be most furious." Putnam still pointed to the redoubt. "That is the enemy's object, and if that can be defended the day is ours." General Warren passed to the redoubt, where the men received him with enthusiastic cheers. Here, again, he was tendered the command, by Colonel Prescott. But Warren declined it,—said that he

came to encourage a good cause, and gave the cheering assurance that a reinforcement of two thousand were on their way to aid them. He mingled in the fight, behaved with great bravery, and was among the last to leave the redoubt. He was lingering, even to rashness, in his retreat. He had proceeded but a few rods, when a ball struck him in the forehead, and he fell to the ground. On the next day visitors to the battle-field—among them Dr. Jeffries and young Winslow, afterwards General Winslow, of Boston—recognized his body, and it was buried on the spot where he fell. After the British evacuated Boston, the sacred remains were sought after, and again identified. In April they were re-interred, with appropriate ceremonies, when Perez Morton delivered an eulogy. They were first deposited in the Tremont Cemetery, and subsequently in the family vault under St. Paul's Church, in Boston.

Eloquence and song, the good and the great, have united in eulogy on this illustrious patriot and early martyr to the cause of the freedom of America. No one personified more completely the fine enthusiasm and the self-sacrificing patriotism that first rallied to its support. No one was more widely beloved, or was more highly valued. The language of the committee of safety, who knew his character, and appreciated his service, though brief, is full, touching and prophetic. "Among the dead was Major-general Joseph Warren; a man whose memory will be endeared to his countrymen, and to the worthy in every part and age of the world, so long as virtue and valor shall be esteemed among mankind."

General Seth Pomeroy behaved so well in the battle, that in some of the accounts he is assigned a separate command. Thus President John Adams, in a letter, (June 19, 1818,) says: "Who was the first officer of Massachusetts, on Bunker Hill or Breed's Hill? I have always understood, he was Colonel Pomeroy, or General Pomeroy. Colonel Prescott might be the most determined, persevering, and efficacious officer of Massachusetts; but Pomeroy was certainly his superior in command." General Pomeroy was a veteran of the French wars, as brave as he was patriotic. It is admitted that he also served as a volunteer. He requested of General Ward a horse to take him to the field, and one was supplied. On his arrival at Charlestown Neck, he declined to expose the horse to the severe fire that raked it, and

coolly walked across. He joined the force at the rail fence, and was received with cheers. He fought with great spirit, and kept with the troops until the retreat. His musket was shattered by a ball, but he retained it, and with it continued to animate the men. He thought it strange that Warren, "the young and chivalrous soldier," says Colonel Swett, "the eloquent and enlightened legislator, should fall, and he escape, old and useless, unhurt." Soon after the battle, he declined, on account of age, the appointment of first brigadier-general of the army, but as colonel commanded a regiment in the Jerseys. His exposure brought on pleurisy, and he died at Peekskill, New York.

Colonel Gardner was struck by a ball as he was descending Bunker Hill, which inflicted a mortal wound. While a party was carrying him off, he had an affecting interview with his son, a youth of nineteen, who was anxious to aid in bearing him from the field. His heroic father prohibited him, and he was borne on a litter of rails over Winter Hill. Here he was overtaken by the retreating troops. He raised himself on his rude couch, and addressed to them cheering words. He lingered until July 3, when he died. On the 5th he was buried with the honors of war. He was in his fifty-second year, and had been a member of the General Court, and of the Provincial Congress. He was a true patriot, a brave soldier, and an upright man. An obituary notice of him in the *Essex Gazette*, July 13, 1775, says: "From the era of our public difficulties he distinguished himself as an ardent friend to the expiring liberties of America; and by the unanimous suffrages of his townsmen was for some years elected a member of the General Assembly; but when the daring encroachments of intruding despotism deprived us of a constitutional convention, and the first law of nature demanded a substitute, he was chosen one of the Provincial Congress; in which departments he was vigilant and indefatigable, in defeating every effort of tyranny. To promote the interest of his country was the delight of his soul. An inflexible zeal for freedom caused him to behold every engine of oppression with contempt, horror, and aversion." He devoted to military affairs not only a large share of his time, but of his fortune. His private character is highly eulogized. He was, "to his family kind, tender, and indulgent; to his friends, unreserved and sincere. To the whole circle of his acquaintance, affable, condescending, and obliging; while

eneration for religion augmented the splendor of his sister virtues."

Lieutenant-colonel Parker was a skilful and brave veteran of the French wars, and behaved with great gallantry in the action. A ball fractured his knee, and he was left in the redoubt. The British carried him a prisoner to Boston, lodged him in the jail, where, after the amputation of his leg, he died on the 4th of July, aged forty-three. He was a good officer, much beloved by his regiment, and his loss was severely felt. An obituary notice of him, — in the *New England Chronicle*, July 21, 1775, — says: "In him fortitude, prudence, humanity, and compassion, all conspired to heighten the lustre of his military virtues;" and it states, that "through the several commissions to which his merit entitled him, he had always the pleasure to find that he possessed the esteem and respect of his soldiers, and the applause of his countrymen." The notice concludes in the following strain: "God grant each individual that now is, or may be, engaged in the American army, an equal magnitude of soul; so shall their names, unsullied, be transmitted in the latest catalogue of fame; and if any vestiges of liberty shall remain, their praises shall be rehearsed through the earth 'till the sickle of time shall crop the creation.'"

Major Willard Moore was much endeared to his command, and the old soldiers in their depositions mention his good qualities in glowing terms. He was a firm patriot, and a generous and chivalrous soldier. On the second attack he received a ball in the thigh, and while his men were carrying him to the rear another ball went through his body. He called for water, but none could be obtained nearer than the Neck. He lingered until the time of the retreat, when, feeling his wounds to be mortal, he requested his attendants to lay him down, leave him, and take care of themselves. He met with a soldier's death. He was from Paxton. He took a prominent part in the Worcester Convention of January, 1774; was chosen captain of the minute-men January 17, 1775; and, on the Lexington alarm, immediately marched for Cambridge.

Colonel Richard Gridley, the chief engineer of the army, who planned the works on Breed's Hill, was a veteran of the French wars, and distinguished himself at the siege of Louisberg. He was taken ill on the morning of the 17th, after the fatigue of the

night, and left the hill ; but returned before the action commenced, and fought until the retreat, aiding in discharging one of the field-pieces. He was struck, near the close of the battle, by a ball, and entered his sulky to be carried off ; but meeting with some obstruction, he had but just left it, when the horse was killed and the sulky was riddled by the enemy's shot. The veteran engineer was active in planning the fortifications that were thrown up immediately after the battle. He received from the Provincial Congress the rank of major-general ; was commissioned September 20, 1775, to take the command of the artillery in the continental army. In November, he was superseded by Colonel Knox. Washington, December 31, stated to Congress that no one in the army was better qualified to be chief engineer ; and his services were again called for, on the memorable night when Dorchester Heights were fortified. In 1776, after the British left Boston, he was entrusted with the duty of again throwing up works in Charlestown, and other points about the harbor. He died at Stoughton, June 21, 1796, aged eighty-four.

Colonel Stark, the hero of Bennington, behaved with his accustomed bravery. But few notices of his conduct, other than what have been given, appear in the accounts. The major of his regiment, Andrew McClary, was a favorite officer. He was nearly six feet and a half in height, and of an athletic frame. During the action he fought with great bravery ; and amidst the roar of the artillery his stentorian voice was heard animating the men, and inspiring them with his own energy. After the action was over, he rode to Medford to procure bandages for the wounded ; and, on his return, went with a few of his comrades to reconnoitre the British, then on Bunker Hill. As he was on his way to rejoin his men, a shot from a frigate, laying where Cragie's Bridge is, passed through his body. He leaped a few feet from the ground, pitched forward, and fell dead on his face. He was carried to Medford, and interred with the honors of war. He was, General Dearborn writes, a brave, great, and good man. A spirited notice of him appeared in the *New Hampshire Gazette*, dated Epsom, July, 1775. It says : "The major discovered great intrepidity and presence of mind in the action, and his noble soul glowed with ardor and the love of his country ; and, like the Roman Camillus, who left his plough, commanded the

army, and conquered his opponents, so the major, upon the first intelligence of hostilities at Concord, left his farm and went a volunteer to assist his suffering brethren, where he was soon called to a command, which he executed to his eternal honor, and has thereby acquired the reputation of a brave officer and a disinterested patriot; and may his name be held in respect by all the lovers of liberty to the end of time, while the names of the sons of tyranny are despised and disgraced, and nothing left to them but the badges of their perfidy and infamy. May the widow of the deceased be respected for his sake; and may his children inherit his spirit and bravery, but not meet with his fate."

Captain Thomas Knowlton's conduct elicited high praise. He was a native of Boxford, Massachusetts, but while a boy removed to Ashford, Connecticut. He served with distinction in the French wars, then became a prosperous farmer; and on his appearing on the Lexington alarm, as a volunteer in the Ashford militia company, to march to the camp, was unanimously elected captain. General Putnam knew his merit, and selected him to command the fatigue party to accompany Colonel Prescott. He commenced the construction of the rail fence protection, and fought here with admirable bravery and conduct, until the retreat. He received from a Bostonian a gold-laced hat, a sash and gold breast-plate, for his behavior in this battle. Soon after, he was promoted; and while major he made, January 8, 1776, a daring and successful excursion into Charlestown, to burn several houses used by the British; and as lieutenant-colonel, was the confidant of Washington in the enterprise of the memorable Nathan Hale. On the 16th of September, 1776, while exhibiting his usual intrepidity, he was killed at the battle of Harlem Heights. Washington, in the general orders, after alluding to his gallantry and bravery, and his fall while 'gloriously fighting,' said he "would have been an honor to any country." He was about thirty-six when he was killed.

General Ward expressed his thanks to the troops engaged in this battle, in the following order, of June 24: "The general orders his thanks to be given to those officers and soldiers who behaved so gallantly at the late action in Charlestown. Such bravery gives the general sensible pleasure, as he is thereby fully satisfied that we shall finally come off victorious, and triumph over the enemies of freedom in America."

One of the companies of Gardner's regiment — Captain Josiah Harris' — was raised in Charlestown. Colonel Swett pays this company — the last to retreat — the following compliment: — "They were fighting at their own doors, on their own natal soil. They were on the extreme left, covered by some loose stones thrown up on the shore of the Mystic, during the day, by order of Colonel Stark. At this most important pass into the country, against which the enemy made the most desperate efforts, like Leonidas' band, they had taken post, and like them they defended it till the enemy had discovered another."

So conflicting are the authorities, that the number of troops engaged, on either side, cannot be precisely ascertained. "The number of the Americans during the battle," Colonel Swett says, "was fluctuating, but may be fairly estimated at three thousand five hundred, who joined in the battle, and five hundred more, who covered the retreat." General Putnam's estimate was twenty-two hundred. General Washington says the number engaged, at any one time, was fifteen hundred, and this was adopted by Dr. Gordon. This is as near accuracy as can be arrived at. General Gage, in his official account, states the British force at "something over two thousand," and yet the same account acknowledges one thousand and fifty-four killed and wounded. This certainly indicates a force far larger than two thousand. Neither British accounts, nor the British plans of the battle, mention all the regiments that were in the field. Thus, the movements of the second battalion of marines are not given; yet the official table of loss states that it had seven killed and thirty wounded; and Clarke, also, states it was not until after the Americans had retreated that Gage sent over this second battalion, with four regiments of foot, and a company of artillery. Americans, who counted the troops as they left the wharves in Boston, state that five thousand went over to Charlestown; and, probably, not less than four thousand were actually engaged.

The time the battle lasted is variously stated; some accounts state four hours, but they include the heavy fire of artillery that covered the landing. The committee of safety's (MS.) account says: "The time the engagement lasted, from the first fire of the musketry till the last, was exactly one hour and a half." The losses of individuals in the battle were allowed by the colonies, and there are hundreds of petitions from the soldiers in it.

The following is the record in General Ward's orderly book,—the only reference to the battle it contains,—of the loss of the Americans: "June 17. The battle of Charlestown was fought this day. Killed, one hundred and fifteen; wounded, three hundred and five; captured, thirty. Total, four hundred and fifty."

They, also, lost five pieces of cannon out of six, and a large quantity of intrenching tools. The following table shows the loss sustained by each regiment, and presents a somewhat different result:—

	<i>Killed.</i>	<i>Wounded.</i>		<i>Killed.</i>	<i>Wounded.</i>
Prescott's, . . .	42	28	Gridley's, . . .	0	4
Bridge's, . . .	15	29	Ward's, . . .	1	6
Frye's, . . .	15	31	Scammans', . . .	0	2
Brewer's, . . .	7	11	Gerrish's, . . .	3	2
Little's, . . .	7	23	Whitcomb's, . . .	5	8
Gardner's, . . .	6	7	Stark's, . . .	15	45
Nixon's, . . .	3	10	Reed's, . . .	5	21
Woodbrige's, . . .	1	5	Putnam & Coit Co. 11 . . .	26	
Doolittle's, . . .	0	9	Chester's Co., . . .	4	4

Killed, 140; wounded, 271; captured, 30.

Some of the dead were buried on the field of battle. One deposit appears to have been a trench near the line of the almshouse estate, running parallel with Elm-street. Here a large number of American buttons have been found attached to bones. Americans were buried in other places in Charlestown, which are known from similar circumstances. The wounded were carried to the western side of Bunker Hill, and then to Cambridge. Doctors Thomas Kittredge, William Eustis,—afterwards governor,—Walter Hastings, Thomas Welsh, Isaac Foster, Lieutenant-colonel Bricket, David Townsend, and John Hart, were in attendance. The house of Governor Oliver, in Cambridge, known as the Gerry estate, was improved as a hospital. Many of the soldiers who died of their wounds were buried in a field in front of this house. Rev. Samuel Cook's house, at West Cambridge, was also used for a hospital. The prisoners were carried to Boston jail.

The loss of the British was admitted, in the official account, to have been two hundred and twenty-six killed, eight hundred and twenty-eight wounded; total, one thousand and fifty-four. But the Americans set it as high as fifteen hundred. The wounded, during the whole night and the next day, were conveyed to Boston, where the streets were filled with groans and lamentation. The privates who died on the field were immediately buried

there,—“in holes,”—Gage’s report states. Collections of bones have been occasionally found on the east side of Breed’s Hill, in digging wells or cellars, having attached to them buttons, with the numbers of the different regiments. “On Monday morning,” a British account says, “all the dead officers were decently buried in Boston, in a private manner, in the different churches and churchyards there.”

A large proportion of the killed were officers, and among them some highly distinguished. Lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, at the head of the grenadiers, was shot while storming the works. He was a brave and noble-hearted soldier; and when the men were bearing him from the field, he begged them to spare his old friend Putnam. “If you take General Putnam alive,” he said, “don’t hang him; for he’s a brave man.” He died on the 24th of June.

Major Pitcairn, the commander of the marines, was widely known in the country from his connection with the events of the nineteenth of April, and many of the Americans claim the honor of having killed him in this battle. Dr. John Elliot wrote in his almanac the following account of his fall: “This amiable and gallant officer was slain entering the intrenchments. He had been wounded twice; then putting himself at the head of his forces, he faced danger, calling out ‘Now for the glory of the marines!’ He received four balls in his body.” He was much beloved by his command. “I have lost my father,” his son exclaimed as he fell. “We have all lost a father,” was the echo of the regiment. His son bore him to a boat, and then to a house in Prince-street, Boston, where he was attended by a physician, at the special request of General Gage, but soon died. He was a courteous and accomplished officer, and an exemplary man. His son was soon promoted.

Major Spendlove, of the forty-third regiment, another distinguished officer, died of his wounds. He had served with unblemished reputation, upwards of forty years, in the same regiment, and been three times wounded,—once when with Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham, again at the reduction of Martinico, and at the capture of Havana. His conduct at the battle was favorably mentioned by the commander. Other officers of merit fell. Captain Addison, related to the author of the Spectator,

and Captain Sherwin, Howe's aid-de-camp, were killed. The slaughter of officers occasioned great astonishment in England.

Of the officers who acted as aids to General Howe, all were wounded, and only one of them, Lieutenant Page, of the engineers, lived to reach England.¹ He distinguished himself at the storming of the redoubt, and made the fine plan of the battle that was the first correct one engraved in England, and is now first engraved in this country for this work.

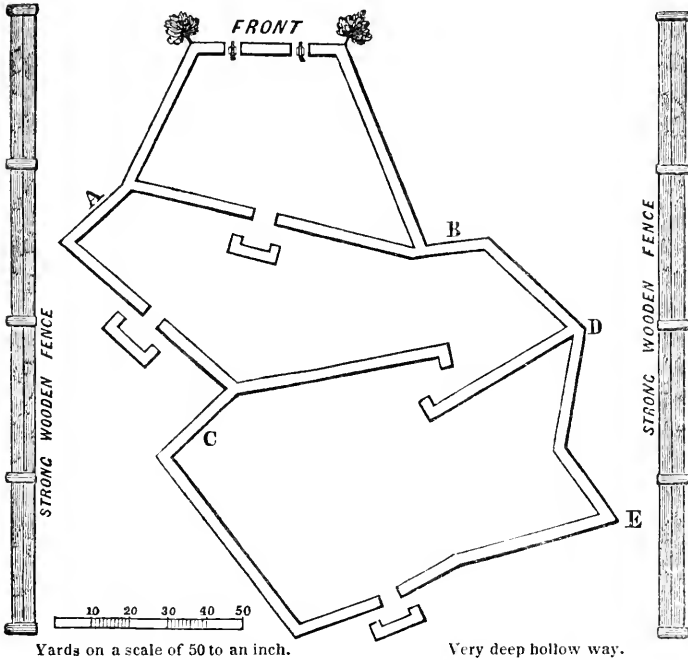
The British officers describe the redoubt as having been so strong that it must have been the work of several days. One says: "The fortification on Bunker Hill must have been the work of some days; it was very regular, and exceeding strong."² A plan of it appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine, which is here presented as a curious memorial of the battle. It is called "Plan of the Redoubt and Intrenchment on the Heights of Charlestown, (commonly called Bunker's Hill,) opposite Boston, in New England, attacked and carried by his majesty's troops, June 17, 1775."

The Gentleman's Magazine says: "This redoubt was well executed. In the only side on which it could be attacked were two pieces of cannon. In the two salient angles were two trees, with their branches projecting off the parapet, to prevent an entry being made on the angles. The two flanks (A and B) of the intrenchment were well contrived, as the fire from them crossed within twenty yards of the face of the redoubt. The flank C sufficiently secures its face; and the bastion D, with its flanks E

¹ The London Chronicle, January 11, 1776.—A few days ago arrived in town, from Boston, Lieutenant Page, of his majesty's corps of engineers, on account of the wounds he received the 17th of June, in the action of Charlestown. This gentleman is the only one now living of those who acted as aids-de-camp to General Howe, so great was the slaughter of officers that day. He particularly distinguished himself in the storming of the redoubt, for which he received General Howe's thanks.

² This letter, Boston, June 22, says: "The fortification on Bunker Hill must have been the work of some days; it was very regular, and exceeding strong, insomuch that here the rebels thought themselves secure from danger, and sure of success in destroying the town of Boston, which they had determined to do. Here they reserved their fire till our noble troops were almost under their ramparts, and stubbornly opposed them. Had the rebels gained the day, the town of Boston could not have stood long."

and B, is the best defence against such troops as might endeavor to pass or cut down the fence.”



General Dearborn says : “ It was a square redoubt, the curtains of which were about sixty or seventy feet in extent, with an intrenchment of breastwork extending fifty or sixty feet from the northern angle, towards Mystic River. In the course of the night the ramparts had been raised to the height of six or seven feet, with a small ditch at their base ; but it was yet in a rude, imperfect state.” It was not made entirely of earth. No small quantity of fascines were used in its construction,—all that were carried on. Some of the soldiers are minute on this point in their depositions. The engraving in the Gentleman’s Magazine, however, is probably incorrect.¹

¹ According to the most accurate plan of the Town of 1775, (Page’s) the whole of the Redoubt lay between the Monument and Concord street. The Monument stands where the south-eastern corner of the Redoubt was.

The Rail Fence breastwork commenced about the centre of the square

General Howe, it was conceded even by his enemies, behaved with great bravery through the whole battle. Of the notices of him in the British journals, I select the following: "General Howe, during the whole engagement on the 17th of June last, was in the most imminent danger; and Mr. Evans, an English servant, who went over with him, could not be prevailed on to quit him till the whole of the action was over. Evans attended the whole time with wine and other necessaries for the refreshment of the general and those about him; during which, Evans had one of the bottles in his hands dashed to pieces, and got a contusion on one of his arms at the same time, by a ball from some of the provincials."

General Clinton's services were highly commended, and great influence was ascribed to his advice. Few details, however, are mentioned of his conduct, besides his rally of the troops for the third attack, and his advice to follow up the victory by a close pursuit. The same remark may be made of General Pigot. General Gage attributed "the success of the day, in a great measure, to his firmness and gallantry."

The wanton destruction of the Town excited indignation in the colonies and sympathy in England. The tories had long predicted that places which took a rebellious part against the mother country would be destroyed, and that destruction would begin at the seaport towns. No town during the ten year's controversy that preceded the commencement of hostilities, had acted a bolder part in support of the patriot cause than Charlestown. The threats of the British general, and the removal from it, have been stated. A few citizens remained in it up to the hour of the battle. While the British were embarking, Rev. John Martin, who fought bravely in the action, and was with the troops all night, left Breed's Hill, went to Charlestown Ferry, and with a spy-glass — Dr. Stiles writes — "viewed the shipping, and observed their preparations of floating batteries, and boats filling with soldiers. There were now in Charlestown a considerable number of people — one hundred or two hundred, or more, men and women — not yet removed, though the body of the people and

formed by Hancock, Green, Bunker Hill, and Elm streets, and ran through the New Burying-ground to the river. Elm street at that time was a mere pathway, and ran more diagonally than it does now. A fence along this pathway was used in making this slight defence.

effects were gone. While he called in at a house for a drink of water, a cannon ball from the shipping passed through the house. He persuaded the inhabitants to depart, but they seemed reluctant. He assured them that it would be warm work that day." He returned to the hill, but soon, about noon, went down again. "Mr. Cary and son," he says,—"still at their own house,—urged him to take some refreshment and rest, as he had been fatigued all night. He lay down at Mr. Cary's about ten minutes, when a ball came through the house. He rose and returned, when the town evacuated with all haste." Advertisements in the journals indicate that furniture was carried out on this day.

Gordon remarks, correctly, that General Gage had for some time resolved upon burning the town when the Americans raised works on any of the hills within its limits. Though he states that the British were not hurt by the fire of musketry from the houses, yet the statement of General Burgoyne, that the Americans fired upon them from buildings and fences, is confirmed by many of the depositions of the soldiers. He writes of the British columns as they were moving to the attack: "They were also exceedingly hurt by musketry from Charlestown, though Clinton and I did not perceive it till Howe sent us word by a boat, and desired us to set fire to the town, which was immediately done; we threw a parcel of shells, and the whole was immediately in flames." William Cochran, (August 16, 1775,) stated, under oath, as follows: "In regard to what I know of setting fire to Charlestown, on the 17th of June, is—I was on Copp's Hill, at the landing of the troops in Charlestown; and about one hour after the troops were landed, orders came down to set fire to the town, and soon after a carcass was discharged from the hill, which set fire to one of the old houses, just above the ferry-ways; from that the meeting-house and several other houses were set on fire by carcasses; and the houses at the eastern end of the town were set on fire by men landed out of the boats."

The authorities vary as to the precise time when the fire was set—some stating that it was before the British moved to the attack, and others that it was at four o'clock. But it was certainly burning on the second attack. The smoke was seen at a great distance. "Terrible indeed was that scene,"—a letter from Salem reads,—"even at our distance. The western horizon in the day-time was one huge body of smoke, and in the evening a

continued blaze ; and the perpetual sound of cannon and volleys of musketry worked up our imaginations to a high degree of fright." The houses within the peninsula, with the exception of a few in the neighborhood of Mill-street, were entirely consumed. The number of buildings was estimated at about four hundred ; and the loss of property at £117,982 5s. 2d.¹ Some of the property secreted was found by the British, while much of it was recovered by the owners on the evacuation of the town. Many from Boston had deposited goods in this town for safe keeping, and these were consumed. Dr. Mather lost his library.

The destruction naturally excited great indignation in the colonies. John Langdon, in a letter dated Philadelphia, July 3, 1775, writes : " The low, mean revenge and wanton cruelty of the ministerial sons of tyranny, in burning the pleasant town of Charlestown, beggars all description ; this does not look like the fight of those who have so long been friends, and would hope to be friends again, but rather of a most cruel enemy, — though we shall not wonder when we reflect, that it is the infernal hand of tyranny which always has, and ever will, deluge that part of the world (which it lays hold of) in blood."

The British Annual Register of 1775 said : " The fate of Charlestown was also a matter of melancholy contemplation to the serious and unprejudiced of all parties. It was the first settlement made in the colony, and was considered as the mother of Boston, — that town owing its birth and nurture to emigrants of the former. Charlestown was large, handsome, and well built, both in respect to its public and private edifices ; it contained about four hundred houses, and had the greatest trade of any port in the province, except Boston. It is said that the two ports cleared out a thousand vessels annually for a foreign trade, exclusive of an infinite number of coasters. It is now buried in ruins. Such is the termination of human labor, industry, and wisdom, and such are the fatal fruits of civil dissensions."

¹ This estimate was made by a large committee, chosen by the town for this purpose in March, 1776.



